V. 1 c. 1

THE CRITICAL WRITINGS OF ERNEST REYER

By

ELIZABETH JEAN LAMBERTON

B.Mus., University of Regina, 1975
M.A., The University of British Columbia, 1978

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF

THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

(Musicology [Historical Studies])

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

(School of Music)

We accept this thesis as conforming

to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

April 1988

© Elizabeth Jean Lamberton, 1988

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the head of my department or by his or her representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of Music

The University of British Columbia
1956 Main Mall
Vancouver, Canada
V6T 1Y3

Date April 29, 1988

DE-6(3/81)

ABSTRACT

Ernest Reyer's career as music critic spanned the second half of the nineteenth century. For more than thirty years he held the position of music critic of the Journal des Débats, one of the most respected newspapers in nineteenth-century France. He also contributed regularly to four journals and the daily Courrier de Paris, and wrote as well for other newspapers and periodicals. Reyer was in addition a conductor and a noted composer, whose major musical works--the operas Sigurd and Salammbô--were performed frequently at the Paris Opéra until after the turn of the century. This study deals with Reyer the critic: as a writer on music, he did much to raise the level of musical taste in France during the last third of the century.

The dissertation contains ten chapters and two appendices. Chapter I provides a biographical sketch of Reyer before focusing on his personality and his music. Chapter II surveys Reyer's literary legacy: the extent of his writings in newspapers, periodicals, and other publications; his musical preferences; subjects of considerable importance to Reyer; his literary style; and the two compilations of his writings (Notes de musique and Quarante ans de musique, which together represent less than ten percent of his literary production). Chapter III demonstrates that Reyer believed his role as critic was to educate the public, and that he sought to fulfil this role by founding his approach to critical writing on three basic tenets: professional knowledge of music; intellectual integrity; and the consistent application of an

aesthetic. The principles of his aesthetic and the consistency of their application are illustrated in Chapter IV through consideration of Reyer's judgments of operatic composition and performance.

The next five chapters examine Reyer's writings on topics and composers of particular importance to him. Chapter V studies his views on the complex situation in Parisian lyric theatres during the second half of the nineteenth century, and offers a detailed picture of his conception of an ideal theatre. Chapter VI discusses Reyer's attempts to stimulate public interest in Gluck, Spontini, and Weber, whose works for lyric theatre were either neglected in Paris or known mainly through mutilated versions. Chapter VII outlines Reyer's long struggle--as both critic and conductor--to establish Berlioz's reputation in France. Reyer's advocacy was so effective that some of his countrymen eventually credited him with having done more than anyone else to bring honor to Berlioz in his homeland. Reyer also played a major role in establishing Wagner's music in France, as is shown in Chapter VIII. Chapter IX demonstrates that Reyer's support was important in launching and sustaining the careers of many contemporary French composers, including Gounod, Saint-Saëns, Bizet, and Lalo. The final chapter summarizes Reyer's achievement as a writer on music. Among the subjects discussed are the strong influence of Berlioz's writings on both Reyer's literary style and his aesthetic, and the impact of Reyer's writings on Parisian musical life.

Appendix A contains an annotated bibliography of Reyer's more than seven hundred critical writings, with an explanation of how they were culled from newspapers and periodicals. Appendix B is a list of other

published writings by Reyer. Our examination of his criticism reveals that it would be of interest to have Reyer's complete works available in collected volumes.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT ii

TABLE OF CONTENTS v

LIST OF TABLES vi

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS vii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS viii

PREFACE 1

Chapter

I. ERNEST REYER: THE MAN AND HIS WORKS 14

II. AN INTRODUCTION TO REYER AS CRITIC 80

III. REYER'S APPROACH TO CRITICAL WRITING 118

IV. REYER'S VIEWS ON OPERA 145

V. REYER AND THE LYRIC THEATRES OF PARIS 171

VI. REYER AND THREE NEGLECTED MASTERS OF LYRIC THEATRE: GLUCK, SPONTINI, AND WEBER 215

VII. REYER AND BERLIOZ 266

VIII. REYER AND WAGNER 315

IX. REYER AND CONTEMPORARY FRENCH COMPOSERS 392

X. CONCLUSION 476

BIBLIOGRAPHY 489

Appendices

A. REYER'S CRITICAL WRITINGS IN NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS 507

B. OTHER WRITINGS BY REYER 738

LIST OF TABLES

I. Group 1: Publications Examined and Methods of Examination 517

II. Examination of Indexes of Publications in Group 1 523

III. Group 2: Publications Examined and Methods of Examination 528

IV. Examination of Indexes of Publications in Group 2 530

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Newspapers and Periodicals

AthF — L'Athenaeum français, 1852-56; weekly journal; in 1856 absorbed by the Revue contemporaine; appeared as supplement of the Revue, 1858-66 and 1867-70.

CP — Le Courrier de Paris, 1857-60; daily newspaper.

FM — La France musicale, 1837-70; weekly journal.

GN — La Gazette du Nord, 1859-60; weekly journal.

JD — Journal des Débats, 1789-1944; daily newspaper.

RF — Revue française, 1855-59; trimonthly journal.

RGMP — Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris, 1834-80; weekly journal.

RP — Revue de Paris, 1851-58; monthly, then bimonthly, journal.

Other Publications

EMDC — Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du Conservatoire. Founded by Albert Lavignac and directed by Lionel de la Laurencie. Two parts in 11 vols. Paris: Librairie Delagrave, 1913-31.

FétisB — François-Joseph Fétis, Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique. 2d rev. ed. 8 vols. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1866-68.

LoewAO — Alfred Loewenberg, Annals of Opera, 1597-1940. 3d rev. ed. London: John Calder, 1978.

NG — The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians. Edited by Stanley Sadie. 20 vols. London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 1980.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

One of the pleasures afforded by the completion of this dissertation is the opportunity to express my gratitude to the many people who have assisted in its preparation. I would like particularly to thank my advisor, Dr. H. Robert Cohen, Professor of Musicology at the University of British Columbia while this study was in progress. Dr. Cohen has been an exacting critic, and I am sincerely grateful for his guidance. My thanks also to the other members of my doctoral committee: Professor Gregory Butler, who provided many helpful suggestions after reading the typescript; Professor Dimitri Conomos, who examined each chapter with meticulous care; and Professor J. Evan Kreider, who has been a source of encouragement and wise counsel throughout the many stages of the doctoral program. For innumerable kindnesses I am indebted to the library staffs at the University of British Columbia, Université Laval (Québec), the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra and the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), as well as the several other institutions mentioned in this study. To my typist, Mrs. Isabel McCaughran, I offer my appreciation for her skill and inexhaustible patience.

Finally, I owe a special debt of gratitude to my parents, not only for the support that made possible the completion of this dissertation, but also for the love and understanding that sustained me during these years of study.

PREFACE

In 1909, the year of Reyer's death, one of his countrymen wrote: "Dans l'histoire musicale contemporaine, il existe peu de caractères aussi attachants que Reyer."[1] He was indeed a fascinating figure in nineteenth-century French musical life, for he was both an influential critic and an established composer.[2] At the time of his death, his major compositions--the operas Sigurd (1884) and Salammbô (1890)--were described by the composer-critic Gaston Carraud as "les deux ouvrages qui sont aujourd'hui, après Faust et Samson, la plus solide ressource du répertoire française de l'Opéra."[3] Reyer's contemporaries were not always so favorable toward his efforts as a composer,[4] but they were unanimous in their praise of his work as a writer on music.

Reyer's literary output was described with the utmost admiration by his friends and fellow critics. Adolphe Jullien, Reyer's first biographer, characterized him as "avant tout un indépendant, un homme d'avant-garde"[5] because of his love for the neglected masters of the past and for both Berlioz and Wagner, the most controversial composers of his own time. Jullien's comment was echoed by Reyer's other biographer, Henri de Curzon, who declared: "On n'a pas assez mis en relief l'enseignement que contiennent les feuilletons de Reyer . . . ses observations, ses conseils, ses critiques étaient en avance."[6] Emile Henriot--compiler of Quarante ans de musique, a posthumously published selection of Reyer's writings--expressed regret that the public was remembering the deceased as a composer but not as a critic who, on the strength of

his literary endeavours, should have been elected to the Académie française.[7]

Reyer's work as a writer on music was also highly regarded by many impartial contemporaries. Such a man was Ernest Legouvé, a prominent literary critic who, as a close friend of Gounod, could not have been pleased by Reyer's feuilleton on the composer's incidental music for Legouvé's drama Les Deux Reines.[8] Yet he declared in a review of Reyer's compilation Notes de musique[9] that the author seemed to have inherited Prévost-Paradol's gift for irony, and, moreover, that he ranked with such distinguished composer-critics as Adolphe Adam and Hector Berlioz.[10] Other admirers of Reyer's writings ranged from Charles Monselet--a well-known Parisian theatre critic--to Arthur Pougin and Georges Servières, two eminent French writers on music.[11] Before the end of the century Reyer's reputation had spread to England, where he was applauded as "an ardent admirer of Berlioz, . . . [and] one of the first in France to recognise the genius of Wagner."[12]

Reyer's death in January 1909 and the posthumous publication of Quarante ans de musique occasioned outpourings of praise for the deceased. Gabriel Fauré, then director of the Paris Conservatoire and one of France's most respected musicians, saluted Reyer as composer but also took important notice of his work as critic, describing some of his studies as models of criticism and avowing that "Reyer eût pu briguer, avec un bagage littéraire si considérable, une place à l'Académie française."[13] This opinion was seconded not only by Henriot but also by the critics Raymond Bouyer and Michel Brenet.[14] Many other writers on music pointed out that Reyer had continued Berlioz's "vaillante campagne pour

le grand art"[15] by using his brilliant literary talent to proclaim the value of great works that were neglected or controversial. For this reason he was credited with having contributed "au relèvement du goût musical en France dans le dernier tiers du XIX^{e} siècle."[16]

Reyer's literary activities spanned more than half a century, from 1850 until 1906. The most significant milestone in this long career occurred in 1866, when, upon the sudden death of the critic Joseph d'Ortigue, Reyer succeeded to a post once held by Berlioz: music critic of the Journal des Débats, one of the most prestigious Parisian newspapers.[17] Reyer remained with the Débats for thirty-two years. Before joining this newspaper, he served as music critic for another daily--the Courrier de Paris--and contributed regularly to four journals of literature and the arts. At various times in Reyer's professional life he was also affiliated with a number of other newspapers and specialized reviews, including La France musicale and the Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris.[18] Although Reyer was active primarily as a music critic, he made several notable contributions to music literature outside the realm of newspapers and periodicals. The most distinguished of these efforts, Souvenirs d'Allemagne, was very highly regarded by contemporary critics, one of whom described it as "le complément nécessaire du Voyage en Allemagne, de Berlioz."[19]

The bulk of Reyer's work as a writer on music consists of nearly seven hundred articles, including feuilletons, other titled articles, and letter-articles.[20] He also wrote numerous miscellaneous pieces, such as untitled articles, notices, announcements, obituaries, and

letters to editors or journalists. Considered in its entirety his output as critic amounts to approximately 740 items.[21]

The only collected sources of Reyer's writings are the selections he himself chose to include in the one volume which he compiled--Notes de musique--and those selected by Henriot for Quarante ans de musique. In Notes we find Souvenirs d'Allemagne reprinted in its entirety, but just fifteen articles and excerpts from thirteen others. Quarante is a smaller collection, consisting of nineteen articles and fourteen excerpts. Notes and Quarante together represent less than ten percent of Reyer's literary production.

Nothing approaching a scholarly examination of Reyer's work as a writer on music appeared during his lifetime--a fact which may seem puzzling when we remember that, in France and even in England, he was generally regarded as a worthy successor to Berlioz.[22] However, we should also remember that the writings of Berlioz himself did not attract much attention from scholars until 1903, the year of his centenary.[23] As will be shown below, Reyer was less fortunate than his distinguished predecessor, for the celebration of his centenary in 1923 stimulated only a little interest in his literary activities. Moreover, the few writers and critics who, either before or after the centenary, offered appreciations of his work made no attempt to investigate the aesthetic that motivated his judgments.

Within a few months of Reyer's death, his critical writings were examined in two books which are among the most important in the Reyer literature: Jullien's monograph, which includes a chapter on "Le critique et ses feuilletons";[24] and Quarante ans de musique, in which a

preface and an appendix by Henriot supplement his selection of Reyer's writings.[25] However, neither Jullien's chapter nor Henriot's preface is in any respect a thorough treatment of Reyer's literary work. Jullien discusses Reyer's prose style, but tells us very little about his critical attitudes and does not raise the issue of whether or not they were motivated by a consistently applied aesthetic. Henriot, after giving a somewhat inaccurate sketch of Reyer's journalistic career, has more to say than does Jullien about Reyer's critical attitudes, especially as regards Wagner. Yet he, too, is at a loss to explain these attitudes: he merely quotes in toto Reyer's long "profession de foi,"[26] which is more a statement of his conception of the purpose of criticism than a presentation of his aesthetic.[27]

For many years after the publication of the two volumes cited above, performances of Sigurd and Salammbô perpetuated interest in Reyer's musical legacy while his work as a critic was virtually forgotten. As far as I have been able to determine, only six articles on his critical writings appeared in French newspapers and periodical literature dating from the time of his death until his centenary fourteen years later. Five of these articles are of very limited scope because they are reviews of Henriot's compilation, which did not present enough of Reyer's writings to enable the reviewers to deduce much about his critical point of view.[28] The sixth article is brief but is nevertheless the most interesting of the group, inasmuch as the author--Michel Brenet--deals only incidentally with Henriot's compilation, and instead ranges freely through feuilletons and articles dating as far back as 1855. Brenet also cites most of Reyer's contributions to non-periodical

literature, and thus gives a better idea than do his colleagues of the scope of Reyer's work. However, Brenet makes no attempt to assess its influence.[29]

Writers did not demonstrate much curiosity about Reyer's literary oeuvre even in 1923, the year of the celebration of the centenary of his birth. This occasion sparked the publication of a spate of articles about his career as a composer, but only two which focus instead on his work as a critic. Both are by Henri de Curzon, and constitute part of a serialized study of Reyer's life and works.[30] Like earlier writers, Curzon does not attempt to explore the aesthetic principles that guided Reyer's judgments; rather, he offers only an account of those composers whom Reyer reviewed and relates what he believes to be Reyer's impressions of their music. Curzon's study was reprinted as a monograph.[31]

After the centenary, Sigurd and Salammbô were occasionally performed at the Paris Opéra and hence received some attention in the press, but Reyer's work as a critic was seemingly overlooked. The revival of Sigurd in 1934 to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of his death, and the 175th performance of Salammbô in 1938, briefly rekindled interest in Reyer's operas but failed to spark a new curiosity about Reyer as critic.

Scarcely any information on Reyer's critical writings can be gleaned from non-periodical literature written since his centenary. The principal biographical dictionaries and music encyclopaedias, for example, invariably focus on Reyer's career as composer and say little about his activities as critic.[32] Each of four books published since the centenary includes a chapter on Reyer, but only two of these offer

appraisals of his work as critic.[33] Even Adolphe Boschot, in a speech delivered at the inauguration of the Reyer Monument at Marseille in 1934, fails to describe the scope and significance of Reyer's critical writings.[34] Boschot's printed discourse is the only publication on Reyer that has appeared since Curzon's 1924 study.

It is clear from the survey of the Reyer literature--the preface by Henriot, the monographs by Jullien and Curzon, the handful of articles on Reyer as critic, the biographical sketches in music dictionaries and encyclopaedias, the four chapters, and the speech--that his writings still await a scholarly examination. The question of his aesthetic, which is of fundamental importance to the understanding of his judgments, has not yet been addressed. No writer has stated whether, in fact, Reyer approached critical writing with comprehensible principles of judgment. Nor has another important issue--the nature of Reyer's influence as a writer on music--been fully explored.

The dearth of modern studies on Reyer as critic is probably due to the difficulty of gaining access to his writings. As Henriot observed in 1909, "Il est malaisé, en effet, d'aller chercher dans les collections du Courrier de Paris ou du Journal des Débats les pages . . . que Reyer y publia."[35] Neither Henriot's compilation nor the one prepared decades earlier by Reyer has been reprinted, and copies of both volumes --which together represent such a small portion of his literary corpus --are now very scarce. Copies of the six newspapers and nine periodicals whose pages still hold the vast majority of his writings are also rare: not a single copy of the Courrier, for example, is to be found in a North American library. Moreover, twelve of these fifteen sources are

without any index, and some lack even the most rudimentary bibliographic tool, namely, a sommaire of the major items in each issue. Therefore, the scholar wishing to locate all of Reyer's writings within these sources must often resort to scanning hundreds if not thousands of pages. Such a task confronts anyone who wishes to exploit the wealth of material contained in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century French newspapers and periodicals, because "detailed indexing of . . . [these] publications is the exception rather than the rule."[36]

Reyer's feuilletons in newspapers, his articles in specialized music reviews and in journals of literature and the arts, as well as his writings in non-periodical literature, are significant not only because they offer a vivid picture of the contemporary French musical scene, but also because--as previously noted--they evidently exerted considerable influence on musical life in France during the last third of the nineteenth century. "Ces pages fortes et sincères, qui ont frayé tant de lumière et répandu tant de compréhension"[37] surely deserve to be collected and evaluated in the light of modern musical scholarship. My purpose for examining this literary legacy is fourfold: (1) to unravel the history of Reyer's career as a critic; (2) to determine the critical aesthetic that guided his judgments; (3) to reveal the nature of his influence as a writer on music; and (4) to present a bibliography of his writings, many of which were not previously accounted for.

* * *

Before beginning this study, it is necessary to offer a few words concerning the structure of the four chapters which discuss Reyer's reflections on specific composers. In the interest of clarity, each

chapter is based on a bipartite format: a summary of Reyer's comments is presented first, followed by my evaluation of these comments ("Critical Analysis"). This format is used in different ways in Chapters VI and IX, each of which deals with more than one composer. In Chapter VI, the summaries of Reyer's reflections on Gluck, Spontini, and Weber are presented in uninterrupted succession, and then are evaluated successively. In Chapter IX, which treats many composers, every summary is instead followed immediately by my evaluation. Throughout the dissertation, quotations in French are given as printed[38] and thus reproduce the original spellings and capitalizations.

Endnotes

[1] "Reyer critique [anonymous review of Quarante ans de musique, by Ernest Reyer]," Le Monde musical 21 (30 December 1909):252.

[2] Reyer was decorated by Prussian and Belgian monarchs, and received the highest honors his country could bestow. See Chapter I, pp. 17, 18, 26, 34, and 36-37.

[3] Gaston Carraud, "Reyer," La Liberté, 17 January 1909.

[4] He had very little formal training in composition, and several critics therefore found his music amateurish. For example, one of them remarked that Reyer's harmonic language was "ni très variée, ni toujours très pure," and that his orchestration lacked "l'élégance que nous trouvons chez d'autres maîtres," and attributed these failings to "une éducation trop tardivement commencée." La Grande Encyclopédie: inventaire raisonné des sciences, des lettres et des arts, [1886-1902], s.v. "Reyer, (Louis-Étienne-Ernest Rey, dit)," by Henri Quittard, pp. 561-62.

[5] Adolphe Jullien, Ernest Reyer, Les musiciens célèbres (Paris: H. Laurens, [1909]), p. 111.

[6] Henri de Curzon, Ernest Reyer: sa vie et ses oeuvres (1823-1909) (Paris: Perrin, 1924), p. 225.

[7] Emile Henriot, Preface to Quarante ans de musique (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1909), p. i.

[8] Reyer was not critical of Gounod's score, but he censured the composer for remaining in England long after the Franco-Prussian War had ended. See the JD feuilleton of 30 November 1872.

[9] Ernest Reyer, Notes de musique (Paris: Charpentier, 1875).

[10] Ernest Legouvé, review of Notes, JD of 4 May 1875, p. 3.

[11] In 1876, when Reyer was elected to the Académie des Beaux-Arts of the Institut de France, Monselet wrote a charming sketch of him. It was quoted by Arthur Pougin in the necrological article "Ernest Reyer," Le Ménestrel 75 (23 January 1909):26. See also the following: Pougin's review of Notes in Le Guide musical 21 (29 April 1875):7; and Georges Servières, Richard Wagner jugé en France (Paris: Librairie illustrée, 1887), pp. 34, 122, 150, 236-37, 267, 275-76, and 292.

[12] Arthur Hervey, Masters of French Music, Masters of Contemporary Music (London: Osgood, McIlvaine & Co., 1894), p. 219.

[13] Gabriel Fauré, "Ernest Reyer," Le Figaro, 16 January 1909, p. 1.

[14] Raymond Bouyer, "La Musique: Ernest Reyer," La Revue bleue; revue politique et littéraire 47 (6 February 1909):190; and Michel Brenet [Marie Bobillier], "Les Feuilletons d'Ernest Reyer," Le Courrier musical 13 (15 January 1910):54.

[15] Henry Roujon, Institut de France. Académie des Beaux-Arts. Notice sur la vie et les travaux de M. Ernest Reyer (1823-1909), membre de l'Académie (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1911), p. 13. This tribute, written by the secretary of the Académie and read at the annual public meeting (11 November 1911), commemorated the thirty-fifth anniversary of Reyer's election to the Institut.

[16] Paul Landormy and Joseph Loisel, "L'Institut de France et le Prix de Rome: Ernest Reyer," in EMDC II, 6:3553. In 1894, one of Reyer's English contemporaries had offered a similar tribute: ". . . his writings will doubtless not have been without influence in determining the nature of the musical movement in France during these last few years." (Hervey, Masters, p. 221.)

[17] As witness the fact that in 1871 the Khedive of Egypt chose this newspaper to represent the French press at the world premiere of Verdi's Aïda.

[18] To my knowledge, Reyer edited and/or wrote for a total of fifteen newspapers and periodicals: La Presse, 1850-55 (ghostwriter) and 1868 (one item); Revue de Paris, 1852-54; L'Athenaeum français, 1852-56; La France musicale, sporadically between 1852 and 1858; Revue française, 1855-58; L'Indépendance belge, 1857 (one unsigned item); Le Courrier de Paris, 1857-59; L'Artiste, 1857 (one item); La Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris, 1858 (one item; co-editor, 1868-80); La Gazette du Nord, 1860; Le Moniteur universel (see below, n. 19); Journal des Débats, 1866-98 (and two items in 1901); La Renaissance musicale (co-editor, 1881-83); Le Monde musical, 1903 (one item); and Le Figaro, 1899 (one item) and 1904 (one item). Appendix A contains a bibliography of Reyer's critical writings, preceded by an explanation of how they were found.

[19] Georges Servières, La Musique française moderne: César Franck; Edouard Lalo; Jules Massenet; Ernest Reyer; Camille Saint-Saëns (Paris: G. Havard fils, 1897), p. 276. Souvenirs d'Allemagne was Reyer's report on a musical mission to Germany which he had undertaken in 1863 at the request of the French Minister of State. After being received by the Minister, the report was serialized in the feuilleton of the government-controlled newspaper Le Moniteur universel during the winter of 1864-65, and was later reprinted in Reyer's Notes (pp. 21-159). Souvenirs and the other contributions to non-periodical literature on music are discussed in Chapter II (pp. 81-83), and are listed in Appendix B.

[20] The literary form known as the feuilleton, which survives to this day, is the part of a French newspaper devoted to criticism, and

usually appears across the bottom of the first page(s). It always bears a generic title--in the case of a feuilleton on music, the title is often "Revue musicale"--and it frequently has a descriptive subtitle(s). Thus, a feuilleton is a titled article presented in a distinctive format.

I have coined the term "letter-article" to denote any writing which, although addressed to a journalist or an editor, is of such length and substance that it is tantamount to an article. A precedent for the invention of this term is the publisher Hachette's use of the expression "lettre-préface" to designate the "lettre en guise de préface" which Reyer wrote for Henri Maréchal's Paris, souvenirs d'un musicien: 185 .-1870 (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1907), pp. v-xv.

21 This total includes twenty-five writings which can, with virtual certainty, be attributed to Reyer (see Chapter II, p. 81). It does not include the following: published letters addressed to editors or journalists but not pertaining to Reyer's work as critic; personal letters published either duirng his lifetime or after his death; and Souvenirs d'Allemagne as well as the other contributions to non-periodical literature (although most of these items found their way into periodicals and newspapers, as indicated in Appendix B).

22 See Chapter II, n. 49.

23 H. Robert Cohen surveys the literature on Berlioz as critic in Chapter I of "Berlioz on the Opéra (1829-1849): A Study in Music Criticism" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1973), pp. 5-22.

24 Jullien, Reyer, pp. 91-111.

25 Henriot's preface and appendix comprise respectively pp. i-xix and 401-29 of Quarante.

26 JD feuilleton of 2 December 1866; quoted in ibid., pp. vi-x.

27 Henriot's appendix--a bibliography of Reyer's feuilletons for the Courrier and the Débats--is incomplete and pitted with typographical errors. The appendix, the preface, and Henriot's role in the preparation of Quarante, are discussed in Chapter II of this dissertation (pp. 101-2).

28 See the following reviews of Quarante: Jullien in the JD feuilleton of 14 November 1909; Servières in Bulletin français de la S.I.M. 5 (15 December 1909):1052-53; "Reyer critique," Le Monde musical 21 (30 December 1909):252-53; Curzon in Le Guide musical 56 (2 January 1910): 18-19; and Emile Vuillermoz, "Le Rescapé," Les Marges 5 (January-June 1910):60-66.

29 Brenet, "Feuilletons," pp. 54-57.

30 "Ernest Reyer: sa vie, ses oeuvres," La Nouvelle Revue 45 (July-August 1923):97-112, 241-58, 339-52; (September-October 1923):61-70, 159-72, 250-59, 343-56; and 46 (November-December 1923):38-48 and 130-42. The last two instalments of Curzon's study are subtitled "L'Ecrivain, le critique: 1850-1898."

31 Cited above, n. 6.

32 This is true of even the two best surveys of Reyer's life and works: Camille le Senne's "Période contemporaine: Ernest Reyer (1823-1909)," in EMDC I, 3:1723-28; and NG, s.v. "Reyer [Rey], (Louis-Etienne-)Ernest," by Hugh Macdonald, p. 783.

33 See the subsection "Reyer, chroniqueur musical," of the chapter "Reyer" in Adolphe Boschot's Chez les musiciens (du xviii^{e} siècle à nos jours), 3 vols. (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, [1922-26]), 2:99-107; and "Ernest Reyer" in Pierre Lalo's posthumous compilation De Rameau à Ravel: portraits et souvenirs, with a Preface by Gustave Samazeuilh (Paris: Editions Albin Michel, 1947), pp. 83-93. Lalo's few paragraphs on Reyer the critic highlight writings concerning late nineteenth-century French composers--including Lalo's father, the composer Edouard Lalo. Boschot's appraisal is slanted from a different angle: he concentrates on Reyer's writings on Wagner.

The two books which include chapters on Reyer but make no attempt to assess his work as critic need only be cited: Boschot, Portraits de musiciens, 3 vols. (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1946-50), 1:78-84; and Paul Landormy, La Musique française de Franck à Debussy, 10th ed. (Paris: Gallimard, 1943), pp. 128-32.

34 This time, Boschot merely alludes to Reyer's enthusiasm for Wagner, and focuses instead on the critic's efforts on behalf of Berlioz. The speech was published as Institut de France. Académie des Beaux-Arts. Inauguration du monument d'Ernest Reyer à Marseille, le 16 décembre 1934 (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1934). It was reprinted in Boschot's Maîtres d'hier et de jadis (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1944), pp. 90-97.

35 Henriot, preface to Quarante, p. ii.

36 H. Robert Cohen, "Musical Iconography in the Nineteenth-Century French Illustrated Press: A Method for Cataloguing and Indexing," in Report of the Twelfth Congress of the International Musicological Society, ed. Daniel Heartz and Bonnie Wade (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1981), p. 838.

37 Balsan de la Rouvière, "Ernest Reyer (1823-1909)," Musica 8 (March 1909):36.

38 The only exception to this rule is obvious typographical errors, which have been corrected without further commentary.

CHAPTER I

ERNEST REYER: THE MAN AND HIS WORKS

Biography

Childhood and Youth

Ernest Reyer[1] was born on 1 December 1823, the only child of a notary of Marseille. His musical training began at the age of six, when he was enrolled in the free municipal school of music. Despite his obvious musical gifts, his parents, who were determined that he should not pursue a career as a musician, sent him at the age of sixteen to Algiers to work with an uncle in a government financial office.

The fledgling civil servant paid scant attention to his duties, and instead composed--without the benefit of instruction--a number of small works as well as a Mass in honor of the visit of the French governor-general of Algeria in 1847. The favorable reception of this Mass may have been responsible for Reyer's decision to defy the wishes of his family by embarking for Paris in order to pursue a musical career.

After he arrived in Paris in the wake of the revolution of 1848, the twenty-five-year-old Reyer contacted his aunt, the celebrated pianist and composer Louise Farrenc.[2] She and her husband, Aristide, a flutist and ardent researcher into early music, took the young man under their wing. Mme Farrenc assumed charge of his musical studies, familiarizing him with the works of the classical masters, which became models for the budding composer.

Reyer studied diligently with Louise Farrenc for two years, and, in later life, proudly acknowledged her as his sole teacher.[3] While under the tutelage of his aunt, Reyer supported himself by providing publishers with waltzes, polkas, quadrilles, and romances, and by notating the melodies which the poet Pierre Dupont dictated for his chansons.[4]

Reyer's kinship with the Farrencs was an invaluable introduction to the soirées and matinées musicales of the pianist and pedagogue Marmontel and others who, like the Farrencs, cultivated the music of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and earlier composers. Equally important was the young Reyer's association with a number of poets and writers, including Théophile Gautier, Heinrich Heine, Charles Baudelaire, Maxime du Camp, Camille du Locle, Gustave Flaubert, and Louis de Cormenin, as well as a fellow-Marseillais, Méry. Some of these littérateurs later collaborated with Reyer on several of his major works.

Shortly after his arrival in Paris, Reyer moved into a small apartment on the rue de la Tour d'Auvergne. Through such friends as Méry and Gautier he soon became acquainted with another figure who was prominent in Parisian literary and artistic circles: Hector Berlioz. The two men became neighbours in 1856, when Berlioz moved to the rue de Calais. He frequently visited Reyer's tiny apartment, and they formed a deep friendship that was destined to last until Berlioz's death in 1869.

Reyer the Composer

From "Le Sélam" to "La Statue" (1850-1863)

The 1850s and the early 1860s witnessed the first flowering of Reyer's career as a composer. His principal works of this period were:

Le Sélam (1850), subtitled "symphonie orientale en quatre parties" and scored for soloists, chorus, and orchestra; an opera, Erostrate (1852); an opéra comique, Maître Wolfram (1854); a ballet, Sacountalâ (1858); and a second opéra comique, La Statue (1859).[5] A sixth work, the opera Sigurd, was begun in 1862 and nearly completed by 1866, but was not finished until it was accepted nearly two decades later by the Théâtre de la Monnaie in Brussels. In 1862 Reyer also began thinking of a seventh project: an opera based on Salammbô, his friend Flaubert's colorful novel of ancient Carthage. This opera would remain in gestation even longer than Sigurd.[6]

Financial assistance from relatives and friends enabled the young composer to present himself to the Parisian public by renting the Théâtre-Italien for the premiere of Le Sélam on 5 April 1850. This fashionably oriental work launched his career, for the reactions of both the public and members of the press--including Berlioz--were favorable,[7] and it was presented at several later concerts in the capital. The success of Le Sélam was soon followed by that of the opéra comique Maître Wolfram, with which Reyer made his debut as a composer for the lyric theatre. This one-act work, premiered at the Théâtre-Lyrique in 1854, remained in the repertoire for three years.

Although Erostrate was composed before Maître Wolfram, it was not produced until many years later. It was accepted by the Lyrique in 1852, but the unusual subject--the legend of how the Venus de Milo lost her arms--evoked such misgivings on the part of the successive directors that even the popularity of Maître Wolfram did not persuade them to premiere the earlier work. The director of the Opéra, too, shied away

from Erostrate. At the suggestion of Berlioz, Reyer eventually took his score to Baden-Baden, the internationally famous German resort where the cream of European society enjoyed musical performances by celebrated artists from all over the Continent. Edouard Bénazet, the wealthy owner of the casino at Baden-Baden, had built a theatre which was to be inaugurated in the summer of 1862 with a new opéra comique commissioned from Berlioz, and the music-loving impresario gladly agreed to present Erostrate as part of the festivities. Reyer himself conducted the premiere--performed by a brilliant cast--on 21 August 1862, two weeks after the opening of the theatre with Berlioz's Béatrice et Bénédict. Like the latter work, Reyer's opera was hailed as a triumph; indeed, one distinguished member of the audience, Queen Augusta of Prussia, was so impressed that she later decorated Reyer with the Prussian Cross of the Knight of the Red Eagle.

In the meantime, Reyer had made a successful debut at the Opéra with the ballet Sacountalâ, another piece of orientalia. This work, based on Gautier's adaptation of a Sanskrit play, had been commissioned by the director of the Opéra as compensation for his rejection of Erostrate. The great Amalia Ferraris danced the title role when the ballet was premiered in 1858, and it might have become part of the repertoire had the performances not been cut short by Ferraris's departure for Saint Petersburg. Sacountalâ was nevertheless a coup for the thirty-four-year-old Reyer, because it signalled his acceptance at France's most prestigious lyric theatre.

Reyer's success at the Opéra probably helped prompt the new director of the Lyrique, Léon Carvalho, to try to win back the young composer

with a libretto by Michel Carré and Jules Barbier, who had already made their reputations as joint authors of librettos for celebrated works by Gounod and Ambroise Thomas. Carré and Barbier had based their latest operatic poem on a play drawn from the 1,001 Nights, and Reyer, always attracted by an oriental subject, accepted it with alacrity. Carvalho announced in 1859 that the Lyrique would soon present a new work by the composer of Sacountalâ,[8] but the very next year the directorship passed to Charles Réty, who found himself in financial distress and therefore was in no hurry to honor his predecessor's commitment to Reyer. The latter finally obtained an injunction from the Société des auteurs compelling Réty to put the work--tentatively entitled Les Ruines de Balbek --into rehearsal. It was at last premiered as La Statue on 11 April 1861, and was highly acclaimed, remaining in the repertoire after Carvalho returned as director in 1862.

Thus, by the early 1860's Reyer's music had established him as a minor celebrity in the capital, and had prompted Berlioz to refer to him as a "jeune maître."[9] Reyer's growing reputation earned official recognition in France: on 15 August 1862, in the midst of La Statue's success at the Lyrique and a few days before the premiere of Erostrate at Baden-Baden, he was named a Chevalier of the Légion d'honneur.

After such a promising beginning, Reyer's career suddenly took a turn for the worse in Paris. Carvalho, preoccupied with new projects, allowed the quality of the production of La Statue to deteriorate so drastically that in 1863 Reyer sued to stop the performances, even though the work was still making a profit. It had by then been presented fifty-nine times, which--in a musical world dominated by established

figures such as Meyerbeer, Auber, and Adolphe Adam--constituted a remarkable run for an opera by a young French composer.[10]

Years of ostracism from Parisian lyric theatres (1863-1885)

For nearly a quarter-century after he halted Carvalho's production of La Statue, the doors of the lyric theatres of Paris were virtually closed to Reyer.[11] This long ostracism seems to have been due to a combination of three factors. The fate of La Statue must have made directors hesitant to mount Reyer's operas for fear that the composer would take legal action to stop a production if it did not meet his high standards. Furthermore, Reyer's friendship with Berlioz and his openly expressed admiration for the music of Wagner had given him the reputation of holding so-called "advanced" ideas concerning dramatic music, and he may have been to some extent a victim of "the distrust that existed at that period against all [such] musicians."[12] Finally, the subjects of Erostrate and Sigurd were novel in mid-century Paris, and both operas were therefore regarded with suspicion by the directors of the lyric theatres.

The subject of Sigurd had been proposed by Reyer's friend Alfred Blau after he had read Laveleye's French translation of the Nibelungenlied. The composer had immediately been attracted by the mythological hero, and in 1862 had received from Blau a very complete scenario based on both the Nibelungenlied and the Scandinavian Edda--which were the sources Wagner had been using for the Ring, as Blau may have known.[13] The task of versifying and adapting Blau's scenario for the lyric theatre had been given to the poet Camille du Locle, who happened to be a

nephew of Emile Perrin, director of the Opéra. Reyer "avait travaillé d'abord d'arrache-pied sur ce poème,"[14] and probably would have continued to do so had du Locle not proved to be a very slow worker. The extant correspondence between composer and librettist reveals that even in 1865 the versification was not finished, for Reyer was chiding: "Vous ne me dites pas un seul mot de Sigurd . . . Travaillez-vous? Si vous ne me réveillez pas de temps en temps, je finirai par m'endormir."[15] Du Locle must have responded to Reyer's prodding, because the next year Perrin announced that the first acts of Sigurd had been completed and that it would be premiered after Verdi's Don Carlos, another work for which du Locle--a friend of the Italian master--was one of the original librettists. Unfortunately, Perrin's announcement was followed by successive postponements of Sigurd.

As the years passed and Perrin kept postponing Sigurd while other Parisian directors ignored Reyer's early successes, he perhaps came to the conclusion that his prospect of making a living as a composer in Paris was growing dim. In any case, he composed very little between 1863 and the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War seven years later. Apart from Sigurd, which was still unfinished when the war began, the only compositions dating from these years are a mélodie, a piano piece, and a cantata which--as we shall see below--was commissioned for Baden-Baden.[16]

Since his compositions did not find an outlet in France after 1863, Reyer became more involved in the musical life of the German spa, where the success of Erostrate and the protection of Berlioz had placed him in a very pleasant situation. In the summer of 1863 the revival of

Berlioz's Béatrice et Bénédict was accompanied by the premiere of Reyer's Maître Wolfram, and two years later he was charged with the organizing and directing of an international concert such as Berlioz had presented each summer from 1852 until 1861. With Berlioz's help,[17] Reyer selected a program consisting of music by ten of the most illustrious contemporary composers of continental Europe and Russia, including Berlioz, Schumann, Wagner, Liszt, Rossini, and Glinka.[18] An excerpt from Reyer's Le Sélam and his cantata "Hymne du Rhin"--the latter commissioned for the concert--also figured on the program, and the cantata subsequently became popular with choral societies on both sides of the Rhine. At that moment, nothing presaged the war which would make a mockery of Reyer's celebration of "le Rhin, symbole de la paix!" and would abruptly end his career at Baden-Baden.

Early in 1870, Perrin solemnly promised Reyer that Sigurd would be premiered during the winter of 1870-71. The composer therefore left Paris on 19 June and went to his beloved Vosges Mountains in Lorraine, where, comfortably settled at a friend's farm, he planned to spend the summer completing Sigurd. However, both Reyer's goal of finishing this opera and Perrin's intention to begin rehearsing it during the fall were shattered by the outbreak of war between France and Germany on 19 July. Reyer fled to Blois, where he stayed with the family of Alfred Blau during the war and the Commune, which finally ended in May 1871.

Reyer's bitterness about the war led him to swear that he would never return to Germany, and he thus exiled himself from the country to which he had long felt drawn by his artistic preferences.[19] Having

renounced the possibility of furthering his career at Baden-Baden, he had no choice but to hope that his countrymen would accept his music.

After the disasters of the war and the Commune, Perrin was no longer director of the Opéra, and the artists of this institution--hastily gathered together by Halanzier, who was later appointed director--were anxious to find a work that would not be too costly to produce. The mounting of Sigurd was, therefore, out of the question, and Halanzier decided instead to present the two-act Erostrate, which had been so successful at Baden-Baden in 1862. Halanzier's production, first given on 16 October 1871, was a dismal failure, largely because the singers had obviously learned their parts in haste and the mise en scène was very inadequate.[20] The work was performed only twice.

After this grave disappointment, Reyer withdrew into what he may have intended to be a permanent retirement from composing for the lyric theatre. He knew that he need never be dependent upon musical composition for his livelihood, because, as we shall see, he had two steady sources of income: his salary as feuilletoniste for the Journal des Débats, and the annual stipend he received as the titular head of the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra. His combined income, although not large, enabled him to live modestly in his small apartment on the rue de la Tour d'Auvergne.

The Erostrate fiasco, like the affair over La Statue in the preceding decade, made Parisian directors extremely wary of Reyer's works. Sigurd was rejected by Halanzier, who was both scornful of the mythological subject and irritated by the composer's refusal to make excisions and other changes in his score. The only Parisian directors who risked

presenting any operas by Reyer during the 1870s were Camille du Locle--former collaborator on Sigurd--and Léon Carvalho. As successive leaders of the Opéra-Comique, they revived Maître Wolfram and La Statue, the two works by Reyer which had been most highly acclaimed in the French capital during the 1850s and the early 1860s. However, Carvalho revived La Statue not as an opéra comique, but rather as an opéra. Reyer had made the transformation in 1864, changing the spoken dialogue into recitatives for the premiere of the work at the Court Theatre of Weimar, and in 1878 he augmented this version for Carvalho by adding a ballet drawn from the long-forgotten Sacountalâ. Carvalho's production of the extended La Statue, like du Locle's revival of the original Maître Wolfram, was short-lived.[21]

During these years of discouragement, Reyer was fortunate that a few cultivated musicians supported him by offering fragments of Sigurd in concert. The first one who persistently championed this opera was Jules Pasdeloup, founder of the Concerts populaires and an early defender of two other controversial composers: Berlioz and Wagner. In 1873, 1874, and 1876, this eminent conductor presented a substantial fragment of Sigurd--the great scene of Brunehild's awakening--sung by some of the most celebrated artists of French lyric theatre. His efforts were well received, and soon he was no longer alone in championing Reyer's opera. During the later 1870s and the early 1880s the finest conductors in Paris, including Edouard Colonne and Charles Lamoureux, led excellent performances of excerpts from this work.[22]

It was Pasdeloup who, in addition to being the first to take up the cause of Sigurd, encouraged further efforts on the part of Reyer the

composer. In 1874 this conductor premiered Reyer's La Madeleine au désert, a concert scène for baritone and orchestra, composed to a text by Alfred Blau's cousin, Edouard.[23] The next year Pasdeloup asked Reyer to write an overture for Sigurd. This instrumental prelude, premiered on 14 March 1875, was very popular, and henceforth introduced many performances of fragments from the opera.

Apart from the scène and the overture, Reyer composed little during the 1870s and the early 1880s; indeed, the only other compositions completed during these years are a few mélodies.[24] He began working on Salammbô, but the uncertainty of the future of Sigurd discouraged him from devoting much attention to yet another undertaking for the lyric theatre. As previously noted, the idea of bringing Flaubert's Salammbô to the stage had been in Reyer's mind since 1862. Berlioz had recommended him for the project after Verdi, Flaubert's first choice, had rejected the author's scenario. Reyer had been given exclusive rights to the novel, but delays had ensued in the versification of the scenario, which had passed through various hands before being entrusted to Camille du Locle in the 1870s.[25] Only the first few pages of the score were complete when Flaubert died in 1880. Reyer later recalled: ". . . mon pauvre ami Flaubert était mort...[sic] Puis un découragement me prit; je cessai tout travail, jurant que je ne me remettrais à l'ouvrage que quand on aurait joué Sigurd. J'ai tenu parole."[26]

In 1883, when Vaucorbeil--Halanzier's successor as director of the Opéra--rejected Sigurd after merely hearing a reading of the libretto, Reyer took his score to the Théâtre de la Monnaie in Brussels, whose management was at that time considerably more adventurous than that of

the Opéra. The directors of the Monnaie, confident that the difficulties of the mise en scène could be overcome and that the work would be successful, spontaneously offered to mount Sigurd without demanding the deletion of material or changes of any other kind. Reyer, overjoyed that his dream of seeing Sigurd would finally be fulfilled, quickly finished the last act of his score. The premiere, on 7 January 1884, was a triumph for the composer and made a star of the young soprano, Mme Rose Caron, who created the role of Brunehild.[27]

The triumphs of "Sigurd" and "Salammbô" at Paris (1885-ca. 1900)

After the premiere at Brussels, Sigurd was acclaimed at London and Lyons, and the new co-directors of the Opéra--Ritt and Gailhard--felt embarrassed that their predecessor had rejected Reyer's work. They quickly took steps to bring it to the Opéra, but instead of treating the score with as much respect as it had been accorded at Brussels, they insisted on making "les plus folles coupures."[28] The premiere on 12 June 1885 was a success more for Mme Caron than for the work itself, not only because it had been drastically cut but also because the subject and the musical style made it "sensiblement différent"[29] from the operas to which the Parisian public was accustomed. Soon, however, audiences were as enraptured with Sigurd as they were with Mme Caron, and within two years it had been performed almost fifty times. Reyer's long ostracism from the lyric theatres of the French capital was finally ended.

Although the composer was so indignant at the excisions made by Ritt and Gailhard that he attended neither the premiere nor any of the later performances of this production of Sigurd, he was evidently

encouraged by the public's reaction, for he resumed work on Salammbô. It, too, was taken to the Monnaie--but only because Reyer was determined that the title role be sung by Mme Caron, who, after a dispute with the co-directors of the Opéra, returned to Brussels.

The premiere of Salammbô at the Monnaie on 1 February 1890 was such a resounding success that the Opéra immediately reengaged Mme Caron and won back Reyer by promising to revive Sigurd without any unauthorized excisions. This Parisian revival, mounted on 13 October 1890, was the true launching of the work. Its tremendous popularity was soon crowned by the hundredth presentation, given with great splendour on 31 December 1891--a gracious farewell gesture from Ritt and Gailhard, whose contract as co-directors of the Opéra expired that very night.

The departing Ritt and Gailhard were chagrined that a previous commitment had prevented them from staging Salammbô,[30] and their successors--Bertrand and Campocasso--therefore initiated negotiations to bring this work to the Opéra. The premiere, on 16 May 1892, was staged with an unprecedented richness of decors and costumes, and was another triumph for both Mme Caron and Reyer.[31]

Sigurd and Salammbô climaxed Reyer's career as a composer, bringing him official recognition as well as public acclaim. A Chevalier in France's Légion d'honneur since 1862, he was elevated to the rank of Commandeur in 1891 on the occasion of the Opéra's hundredth presentation of the revival of Sigurd. Reyer was also honored at Brussels: after the premiere of Sigurd in 1884 he was decorated with the Belgian Cross of Léopold. Until the turn of the century Sigurd and Salammbô enjoyed great favor with the public in both France and Belgium, and were

performed elsewhere on the Continent as well as in Cairo and in the United States.[32] Their appeal in France declined drastically as that of Wagner's music dramas increased, but both works remained in the active repertoire of the Paris Opéra until 1910, and each was occasionally revived during the next three decades. Sigurd and Salammbô did not finally leave the repertoire of this theatre until 1935 and 1943 respectively.[33]

Other works of the 1880s and 1890s

Salammbô was Reyer's last major undertaking as a composer, but it was not the only new work that appeared after the premiere of Sigurd at Brussels. He continued to write the occasional vocal piece, composing in 1884 a "chant diatonique" entitled "Tristesse," his first mélodie since 1875. The Parisian triumph of Salammbô in 1892 stimulated him to compose L'Homme, his second scène for voice and orchestra. This setting of a text by Georges Bouyer was premiered by the great bass Francisque Delmas at one of the Concerts Colonne. In 1896, Reyer--now in his early seventies--again took up his pen, this time to set three sonnets by his old friend and collaborator Camille du Locle. Of these three mélodies, Reyer published only one: "Le Dernier rendez-vous," which he dedicated to his favorite interpreter, Mme Caron.[34]

Reyer may have intended "Le Dernier rendez-vous" as a symbolic farewell, for there is no evidence that he composed anything further. However, in order to fool interviewers who asked whether he was planning any new musical compositions, Reyer claimed to be laboring over an opera entitled Le Capucin enchanté, "que je destine--m'en blâmera qui voudra--

au théâtre de Bayreuth."[35] Then he gleefully watched this madcap fabrication circulate in the French press.

Reyer the Critic

From 1850 to the mid-1860s

While Reyer was starting to make his name as a composer during the 1850s, he was also beginning what was destined to be a long career as a writer on music. There is considerable evidence[36] that, from 1850 until 1855, he served as musical "prompter" for his friend Gautier, tacitly collaborating with or ghostwriting for the poet when the latter was obliged to review musical performances for the feuilleton of La Presse. In 1852 Reyer began to publish articles under his own name, serving for several years as music critic for three journals of literature and the arts: the Revue de Paris, L'Athenaeum français, and the Revue française.[37]

Finally, in April 1857, Reyer became a feuilletoniste in his own right when he was hired as music critic for the newly-founded Courrier de Paris. To become a feuilletoniste for a daily newspaper was a milestone in the career of any critic, for it enabled him to reach the masses instead of the relatively few subscribers who supported a music journal. Reyer's "Chronique musicale" appeared regularly in the Courrier for nearly three years, until mid-November 1859. At that time, the directors evidently decided that they no longer wished to devote an entire feuilleton to music, and Reyer therefore left this newspaper.[38] Less than two months later--in January 1860--he again became critic for

a journal, La Gazette du Nord. He held this post until the cessation of publication at the end of June.

Between 1852 and 1860, Reyer not only wrote regularly for the Courrier and the aforementioned journals, but also contributed sporadically to a handful of other publications,[39] including two of the most influential music journals of nineteenth-century Paris: La France musicale and the Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris. Most of these writings were published in the former review, to which his uncle, Aristide Farrenc, was also a contributor during the 1850s.[40]

After La Gazette du Nord expired in mid-1860, there was a three-year hiatus in Reyer's activity as a music critic while he focused his attention on his career as a composer. He was evidently preoccupied first with preparations for the premiere of Erostrate at Baden-Baden, and then with legal wranglings over the fate of La Statue at the Lyrique. It was during this period, too, that he was working intensively on Sigurd.

It may well have been because of delays in the versification of Sigurd that, in the spring of 1863, Reyer felt free to accept an official charge from Count Walewski, the French Minister of State, to observe and report on the musical life of Germany. He visited Germany, Austria, and parts of what is now Italy, including the Tyrol, Lombardy, and Venetia. In the cities and even in the smallest principalities, he investigated theatres and all kinds of musical establishments; but he allowed himself to be tourist as well as musician, and the result was a narrative which not only informs but also glows with charming tableaux. This lively document, completed in 1864 and entitled

Souvenirs d'Allemagne, must have afforded Walewski's successor--Marshall Vaillant[41]--a welcome respite from weighty administrative reports. We can speculate that, when Vaillant later named Reyer head of the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, he did so as a gesture of respect both for Reyer's reputation as a composer and for the literary talent demonstrated in Souvenirs. Reyer's report was serialized in the feuilleton of the government-controlled Parisian newspaper Le Moniteur universel during the winter of 1864-65, thus bringing Reyer the writer to the attention of the general public for the first time since his tenure as feuilletoniste for the Courrier had ended.[42]

The "Débats" years (1866-1898)

When the sudden death of Joseph d'Ortigue in November 1866 left vacant the post of musical feuilletoniste of the Journal des Débats, one of the most prestigious of Parisian newspapers, many voices urged the director, Edouard Bertin, to appoint Reyer. Even without the support of such influential figures as Berlioz--d'Ortigue's predecessor[43]--and Gounod, Reyer would probably have been the logical choice, for he had been contributing to distinguished Parisian newspapers and periodicals almost continuously since 1852. His appointment to the Débats was the most significant event in his career as a critic, not only because it brought his writings to a wider audience than ever before, but also because his duties as feuilletoniste occupied most of his attention for the next thirty-two years.

Soon after he had accepted the Débats post, Reyer further increased his literary activity by embarking upon an endeavour which he had not

hitherto attempted: in 1868 he began assisting in the editing of the eminent Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris. He would continue to serve as one of its editors until publication ceased a dozen years later.[44]

During the 1860s the ostracism of Reyer's works from Parisian lyric theatres prompted him not only to resume activity as a critic and to begin a career as an editor, but also to take up the baton for the first time since the premiere of Erostrate at Baden-Baden. Now, however, his goal was to win acceptance not for his own music, but for that of the recently deceased Berlioz. Reyer's first opportunity to work toward this goal came within months of Berlioz's death in 1869, when the German pianist-conductor Henry Litolff--one of the late composer's friends--invited Reyer to appear as guest conductor at the inaugural concert of the Société des concerts de l'Opéra.[45] It was agreed that Reyer would conduct one excerpt fom his Le Sélam and three from Berlioz's La Damnation de Faust: "Marche hongroise" (Rákóczy March), "Ballet des Sylphes," and "Menuet des Follets." The decision to present the excerpts from Berlioz's work showed considerable audacity on the part of both Reyer and Litolff, for

> A cette époque, il n'était possible d'entendre à Paris quelques pages de Berlioz qu'aux Concerts populaires, et le plus souvent au milieu du bruit que le brave Pasdeloup s'efforçait en vain de dominer.[46]

Reyer must have demonstrated outstanding skill as a conductor, because this concert was the first at which the audience reacted favorably to excerpts from the Damnation. The reaction was, in fact, so enthusiastic that Reyer repeated all three excerpts at Litolff's second concert.[47]

These successes initiated a sudden vogue for the Damnation, and thus launched its spectacular career.

As we have seen, the 1870s and the early 1880s were frustrating years for Reyer the composer--years during which he created only a few concert pieces and mélodies. However, his career as a writer continued to thrive; he was still active as both an editor and a conductor; and he travelled a great deal.

Reyer's love of travel had already been manifested vividly in some of his feuilletons for the Courrier[48] and especially in Souvenirs d'Allemagne. He alluded many times to this wanderlust,[49] and the long ostracism of his works from Parisian lyric theatres afforded him time to indulge it.[50] Hence, several of his feuilletons for the Débats--as well as various letter-articles[51] which he dispatched to it--are delightful accounts of his journeys abroad. Some of these excursions were simply pleasure trips, but most were prompted by important cultural events, such as the world premiere of Aïda at Cairo, the celebration of the fifth Michelangelo Centenary at Florence, and one of the Handel Festivals held every few years at London. The vow Reyer had made after the Franco-Prussian War prevented him from going to Bayreuth, so he journeyed instead to centers outside Germany in order to hear Wagner's works: at Brussels he attended a performance of Der fliegende Holländer in French translation, and at London he listened to an excellent German company present Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg.[52]

Reyer travelled extensively not only outside France, but also within her borders. These domestic journeys became particularly frequent after 1880, when he accepted the post of Inspecteur général des Ecoles

de musique des départements, a lifetime appointment which required him to travel periodically to various centers in the French provinces in order to assess standards of musical education and, often, to serve as one of the judges for competitions.[53] It was in 1880, too, that he began taking an annual winter holiday in the south of France--usually at Monte Carlo, where he enjoyed performances of operas at the famous theatre. Like his foreign travels, many of his excursions to the French provinces and his holidays in the south furnished him with material for the Débats. For example, musical life at Monte Carlo is described in communications dispatched annually for fifteen years.[54]

Some of Reyer's feuilletons on his foreign and domestic travels were reprinted in his first compilation, which bears the humorous title Notes de musique (1875). The suggestion for the making of such a collection came from the publisher Georges Charpentier, who offered to present "une sélection de ses récits de voyages ou feuilletons de musique."[55] In fact, the volume consists almost equally of writings on travel and music: a section entitled "Voyages" includes Souvenirs d'Allemagne--comprising 140 pages--and four articles, while "Etudes et Portraits" brings together writings on a variety of subjects and persons. Notes de musique was received with so much enthusiasm by both the public and the press that it immediately underwent a second printing.[56]

A source of intense satisfaction to Reyer throughout the 1870s, when his own music was scarcely ever heard in Paris, was the increasing public interest in the music of his beloved Berlioz--an interest which, as previously noted, Reyer had helped initiate before the war. During the 1870s he continued to work as a critic on Berlioz's behalf. In

addition, he commemorated the first and tenth anniversaries of his friend's death by organizing and conducting two concerts which featured excerpts from Berlioz's operas, symphonies, and large choral works. Each concert was very successful and added considerable momentum to "the Berlioz revival in Paris in the 1870s."[57] At this time, most of the choral works and symphonies were performed in their entirety by Colonne and Pasdeloup, and La Prise de Troie was premiered in concert by these eminent conductors.

It was perhaps in recognition of his neglected efforts as composer and his distinguished work as both critic and conductor that, in 1876, Reyer received one of his country's supreme accolades: a seat in the Institut de France. He was elected on 11 November to the Académie des Beaux-Arts of the Institut, succeeding to the chair left vacant by the death of Félicien David and previously held by Berlioz.[58] The Académicien's costume worn by Reyer was that of Berlioz, who, shortly before his death, had given his faithful valet the prophetic instruction to present it to Reyer on the day when the latter would enter the Institut.

Throughout the 1870s and the early 1880s, Reyer was active not only as a writer on music, but also as an editor. He continued to serve as an editor of the Revue et Gazette musicale until its demise in 1880, and was one of the principal editors of La Renaissance musicale, founded in 1881. However, after publication of the latter ceased in October 1883 he did not undertake other editorial duties.

During the second half of the 1880s and the early 1890s, Reyer--although now in his sixties--continued to travel extensively in the French provinces and elsewhere on the Continent, dispatching colorful

communications to the Débats. He made several pleasure trips to various parts of France and Switzerland, and continued to take an annual winter holiday at Monte Carlo. He also remained a conscientious chronicler of important foreign cultural events, including the world premiere of Otello at Milan, and, at Brussels, the first performances of Die Walküre and Siegfried in French translation.[59] After these two premieres, Reyer continued for several years to go frequently "applaudir la Walküre ou Siegfried à Bruxelles,"[60] because the Paris Opéra did not open its doors to any of Wagner's music dramas until 1893, when the premiere of La Valkyrie caused a veritable sensation.[61]

While still very active as critic for the Débats, Reyer was called upon to lend his literary talent to the celebrations marking three special occasions: the dedication of a statue of Berlioz, the centennial of the founding of the Débats, and the inauguration of a monument to Berlioz. In 1886, Reyer was one of the Académiciens who presented speeches at the dedication of a statue of Berlioz at Paris. The next year, the journalists of the Débats honored its centenary with a series of essays published in a commemorative volume, and Reyer--as the music critic--contributed a history of this newspaper's musical feuilleton at the hands of Castil-Blaze, Berlioz, and d'Ortigue, his distinguished predecessors.[62] In 1890, Reyer was the key speaker at the unveiling of the Berlioz Monument at the composer's birthplace, La Côte Saint-André. Reyer's participation in this event--which occurred when he was at the peak of his fame as a composer and could therefore have pleaded commitments to his music and to the Débats--demonstrates that his reverence for Berlioz had not diminished with the passage of decades.[63] The

speech given at La Côte Saint-André would not be the last which Reyer would write in Berlioz's honor.

Reyer turned sixty-five in December 1888, and from then on his activity as music critic for the Débats gradually decreased as he took extended holidays in winter and summer. In 1893, the year of his seventieth birthday, he became semiretired, sharing the duties of feuilletoniste with Adolphe Jullien--experienced journalist, author of biographies of Wagner and Berlioz, and future author of the first monograph on Reyer. At the end of June 1898 the seventy-four-year-old Reyer retired, relinquishing his post to Jullien.[64]

Reyer's Last Decade

After his retirement from the Débats, Reyer remained in the capital for scarcely two or three months of each year. The bustle of turn-of-the-century Paris--with its bicycles, steam tramcars, and automobiles--was unnerving to the elderly man, and each summer he took refuge at Mouthier-Haute-Pierre, at the foot of the mountains in the province of Franche-Comté. He continued to spend the winter in the south of France, but not at Monte Carlo; instead, he rested at Lavandou, a Provençal fishing village he had "discovered" in 1897, the year before his retirement.[65]

The last decade of Reyer's life brought an outpouring of honors such as he had probably never dreamed of receiving. Even though he had always treated his appointment to the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra as an honorary title and had taken no interest in this library, a marble bust of him was erected there.[66] The French government accorded him further

recognition, elevating him in 1899 to the rank of Grand-Officier in the Légion d'honneur, and in July 1906 making him the fourth musician ever promoted to the highest rank, that of Grand-Croix.[67] This decoration, rarely bestowed upon any civilian, was presented to him by the President of France.

Reyer was fêted also by revivals of his works, three of which had been neglected for decades. The ill-fated Erostrate--never heard anywhere in France except in 1871, when Halanzier's disastrous production at the Opéra had been given only twice--was performed on 16 October 1899 as one of the events held in celebration of the twenty-fifth centenary of Reyer's native Marseille. In February 1902, Maître Wolfram was successfully staged at the Opéra-Comique for the first time since the short-lived revival at this theatre in the 1870s. The following year--Reyer's eightieth--brought him what must have been an even more satisfying musical tribute: the director of the Opéra, Gailhard, presented a "semaine Reyer." This consisted of consecutive performances of Salammbô, Sigurd, and the 1878 version of La Statue, the last-named played in five acts instead of five scenes in three acts. La Statue was yet another work which Reyer had probably despaired of seeing after it had been dropped by the Opéra-Comique.[68]

Although Reyer the composer had ceased activity after the completion of the setting of du Locle's sonnets in 1896, Reyer the writer on music remained productive--albeit sporadically--for another ten years. In fact, his major literary endeavours after retirement from the Débats in 1898 date from the period 1903 to 1906, when he was in his early eighties. As honorary president of the Berlioz Centenary celebrations

in 1903, Reyer wrote both a speech for presentation at the unveiling of the Berlioz Monument at Grenoble, and an article on Berlioz's last years.[69] In 1904, when a committee was formed to raise funds for the erection of a monument to Benjamin Godard, Reyer was called upon to open the subscription by writing a tribute to the composer for whom he had been, in the words of the editors of Le Figaro, "le protecteur bienveillant et l'ami."[70] Two years later, the aged critic was again requested to take up his pen on behalf of an old friend. This time, the request came from the friend himself, the composer Henri Maréchal, who wanted a preface for a forthcoming book of reminiscences. Reyer's "lettre en guise de préface"--dated "9 décembre 1906,"[71] shortly after his eighty-third birthday--is evidently his last effort as a writer on music.

Reyer had promised in the preface to his 1875 compilation Notes de musique that, if it was successful, he would prepare a second collection, but, despite the popularity and the critical acclaim of Notes, the promised volume had not appeared. When Reyer was nearing the end of his life, Emile Henriot, the son of a close friend, persistently offered to make the long-awaited compilation, and Reyer finally gave his consent--on condition that he not be asked to do anything except look at the proofs for the sake of determining the order in which the selections should appear. Unfortunately, he did not live to see the proofs. The writings selected by the young Henriot were given the title Quarante ans de musique and were published posthumously in 1909. Henriot's efforts as compiler left much to be desired, but critics were delighted that more of Reyer's writings were made readily available.[72]

The death of the eighty-five-year-old Reyer at his beloved Lavandou on 15 January 1909 was mourned as a great loss to French music. After a quiet service at Lavandou on the seventeenth, his body was taken to Marseille for burial. The funeral held at his native city on the eighteenth had all the pomp deemed suitable for a man who had long been recognized as one of the greatest sons of Marseille.[73] Reyer was survived by his wife--whom he had married when he was past eighty--and their daughter, Ernestine Rey-Reyer.[74]

Reyer's memory was honored on several occasions. To mark the thirty-fifth anniversary of his election to the Institut (11 November 1911), a tribute was read by the secretary of the Académie des Beaux-Arts.[75] In 1920, the thirty-fifth anniversary of the Parisian premiere of Sigurd was commemorated by a "'Salut' Ernest Reyer" at--appropriately--a performance of the concert society bearing the name of Pasdeloup, the conductor who had championed this work during the 1870s.[76] The centenary of Reyer's birth, 1 December 1923, was celebrated at both Paris and Marseille: Sigurd was revived at the Opéra, and various musical events were held at Reyer's native city.[77] In 1934, the twenty-fifth anniversary of Reyer's death was marked by another revival of Sigurd at the Opéra,[78] and the city of Marseille paid a final tribute to her distinguished son by inaugurating a Reyer Monument.[79]

Reyer the Man

Newspapers and periodical publications of the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century French press yield litle information about Reyer the man, for he was a shy person who avoided publicity even after the

triumphs of Sigurd and Salammbô. As we have seen, he slyly made fun of interviewers by telling them that he was laboring over a new opera, Le Capucin enchanté--one of several charming mystifications he always had at hand for his inquisitors. The best indication of his attitude toward efforts to probe into his life is a witty description of an interview that took place after the Parisian premiere of Salammbô.

> L'interview, c'est le suprême honneur et la suprême joie. Comment faisait-on pour s'en passer jadis? Car je vous demande un peu quel plaisir peut prendre le public à écouter l'oeuvre d'un compositeur, si on ne lui dit pas avec quelle drogue il se purge et comment il a le nez fait.
>
> Le coup de sonnette de l'interviewer est énergique, impérieux. On voit que celui qui sonne ainsi a conscience de l'importance de sa mission. . . . A peine entré, il promène des regards curieux et investigateurs autour de lui: il prend des notes. Tel un homme de loi fait un inventaire après un décès. Puis viennent des questions dont on se montre tant soit peu surpris mais auxquelles il faut répondre: "A quelle heure vous levez-vous? Avez-vous bon appétit? Composez-vous assis, couché ou debout? Aimez-vous la peinture?... [sic]" Oui, je l'aime, et je crois être un des rares musiciens qui distinguent à première vue un Vélasquez d'un Sassoferrato. . . . ["]Avez-vous quelque chose sur le chantier? -- Mais je n'ai même pas de chantier. -- On m'avait dit pourtant que vous travailliez à un nouvel ouvrage: le Capucin enchanté?....." -- Décidément ces gens-là savent tout, et on ne peut rien leur cacher. D'autres questions se succèdent; je vous en fais grâce et j'arrive à celle-ci: c'est le bouquet: -- "Aimeriez-vous mieux être mis en terre ou crémé?"
>
> J'ai demandé vingt-quatre heures pour réfléchir. . . . Vous croyez peut-être que j'invente? Détrompez-vous, j'ai dit l'exacte vérité. Cette fois-là, j'étais à table et la fourchette m'en tomba des mains.[80]

Since the information given by Reyer to interviewers cannot be trusted, we must turn to other sources: his extant letters, which number 269 in the collection of the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra alone;[81] reminiscences by friends and acquaintances; and the biographies by Adolphe

Jullien and Henri de Curzon, two of his close friends. These writings paint a portrait of a man who, in his youth, was vivacious and amusing, a favorite at informal gatherings of writers, artists, and fellow-musicians. He was evidently prized not merely because of his wit, but also because of his capacity for friendship; the young Reyer was, in fact, on friendly terms with "la plupart des gens de lettres et des artistes de l'époque."[82] His friendships with many of them--including Gautier, Cormenin, du Camp, Flaubert, and du Locle, as well as Berlioz and Bizet--would prove to be lifelong.

Reyer formed particularly close friendships with Gautier and Berlioz. One of Gautier's contemporaries related that he would keep his friend hours after dinner in order to enjoy a "tournoi d'esprit" and to hear the young man's latest compositions. The evening would pass so quickly for these two friends that Reyer would discover he had missed the last omnibus home, whereupon Gautier would make up a bed for him. The next morning the poet would urge his friend to stay just a little longer, "et cela dura ainsi plusieurs jours."[83] As we shall see in Chapter VII, Reyer became one of Berlioz's intimates, remaining a faithful companion during the master's painful last years. Reyer often recalled the evenings spent with Berlioz and their mutual friend, Théodore Ritter, either at Berlioz's home or at the tiny apartment Reyer had occupied ever since his arrival at Paris in 1848. The three men would read one of Gluck's scores at the piano, singing the vocal parts "avec des voix qu'on ne paierait certainement pas cinquante mille francs par an dans un théâtre";[84] or, Berlioz and Reyer would listen to Ritter play fragments of Berlioz's works. Reyer so cherished these memories that,

as he once explained to Edouard Lalo's son, he could never bring himself to leave his small apartment.

> Pourquoi le quitter? J'y ai mes habitudes. Puis Berlioz qui était mon voisin, rue de Calais, y est venu souvent. Je l'y revois un peu partout: tenez, dans ce vieux fauteuil où vous voilà. Ailleurs, il me semble que je ne le reverrais jamais plus.[85]

How did this warm-hearted man react to the twenty-three-year neglect of his music in Paris? Inevitably he became embittered, as we can tell from the acerbic closing remark in the brief preface to Notes de musique: "Aujourd'hui plus que jamais les musiciens ont des loisirs pour faire autre chose que de la musique."[86] The lively wit which had always characterized his conversation became more ironic and sarcastic than it had been during his youth. An incident that occurred during his attempt to persuade the Opéra's Halanzier to accept Sigurd exemplifies his redoubtable repartee. The director objected that the names of the characters sounded barbaric: "Hilda!...[sic] Vous en tenez décidément pour les noms baroques... Bilda ferait beaucoup mieux," to which Reyer retorted, "Dites donc, est-ce que je vous appelle Balanzier?"[87]

Reyer's independence, which had been strikingly manifested in 1848 by his going to Paris in defiance of his family's wishes, was another trait which became more marked during the decades when his music was neglected. He lived and worked quietly in his tiny apartment, turning down invitations to formal dinners and attending only small gatherings, such as a morning reception in honor of his beloved Berlioz or a party given by Edouard Lalo. He had relatively few close friends: Gautier, Berlioz, Ritter, Bizet, and, later, Mme Caron, the composers Edouard

Lalo, Ernest Guiraud, and Benjamin Godard, and the critics Henri de Curzon and Adolphe Jullien, as well as the illustrator Henriot and his son, Emile, who eventually made the second compilation of Reyer's writings. Sunday was set aside for these friends, and would find Reyer either at the dinner table of one of them or entertaining two or three in his apartment--three at most, because his little square table could barely accommodate four places. On other days he led a solitary existence. Even Curzon remarked on

> sa farouche indépendance. Lorsqu'on venait le voir, on sentait une double impression, bien curieuse: il était furieux de la visite, et enchanté de vous voir. Son regard, sa poignée de mains repoussaient et attiraient à la fois... Mais cela passait vite; et alors, quelles attachantes conversations![88]

As Curzon indicated, the gruff and independent exterior that characterized Reyer during the long period of musical ostracism protected a spirit that remained kind and affectionate. The best proof of this is the support he gave fellow-composers during his tenure as musical feuilletoniste of the Débats. Saint-Saëns, Massenet, Bizet, Franck, Lalo, and Chabrier--to name but a few--were much indebted to his fraternal encouragement, especially during the early years of their careers. Reyer's generous attitude toward his colleagues testifies all the more eloquently to his "fermeté de caractère et . . . générosité de coeur"[89] when we remember that his own efforts as a composer were largely ignored while he watched many of his contemporaries and juniors become famous. Massenet, for example, created a sensation with his oratorio Marie-Magdeleine (1873); he made a successful debut at the Opéra with Le Roi de Lahore in 1877, when he was only thirty-five; and Manon (1884) made

him "unquestionably . . . France's most popular opera composer, a position that was hardly challenged for the next twenty years."[90] Reyer must have envied Massenet's early and lasting success, but he never allowed any such feeling to taint his writings. We have only to read his reviews of Marie-Magdeleine, Manon, and the later Werther (1894), to appreciate the sincere and warm praise with which he greeted Massenet's best works.[91]

Although Reyer's musical creativity was stimulated by the eventual triumph of Sigurd, his character was not changed: the gruff exterior remained intact, as did the generous heart. Charles-Marie Widor, a distinguished organist-composer who knew Reyer during the years when Sigurd and Salammbô carried him to the peak of his fame, made a delightfully candid sketch of the celebrity who continued to live modestly in his small apartment:

> Quand on sonna à sa porte, quand il vous ouvrait lui-même, la rosette rouge [de la Légion d'honneur] au veston, sa pipe à la main, quand il vous faisait entrer dans ce cabinet qui n'avait d'autre ornement qu'un grand portrait de femme en costume oriental et une épée accrochée à la muraille, c'était évidemment en présence d'un vieux soldat d'Afrique que vous vous sentiez, et non d'un musicien illustre. -- Toutefois l'illusion durait peu; quelques mots échangés suffisaient à la dissiper: aviez-vous à lui recommander quelqu'un, à lui demander un service, tout aussitôt son regard se faisait tendre, l'homme semblait tout autre; plus rien d'autoritaire dans son attitude; ni raideur, ni pose; vous aviez devant vous un poète, un être délicat et sensible dont les joues se coloraient à la moindre émotion, un ami toujours prêt à vous obliger. Le grand portrait, c'était celui de Mme Caron dans Salammbô, offert à Reyer par [le peintre] Bonnat; l'épée, celle que portait Berlioz en costume de membre de l'Institut.[92]

After he retired from the Débats in 1898, Reyer passed the summers and winters comfortably installed at Mouthier-Haute-Pierre and Lavandou.

His crusty but kind-hearted nature endeared him to the locals at both of these retreats, and his prowess at dominos--a favorite pastime--became legendary among the fishermen at his beloved Lavandou. However, he did not forget his old friends in Paris. He corresponded frequently with Adolphe Jullien, and his brief sojourns in the capital were never complete without a visit to the headquarters of the Débats, where colleagues both old and new "se plaisaient à recueillir les propos toujours si amusants, d'une bonne humeur si mordante, qui tombaient de ses lèvres."[93]

The honors showered upon Reyer during his old age must have seemed all the sweeter because he had the good health to savor them. In fact, he enjoyed "[une] vieillesse robuste,"[94] and some of his friends were shocked out of their respectable senses when the octogenarian married a young woman who subsequently bore him a daughter. This union apparently did not last, for there is no reference to either wife or child in Reyer's correspondence, and he continued to spend most of his time at Mouthier-Haute-Pierre and Lavandou. As he had wished, this southerner ended his days in the south, succumbing at Lavandou to a sudden attack of pneumonia. His last moments were peaceful and confident: to a friend who came to see him he said simply, "J'espère . . ."[95]

Was Reyer hoping to be remembered as a composer, a critic, or both? Jullien, who was not only a close friend but also his co-worker and eventual successor at the Débats, tells us that Reyer did not care whether or not his critical writings were preserved.

> Mon illustre prédécesseur ne s'est jamais inquiété de ce que deviendraient les articles qui tombaient de sa plume et sa joie était si grande d'avoir fini sa tâche, chaque

> fois qu'il devait rédiger un feuilleton, qu'il ne se souciait guère d'y revenir ni de se donner la moindre peine afin d'en assurer la durée, en dehors du journal.[96]

Jullien supports his statement by calling attention to the circumstances surrounding the making of Reyer's two compilations. The first was begun at the suggestion of the publisher Charpentier and completed only with the help of Reyer's friend Blau; and thirty-three years later, when Reyer yielded to the "amicales instances" of Emile Henriot and authorized the preparation of a second collection, he stipulated "qu'il n'aurait à s'occuper de rien, sinon que de revoir en dernier lieu les épreuves, pour l'ordre qu'il conviendrait de donner au volume."[97] All of this suggests that Reyer did not desire to be remembered as a critic. Nevertheless, this man who evidently saw himself as a composer was not completely indifferent to the fate of his critical writings, because he kept and annotated his _feuilletons_ for both the _Courrier_ and the _Débats_. This collection, which he deposited in the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra sometime after retiring from the _Débats_, was utilized by Henriot in the making of the second compilation, but has since disappeared.[98]

Jullien's reference to "les articles qui tombaient de sa plume" indicates that the writing of prose was not toil for Reyer. The extant manuscripts--three _feuilletons_ for the _Débats_[99]--show, in fact, very few signs of literary struggle: only the occasional word or phrase is crossed out and rewritten. However, such obvious facility with words should not lead us to suppose that Reyer gave little preliminary consideration to his subjects. On the contrary, he must have done much reading and thinking before writing, because his articles contain many

allusions to and quotations from pertinent historical works, the writings of composers and their contemporaries, and articles in specialized reviews.[100] Reyer's quiet way of life--especially his resentment of unexpected visitors--strengthens our hypothesis that he concentrated on mental labors. It would seem that, by so doing, he was able to form a clear conception of what he wanted to write before attempting to put it on paper.

Did Reyer find the occupation of music critic enjoyable? His natural facility with words may have enabled him to take pleasure both in ghostwriting for Gautier and in contributing occasionally to various periodicals during the 1850s and after his retirement from the Débats. However, hired journalism, which occupied much of his time in the 1850s and was the center of his attention for four of the last five decades of his life, was perhaps more of a burden than a pleasure. For example, in 1894 we find him writing about his feuilleton for the Débats: ". . . voilà plus de vingt-cinq ans que je suis attelé à cette besogne."[101]

Why, then, did Reyer embark on a career as a music critic? Why did a man who hoped to be remembered as a composer undertake an activity which entailed countless hours of listening, and therefore sapped the time he could have devoted to composing? The main reason was probably that he could not make an adequate living from his compositions. Even though the major works brought out during the 1850s--Le Sélam, Maître Wolfram, and Sacountalâ--were well received by the Parisian public and warmly praised by the critics, none would have earned much money for the young composer. Profits from Le Sélam had to be used to repay the friends and relatives who had financed the premiere; Maître Wolfram ran

for a total of twenty-three performances, but was by no means a major success; and Sacountalâ, which disappeared after the twenty-fourth performance, remained unpublished, and any hopes for a revival were dashed when the sets were destroyed in a fire at the Opéra warehouse in 1861. Erostrate, which also dates from the 1850s, brought Reyer face-to-face with the difficulty of gaining a hearing for a work whose subject was different from the usual Parisian operatic fare; as we have seen, it was finally accepted not at Paris but at Baden-Baden--nine years after its completion. La Statue, too, had a troubled early history which must have heightened Reyer's awareness of the shabby treatment accorded unestablished composers in the world of Second-Empire lyric theatres.

Financial necessity may have been the main reason behind Reyer's decision to become a critic, but surely his associations with prominent Parisian writers and musicians would also have entered into this decision. His friendships with brilliant men of letters--men like Gautier, Baudelaire, Gérard de Nerval, Heine, and Flaubert--must have stimulated his innate literary gift, and ghostwriting for Gautier may have made him eager to develop it. His appointment as music critic of the Revue de Paris in 1852 was probably due to the influence of Gautier, one of the founders of this journal, and we can speculate that Reyer's other literary friends likewise helped open many doors to the young unknown. Reyer also had significant musical connections: he was both a nephew of the Farrencs, who were highly respected in Parisian musical circles, and a friend of Berlioz, the revered feuilletoniste for the Débats. Such allies must have facilitated his entry into the pages of of La France

musicale, the Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris, and, ultimately, the Débats.

We might also wonder why Reyer did not resign from the Débats and devote himself to composing when the triumph of Sigurd in 1885 ended the twenty-three-year ostracism of his works from Parisian lyric theatres. After all, he considered himself primarily a composer; he composed quickly and easily, "dans tout le feu de l'inspiration";[102] and he found writing a feuilleton a "besogne."[103] We should remember, however, that Reyer was in his early sixties when Sigurd was first acclaimed. At that stage in his life, he perhaps felt that his creativity as a composer would not last long enough to warrant relinquishing the security of the Débats post. Furthermore, as an astute observer of the French musical scene, he may have sensed that his success at Paris would scarcely be consolidated before it would be swept away by Wagner's long-suppressed operas and music dramas--works which Reyer had for many years championed as a critic. In any case, after the triumph of Sigurd his only major effort as a composer was the completion of Salammbô. His work as a critic, on the other hand, continued unabated for several years, even though he abandoned the corollary activities of editing and conducting. Thus, ironically, his career as a critic remained the focus of his activity when his music was at the height of its popularity in the French capital.

Reyer's Music

More than thirty years after Reyer's death, the critic Pierre Lalo --son of the composer--paid tribute to the man whose music, like that of

his father, had not won widespread popularity until its creator was in his sixties:

> Il a été l'un de ces artistes indépendants et solitaires pour qui je me sens une sympathie naturelle. Il n'est pas sorti du Conservatoire, il n'a pas concouru pour le prix de Rome; . . . il n'a rien eu de commun avec cette hiérarchie des fonctions officielles, grâce à quoi certains compositeurs parvinrent aux honneurs comme on avance dans les bureaux . . . . Les oeuvres de Reyer ont seuls fait sa renommée.[104]

The one time that this independent and solitary composer followed the lead of a popular figure was in 1850, when he was a young unknown wanting to make a name for himself in Paris. No doubt he was mindful of the tremendous success that the French public--long infatuated with orientalism in music--had accorded Félicien David's ode-symphonie Le Désert (1844), for he presented his recollections of Algeria in a work of the same genre, Le Sélam (Arabic for "bouquet").[105] Some critics accused Reyer of having copied David's work--a charge that was perhaps inevitable because of the similarities in both genre and subject matter. However, so astute an observer as Georges Servières has avowed that there was "aucune ressemblance entre le style de Félicien David et la musique de Reyer."[106] The young composer was probably inspired not by David's score per se but rather by the idea of writing a descriptive symphony evoking tableaux of oriental life. Reyer's experiences of living and travelling in North Africa[107] nourished a lifelong love of oriental subjects, manifested not only in Le Sélam but also in four of his six other major works: the ballet Sacountalâ, the opera Erostrate, the opéra comique La Statue, and Salammbô, his last opera.

What kind of operatic music was in vogue when Reyer was beginning his career as a composer? During the 1850s the grand operas of Meyerbeer were still the mainstay of the Opéra's repertoire; the Théâtre-Italien resounded with the virtuoso coloraturas of the works of Rossini, Bellini, and Donizetti; and the Opéra-Comique was relying on such long-established figures as Boïeldieu, Adolphe Adam, and Auber. In 1859 the success of Faust at the Théâtre-Lyrique made Gounod the foremost young French composer of the day, and throughout the 1860s he remained the favorite at this institution while the repertoires of the other three Parisian lyric theatres stagnated.

All of Reyer's major works--from Le Sélam (1850) to Salammbô (1890)--demonstrate that he chose as his principal models three masters whose music was scarcely ever heard in mid-century Paris: Gluck, Weber, and Berlioz. He often acknowledged his indebtedness to them, as in the following passage apropos of his second opéra comique:

> On a parlé de mon admiration pour Weber, pour Gluck, et pour Berlioz. Quelques-uns ont même ajouté que plus d'une page de la Statue portait des traces de cette admiration. Je ne le nie pas. En art on est toujours fils de quelqu'un et la recherche de la paternité n'est pas interdite.[108]

The musical connections between Reyer and his models are indeed apparent, although he insisted that

> Je les admire trop . . . dans les manifestations très différentes de leur génie, pour avoir l'audace de les imiter. Qu'il me reste dans l'esprit et au bout de la plume quelque chose de cette admiration, cela n'a rien que de très naturel. Mais eux-mêmes n'ont-ils rien gardé des maîtres dont ils procèdent et qu'ils ont le plus admiré?[109]

Many contemporary critics remarked on Reyer's concern for expressive lyric declamation; in the words of Louis de Fourcaud, "Ses drames attestent son souci de la justesse expressive de la déclamation."[110] It is in this conscientious musical attention to each literary phrase that we sense the influence of Gluck. One example cited in connection with this stylistic element is the opening of Act II of Sigurd, in which the prayers of the priests and of the High Priest are reminiscent of the great religious scenes in the operas of Gluck.[111] At the turn of the century a critic recalled how Parisian audiences had initially reacted to the directness of dramatic speech in this opera:

> A la première représentation . . . quelque étonnement se manifesta chez les auditeurs. . . . le public n'avait pas pris l'habitude des déclamations vivantes. . . . la véhémente entrée des guerriers, les belles phrases de Gunther, le récit de Hagen surprirent: on s'était désaccoutumé de tant d'ampleur et de vérité.[112]

The High Priest's invocation in Sigurd and some of the exclamations of Hamilcar and Narr'havas in Salammbô were later praised as attaining "des accents d'une intensité presque unique dans le répertoire lyrique français contemporain."[113]

According to Reyer's colleagues, his most Weberian scores are the opéras comiques Maître Wolfram and La Statue, both of which date from the 1850s, the first and most fertile decade in Reyer's creative life as a composer. Maître Wolfram is a one-act work with spoken dialogue and thus follows externally the classic pattern of opéra comique, but the melodic turns of phrase, the style of the accompaniment, and the orchestral coloring prompted one critic to pronounce Reyer "l'admirateur passionné et le disciple le plus fervent" of Weber, while another wrote:

"C'est la rêverie allemande dans toute sa grâce et dans toute sa sensibilité."[114] La Statue elicited similar comments. Berlioz, for example, found it imbued with "ce qui fait le charme principal des oeuvres de Weber, un sentiment profond, une originalité naturelle de mélodie, une harmonie colorée et une instrumentation énergique sans brutalités ni violences."[115] Nearly fifty years later, when La Statue was revived during the "semaine Reyer" at the Opéra, one critic observed: ". . . c'est au jardin d'Oberon qu'il a cueilli les fleurs dont le parfum embaumera les jolies inspirations de la Statue."[116] It is possible that Reyer was also influenced by Weber's early Singspiel Abu Hassan, for this minor classic received its Parisian premiere in 1859, the very year that Reyer was composing La Statue.

Reyer's colleagues perceived an indebtedness to Weber even in the two works which would prove to be the French composer's only major ventures outside the realm of opera: Le Sélam and Sacountalâ, both of which date from the 1850s. The second part of Le Sélam--"La Conjuration des Djinns," which depicts sorceresses chasing evil spirits from Arab dwellings--is, in the words of Servières, "conduite avec une verve fougueuse qui rappelle Weber."[117] According to contemporary reviews of Sacountalâ, some of the melodies in this oriental ballet are Weberian. The score of this work, incidentally, has never been published, and to this day remains in the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra.[118] Sacountalâ struck Berlioz as a refreshing change from currently fashionable ballet music.

> La partition du jeune maître n'est pas en effet de celles qu'on croit avoir entendues plusieurs centaines de fois. On y trouve au contraire un coloris de style particulier, une sonorité nouvelle. Son orchestre n'est pas l'éternel orchestre parisien; en l'écoutant, on se

> dit de prime abord: Ah! enfin voici un autre orchestre; ce n'est pas de l'instrumentation officielle; les timbres divers y sont ingénieusement mariés entre eux, les instrumens de percussion n'y sont pas des instrumens de persécution: ils ne vous y crèvent pas le tymban. Puis voici de piquantes hardiesses d'harmonie, de fraîches mélodies bien trouvées . . . tout cela est jeune et souriant, c'est vert, c'est fleuri. Dieu soit loué, nous sommes sortis de la cuisine, nous entrons dans le jardin; . . . respirons.[119]

In both Sigurd and Salammbô critics again heard Weber, although they found this influence less strong than in the works of the 1850s. Servières observed that, like "La Conjuration des Djinns" in Le Sélam, certain pages of the last two operas--such as Hilda's exultant "Il m'aime, il m'aime!" in Sigurd and "Des glaives, des flambeaux! Courage!" in Salammbô--have the fiery vigor of Weber's allegros.[120] However, as Patrick Smith has remarked,[121] Weber's imprint on Sigurd is most obvious in the scene in which the hero sounds a sacred horn three times, each time evoking a spectacular apparition. These pages owe much to the Wolf's Glen scene in Der Freischütz.

Like his predilection for Weber's music, Reyer's fondness for the works of Berlioz is manifested even in Le Sélam: the part entitled "La Dhossa," which depicts the pilgrims' return from Mecca, "donne lieu à un choeur à deux temps où l'on retrouve un souvenir de la Marche des Pèlerins d'Harold [en Italie]."[122] In Reyer's works of the later 1850s critics found no such reminiscences. However, we should point out that the orchestration in these scores--especially several deft touches in La Statue[123]--reveals that Reyer had learned much from Berlioz's "championing [of] the concept that instrumentation . . . offered a new dimension to the shape of operatic drama."[124]

French opera could not help but be influenced by the artistic and intellectual ferment caused by the gradual penetration of Wagner's music and doctrines into France during the last four decades of the century. Sigurd and especially Salammbô display stylistic features which link these works to Wagner as well as to two currents in nineteenth-century French opera: Gluckian tragédie lyrique, particularly as exemplified by Berlioz's Les Troyens; and the grand-opera tradition. Thus, like contemporaneous operas such as Lalo's Le Roi d'Ys,[125] Reyer's two large-scale works demonstrate that the process of stylistic synthesis is an important factor in French opera of this period.

Many features of the music of Sigurd--including the great trumpet-accompanied entrance of the hero in Act I and the set-pieces for huge choruses--are reminiscent of grand opera. There are also traces of two of Wagner's operas: the entrance of Sigurd is met with an ever-swelling chorus analogous to the one which greets the arrival of the hero in Lohengrin; and the elves' voluptuous dance in Act II of Sigurd suggests the seductive ballet in Tannhäuser. However, the strongest musical influence on Sigurd is, unquestionably, Les Troyens. As Patrick Smith has observed, "in many pages of the score the musical lines and modulations (particularly cadential ones) seem like copies of the Master";[126] an obvious example is Gunther's aria "O fils de Sigemon" in Act I. Both Smith and Servières have cited other similarities between Sigurd and Les Troyens.[127]

The plot of Sigurd closely resembles that of Act III of Wagner's Siegfried and parts of Götterdämmerung--a circumstance that should not surprise us, because, as previously indicated, Blau and du Locle drew

upon the same sources as did Wagner. Although Blau's "scénario, très complet du reste,"[128] was being versified by du Locle the year before Wagner published the poem of the Ring, we cannot dismiss the possibility that Blau had been influenced by Wagner's choice of sources. Whether or not du Locle completed the versification without ever seeing Wagner's poem is yet another question open to debate, because, as Smith points out, certain passages in the libretto of Sigurd--especially Brunehild's awakening--"sound suspiciously like . . . Wagner's poem."[129] Smith nevertheless pronounces the libretto "a solid job in the French Grand Opera tradition."[130] We should note, however, that both Smith and Reyer's biographer Jullien observe that the set-pieces are linked together more than in Meyerbeer's early operas, and that there are neither cavatinas nor strettos.[131]

Reyer's prominent use of reminiscence motifs in Sigurd was yet another feature which suggested to Parisian audiences that he as "un wagnérien"--an idea which the composer found ludicrous.

> Wagnérien, est-ce Dieu possible! . . . si l'emploi du motif conducteur est un des caractères principaux de la musique wagnérienne, est-il bien sûr pour cela que ce soit à Wagner qu'il faille attribuer le mérite de l'avoir inventé? Du reste, ce procédé si essentiel à l'unité, au développement et même à la compréhension du drame lyrique n'acquiert toute son importance, dans l'oeuvre du maître, qu'à partir de Tristan et Iseult. Or, . . . je n'en étais encore qu'à Lohengrin quand je me suis mis à travailler à Sigurd. Pendant mon séjour à Weimar [en 1863-64], j'avais, il est vrai, déchiffré au piano la partition de Tristan et Iseult; mais c'était pour moi de l'hébreu, du sanscrit, du malgache; je n'y comprenais absolument rien.[132]

There is indeed a difference between Reyer's use of recurring themes and the true leitmotivic process: his technique is in the style of Weber,

Meyerbeer, or early Wagner, in which the themes are varied minimally and through orchestration rather than symphonic elaboration. Other differences between the musical style of Sigurd and that of Wagnerian music drama are the retention of regular, "quadratic" periodic structures, and the comparative lack of chromaticism.

To our ears, the innovations in both the libretto and the music of Sigurd seem slight, but to the audience at the Parisian premiere in 1885 they sounded revolutionary, as one critic recalled on the occasion of the "semaine Reyer" at the Opéra in 1903.

> Nous ne pouvons qu'applaudir . . . en nous souvenant de l'enthousiasme que provoqua en 1885[,] chez les jeunes[,] l'apparition de Sigurd. On n'avait pas alors la possibilité de le comparer à . . . Siegfried[,] et l'oeuvre [de Reyer], telle qu'elle se présentait, brisait en certaines de ses parties le moule suranné de l'opéra ancien. . . . l'emploi, même fatigant, de certains motifs trop souvent répétés, semblait alors une nouveauté à nos oreilles lassées des sucreries et des banalités des cavatines et des romances conventionnelles.[133]

Like most French composers of the late nineteenth century, Reyer could not escape the influence of Wagner's music dramas: in Salammbô he virtually abandoned set-pieces in favor of lyric declamation and dialogue. However, specialists agree that here the resemblance to Wagner ends, and that Salammbô--like Sigurd--is more responsive to the tragédie lyrique and to Les Troyens than to the music dramas.[134] The subject matter is Wagnerian in that it concerns a conflict half religious and half racial, but the protagonists are conceived as ordinary human beings rather than symbols, and the drama therefore never touches the philosophical world of the Ring. The ceremony in the temple and the scene of the Council of Elders hearken back to Gluck, while the lyric declamation

and dialogue in the work as a whole have "a grandeur of line recalling Berlioz's Troyens."[135] Reyer uses many recurring motifs, but, like those in Sigurd, they are varied minimally and thus remain peripheral to the drama instead of helping to engender it in the manner of Wagner's symphonically developed leitmotifs. Furthermore, Reyer's harmony--unlike that of Wagner--contains very little chromaticism, except in the languorously dissonant love theme of Mathô.

Most critics regarded Salammbô as Reyer's masterpiece, and with good reason.[136] The orchestration of Sigurd is occasionally too powerful, and "l'uniformité des sonorités sourdes"[137] often produces an effect of monotony; the orchestration of Salammbô is more varied in color, with many delicate nuances and softer sonorities. The lyric declamation frequently achieves an immediacy such as we rarely hear in the earlier work: for example, within the last scene of Act IV, the melancholy of Salammbô, the furious curse of Mathô, and the majestic reply of Hamilcar have "une largeur, une force d'expression qui sont dignes des plus grands maîtres."[138] The more sophisticated orchestration and highly expressive declamation, complemented by the dramatic continuity of a libretto which does not rely upon the number-opera concept of design, make Salammbô a more convincing union of words and music than Sigurd. We can only regret that, largely because of the costliness of staging its "mise en scène matérielle extrêmement difficile,"[139] Salammbô never gained as secure a place in the repertoires of French lyric theatres as did Sigurd, and therefore did not become as well known.

Contemporary critics discerned many flaws in the technique of the largely self-taught Reyer.[140] They found that his harmonic vocabulary

lacked variety and was often awkward; that he had a penchant for successions of thirds and for static bass lines; that his orchestration, especially in Sigurd, was sometimes more loud than ingenious; and that he avoided developing his materials, a shortcoming evident particularly in the overtures to both Sigurd and Salammbô as well as in the many scenes of Sigurd which were unnecessarily lengthened by da capo repitions of arias and choruses. However, two twentieth-century connoisseurs--Patrick Smith and Max Loppert--express the opinion that Sigurd contains so much strong, melodious music that it must be ranked "amongst those 'difficult' works too uneven to rest with the highest, [but] in parts altogether too good to be ignored."[141] The last act of Sigurd--regarded as by far the best in this opera--contains what is said to be one of the finest numbers ever written by Reyer: Brunehild's scena "O palais radieux," in which she confesses her love for Sigurd and implores Odin to destroy her. Judging from the comments of Reyer's contemporaries, Salammbô, too, is distinguished by many brilliant and majestic pages.[142] Most highly praised are the nocturnal religious scene in the temple of Tanit--evidently another of Reyer's finest creations--and the scene of Salammbô's reverie, in which she sings "la page la plus poétique de l'opéra":[143] the cantilena "Qui me donnera, colombes, vos ailes?"

Another effort which does not deserve to be ignored is the opéra comique La Statue. Musicians who heard it at the Théâtre-Lyrique in the early 1860s seemed to sense that they were in the presence of a very unusual work. Berlioz said so in print, as we have seen; even the reactionary Scudo admired it; another critic, Franck-Marie, lauded the

orchestration; and Emile Perrin was particularly struck by the "grâce infinie" of "sa mélodie . . . il cherche la forme, mais il hait la formule, c'est-à-dire la forme convenue, dictée et prévue à l'avance."[144] Bizet regarded La Statue as the most remarkable musical offering that had been presented on a French stage for twenty or thirty years[145]--high praise for a work premiered only two years after Gounod's Faust.[146] Why, we might ask, was La Statue accorded lukewarm receptions when it was revived at the Opéra-Comique in 1878 and at the Opéra during the "semaine Reyer" in 1903? A possible answer is that these revivals presented the work not in its original form, but as an opéra, with an interpolated ballet and with recitatives replacing the spoken dialogue. These changes would have slowed the pace of a story that, to begin with, was disarmingly simple and naïve. If, as Arthur Pougin once suggested, La Statue were revived in its original form and on a stage whose size would not dwarf this little oriental parable, it might recapture its original success.[147]

Reyer's works are not major discoveries, but both La Statue and Salammbô might well be worth reviving, and Sigurd has "a majesty and a lyrical warmth in certain scenes."[148] It is paradoxical that Sigurd, the most Berliozian of Reyer's works, is the one which, according to his contemporaries,[149] broke the ground for the acceptance of Wagner's music dramas in France. It did so not only because of its perhaps unintentional similarity of subject with the Ring but also because of its musical substance, for--as previously noted--in this work the number-opera concept began to give way to a more sophisticated formal procedure in which the boundaries between the set-numbers were blurred, thus

creating a more continuous musical fabric. In the words of Paul Landormy,

> Il faut . . . être reconnaissant à Reyer d'avoir su marcher courageusement contre les plus détestable routines. Il commença d'habituer les oreilles françaises à la mélodie sans carrure, à la mélodie libre dans son nombre, dans son rythme. Il commença d'habituer notre esprit à l'enchaînement continue des scènes substitué aux compartiments étanches du vieil opéra: le drame lyrique était créé. Wagner, à vrai dire, l'avait conçu le premier. Mais Reyer n'en savait rien. Il agissait de son initiative personnelle. Il préparait ainsi, sans le savoir, les oreilles françaises à écouter Wagner.[150]

Let us not, however, view Reyer merely as a forerunner of Wagner, for he was a composer of some stature and his music is of interest in its own right. His principal works--Sigurd and Salammbô--reflect a very interesting period in French operatic history, inasmuch as they are syntheses of the tragédie lyrique of Gluck and Berlioz, Meyerbeerian grand opera, and Wagnerism, with the influence of Berlioz most dominant. Reyer's earlier works are more Weberian, but they owe much to the orchestrational innovations of Berlioz. Reyer should therefore be regarded as, above all, a disciple of Berlioz. Reyer himself acknowledged this allegiance in two of his speeches: "Berlioz n'a pas fait d'élèves; mais il a eu des disciples. Nous sommes de ceux-là."[151] Through Reyer, and through Gounod as well as Saint-Saëns, Berlioz's discoveries in the realm of orchestration "acted upon the French Impressionists from Fauré to Debussy."[152]

Endnotes

[1] His real name was Louis-Etienne-Ernest Rey. We do not know either when or why he adopted the name "Reyer." However, one of his biographers offers several plausible hypotheses; see Henri de Curzon, Ernest Reyer, sa vie et ses oeuvres (1823-1909) (Paris: Perrin, 1924), p. 13.

[2] Louise Farrenc, née Dumont, had been a piano student of Hummel and of Moscheles, and had studied harmony with Reicha. She was both a noted composer and an excellent teacher of piano. Her symphonies and chamber music were successful among the small circle of Parisian musicians who cultivated music outside the lyric theatres (see p. 15), and had even attracted the attention of Schumann. Her career as a teacher of one of the piano classes at the Conservatoire had begun in 1842, and would span thirty years. See Bea Friedland, Louise Farrenc, 1804-1875: Composer, Performer, Scholar, Studies in musicology, no. 32 (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1980).

[3] He also took pleasure in citing examples of her formative influence on other composers who had never set foot in a conservatory of music. See his review of the young Théodore Ritter's "Sonate en mi bémol pour deux pianos," RGMP 25 (8 August 1858):265.

[4] Published as Chants et chansons (poésie et musique) de Pierre Dupont [. . .], 3 vols. (Paris: A. Houssiaux, 1855-58; vols. 2 and 3 have imprint: Paris, Lécrivain et Toubon, 1858). The second volume is prefaced by Reyer's article "Pierre Dupont musicien," originally published in AthF 1 (21 August 1852):123-24 and reprinted in FM 16 (29 August 1852):284-86.

[5] The texts for four of these works were written by Reyer's literary friends: Gautier wrote the text for Le Sélam; the libretto of Erostrate was the work of Méry and Pacini; many littérateurs--notably Méry, Gautier, and Bocage--worked on the libretto of Maître Wolfram; and Gautier wrote the scenario of Sacountalâ.

A one-act opéra comique entitled Au port is listed amongst Reyer's works in The National Union Catalog: Pre-1956 Imprints, vol. 490, p. 683. This attribution is erroneous. Au port is Opus 1 of Jean-Etienne Rey (b. Toulouse, 3 August 1832), according to Franz Stieger's Opernlexicon, vol. 2: Componisten (Tützing: Hans Schneider, 1978), p. 919.

[6] During the 1850s and the early 1860s Reyer also composed a number of smaller works: mélodies, six motets, several choruses, and two cantatas. Most of the mélodies were published between 1853 and 1860; four appeared, together with extracts from Le Sélam and his early operas, in his first collection (1854). Reyer's Six motets religieux

were published in 1857. Three unpublished choruses--seemingly written for various popular celebrations--date from 1861 and 1862: "Choeur des assiégés," "Choeur des buveurs," and "Choeur des mendiants." A fourth unpublished chorus, "Chant des paysans," was composed for Victor Séjour's drama Les Volontaires de 1814 (performed in 1862). Curzon alludes to the existence of other "Choeurs, que leur caractère rattache . . . à des drames." (Reyer, p. 47.)

Reyer's first cantata was commissioned in 1859 for performance at the Opéra to celebrate the victories won at Cavriano and Solferino on 24 and 25 June. This cantata, entitled "Victoire!", was performed on 27 and 29 June between acts of La Favorite. A second cantata, "L'Union des arts," was composed for a ceremonial occasion at Marseille. The texts for both cantatas were written by Reyer's friend and fellow-Marseillais, Méry. Neither cantata was published.

[7] In his feuilleton for the JD of 13 April 1850, Berlioz applauded in particular the instrumentation of Le Sélam: "Je louerai M. Reyer de n'avoir employé qu'avec réserve les instrumens violens . . . Son orchestre est doux, rêveur, berceur autant que simple."

[8] See the announcement in the RGMP 26 (11 September 1859):305.

[9] JD feuilleton of 15 September 1858 (review of Sacountalâ).

[10] For a more detailed account of the history of La Statue at the Théâtre-Lyrique, see Albert Soubies, Histoire du Théâtre-Lyrique: 1851-1870 (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1899), pp. 31-32; and Curzon, Reyer, pp. 35-37. Curzon states that Réty had succeeded Carvalho in 1859; that date is erroneous, as is shown by the notice of Réty's succession in the RGMP 27 (8 April 1860):129-30.

[11] With the exception of three very short-lived revivals of Erostrate, La Statue, and Maître Wolfram in the 1870s (see pp. 22-23), Reyer's operas were ostracized until 1885.

[12] Arthur Hervey, Masters of French Music, Masters of contemporary music (London: Osgood, McIlvaine, & Co., 1894), p. 209.

[13] The librettist Alfred Blau (1827-1896) sometimes wrote under the pseudonym "Baül," a circumstance which suggests that he was of German extraction and/or was keenly interested in German culture. Born at Blois, he went to Paris to study law, but was instead drawn into the world of the theatre. After completing the scenario of Sigurd, Blau collaborated on two more librettos: Le Chanteur florentin (1866), which he and his first cousin--the librettist Edouard Blau--wrote for the composer Jules Duprato; and Esclarmonde (1889), written in collaboration with Louis de Grammont for Jules Massenet. Alfred Blau was also active as critic for several Parisian journals. See his obituary in the JD, 25 February 1896, p. 2.

It is possible that, by the time Blau had finished the scenario of Sigurd, he had visited Germany at least once; perhaps he was among the

many Parisians who vacationed at Baden-Baden and other popular German resorts during the peaceful decades preceding the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870. Blau might have heard about--or even have seen--the text of the Ring as early as 1853, when Wagner had had fifty copies printed for private circulation and, in mid-February, had read the text to an invited audience at the Hotel Baur au Lac in Zürich. There must have been much talk of the Ring by 1857, because Reyer's review of the Wiesbaden production of Tannhäuser had alluded to "rumeurs" that Wagner was working on an opera "de très longue haleine, puisqu'il ne faut pas moins de trois soirées pour l'exécuter en entier." (CP feuilleton of 30 September 1857.)

[14] Adolphe Jullien, Ernest Reyer, Les Musiciens célèbres (Paris: Henri Laurens, [1909]), p. 64.

[15] Ernest Reyer to Camille du Locle, 18 May 1865, L. A. S. Ernest Reyer 235, Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Paris. Excerpts from this and twelve other letters sent by Reyer to various persons have been published by Martial Teneo--a former bibliothécaire of the Opéra--in "Lettres inédites d'Ernest Reyer," La Revue bleue; revue politique et littéraire 60 (21 January and 4 February 1922):33-36 and 69-73.

[16] The cantata--Reyer's third and last--was published in 1865, as was the piano composition Marche tzigane. (The latter was eventually orchestrated by Reyer; this version was published in 1882.) The mélodie "Vieille chanson: Pourquoi ne m'aimez-vous?" appeared in 1869.

[17] According to Jacques Barzun, Berlioz and the Romantic Century, 3d ed., 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), 2:252. Barzun suggests that Berlioz himself had recommended Reyer for the job of organizing and conducting the concert (ibid., p. 257).

[18] France was represented by music of Berlioz, Gounod, and Meyerbeer; Germany, by works of Litolff and Schumann, as well as Wagner's prelude to Tristan und Isolde with the concert ending anticipating the heroine's transfiguration. Italy and Russia were represented by music of Rossini and Glinka respectively. The program also included Les Préludes by the Hungarian-born Liszt. For a review of the concert, see Fr. Schwab, "Courrier des Eaux: Bade," FM 29 (13 August 1865):256.

[19] After the war, Reyer never travelled to Germany proper, but in September 1873 he paid a final visit to Alsace and the Vosges Mountains, in order to bid a nostalgic farewell to these beautiful regions which France had been forced to cede to Germany. His journey was described in two feuilletons published in the JD of 20 and 21 September 1873, and later reprinted in his compilation Notes de musique (Paris: Charpentier, 1875), pp. 161-83.

[20] Two other elements contributed to the poor reception accorded this production: (1) Reyer had dedicated the score to Queen Augusta of Prussia, albeit nine years before the outbreak of the war; and (2) the

actress Agar, who had been involved in the Commune, declaimed a verse in the opera. The press in general was very severe in its treatment of both the composer and the work. An exception was Reyer's loyal friend Gautier, who did his best to cushion the fall of Erostrate; see his review in the Gazette de Paris, 23 October 1871.

21 Du Locle's revival of Maître Wolfram in December 1873 evidently attained only a moderate success, for it disappeared from the repertoire before the beginning of the next year. Carvalho's production of La Statue in the spring of 1878 ran for a mere ten performances before the director, wanting to appeal to the hordes of non-Parisians and foreigners who would throng to the French capital for the Universal Exposition, abruptly replaced it with a revival of Psyché by the popular Ambroise Thomas.

22 For details concerning the performances of excerpts from Sigurd see Curzon, Reyer, pp. 50-51.

23 The premiere took place at Pasdeloup's concert of 22 March 1874, with the celebrated baritone Jacques-Joseph-André Bouhy as soloist (Jullien, Reyer, p. 29).

24 "Hylas," to words by Camille du Locle, appeared in 1873. The publication of Reyer's second (and last) collection of songs--comprising eleven new mélodies and nine selections from his operas--dates from sometime before 1875, according to Curzon (Reyer, p. 237).

25 Flaubert's scenario had been given first to Gautier. When the ailing poet died in 1872, it was inherited by his son-in-law Catulle Mendès, but he, too, neglected it. Finally the impatient Flaubert consulted Reyer, who suggested that it be given to du Locle. Flaubert's scenario was eventually published by the Gautier scholar Vicomte de Spoëlberch de Lovenjoul, in Lundis d'un chercheur (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1894).

26 JD feuilleton of 29 May 1892.

27 The French dramatic soprano Rose Caron (1857-1930; née Rose-Lucille Meuniez), had entered the Paris Conservatoire in 1880 but had left in 1882 to study with Marie Sasse in Brussels. Reyer, who had heard Mme Caron in a festival he had directed at Lille, had recommended her to the directors of the Théâtre de la Monnaie, and it was there that she had made her debut as Alice in Robert le Diable (1884). We shall see that after her triumph as Brunehild in Sigurd she was acclaimed in this role at the Paris Opéra. Reyer revered her as his finest interpreter, and when he eventually resumed work on Salammbô he composed the title role "pour cette admirable artiste" (ibid.). She created this role with great success at Brussels and then at Paris (see p. 26; further information on the career of Mme Caron is given in Chapter IV, n. 41).

[28] Curzon, Reyer, p. 56. The making of excisions was a long-standing practice in French lyric theatres. Reyer, a sworn enemy of "le culte des coupures," became so exasperated by the demands of Ritt and Gailhard that he sarcastically made numerous deletions in the score. To his horror, his joke was taken seriously.

[29] Jullien, Reyer, p. 39.

[30] When they had revived Sigurd in October 1890, they had announced that they would also give the French premiere of Salammbô. However, they had been forced to honor an earlier agreement to mount Massenet's Le Mage as their new production for 1891, the last year of their contract. The premiere of Salammbô in France had taken place at Rouen on 22 November 1890.

[31] Less than a year later--at the end of March 1893--Reyer had the immense satisfaction of conducting the premiere of Salammbô at the Grand-Théâtre in his native Marseille; see Gustave Vapereau, Dictionnaire universel des contemporains, 6th ed. (1892), s.v. "Reyer (Louis-Etienne-Ernest Rey, dit)."

[32] After the premiere of Sigurd at Brussels, this work was performed not only at London and in France, but also at Milan (La Scala, 1894), St. Petersburg (1894), Geneva (1896), and Alexandria, Egypt (1901). Sigurd even made its way to North America: it was presented at Mexico City in 1897, and at two American cities--New Orleans and Philadelphia--during the 1890s. Excerpts from this opera were given in New York during that decade. Salammbô never became as well known outside Brussels and France as Sigurd, but, like the earlier work, was heard in both America and Egypt: Salammbô was premiered at New Orleans and at New York's Metropolitan Opera in 1900 and 1901 respectively, and at Cairo in 1901 (see LoewAO, cols. 1107 and 1137).

[33] A new production of Sigurd, mounted on 17 October 1934 to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of Reyer's death, remained in the repertoire for one year: it was performed for the 252d and last time on 18 October 1935. Salammbô, revived with new decors and mise en scène for the 175th performance on 3 June 1938, lingered for nearly five years: the 196th and last performance occurred on 26 February 1943. See Stéphane Wolff, L'Opéra au Palais Garnier (1875-1962), Discographie d'André Lejeune (Paris: déposé au journal L'Entr'acte, 1962), pp. 203 and 193. Sigurd is "still given on French stages" (LoewAO, col. 1107). In 1974 a studio performance of this opera--conducted by Manuel Rosenthal, with Guy Chauvet, Andréa Guiot, et al. in the principal roles--was recorded by two companies, each of which issued it as a "private recording" (UORC 219 and BJRS 1411).

[34] All three mélodies--"Le Dernier rendez-vous," "Le Chant des Sirènes," and "Fleuve d'oubli"--date from 1896.

35 Ernest Reyer, letter to "Masque de Fer," published in the latter's column "Echos à travers Paris" (Le Figaro, 16 September 1895, p. 1; reprinted in the JD, 26 September 1895, p. 2). Reyer's letter was written at "Château du Rouzet-en-Bézy, 14 septembre 95 [sic]." It is Jullien who avows that Le Capucin enchanté was nothing more than a witty subterfuge (Reyer, p. 45).

36 I am grateful to Professor Andrew Gann of Mount Allison University for informing me that some letters exchanged between Gautier and Reyer contain a few references to Reyer's work as "critique blond" (ghostwriter) for the distinguished littérateur. Professor Gann, who is a collaborator in the publication of the Théophile Gautier Correspondance générale, has examined the letters written by and sent to Gautier, preserved at the Bibliothèque de l'Institut, quai Conti, Paris (Legs Spoëlberch de Lovenjoul).

The articles on Reyer in two of the major nineteenth-century French encyclopaedias cite La Presse as the first publication for which Reyer wrote music criticism. See Grand Dictionnaire universel du XIX^{e} siècle, ed. Pierre Larousse, (1866-79), s.v. "Reyer (Louis-Etienne-Ernest Rey, dit)"; and Vapereau, Dictionnaire, s.v. "Reyer."

According to Georges Servières and Michael Spencer, Reyer's collaboration on Gautier's feuilleton began around 1850. Servières asserts that the collaboration probably did not continue after Gautier joined the staff of Le Moniteur universel in 1855, because the responsibility of writing music criticism for that newspaper rested with Fiorentino (the pen name of A. de Rovray). See Servières, "Les Relations d'Ernest Reyer et de Théophile Gautier," Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France, no. 24 (1917), pp. 75-76; and Spencer, "Théophile Gautier, music critic," Music and Letters 49 (January 1968):15.

37 Eight months after establishing the RP, Gautier and the other founders evidently decided that it should include music criticism on a regular basis, and Reyer was chosen as critic. His writings appeared in this journal from May 1852 through November 1854. A few months after he had begun writing for the RP, Reyer was hired as music critic for the newly founded AthF. His "Chronique musicale" was published in this journal for four years, from July 1852 until the end of June 1856 (one month before the AthF was absorbed by the Revue contemporaine).

In the meantime, a few months after he had left the RP, Reyer had become music critic of the RF. He held this post from the inception of the journal in February 1855 until the end of April 1857, when he became feuilletoniste for the CP.

See Appendix A for full citations of Reyer's writings in these and in other periodicals and newspapers.

38 In late November, Louis Lambert took over the responsibility of providing music criticism as well as chronicling events in the world of the theatre. His feuilleton, entitled "Courrier de Paris," first appeared in the issue of 23 November 1859.

[39] After hearing Tannhäuser at Wiesbaden in 1857, Reyer--at the request of his friend Paul d'Ivoy, music critic of L'Indépendance belge --dispatched to this newspaper an anonymous review. That same year, Reyer published a signed article on Berlioz in L'Artiste. Although Reyer had resigned as music critic for the RF in April 1857, he contributed three more signed articles to this journal before publication ceased in July 1859.

[40] Reyer's last signed article for the FM appeared in 1858. His only signed article for the RGMP was cited above in n. 3.

[41] In June 1863 Walewski had resigned. Jurisdiction over the imperial theatres and the Conservatoire had become part of the domain of the Minister of the Imperial Household and Fine Arts, Marshall Jean Baptiste Vaillant. See T. J. Walsh, Second Empire Opera: The Théâtre Lyrique, Paris, 1851-1870 (London: John Calder, 1981; New York: Riverrun Press, 1981), p. 162.

[42] Souvenirs d'Allemagne was serialized in nineteen feuilletons that appeared in the Moniteur between 19 November 1864 and 22 January 1865. Servières speculates that Reyer's old friend Gautier might have prompted Walewski to give Reyer the charge of visiting Germany, and that the serialization of Souvenirs may also have been due to the efforts of Gautier, a feuilletoniste for the Moniteur since April 1855. (See Servières, "Reyer et Gautier," p. 76.) Souvenirs is further discussed in Chapter II.

[43] D'Ortigue had succeeded Berlioz upon the retirement of the latter in 1863.

[44] During his twelve years as one of the editors, Reyer did not write for the RGMP, but some of his writings for other publications were reprinted in this journal.

[45] In the course of a long musical career, Henry Litolff (1818-1891) was active as a pianist, conductor, composer, and music publisher. During the 1850s he ran a music publishing business in Brunswick and organized festivals which featured some of the greatest musicians in Europe. Among them was Berlioz, who reciprocated Litolff's assistance by helping him to give concerts at Paris in 1858. That same year Litolff settled in the French capital, where he became known as a conductor and piano teacher. His Société des concerts de l'Opéra was founded to present fortnightly concerts on Sunday, the day when the Opéra did not offer any theatrical production. See Adolphe Boschot, Le Faust de Berlioz: étude sur la "Damnation de Faust" et sur l'âme romantique, Collection des grandes oeuvres musicales, publiée sous la direction de René Dumesnil (Paris: Editions musicales de la Librairie de France, 1927), p. 181.

[46] Adolphe Jullien, JD feuilleton of 16 August 1903.

[47] Which was given later in November (see Boschot, Le Faust, p. 182, and Jullien, Reyer, p. 31). It is Jullien who credits Reyer with having been the first conductor to win favor for the excerpts. Reyer himself did not even mention that he had appeared as guest conductor; he simply remarked that the audiences had been delighted by Berlioz's music (JD feuilleton of 23 November 1869). In a notice published by a notable contemporary source, Reyer was praised as "[un] chef d'orchestre accompli" who, at the second concert, had received a well-deserved ovation (RGMP 36 [28 November 1869]:389).

[48] For example, on his way back to Paris after a pleasure trip through Switzerland in the summer of 1859, he had gone to Baden-Baden to hear the annual international concert conducted by Berlioz. See the CP feuilletons of 23 August and 6 and 7 September for Reyer's delightful descriptions of his travels as well as the concert.

[49] As late as 1886--when he was in his early sixties--he declared: "J'aime à voyager. Pour un rien je prends ma valise et je pars." (JD feuilleton of 28 March 1886.)

[50] Witness his acceptance of the official mission to Germany in 1863. Curzon asserts that "une autre mission officielle, en 1865, l'avait conduit pour trois mois à Rome." (Reyer, p. 42.) However, I have not encountered a statement to that effect in any other source. Two letters dispatched by Reyer from Florence and Pompeii in 1865 are extant, but they contain no indication that he was on an official mission. The contents of the letters suggest that they were addressed to Camille du Locle. Both letters are preserved in the collection of Reyer correspondence at the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra; see L. A. S. Ernest Reyer 235 and 236.

[51] Defined in n. 20 of the Preface.

[52] See the following items in the JD: feuilleton of 16 January 1872 (Aïda); letter-articles from Florence in the issues of 16 and 18 September 1875, pp. 2 and 3 respectively (Michelangelo Centenary); feuilletons of 27 and 28 July 1880 (Handel Festival); feuilleton of 23 May 1897 (in which he recalls hearing Holländer in French translation "il y à quelques années, à Bruxelles"); and a review of Die Meistersinger in an anonymous letter-article from London, published in the issue of 18 June 1882, p. 2. (Reyer later acknowledged its authorship in his feuilleton of 8 May 1887.)

[53] See, for example, his feuilleton of 21 August 1882, in which he calls attention to three young singers whom he heard at Toulouse, then argues that the Paris Conservatoire should reestablish its pensionnat (which provided free room, board, and tuition for outstanding students from the French provinces).

[54] My examination of the JD--using methods described in Appendix A --uncovered seventeen communications from the Riviera, dating from 1880

to 1895. The first fifteen, all of which were written from Monaco, were published as anonymous letter-articles; they can be attributed to Reyer on the strength of Curzon's statement that the critic sent to the JD "des Lettres . . . chaque année, de Monaco (en février-mars, depuis 1880)" (Reyer, p. 191). The last two communications--one from Monaco, and one from Nice--were published as signed feuilletons (8 March 1894 and 16 March 1895).

In these seventeen communications Reyer wrote not only about opera at the Théâtre de Monte-Carlo, but also about other facets of musical life at the resort cities. For example, in his first letter-article from Monaco he devoted as much space to a concert given at Cannes by the French harpist Hasselmans as to a performance of Gounod's Faust at the Théâtre de Monte-Carlo (JD, 7 February 1880, p. 3).

[55] According to Adolphe Jullien, JD feuilleton of 14 November 1909.

[56] For further information on the contents of and critical reaction to Notes de musique, see Chapter II.

[57] Tom S. Wotton, Hector Berlioz (London: Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1935), p. 176. The two commemorative concerts or "festivals" will be discussed in Chapter VII.

[58] Félicien David and Reyer had each been nominated to succeed Berlioz in 1869, but Reyer had withdrawn, out of respect both for David and for the memory of Berlioz. (See Reyer's letter to the editor of the JD, published in the issue of 15 March 1869, p. 2; the same letter was sent to the editors of the newspapers Le Figaro and La France.)

On the first anniversary of Reyer's election to the Institut, he presented a speech honoring the memory of David. This speech was published with the title Institut de France. Académie des Beaux-Arts. Notice sur Félicien David, par M. E. Reyer, membre de l'Académie. Lue dans la séance du 17 novembre 1877 (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1877). The speech was also printed (with the erroneous date "22 novembre" in the title) in the RGMP 44 (25 November 1877):370-72.

[59] See the following JD feuilletons: 11 February 1887 (Otello at Milan), and 20 March 1887 as well as 18 January 1891 (La Valkyrie and Siegfried, respectively, at Brussels).

[60] Ibid., 20 September 1891.

[61] See Reyer's review of the Opéra's Valkyrie in ibid., 13 May 1893.

[62] See Ernest Reyer, "La Critique musicale: Castil-Blaze, H. Berlioz," in Le Livre du centenaire du "Journal des Débats," 1789-1889 (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1889), pp. 427-40. The essay concludes with a few paragraphs about the writings of d'Ortigue, who had held the post of feuilletoniste for only three years.

[63] Both of Reyer's speeches were published. The one which he delivered at the ceremony in Paris on 17 October 1886 was printed that very day as the JD feuilleton, and was later published in Institut de France. Académie des Beaux-Arts. Inauguration de la statue de Berlioz à Paris, le 17 octobre 1886. Discours de M. le V^te H. Delaborde . . . [et discours de MM. Charles Garnier et Reyer] (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1886). The speech given by Reyer at La Côte Saint-André on 28 September 1890 was printed in the JD of 29 September (pp. 2-3).

[64] The sharing of the duties of feuilletoniste is not mentioned in any of the literature on Reyer that I have encountered; I discovered Jullien's participation in the course of examining the JD (see Appendix A). Jullien first substituted for Reyer in 1893, when the elder critic took his winter and summer vacations. In later years, Jullien continued to substitute for Reyer when the latter was on holiday; during the rest of each year, the feuilleton was written sometimes by Reyer, sometimes by Jullien. As the years passed, Reyer wrote fewer and fewer feuilletons. In 1898, the year of his retirement, he wrote only two (published in the issues of 12 and 26 June).

[65] As previously indicated (see above, n. 54), I located in the JD seventeen communications dispatched by Reyer from the Riviera during February-March of the years 1880-95. Since my examinations of this period in 1896 and 1897 did not bring to light any such writings, I concluded that the aging critic had stopped taking his annual winter vacation on the Riviera. This supposition was confirmed by his feuilleton of 25 April 1897, in which he lovingly described Lavandou, where he had spent the winter. According to Adolphe Jullien, Reyer returned to Lavandou every winter for the rest of his life (Reyer, pp. 44-45).

[66] The bust was inaugurated sometime between 1900 and Reyer's death in 1909. See Adolphe Boschot, "La Vie de Paris: la Bibliothèque de l'Opéra," Le Figaro, 20 January 1909, p. 1.

[67] The three other musicians who had attained this rank were Verdi, Gounod, and Ambroise Thomas.

[68] The performances of Salammbô and La Statue took place as scheduled: during the first week in March 1903 Salammbô was presented on Monday and again on Saturday, and La Statue was staged on Friday. However, the performance of Sigurd--scheduled for Wednesday, 4 March--had to be postponed at least twice because of the illness of Jean de Reszke, the celebrated tenor who was to sing the title role. (See the announcements in the column "Courrier des théâtres," Le Figaro, 4 and 22 March 1903.)

[69] As Reyer was too frail to make the journey to Grenoble for the unveiling of the Berlioz Monument, he was represented by a friend, the musicologist Julien Tiersot. A heavy rainfall during the ceremony prevented the delivering of any of the speeches, and all were therefore published the next morning in the local papers. Reyer's was reprinted

in both Le Guide musical 49 (23 and 30 August 1903):605-7, and Le Monde musical 15 (30 August 1903):245-46. Reyer's article, entitled "Berlioz. -- Souvenirs intimes," was published in ibid., Berlioz number (30 November 1903):335.

[70] Editors' introductory remarks to Reyer's "Benjamin Godard," Le Figaro, 22 November 1904, p. 1. Much of Reyer's article was reprinted in "Pour Benjamin Godard," Le Monde musical 17 (30 January 1905):14.

[71] The "Lettre en guise de préface, à Monsieur Henri Maréchal," comprises pp. v-xv in Maréchal's Paris, souvenirs d'un musicien: 185 .- 1870 (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1907).

[72] Ernest Reyer, Quarante ans de musique, compiled, with a preface and notes, by Emile Henriot (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1909). See my Chapter II for an account of Henriot's role in the preparation of the volume, a fuller description of the contents, and a discussion of critical reaction to this work.

[73] For descriptions of the services at Lavandou and at Marseille, see "Les Obsèques de M. Ernest Reyer," JD of 18, 19, and 20 January 1909 (p. 2 in each issue).

[74] This information occurs in the memoirs of André Germain, grandson of one of Reyer's contemporaries; see Les Clés de Proust (Paris: Editions Sun, 1953), p. 106. Virtually nothing is known about Reyer's wife and daughter. They were not even mentioned in accounts of the funeral services for the critic. When Henriot thanked the several persons whose "obligeance" facilitated the compiling of Quarante, he named Reyer's daughter (p. xviii) but not the wife of the late critic.

[75] Henry Roujon, Institut de France. Académie des Beaux-Arts. Notice sur la vie et les travaux de M. Ernest Reyer (1823-1909), membre de l'Académie (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1911). Roujon's tribute was also printed in the Sunday Supplément to the JD of 12 November 1911, and was reprinted as the chapter "Reyer: Notice lue à l'Académie des Beaux-Arts dans la séance de 11 novembre 1911," in Roujon's Artistes et amis des arts (Paris: Hachette, 1912), pp. 196-224.

[76] The "'Salut' Ernest Reyer," held at the Opéra on 25 November 1920, began with Louis Vuillemin's reading of his account of Reyer's career as a composer. This discourse was subsequently published as "Ernest Reyer, 1823-1909," Le Ménestrel 82 (3 and 10 December 1920):469-72 and 481-83.

[77] Reviews of the revival of Sigurd at the Opéra include Jullien's feuilleton in the JD of 9 December 1923, and Paul Bertrand's "La Semaine musicale. Opéra: reprise de Sigurd," Le Ménestrel 85 (7 December 1923):514-15. The events held at Marseille were described in Emile de Vireuil's "Marseille: centenaire de Reyer," ibid. (21 December 1923): 543.

[78] As indicated above in n. 33, the revival was staged on 17 October. See the following items in Le Figaro: a brief review ("Le Reprise de Sigurd à l'Opéra," 19 October 1934, p. 6), and Reynaldo Hahn's feuilleton of 24 October 1934.

[79] At the inauguration of the monument, a speech was given by Adolphe Boschot on behalf of the Institut; it was later published as Institut de France. Académie des Beaux-Arts. Inauguration du monument d'Ernest Reyer à Marseille, le 16 décembre 1934 (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1934).

The people of Lavandou had not forgotten Reyer: they had inaugurated a small monument and a commemorative plaque in 1913 and 1929 respectively. A photograph of the monument accompanies the article "Un Monument à Ernest Reyer," L'Illustration 71 (8 February 1913):120. There is a reference to the inauguration of the plaque on the "Villa Reyer" in an article entitled "Souvenirs sur Georges Leygues," published in the Toulon newspaper of 4 September 1933. This article and several documents concerning the erection of the Reyer Monument at Marseille are all included in the Reyer "Dossier d'Artiste" at the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra.

[80] JD feuilleton of 29 May 1892.

[81] Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, L. A. S. Ernest Reyer, nos. 1-224, 229-68, and 271-74. The collection also includes six cartes de visite (nos. 225-28, 269-70, and 275-76), four telegrams (nos. 277-80), and MSS of three feuilletons (nos. 281-83; identified below in n. 99).

[82] Pierre Lalo, De Rameau à Ravel: portraits et souvenirs, compiled, with a preface, by Gustave Samazeuilh (Paris: Editions Albin Michel, 1947), p. 85. The chapter "Ernest Reyer" (pp. 83-93 in this posthumous collection) was originally published in Le Temps, 6 August 1941.

[83] Maurice Dreyfous, Ce que je tiens à dire: un demi-siècle de choses vues et entendues, 1862-1872, 5th ed. (Paris: Librairie Paul Ollendorff, n.d.; originally published in 1912), pp. 89-90.

[84] Ernest Reyer, CP feuilleton of 11 September 1857.

[85] Quoted by Lalo, De Rameau à Ravel, p. 90.

[86] Reyer, Notes (page is not numbered).

[87] Quoted by Georges Pioch, "Ernest Reyer campagnard," Musica 5, Reyer number (February 1907):29.

[88] Curzon, Reyer, p. 64.

[89] Lalo, De Rameau à Ravel, p. 84.

90 NG, s.v. "Massenet, Jules (Emile Frédéric)," text by Martin Cooper, p. 801.

91 Marie-Magdeleine, which so impressed the great mezzo-soprano Pauline Viardot-Garcia that she came out of retirement to sing the title role, was praised by Reyer as

> "[une] oeuvre gracieuse et forte, pleine d'élévation et de poésie chrétienne qui, toute proportion gardée, fera pour la jeune renommée de M. Jules Massenet ce que l'Enfance du Christ a fait pour la gloire d'Hector Berlioz. Que le ciel vous récompense, mon jeune et vaillant confrère."
> (JD feuilleton of 23 April 1873)

See also the reviews of Manon and Werther in ibid., 26 January 1884 and 22 January 1893 respectively. (All three reviews were reprinted in Quarante, pp. 329-37, 349-57, and 358-72.)

92 "Reyer intime," Le Figaro, 19 January 1909, p. 1. This article, signed "Un témoin," was attributed to Widor by Curzon (Reyer, p. 65).

93 Jullien, Reyer, p. 45. Reyer's letters to Jullien constitute much of the collection L. A. S. Ernest Reyer in the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra.

94 Pioch, "Reyer campagnard," p. 28.

95 Quoted by Curzon, Reyer, p. 67. Curzon did not identify the friend.

96 Jullien, JD feuilleton of 14 November 1909.

97 Henriot, Preface to Quarante, p. iv.

98 In 1909 Henriot declared that "les feuilletons que Reyer publia au Courrier de Paris de 1857 à 1860 et au Journal des Débats de 1866 à 1899 et dont il donna sa propre collection à la bibliothèque de l'Opéra . . . sont tous soigneusement revus, corrigés, annotés de sa main." (Ibid.) By 1924, however, the Courrier feuilletons had evidently disappeared from the collection, for Henri de Curzon observed: "Il est assez malaisé de retrouver ses articles du Courrier de Paris . . . , mais ceux du Journal des Débats . . . sont plus accessibles: la collection en est à la bibliothèque de l'Opéra." ("Le Centenaire d'Ernest Reyer," Le Monde musical 35 [January 1924]:7.) Curzon's reference to the collection is the last that I have encountered. When I made enquiries at the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, the professional staff informed me that they knew nothing about such a collection.

99 Published in the issues of 8 March 1894, 16 March 1895, and 8 August 1897. The MSS are in the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, L. A. S. Ernest Reyer, nos. 281, 283, and 282 respectively.

[100] For example, statements about Weber in FétisB were quoted and disputed by Reyer in his reviews of Oberon and Euryanthe (RF Année 3, Tome 8 [20 March 1857]:382-83, and CP feuilleton of 30 September 1857). Reyer quoted Wagner on Rienzi and Berlioz on Roméo et Juliette (JD feuilletons of 18 April 1869 and 8 December 1894 respectively). In a discussion of the forthcoming Parisian premiere of Schumann's Das Paradies und die Peri (ibid., 31 October 1869), Reyer offered one excerpt--already given in French translation in Le Ménestrel--from Joseph Wasielewski's biography of the composer, and one excerpt from the article in FétisB.

[101] JD feuilleton of 8 December 1894.

[102] Jullien, Reyer, p. 63.

[103] Reyer, JD feuilleton of 8 December 1894; see the longer excerpt given above on p. 47.

[104] Lalo, De Rameau à Ravel, p. 88.

[105] A modern scholar observes that "to nineteenth-century France, orientalism meant not China and Japan, but rather Turkey, to a certain degree Greece, the Holy Lands, Arabia, Egypt, Algeria and Moslem North Africa." (Morton Jay Achter, "Félicien David, Ambroise Thomas, and French Opéra Lyrique, 1850-1870" [Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1972], p. 10.) Interest in the Near East and North Africa was perhaps stimulated by France's colonial adventures.

Apropos of Le Désert, Achter remarks: "The term ode-symphonie appears to be David's own." (Ibid., p. 12n.) Reyer subtitled Le Sélam "symphonie orientale en quatre parties," but many critics pointed out that this work was another example of "l'ode-symphonie, où la symphonie est entrecoupée de strophes déclamées" (Adolphe Jullien, Airs variés [Paris: G. Charpentier, 1877], p. 166).

[106] Georges Servières, La Musique française moderne: César Franck; Edouard Lalo; Jules Massenet; Ernest Reyer; Camille Saint-Saëns (Paris: G. Havard fils, 1897), p. 255. Le Désert consists of three parts which are connected by a "plot" (Achter, "Opéra Lyrique," p. 50), whereas Le Sélam consists of four parts which depict "divers épisodes de la vie arabe" (Jullien, Reyer, p. 12).

[107] As previously indicated, Reyer lived in Algiers from the age of sixteen until his mid-twenties. When he later went to Cairo to review the world premiere of Aïda for readers of the JD, he travelled extensively in Egypt (see the feuilletons of 16 January and 17 February 1872).

[108] Ibid., 3 May 1878.

[109] Ibid., 21 June 1885.

[110] Quoted by Camille Le Senne, "Période contemporaine: Ernest Reyer (1823-1909)," in EMDC I, 3:1723.

[111] Curzon, Reyer, p. 135, and Servières, Musique française moderne, p. 247.

[112] Raoul Brévannes, "Sigurd," Musica 5, Reyer number (February 1907):22.

[113] Eugène de Solenière, "Ernest Reyer," Le Monde musical 15 (15 March 1903):70.

[114] Quoted by Curzon, Reyer, p. 82. The author of the second quotation is identified by Curzon as "Fiorentino" (pen name of A. de Rovray, music critic for the Moniteur universel).

[115] JD feuilleton of 24 April 1861.

[116] Solenière, "Reyer," p. 70.

[117] Servières, Musique française moderne, p. 225. Berlioz, in his very complimentary review of the premiere of Le Sélam, praised the "Conjuration" as "fort curieux et d'un effet vraiment original" (JD feuilleton of 13 April 1850). More than fifty years later, both of Reyer's biographers agreed that the "Conjuration" was the finest part of the work (see Jullien, Reyer, p. 52, and Curzon, Reyer, p. 73).

[118] Réserve des MSS autographes, A. 598 a 1-11.

[119] JD feuilleton of 15 September 1858.

[120] Servières, Musique française moderne, pp. 249 and 264.

[121] Patrick J. Smith, "The musical underground: a comparison of pirate recordings. Ernest Reyer: Sigurd (1884)," Musical Newsletter 5 (Summer 1975):20.

[122] Servières, Musique française moderne, p. 225.

[123] In Act I alone there are three effects which particularly impressed Berlioz: the use of the cor anglais to accompany Margyane's couplets, giving them "une physionomie spéciale, un peu triste, parfaitement motivée par la situation"; in the music for the passing of the caravan, Berlioz noted "des dessins de flûtes et un trait continue de bassons du plus piquant effet"; and, in the accompaniment to Sélim's narration of his adventures, the trombones' ascending progression, "qui est une trouvaille musicale." (JD feuilleton of 24 April 1861.)

[124] H. Robert Cohen, "Berlioz on the Opéra (1829-1849): A Study in Music Criticism" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1973), p. 84.

125 See the chapter on Lalo's opera in Stewart Walter Sharp, Jr., "The Twilight of French Opéra Lyrique, 1880-1900" (D.M.A. dissertation, University of Kentucky, 1975), pp. 223-73.

126 Smith, "Pirate recordings," p. 20.

127 According to Servières, "Certaines scènes de Sigurd, la célébration des noces de Gunther et de Brunehild, par exemple, rappellent de fort près quelques pages du premier acte des Troyens" (Musique française moderne, p. 273). Smith notes that, in the final scene of Sigurd, Hilda has a "Dido-like climactic vision of the ruination of the House of Gunther" ("Pirate recordings," p. 20). We might add that the final scene of Reyer's opera has other striking resemblances to that of Berlioz's masterpiece: in Les Troyens, a vision of Rome rises above Dido's pyre while the Trojan March rings out in the orchestra; in Sigurd, a vision of the spirits of Sigurd and Brunehild glows above their pyre while one of the opera's principal motifs surges through the orchestra.

Sigurd is discussed at length in Curzon's Reyer (pp. 111-58) and in his La Légende de Sigurd dans l'Edda: l'opéra d'E. Reyer (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1890). However, Curzon is--in the words of his contemporary Servières--"[un] panégyriste convaincu" (Musique française moderne, p. 251). The best analyses of the libretto and music of Sigurd are by Servières (ibid., pp. 241-54), Jullien (Reyer, pp. 67-79), and Smith ("Pirate recordings," pp. 19-21). My comments are based on these sources.

128 Reyer, JD feuilleton of 21 June 1885. (After the Parisian premiere of Sigurd, Reyer described for his readers the long gestation of this work.)

129 Smith, "Pirate recordings," p. 20.

130 Ibid. Smith expresses a similar judgement in his book: ". . . Sigurd, although closely linked thematically to Wagner, is probably the least affected by the German of the later French Grands Opéras" (The Tenth Muse: A Historical Study of the Opera Libretto [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970], p. 312).

131 Idem, "Pirate recordings," p. 20, and Jullien, Reyer, p. 72.

132 JD feuilleton of 21 June 1885. See also Edmond Locard, "Y a-t-il des leitmotiven dans Sigurd?" Revue musicale de Lyon 3 (22 October 1905):41-52.

133 Victor Debay, "Reyer," Le Courrier musical 6 (15 March 1903): 81.

134 The best analyses of both the libretto and the music of Salammbô are those of Servières (Musique française moderne, pp. 258-69) and Jullien (Reyer, pp. 84-91). My résumé is based on these two sources. Salammbô is discussed at length in Curzon's Reyer (pp. 165-85)

and in his study "Salammbô": le poème et l'opéra (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1890; reprinted from the March 1890 issue of Revue de la France moderne). However, for Salammbô as for Sigurd, Curzon demonstrates an effusiveness which renders his opinions suspect.

135 Donald Jay Grout, A Short History of Opera, 2d ed., 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), 2:248.

136 See the following: Lalo, De Rameau à Ravel, p. 86; Servières, Musique française moderne, pp. 262-63; Jullien, JD feuilleton of 2 December 1923; idem, Reyer, p. 84; Curzon, Reyer, p. 159; and Louis de Fourcaud, quoted in ibid., pp. 163-64. One of the few critics who, while acknowledging the flaws in Sigurd, nevertheless preferred this work to Salammbô, was Jean Chantavoine. See his "Le Centenaire d'Ernest Reyer," Le Ménestrel 85 (30 November 1923):497-501.

137 Servières, Musique française moderne, p. 263.

138 Lalo, De Rameau à Ravel, p. 87.

139 Jullien, JD feuilleton of 2 December 1923.

140 My remarks on the shortcomings in Reyer's compositional technique are based on the following sources: Servières, Musique française moderne, pp. 245-46 and 252-54; La Grande Encyclopédie: inventaire raisonné des sciences, des lettres et des arts, s.v. "Reyer (Louis-Etienne-Ernest Rey, dit)," by Henri Quittard, pp. 561-62; Lalo, De Rameau à Ravel, p. 89; Smith, "Pirate recordings," pp. 20-21; and NG, s.v. "Reyer [Rey], (Louis-Etienne-)Ernest," by Hugh Macdonald, p. 783.

141 Max Loppert, "On Radio: Armide (Gluck), Radio 3, December 29; Sigurd (Reyer), Radio 3, January 2," Opera 26 (April 1975):407.

142 See the analyses by Servières and Jullien (cited above in n. 134), and the following articles: Arthur Pougin, "Semaine théâtrale: Opéra. Salammbô, opéra en cinq actes et huit tableaux, paroles de M. Camille du Locle, d'après le roman de Gustave Flaubert, musique de M. Ernest Reyer," Le Ménestrel 58 (22 May 1892):163-65; Paul Dukas, "Les Séances du Quatuor Ysaÿe. -- Salammbô," reprinted in the collection Les Ecrits de Paul Dukas sur la musique, compiled, with a preface, by G. Samazeuilh (Paris: Société d'éditions françaises et internationales, 1948), pp. 37-39; and Félicien Grétry, "Salammbô," Musica 5, Reyer number (February 1907):23.

143 Servières, Musique française moderne, p. 260.

144 Quoted by Lesenne, EMDC I, 3:1725.

145 Bizet's remark has been paraphrased in such diverse sources as the following: James Huneker, Overtones, a Book of Temperaments: Richard Strauss; Parsifal; Verdi; Balzac; Flaubert; Nietzsche; and

Turgénieff (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1912), p. 248; Hervey, Masters, pp. 211-12; and Jullien, JD feuilleton of 2 December 1923.

146 Jullien speculated that if La Statue had been premiered two years before--instead of after--Faust, "Il est très possible que l'opéra de Gounod se fût perdu dans le rayonnement de celui de Reyer" (JD feuilleton of 2 December 1923).

147 Arthur Pougin, "Ernest Reyer," Le Ménestrel 75 (23 January 1909):26. In Pougin's opinion, La Statue exemplified better than any other work "la note exacte du tempérament scénique et musicale de Reyer," because "à côté du lyrisme et du pathétique, le compositeur a prouvé que l'élément comique ne manquait pas à sa personnalité."

148 Loppert, "On Radio," p. 407.

149 See, for example, Jullien's JD feuilleton of 2 December 1923.

150 Paul Landormy, La Musique française de Franck à Debussy, 10th ed. (Paris: Gallimard, 1943), p. 132.

151 Speech delivered at the inauguration of the statue of Berlioz at Paris; repeated verbatim in the speech written for the unveiling of the Berlioz Monument at Grenoble (cited above, nn. 63 and 69 respectively).

152 Barzun, Berlioz, 1:464.

CHAPTER II

AN INTRODUCTION TO REYER AS CRITIC

Extent of Reyer's Output

Reyer's activity as a writer on music spanned more than half a century: as indicated in Chapter I, he began his career in 1850 by ghost-writing for Gautier, and his last effort, dated 9 December 1906, was the "lettre-préface" for Maréchal's book. In the course of Reyer's long and distinguished professional life, he worked primarily as a journalist, but also made several notable contributions to non-periodical literature.

The quantity of Reyer's work as a music critic is immense. Newspapers and periodicals yield at least 715 items--dating from 1852 to 1904[1]--which can be positively identified as having been written by Reyer expressly for such publications.[2] The bulk of this material appeared in the two newspapers and four journals for which he wrote on a regular basis: 53 feuilletons in the Courrier de Paris; 473 feuilletons, 11 other titled articles, and 26 letter-articles in the Journal des Débats; and a total of 116 titled articles in L'Athenaeum français, the Revue française, the Revue de Paris, and La Gazette du Nord.[3] He also contributed one short item to the Courrier, and sent to the Débats a host of diverse writings, including untitled articles, notices, announcements, obituaries, and letters. Seven titled articles, two letter-articles, and two letters appeared in several other publications,

notably three of the most influential nineteenth-century Parisian music journals: La France musicale, the Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris, and Le Monde musical.

La Presse and La France musicale--two of the publications in which we find writings signed by Reyer[4]--each printed several items which can, with virtual certainty, be attributed to him. Georges Servières argues convincingly that at least twenty-one of the feuilletons published in La Presse during Gautier's tenure as feuilletoniste were ghostwritten either wholly or in part by Reyer.[5] The pages of La France musicale contain four items, each signed "R." and published during the 1850s, which may be ascribed to Reyer for the following reasons: (1) all are reviews of private concerts at the homes of the Farrencs and their friends; and (2) most of the programs included music by Mme Farrenc.[6] If the ghostwritten pieces in La Presse and the reviews in La France musicale are taken into account, Reyer's journalistic output comprises approximately 740 items.

Reyer was also the author of five literary compositions which were not written for periodical publications: a tribute to Félicien David; three discourses on Berlioz; and an essay on the history of the musical feuilleton of the Débats.[7] Reyer wrote the tribute to David for a meeting of the Institut's Académie des Beaux-Arts, because it was customary for a newly-elected member to give a speech honoring his predecessor. Similarly, Reyer's discourses on Berlioz were intended for public ceremonies honoring the composer's memory. Reyer was one of the first Frenchmen who offered appreciations of Berlioz's work as a critic:[8] in the three speeches and in the essay on the musical feuilleton of the

Débats he paid hommage to Berlioz for struggling on behalf of "le grand art" against "les aspirations vulgaires du public parisien."[9] The essay is also noteworthy for the balanced judgment rendered on Castil-Blaze, the powerful critic who had preceded Berlioz at the Débats. Reyer did not excuse Castil-Blaze for being "[un] féroce arrangeur"[10] of operas by Weber, Rossini, and others, but applauded him for inaugurating a new era in music criticism in the French daily press by both initiating and establishing a feuilleton devoted to music. Henceforth, as Reyer pointed out, music criticism was no longer the preserve of drama critics.

Souvenirs d'Allemagne--Reyer's official report on his travels through Germany and parts of Austria and Italy in 1863-64--is a special case: we cannot help but assume that, although this 233-page manuscript was written ostensibly for the government, Reyer actually intended it for publication. Why else would he have taken the time and trouble to describe his journey in such detail? Souvenirs was never published as a book, but, as noted in Chapter I, it was both serialized in the Moniteur universel and reprinted in Reyer's first compilation, Notes de musique.[11] Like Berlioz's earlier Voyage musical en Allemagne et en Italie, Reyer's Souvenirs is the work of a man who was writing as both musician and tourist: the subjects discussed range from the choir of Berlin's royal chapel to the music played in German taverns; from soirées musicales at the home of Richard Pohl at Weimar to outdoor concerts at Vienna's Volksgarten; from music manuscripts in the Berlin library to castles in Baden and Württemberg. However, the main focus of Reyer's attention was the lyric theatres of Germany. In his opinion, the high standards maintained by the administrations, orchestras, singers, and

repertoires of the theatres in the "plus petites capitales"--as in the "plus grandes villes"--were largely responsible for a "décentralisation artistique" which France should emulate.[12]

The last item in Reyer's literary oeuvre--namely, the letter-preface to a book of reminiscences by his comrade Henri Maréchal--can be described as a gesture of friendship rather than the work of a music critic. The eighty-three-year-old Reyer explains to the reader that, at Maréchal's request, he did not set out to write an analysis of the book. His preface is instead a disarmingly informal "lettre en guise de préface," in which he expresses delight at Maréchal's vignettes concerning their mutual friends and acquaintances--including Liszt, Berlioz, and Bizet--and adds his own reminiscences of the abbé Liszt, whom he had visited at Rome during the summer of 1865. He succeeds admirably in providing "une simple introduction"[13] which invites the reader to enjoy for himself Maréchal's charming recollections.

Comparison of Reyer's Position with That of Berlioz

In several of his writings Reyer freely admitted that he had very distinct musical preferences.[14] It is interesting to compare these likes and dislikes with those of one of the most important music critics of the century, who also expressed his preferences with a passion: Hector Berlioz.

As composers, both Berlioz and Reyer were naturally inclined toward musical drama, which probably accounts for the fact that, as critics, they were principally concerned with opera. They were also keenly interested in concert works for massed voices and instruments; indeed,

Reyer's partiality for "de grandes oeuvres de concert, symphonies dramatiques ou oratorios"[15] prompted him on many occasions to demand that Parisians build a concert hall suitable for the performance of such works.[16] Berlioz and Reyer also shared a fondness for chamber music, and each did his best to encourage this genre in France.[17]

Neither Berlioz nor Reyer totally rejected Italian opera, but both preferred the German and the French traditions of operatic composition.[18] Like Berlioz, Reyer profoundly admired three masters of German opera--Mozart, Beethoven, and Weber--as well as two exponents of the French opera tradition in the line of descent from Rameau: Gluck and his neo-classic follower, Spontini. Of all these composers, Berlioz's highest gods were Gluck, Spontini, Weber, and Beethoven. These masters, together with Berlioz--whom Reyer viewed as an exponent of the French tradition of Gluck--were among those who stood at the forefront of Reyer's musical pantheon.

Like Berlioz, Reyer expressed a very qualified approval of the works of Meyerbeer. To Reyer, the genre of which Meyerbeer was the principal exponent--namely, grand opera--was a commercially successful bastardization of Italian and German elements,[19] and thus did not belong to the French opera tradition in descent from Rameau and Gluck. Reyer criticized the Italianate melodic writing that characterized grand opera, objecting especially to unmotivated coloratura passages and languishing cadenzas.[20] However, he was pleased that both Meyerbeer and Halévy--another exponent of the genre--had generally conserved the tradition of rich orchestration which Reyer regarded as a distinguishing feature of the German school of operatic composition.[21]

Reyer--again, like Berlioz--had a predilection not simply for German opera, but for the German musical tradition.[22] Both critics revered Beethoven's symphonies and chamber music, and proclaimed in particular the greatness of the Ninth Symphony and the late quartets.[23] Both also regarded Mendelssohn and Schumann as masters, while at the same time placing Mendelssohn above Schumann as a craftsman.[24] The feature which Reyer most admired in German opera--richness of orchestration--he clearly regarded as being a distinguishing characteristic of the German musical tradition, for he praised this trait in a variety of non-operatic works by such composers as Beethoven, Weber, and Schumann.[25]

Although he shared many of Berlioz's tastes, Reyer's musical interests were somewhat different from those of his revered friend. A case in point is the attitude of each critic toward the music of Wagner. Whereas Berlioz had mixed feelings about this controversial German composer, Reyer staunchly championed Wagner's operas for decades before they gained great popularity in Paris. As early as 1864, Reyer boldly asserted that Wagner's works--as well as those of Berlioz--would one day be esteemed as timeless "classics."[26]

Unlike Berlioz, Reyer devoted little attention to contemporary foreign composers apart from Wagner. Whether by deliberate choice or natural inclination, he focused his attention on the music of his countrymen. As a lifelong apostle of the works of Berlioz, he did much to instil in the French public an admiration for "[le] plus beau génie musical que la France ait produit."[27] We shall see that Reyer strove with equal vigour to cultivate among his readers an appreciation for the music of younger composers active in France.

Reyer's interest in eighteenth-century music was more extensive than that of Berlioz. True, both men exalted Gluck and Spontini, and revered Mozart as well as the French masters Grétry, Dalayrac, and Lesueur.[28] However, J. S. Bach, whose music remained alien to Berlioz until the last few years of his life,[29] was esteemed by Reyer as one of the greatest composers of all time. Instead of subscribing to the then not uncommon view of Bach as simply a master of contrapuntal technique, Reyer insisted that Bach was both an expert contrapuntist and a consummate musical dramatist. He was particularly impressed by "l'imposante allure de cette déclamation, . . . l'ampleur de ces récits"[30] in the St. Matthew Passion, and avowed that this work had all the elements of lyric drama. Handel, whose music struck Berlioz as rather pedestrian,[31] was regarded by Reyer as one of the masters of the German school. Although he never praised Handel as ardently as he did Bach, his assessment of Handel's oratorios and oratorio-like works was steadily intelligent and full of warmth. For example, apropos of Judas Maccabeus he observed: ". . . on dirait que le sujet l'a emporté au delà des lignes austères de l'oratorio dans le domaine du drame, tant il y a de fougue, de passion, de tendresse et de charme dans cette sublime composition."[32]

Reyer was neither an ardent advocate of nor researcher into pre-eighteenth-century music, but he expressed more curiosity about it than did Berlioz. Reyer's attitude toward Palestrina, for instance, was very different from that of Berlioz. Whereas the latter found some of Palestrina's sacred compositions to be "less than works of art,"[33] Reyer profoundly admired

> l'immortel auteur de la Messe du Pape Marcel, lequel a mérité d'être inhumé dans la basilique de Saint-Pierre, et d'avoir gravée sur son tombeau cette inscription: Johannes-Petrus-Aloygsius-Praenestinus musicae princeps.[34]

Reyer also took an interest in historical anthologies, including Delsarte's Archives du chant, Lajarte's collection of airs à danser by composers ranging from Lully to Méhul, and, of course, the Farrencs' Trésor des pianistes.[35] No doubt his attention to such works was sparked by his aunt and uncle. Further proof of Reyer's interest in early music is the fact that, when studying with his aunt and therefore exploring his uncle's remarkable library of scores and music literature, he jotted in a notebook many of the melodies he encountered in old treatises and anthologies. He eventually harmonized them and published the collection as Quarante vieilles chansons de XII^{e} au XVIII^{e} siècle.[36]

Areas Treated by Reyer in His Critical Writings

Since opera was both the monarch of French musical life and the main interest of Reyer the composer, most of his critical writings pertain to this genre and to the theatres at which it was performed. His reviews of countless operas reveal how his aesthetic determined what he required from the librettist, the composer, and the operatic vocalist, as well as the reasons underlying his preference for the German and the French--rather than the Italian--operatic traditions. Reyer's numerous and extensive statements concerning contemporary practices in Parisian lyric theatres provide clear indications of his concept of the mission of a reestablished Théâtre-Lyrique and of the very different missions of the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique. He also describes the functions which

he regards as being appropriate to the key musical personnel involved in the production of an opera. His writings apropos of these diverse matters, together with his comments on the unsuccessful attempts to re-establish a Théâtre-Lyrique, provide a detailed picture of his concept of an ideal lyric theatre.

Reyer also wrote extensively about the music of Gluck, Spontini, Weber, Berlioz, and Wagner--the composers whom he esteemed most highly but who were by no means popular in mid-century Paris. Like Berlioz, Reyer revered and celebrated Gluck, Spontini, and Weber as neglected masters of lyric drama, and defended them against critics who ridiculed what were generally viewed as technical imperfections in their operas. Reyer admired Berlioz himself as the creator of masterpieces for both the concert stage and the lyric theatre, and therefore crusaded against the notion that "l'auteur des Troyens n'était point un génie dramatique."[37] He also fought to dispel other popularly held views about this composer, and--as previously mentioned--was among those who offered the earliest appreciations of Berlioz's critical writings. The genius of Wagner, too, was quickly divined by Reyer, who deserves credit not only for being one of the first in France to hail the controversial German composer, but also for remaining a determined defender of his music after the Franco-Prussian War. Both before and after this composer became so popular in Paris, Reyer tried to demonstrate that Wagner's operas and his doctrines owed much to those of earlier composers. This perception however did not prevent Reyer from recognizing Wagner as a great reformer.

The zeal with which Reyer championed the music of Gluck, Spontini, Weber, Berlioz, and Wagner, was equalled by the enthusiasm with which he supported the efforts of talented young composers active in France. Gounod, Bizet, Massenet, and Saint-Saëns were all indebted to Reyer for his constant encouragement during the 1850s and 1860s, when--like Reyer himself--they were trying to establish their careers. During the last three decades of the century, his fraternal support helped launch and sustain the careers of several important newcomers to the French musical scene, notably Franck, Lalo, Chabrier, and Bruneau. All told, nearly a dozen of the principal French composers of the latter half of the century owed Reyer a debt of gratitude for having continually focused public attention on their works.

As might be expected of a critic who demonstrated such solicitude for the careers of young composers in his country, Reyer had much to say concerning the training of these and other musicians. He was especially concerned with the curriculum of studies at the Paris Conservatoire--France's largest institution of music education--and at the conservatories in the provinces, which he visited regularly after being appointed Inspecteur général des Ecoles de musique des départements in 1880. Both before and after receiving this appointment, Reyer expressed dismay that the operas of "des anciens maîtres"[38]--including Mozart, Gluck, Spontini, Weber, and Beethoven--were virtually unknown to students at the conservatories. He insisted that, for various reasons, these works must be made the basis of music education.[39] The annual competitions of the Paris Conservatoire afforded him ample opportunity to make topical

observations concerning the need for a number of special reforms at this institution.[40]

Reyer's deep distress at the neglect of the winners of the Prix de Rome prompted him repeatedly to propose a plan of protection and decentralization that would have been profitable both to these laureates and to the progress of music education in France.[41] He wanted to see the winners work in the French provinces, where each would be appointed conductor of a municipal lyric theatre and be given the right to produce a three-act opera. Such a composition by a winner of the Prix de Rome would attract much attention in the provincial press, and the young composer would find himself "lancé, . . . presque célèbre."[42] This renown, said Reyer, would ensure the composer a cordial reception from the directors of Parisian lyric theatres. Reyer pointed out that if the Prix de Rome winner decided not to pursue a career as a composer, he could instead build one as a conductor, for his experience at a provincial lyric theatre would have both familiarized him with the current repertoire and polished his skills. Another alternative which Reyer suggested for Prix de Rome winners was to join the faculties of provincial conservatories. "Et quoi de plus naturel," he once added, "que de les placer plus tard . . . à la tête de ces écoles de musique dont ils connaissent si bien le fonctionnement...[sic] et les détours?"[43]

Reyer's Literary Style

Reyer's literary style was widely admired by his contemporaries, amongst whom there were two--Emile Henriot and the distinguished composer-critic Gabriel Fauré--who felt that Reyer had sometimes

attained greatness as a writer. Henriot declared that both the article "Histoire d'un musicien" and Souvenirs d'Allemagne nobly exemplify the classical tradition of French literature,[44] and Fauré ranked Reyer's writings on Fidelio, Lohengrin, and the death of Berlioz as "parmi les plus belles pages de la critique française."[45] A later critic, Pierre Lalo, was equally fervent in his praise of Reyer's literary talent: "Il était . . . un écrivain excellent, et parfois un grand écrivain."[46]

Both Adolphe Boschot and Henriot observed that the formation of Reyer's literary style had been influenced by his friendship with Gautier. The stylistic feature which Boschot attributed to this influence is Reyer's use of the first person plural--rather than the singular--in writings dating from the first half-dozen years of his literary career, and in some later writings in which he wanted to strike a formal tone.[47] Henriot, in turn, observed that "sa critique est . . . très littéraire--plus littéraire que musicale, plus poétique que technique."[48] Reyer's criticism is indeed "plus littéraire que musicale" inasmuch as his analyses are more descriptive than technical. Instead of displaying his technical competence by means of an abundance of abstruse details and specialized terms, Reyer--as we shall see in Chapter III--strove to make his analyses understandable to the layman by focusing on only a few carefully selected technical details which he described with a minimum of specialized terms.

In the pages that follow, we shall observe that Reyer blended lively wit and deft irony with outbursts of enthusiasm and a taste for the picturesque, and thus achieved a literary style that has the tone of familiar conversation. Since he did not hesitate to lighten musical

instruction with wit and diversion, he often made a crucial point by using devices that were imaginative and fictional. Because Reyer's writings were engaging as well as informative, he enjoyed a large readership among musicians and non-musicians alike, and was widely regarded as a worthy successor to Berlioz.[49]

Like his illustrious predecessor at the Débats, Reyer was a great wit, "un maître railleur"[50] whose witticisms run the gamut from sly understatement to incisive attack. Reyer's "art de sous-entendu le plus adroit et le plus spirituel du monde"[51] is superbly demonstrated in the following excerpt from his review of Ambroise Thomas's ballet La Tempête. Here Reyer hints that the aging Thomas should not follow in the footsteps of Auber, continuing to compose even though he had passed his musical prime.

> Je rencontrai M. Auber quelques jours après la première représentation de la Fiancée du roi de Garbe, et, comme il répondait à mes félicitations en m'assurant que c'était là son dernier ouvrage, qu'il était bien résolu de ne plus rien écrire pour le théâtre, je lui dis: "N'en faites rien, cher maître, si vous ne voulez pas qu'on vous reproche, comme à Rossini, de vous être reposé trop jeune." Il avait alors quatre-vingt-deux ans, et donna encore, dans les cinq années qui suivirent, deux ouvrages, le Premier Jour de bonheur et Rêve d' amour, à l'Opéra-Comique.
>
> M. Ambroise Thomas est loin d'être aussi âgé que l'était M. Auber au mois de janvier 1864; mais je lui répéterais ce que je dis à son illustre prédécesseur, s'il manifestait, . . . après la Tempête, le désir de se condamner à une retraite prématurée.[52]

Many of Reyer's witticisms are much more obvious than this insinuation that Thomas should put down his pen. For example, after attending the premiere of Bizet's opera La Jolie Fille de Perth, Reyer mused that the libretto of a new opera should be given to critics the night before

the premiere--as was the custom with the scenarios of ballets--because some prima donnas "ont une articulation tellement défectueuse, que lorsqu'elles chantent c'est absolument comme si elles dansaient."[53] The following cuttingly sarcastic denunciation of Parisian dilettantism exemplifies Reyer's ability to use wit as a veritable rapier in an attack on a galling contemporary situation. Describing for the reader an incident that supposedly takes place while he is in the midst of writing his feuilleton, he quotes a line from Alfred de Musset's Lorenzaccio, because--he concludes acidly--the incident is "high drama."

> Voilà qu'on sonne à ma porte. C'est un interviewer . . . qui vient me demander s'il est vrai qu'il y ait dans plusieurs grandes villes d'Europe,--Paris excepté --des gens dont la spécialité est de juger un opéra après une seule audition, qui le critiquent, l'exaltent ou l'aplatissent au gré de leur fantaisie, et cela sans savoir une note de musique. Je prends pour répondre à cette question un ton légèrement emphatique et je dis à mon aimable interlocuteur comme le Lorenzaccio de Musset au duc Alexandre: "Seigneur n'en doutez-pas." Car ceci est de la haute comédie.[54]

Several critics regarded Reyer's ironies as being comparable--or even superior--to those of Berlioz.[55] Like the latter, Reyer excelled in weaving a subtle irony into smiling phrases, as is exquisitely demonstrated by his seemingly innocent reply to an insulting remark that Saint-Saëns had made concerning Sigurd:

> M. Camille Saint-Saëns . . . s'exprima ainsi: "C'est plein d'idées, mais c'est f..tu comme quat' sous."
>
> Assurément, et je suis le premier à le reconnaître, on n'en pourrait dire autant des ouvrages de M. Camille Saint-Saëns qui tous, depuis ceux de sa première jeunesse . . . , sont très correctement écrits.[56]

In the same spirit of covert satire, Reyer would make a libretto which struck him as ridiculous seem all the more so, by retelling the story with imperturbable seriousness and liberally adorning his narrative with patently inane excerpts from the text.[57]

Occasionally Reyer used irony not to criticize, but to praise. For example, in the middle of his review of Lalo's Le Roi d'Ys, Reyer paused to express mock concern over the composer's indifference to public acclaim.

> Pour être célèbre, il ne suffit pas d'avoir écrit plusieurs belles oeuvres ou une belle oeuvre seulement: il faut avoir son portrait à la vitrine des photographes, son buste à la devanture des magasins de musique et son nom aux "déplacemens et villégiatures" . . . Cela n'est ni bien difficile, ni bien coûteux, mais cela est tout à fait indispensable et, pour les musiciens surtout, la célébrité est à ce prix. Or, je crois que, jusqu'à présent, M. Lalo n'avait pas assez pris soin de sa renommée. Le mal peut se réparer. Il est à craindre pourtant que M. Lalo, après comme avant le Roi d'Ys, ne reste un artiste modeste, indifférent à la réclame, absorbé dans son art et se donnant à lui sans arrière-pensée.[58]

While Reyer's writings abound in ironies, they are equally rich in poetic outbursts of genuine enthusiasm. There can be no doubt as to the sincerity of his praise in such passages as the following, drawn from reviews of music by Bach and Weber:

> . . . grand Sébastian Bach, le Jupiter de la musique. Celui-là est le plus fort parmi les plus forts, le plus illustre parmi les plus illustres. . . .
>
> C'est avec raison et avec une rare vérité d'expression qu'on a appelé Bach le père nourricier des plus grands musiciens. Tous se sont abreuvés à la source féconde et intarissable de ce vaste génie.[59]
>
> * * *
>
> Si de tout ce que je viens de dire et de ce que j'ai écrit précédemment ne ressortait pas assez ma passion

> pour Weber, je l'avouerais bien haut, et plus haut encore, et j'affirmerais qu'à mes yeux il n'est pas de piédestal assez élevé, pas de marbre assez pur pour une pareille statue.[60]

Fervent declarations of admiration are likewise plentiful in Reyer's writings about Gluck, Spontini, and Berlioz. For example, when reviewing the program which he had selected and conducted to commemorate the tenth anniversary of Berlioz's death--a program which had included an excerpt from Sigurd--Reyer humbly avowed:

> Quant à moi, je ne figurais au milieu de ces glorieux représentans du grand art lyrique et de la symphonie: Gluck, Spontini, et Berlioz, que comme leur obscur disciple, comme le fervent admirateur de leur génie et des chefs-d'oeuvre qu'ils nous ont laissés. A tout tableau il faut une ombre, et j'étais, si l'on veut, l'ombre de ce magnifique tableau.[61]

Wagner, too, is graced by some of Reyer's most decorative writing and unreserved praise,[62] as are a few French composers active during the last third of the century. An eloquent illustration of such writing is Reyer's first reaction to the music of Franck. After hearing excerpts from Franck's églogue biblique Ruth in 1871, Reyer--without waiting for the day when his feuilleton would appear in the Débats--immediately published a notice hailing the then-obscure composer.

> Je sors du concert des Champs-Elysées, très impressionné par l'oeuvre remarquable que je viens d'entendre. M. César Franck, l'auteur de Ruth, est à peine connu de quelques artistes. Et voilà vingt ans au moins qu'il a écrit cette belle partition si colorée et d'un si grand style. N'est-il pas profondément regrettable qu'à Paris un musicien puisse rester à peu près ignoré quand il a produit une telle oeuvre? Et n'est-il pas juste qu'il soit célèbre le lendemain du jour où elle a été entendue?[63]

Reyer's literary style is distinguished not only by these and other outbursts of enthusiasm, as well as by witticisms and ironies such as

the ones previously cited, but also by a taste for the picturesque. This is strikingly exemplified in many delightful sketches of the countryside, towns, and cities he traversed during his frequent journeys. These literary landscapes enliven Souvenirs d'Allemagne and countless articles spanning nearly his entire career as a critic. Two such depictions are given below: the first, excerpted from an article written in 1855, is a brief description of the view from the famous source at Saint-Denys-lès-Bois; the second, dating from 1897, lovingly portrays Lavandou, the fishing village where Reyer would spend most of his retirement.

> Le site [de la fontaine de Saint-Denys] est délicieux; . . . la Loire borde la prairie, et l'oeil aperçoit au loin les tourelles gothiques du château de Chambord, les flèches de la cathédrale de Blois, l'architecture plus massive et les vastes jardins du château de Ménars, . . . et toute cette belle vallée de la Loire, et les plaines boisées de la Sologne. Ce point de vue est magnifique.[64]

* * *

> A quoi bon vous dire le nom bien ignoré de la retraite que j'avais choisie et que le hasard m'avait fait rencontrer? Petit coin de ma belle Provence, que le ciel te garde le plus longtemps possible des breacks anglais et des casinos à roulette! L'anse est assez spacieuse, et les îles d'en face l'abritent contre la violence du vent. Une centaine de maisons rustiques, trois ou quatre villas de modeste apparence appartenant à des notables du pays, une petite église, une auberge suffisamment confortable, et c'est tout. Le matin, étalés sur la plage, de lourds filets que raccommodent les pêcheurs dont les barques sont rangées plus loin, fraternellement, côte à côte. De jolis enfants jouent sur le sable. Et des bois de pins étagés sur les collines environnantes descendent par endroits jusqu'au bord de la mer, hardiment plantés sur des rochers avec lesquels ils forment de verdoyants promontoires et des criques pleines d'ombre.[65]

Reyer's taste for the picturesque is manifested also by the colorful souvenirs and anecdotes with which he loved to embellish his writings. One of his most amusing anecdotes is a recollection of how a "friend" had cleverly prevented a famous diva from singing her elaborately embellished version of an aria from Castil-Blaze's adaptation of Weber's Der Freischütz.

> . . . un de mes amis, très grand mélomane, invité à une soirée musicale donnée en l'honneur d'une cantatrice célèbre, aperçut sur le piano l'air d'Annette de Robin des Bois, ce qui n'est pas tout à fait l'air d'Agathe du Freischütz, tout barbouillé de points d'orgue, d'appogiatures, de rallentando et autres modifications plus grotesques les unes que les autres. Il mit tranquillement le rouleau de musique dans sa poche. On le chercha partout, on ne le trouva nulle part, et la célèbre cantatrice ne chanta pas son air de Robin des Bois ce soir-là.[66]

Reyer's writings are particularly rich in souvenirs and anecdotes apropos of the musicians--pedagogues, conductors, singers, and numerous composers--with whom he was acquainted.[67] Reminiscences of his beloved friend Berlioz, whom Reyer knew probably as well as any other man of his generation, are especially plentiful.[68]

Reyer's use of imaginative and fictional devices as an aid to critical argument is an aspect of his literary style which reminds us of Berlioz and the German Romantic composer-critics, such as E. T. A. Hoffmann, Weber, and Schumann. For example, just as Berlioz wrote tongue-in-cheek about laws which the Chinese had passed concerning the professional conduct of singers and theatre directors, so Reyer criticized contemporary practices at the Opéra by printing a letter supposedly written by a resident of Benares--an Indian city sacred to the Hindus--about a certain pagoda:

> Une de nos plus grandes pagodes . . . [est un] temple, consacré au culte de la musique . . .
> . . . dans la pagode . . . il se commet depuis un temps immémorial des actes fort répréhensibles et même attentoires à la dignité du culte auquel elle est consacrée: par exemple, on y a représenté pendant bien longtemps, mutilé et exécuté par des coryphées, le chef-d'oeuvre d'un célèbre compositeur nommé Rossinidâsa, et on y donne des bals masqués et publics qui offensent la morale, la décence, et sont un véritable outrage à la religion de l'art pur.[69]

One feuilleton in particular is reminiscent of the fantastic style of Hoffmann and the German writers: a disembodied voice, "peut-être . . . d'un musicien,"[70] dictates to Reyer a letter lamenting the Parisian public's craze for operettas and its lack of interest in masterpieces of the past.

The longest example of Reyer's discussing a crucial issue in a highly imaginative way is "Histoire d'un musicien," one of his articles in the Revue française. This, supposedly, is the story told to Reyer by a stranger whom he met while out walking one day. The stranger--a young composer from an unspecified country--described in detail the happy events that culminated in the successful premiere of his first opera at "le grand théâtre national." The stranger departed and Reyer resumed his walk, then encountered a doctor who informed him that the "musicien" was a hopelessly deranged mental patient. At this point the message of the article becomes clear: the Paris Opéra--France's national theatre --is inhospitable to young composers.[71]

Reyer never took advantage of the double function of composer and critic in order to promote his own music. For example, although he witnessed the triumphant premieres of Sigurd and Salammbô at Brussels, on both occasions he requested that a Belgian critic--Gustave Frédérix--

write the review for the Débats.[72] When Reyer discussed the Parisian productions of his five operas, he did so with tact, tasteful reserve, and sincere modesty, as is superbly demonstrated by his review of the Opéra's Salammbô. Although this work was enthusiastically acclaimed by the public, the Parisian critics did not praise it unanimously, as Reyer readily admitted to his readers.

> Je commence par remercier ceux de mes confrères qui m'ont couvert de fleurs; je remercie aussi ceux qui m'ont tressé des couronnes de roses dont ils avaient, avec une intention que je respecte, négligé de retirer les épines. J'en ai tressé moi-même quelques-unes de toutes semblables en mainte occasion. Les piqûres n'en sont pas trop douloureuses et se cicatrisent vite. Ce serait un pauvre triomphateur que celui qui reviendrait de la bataille escorté seulement par des joueurs de flûte.[73]

Instead of either keeping silent about his defeats or bitterly blaming them on various persons and/or circumstances, Reyer recounted them with inexhaustible good humor. Thus, when reviewing the resounding failure of Erostrate at the Opéra in 1871, the composer-critic reflected:

> Ce qui sauvera peut-être ma partition de l'oubli, c'est qu'elle pourra servir de point de comparaison: on dira, en parlant d'un opéra ennuyeux: C'est presque aussi ennuyeux ou beaucoup plus ennuyeux qu'Erostrate.[74]

Contents of and Critical Reaction to "Notes de musique" and "Quarante ans de musique"

Notes de musique and Quarante ans de musique, the only collected sources of Reyer's criticism, comprise less than ten percent of his literary output.[75] As we observed in Chapter I, the making of each compilation was due primarily to the efforts of Reyer's friends, because he himself had little concern for the fate of his writings.

Notes begins and ends in a humorous vein: the first item is the touching and witty "Histoire d'un musicien"; the last, entitled "Petites notes," is a selection of amusing reviews, whimsical sallies, and droll anecdotes. "Histoire" and "Petites notes" frame the two principal sections of the book, each of which occupies approximately two hundred pages: "Voyages" and "Etudes et Portraits." The former section includes Souvenirs d'Allemagne and Reyer's account of the premiere of Aïda at Cairo as well as his subsequent journeys in Egypt. "Etudes et Portraits" consists of writings on a variety of subjects: there are studies of works for the lyric theatre; essays on Berlioz, which constitute nearly one-fifth of the volume; portraits of other prominent friends and acquaintances of Reyer; and a review of one of the annual competitions of the Paris Conservatoire.

Several eminent critics praised Notes as being both diverting and instructive. Ernest Legouvé went so far as to declare that Reyer deserved to be ranked alongside other distinguished composer-critics, including Berlioz.[76] As we observed in the Preface of this dissertation, other critics exclaimed at the time of Reyer's death that the author of Notes should have been elected to the Académie française.

After the publication of Reyer's collection, critics urged him to fulfil his vow that he would compile a second "si ce premier volume a quelque succès."[77] However, despite the highly favorable reviews of Notes, the promised compilation had not appeared when the venerable composer-critic died thirty-four years later, in 1909. The several critics who, at the time of his death, called for the making of a second compilation--and even a third or fourth[78]--were evidently unaware that

Reyer's young friend Emile Henriot had obtained the aged critic's permission to undertake the project.

Reyer had consented to the preparation of a second compilation on condition that he would not have to concern himself with the work, except to look at the proofs in order to determine the sequence in which he wanted the selections to appear. Unfortunately, he had died before Henriot had found a publisher or had even begun selecting the writings.[79] Therefore, the choice and order of the selections in the second volume, published late in 1909 as Quarante ans de musique, are attributable solely to Henriot. He must also be held responsible for the obviously careless proofreading which allowed many typographical errors--especially in the spelling of proper names--to stand in Reyer's writings.[80] These writings are supplemented by two items by Henriot: a lengthy preface dealing with Reyer's career as a critic, and a "Table chronologique des feuilletons d'Ernest Reyer parus dans le Courrier de Paris et le Journal des Débats." The preface, however, is flawed by misinformation and oversights,[81] while the "Table" is not only incomplete but also marred by dozens of errors which indicate haste in the transcribing of the dates and subtitles of Reyer's feuilletons.[82]

Whereas Notes includes some of Reyer's descriptions of his travels, Quarante is devoted entirely to his writings on music and musicians. Most of the items chosen by Henriot concern composers who were prominent in Reyer's day: Wagner, Berlioz, and many other contemporary French composers, including Gounod, Reyer himself, and several young compatriots. Two composers of the past--Gluck and Weber--are each represented by one article. Reyer's recollection of his meetings with Liszt at

Rome in the summer of 1865, and his review of the world premiere of Verdi's Otello, are also included in the collection.

Several critics rejoiced when Quarante appeared, for it preserved some more of what they regarded as a precious literary legacy.[83] A few faulted Henriot for not having organized the compilation according to a discernible plan, such as chronological or even alphabetical order, but most were pleased by the selections he had made.[84] He had stated in his preface that "si ce volume réussit, nous en publierons un autre,"[85] and critics urged him to keep his promise.

Despite their understandable complaints about the volume's lack of organization, critics commended Henriot for his selection of Reyer's writings on Wagner and on contemporary French composers. The nine articles on Wagner--comprising more than one-quarter of the volume--provide an excellent sampling of Reyer's views on many of Wagner's operas, and offer a clear picture of the critic's attitude toward the pro-Wagner movement that dominated Parisian musical life from the mid-1880s until the turn of the century.[86] Writings on five French composers whom Reyer encouraged from the outset of their careers--namely, Bizet, Massenet, Lalo, Gounod, and Saint-Saëns--constitute more than half the volume, and, as Henri de Curzon notes, afford

> une idée assez bonne de cette indépendance de critique, de cette solidité de conviction, de cette sympathie naturelle pour les nouveaux-venus, . . . de cette parfaite simplicité, mais de cette verve si spirituelle, qui caractérisent la manière de Reyer écrivain.[87]

The writings on Berlioz and on Reyer in Quarante seem to have been chosen for the purpose of complementing those in Notes. In Quarante three of the four items concerning Berlioz are reviews of compositions,

whereas in the earlier compilation five of the half-dozen selections about this composer are of primarily biographical interest.[88] Together, the two volumes represent Reyer's writings on all of his own works for the lyric theatre: reviews of Maître Wolfram and Erostrate in the first volume are complemented in the second by feuilletons on La Statue, Sigurd, and Salammbô.

In other respects, too, the second volume complements the first. The review of Verdi's Otello in Quarante supplements those of two of his earlier works--Aïda and the Requiem--in Notes. Furthermore, Reyer's review of Beethoven's Fidelio in the first compilation is complemented in the second by writings on Gluck and Weber.[89] Finally, the second volume--as previously noted--is largely concerned with Reyer's contemporaries, whereas the first volume focuses on an earlier generation, including not only Beethoven but also Auber, Fétis, Carafa, Meyerbeer, Rossini, and Berlioz.

While Quarante is in many respects a worthy complement to Notes, critics regretted that Henriot had not presented more of Reyer's writings.[90] Several obvious lacunae in the selection were cited by Georges Servières:

> Pourquoi nous donner seulement le compte-rendu de Faust [de Gounod] et point celui de Roméo et Juliette? Pourquoi Othello [sic] et non Falstaff? Pourquoi avoir laissé de côté le feuilleton sur Namouna [de Lalo], alors que Reyer fut un des rares critiques qui proclamèrent la valeur musicale de ce ballet? Enfin pourquoi n'avoir point publié les appréciations de Reyer sur C. Franck, quand il est des premiers à avoir reconnu le mérite des oratorios Ruth et Rédemption?[91]

We might add that Henriot should have included more than one article on Gluck and one on Weber, and should not have overlooked Spontini; his

neglect of these three composers seems all the more regrettable when we observe that none was represented in Notes. A compilation (or compilations) which would fill all of these lacunae is surely a desideratum.

Endnotes

[1] To my knowledge, the first critical writing signed by Reyer is a review of Halévy's opera Le Juif errant (1852); the last is a tribute to Benjamin Godard (1904). See Appendix A for a bibliography of Reyer's critical writings.

[2] The vast majority of these 715 were published with Reyer's surname or with both initials. However, more than two dozen were anonymous. They can be positively identified as being by Reyer either because he eventually acknowledged their authorship, or because they were ascribed to him by his close friends Henriot, Jullien, and/or Curzon.

[3] Reyer wrote 58 articles for the AthF, 23 for the RF, 24 for the RP, and 11 for the GN.

[4] In La Presse I have encountered only one item signed by Reyer: a letter-article replying to the first installment of Judith Mendès's article "Richard Wagner et la critique" (see Chapter VIII, p. 332). In FM there are two items bearing either Reyer's surname or his initials: "Pierre Dupont, musicien," FM 16 (29 August 1852):284-86 (reprinted from AthF 1 [21 August 1852]:123-24); and "Les Soirées de M. Marmontel," FM 22 (6 June 1858):181-82. The latter, signed "E. R.," is a résumé of a series of private concerts given at the home of the pianist and pedagogue Antoine-François Marmontel--concerts which included piano works and chamber music by Mme Farrenc and other contemporary French composers.

[5] See Georges Servières, "Les Relations d'Ernest Reyer et de Théophile Gautier," Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France, no. 24 (1917), pp. 65-79. Reyer's writings, says Servières, are distinguishable by the focusing of attention on his own music and that of his aunt as well as his fellow-Marseillais, such as L. Amat, Arnaud, and X. Boisselot, "et surtout par une technicité qui n'était ni du goût de Théophile Gautier, ni dans ses facultés." (Ibid., p. 71.)

Servières deals specifically with eighteen feuilletons (of which only ten are given complete bibliographic citations). He does not claim that these eighteen are the only ones in which Reyer had a hand: at the conclusion of the article he declares non-committally that "la 'copie' [de Reyer] fut textuellement insérée dans les feuilletons de la Presse," and that Reyer's "copy" was "quelquefois même rejetée à la fin du feuilleton, avec un sous-titre, mais avant la signature: Théophile Gautier." (Ibid., pp. 79 and 79n.) By examining six-month periods from two of the years during which Reyer allegedly ghostwrote for La Presse (see Appendix A), I uncovered three feuilletons in which a section of music criticism does indeed appear with a subtitle but ahead of Gautier's signature

(or that of Louis de Cormenin, who substituted for the vacationing Gautier). These feuilletons are dated 6 July 1852, 15 November 1852, and 5 December 1854; in all three, the subtitle is "Chronique musicale."

[6] The four reviews are: "Matinée musicale de Mme Pierson-Bodin. [-- Soirée musicale at the home of M. Letellier]," FM 19 (22 April 1855):125; the serialized article "Les Concerts historiques du clavecin et du piano par M. et Mme Farrenc," FM 21 (6 and 20 December 1857): 395-96 and 410-11; and "Séances musicales. Deuxième matinée de Mme Pierson-Bodin. -- Première soirée de M. Marmontel. -- Première soirée de M. Baillot," FM 22 (10 January 1858):10-11. The probability that Reyer reviewed the matinées of Mme Pierson-Bodin is strengthened by the fact that Mme Farrenc often performed in these private concerts, and was "evidently a close friend of Mme Pierson-Bodin." (Jeffrey Cooper, The Rise of Instrumental Music and Concert Series in Paris, 1828-1871, Studies in Musicology, no. 65 [Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1983], p. 73.) We can also be reasonably certain that Reyer reviewed Marmontel's first soirée of 1858, because--as stated above in n. 4--a résumé of the entire series was later published with Reyer's initials.

[7] The speech on Félicien David dates from 1877; those on Berlioz were written in 1866, 1890, and 1903; and the essay was published in 1889. All are cited in Appendix B.

[8] According to H. Robert Cohen, "Berlioz on the Opéra (1829-1849): A Study in Music Criticism" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1973), p. 5. As we shall see in Chapter VII, p. 276, Reyer began expressing admiration for Berlioz the critic during the 1850s, at the outset of his own career.

[9] Speech delivered at the inauguration of the statue of Berlioz at Paris on 17 October 1886 (published in the JD feuilleton that same day).

[10] "La Critique musicale: Castil-Blaze, H. Berlioz," in Le Livre du centenaire du "Journal des Débats," 1789-1889 (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1889), p. 431. François-Henri-Joseph Blaze (1784-1857), known as Castil-Blaze, was a music critic, composer, arranger, and translator. He served as critic for the JD from 1822 until 1832, during which time he exercised much influence on musical affairs in Paris. Although he was a man of considerable learning, he had a penchant for making irresponsible arrangements of famous composers' works. Apropos of his arrangements of Weber's Der Freischütz and Euryanthe, see Chapter VI, p. 215.

[11] The manuscript of Souvenirs d'Allemagne is conserved as part of the Reyer "Dossier d'Artiste" in the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra. Near the beginning of his report, Reyer recalls that he had been to Germany many times before receiving the charge from the government in 1863; in 1862, for example, he had visited several southern and western centers (Stuttgart, Augsburg, Nuremburg, Munich, Frankfort, and Darmstadt). He then explains that, before writing his report on musical life in Germany,

"j'ai voulu . . . l'avoir visitée tout entière, et j'ai commencé par Berlin." (Souvenirs d'Allemagne, reprinted in Notes de musique [Paris: Charpentier, 1875], p. 37.) Reyer travelled from Berlin into east central Germany (Weimar, Eisenach, Leipzig, and Dresden), then through Czechoslovakia (Prague and Brno) into northeastern Austria (Vienna and Graz) and northeastern Italy (Trieste). After reaching Venice he turned north, journeying through Verona and the Tyrol into Salzburg, and from there into southern and southwestern Germany (Munich, Baden-Baden, Mannheim, and Karlsruhe).

12 Ibid., p. 154. Reyer pointed out that "un ouvrage joué pour la première fois à Mannheim, à Weimar, à Prague ou à Carlsruhe peut se répandre ensuite dans toute l'Allemagne et arriver sur les grandes scènes de Vienne et de Berlin," whereas an opera premiered at one of the provincial centers in France had little chance of reaching Paris. He added that, even if a French opera did find its way from the provinces to the capital, it was usually greeted with "cette indifférence qui peut presque s'appeler du dédain" (ibid., pp. 154-55).

13 "Lettre en guise de préface, à Monsieur Henri Maréchal," in Paris, souvenirs d'un musicien: 185 .-1870, by Henri Maréchal (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1907), p. xiii.

14 In the JD feuilleton of 16 November 1871, for example, he remarked: "Je suis fort entêté dans mes admirations et j'aime qu'on les partage." See also the excerpt from his "profession de foi" (ibid., 2 December 1866), quoted in Chapter III, pp. 129-30.

15 Ibid., 8 December 1894. Reyer's interest in such works was perhaps most strongly expressed in the following remark, written more than thirty years earlier: "Selon moi, il n'est rien de plus beau, de plus imposant, de plus grandiose qu'une armée d'exécutants . . . échelonnés sur une vaste estrade" ("Chronique musicale," GN 2 [4 February 1860]:5).

16 Reyer persistently called for a spacious, comfortable hall with excellent acoustics--a building that would be comparable to London's Albert Hall or Exeter Hall. The following are among the writings in which he drew attention to the need for such a hall in Paris: "Chronique musicale," RF Année 1, Tome 1 (1 December 1855):251-52; CP feuilleton of 25 October 1859; "Chronique musicale," GN 2 (4 February 1860):5; ibid. (14 April 1860):5; and the JD feuilletons of 8 and 27 September 1867, 30 April 1869, 16 November 1871, 18 May 1872, and 23 May 1877.

17 Of the twenty-three articles which Reyer contributed to the RF, for example, five include material pertaining to chamber music. See his "Chronique musicale" in the following: Année 1, Tome 3 (1 December 1855):256; ibid. (20 January 1856):515-16; Année 2, Tome 7 (20 December 1856):383-84; ibid. (20 January 1857):571; and Année 3, Tome 8 (10 April 1857):511-12.

[18] Reyer's views on Italian, German, and French opera are discussed in Chapter IV, pp. 161-63.

[19] "Lorsque M. Meyerbeer, empruntant à l'école italienne ses mélodies faciles et élégantes, et à l'école allemande la richesse de son instrumentation, eut porté à leur paroxysme ces deux éléments du drame lyrique, il créa un genre bâtard qui fit révolution en France . . . La plupart de nos compositeurs, témoins du succès qui accueillit les ouvrages du célèbre maestro, entrèrent dans cette voie nouvelle" ("Chronique musicale," AthF 1 [10 and 17 July 1852]:31).

[20] Reyer felt that, of all Meyerbeer's works, Robert le Diable and Les Huguenots were the ones in which the melodic writing showed most strongly the influence of "la manière italienne." See "Musique. Opéra," RP 8 (May 1852):156.

[21] Ibid. Like Berlioz, Reyer was particularly impressed by Meyerbeer's expertise in the treatment of the orchestra. As an example of the "soin extrême" with which Meyerbeer created orchestral effects that would be consistent with the dramatic ideas of the text, Reyer cited the use of the bass clarinet to achieve a lugubrious mood in the accompaniment to the trio in Act V of Les Huguenots (JD feuilleton of 25 March 1873).

[22] The preference of both men for the German musical tradition was probably strengthened by the many visits made by each to Germany.

[23] As early as 1854 Reyer wholeheartedly supported performances of Beethoven's last quartets; see "Chronique de la quinzaine: Revue musicale," RP 20 (15 February 1854):671. The "colossale grandeur" of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony--and, in particular, the "merveilleuse, sublime" Adagio--profoundly impressed Reyer (JD feuilleton of 18 February 1877).

[24] In a review of the premiere of Schumann's Das Paradies und die Peri in French translation, Reyer discussed what he regarded as the strengths and weaknesses of the composer, then concluded:

> "C'est un maître, mais un maître plein de défaillances, d'inégalités et d'incorrections qui ne sauraient être prises pour des éclairs de génie. Schumann, bien qu'inférieur à Mendelssohn et à Weber, s'est pourtant rapproché d'eux quelquefois, et dans le Paradis et la Péri, par exemple, des réminiscences du Songe d'une nuit d'été et d'Oberon viennent attester ce rapprochement de la façon la plus évidente."
> (JD feuilleton of 15 December 1869)

Reyer esteemed Mendelssohn primarily as a composer of choral and orchestral music distinguished by "l'élévation du style, l'ampleur des idées et les savantes combinaisons de l'orchestre" (ibid., 3 January 1867).

[25] Reyer applauded the colorful instrumentation of such diverse works as the overtures of Weber, Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, and

Schumann's Manfred; see the CP feuilleton of 11 September 1857 and the JD feuilletons of 22 January 1888 and 18 February 1877 respectively.

[26] Distressed by the failures of the Parisian premieres of first Tannhäuser (1861) and then Les Troyens à Carthage (1863), Reyer exclaimed to his readers: "Les classiques! les classiques! dites-vous; tenons-nous-en aux classiques! Mais Wagner et Berlioz, dans quelques années d'ici, seront des classiques!... [sic]" (Souvenirs, reprinted in Notes, p. 26; see the longer excerpt given below in Chapter VII, p. 288).

[27] JD feuilleton of 8 December 1894.

[28] Apropos of two of the French masters, Reyer once remarked: "Je crois que Grétry, en dépit de sa faible instruction musicale, était cependant ce qu'on peut appeler un grand musicien. . . . Je crois que l'artiste qui a écrit la touchante et palpitante romance de Nina [Dalayrac] était, lui aussi, un grand artiste" (from a conversation with Arthur Pougin on 14 December 1891, quoted by Pougin in "Ernest Reyer," Le Ménestrel 75 [23 January 1909]:27). Reyer often cited Grétry's Lettre sur la musique when advising young composers against the over-use of brass and percussion; see, for example, the CP feuilleton of 29 April 1857 (from which an excerpt is given in Chapter VI, p. 237). Lesueur--Berlioz's first teacher at Paris--was admired by Reyer as both composer and "l'un des plus grands théoriciens que la France ait produits" (ibid.).

[29] See Jacques Barzun, Berlioz and the Romantic Century, 3d ed., 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), 1:345 and 345n., 2:264.

[30] JD feuilleton of 31 May 1868; see the longer excerpt given in Chapter III, p. 126.

[31] Barzun maintains that Berlioz knew Handel's music "only through bad and dull performances, the kind Shaw was to call 'in-churchy'" (Berlioz, 2:264).

[32] JD feuilleton of 24 November 1874 (review of the Parisian premiere, given by Charles Lamoureux's Société de l'Harmonie sacrée). After this performance, Reyer expressed the opinion that Judas Maccabeus was Handel's masterpiece. However, when he heard Messiah and Israel in Egypt at the Handel Festival at London in 1880, they became his favorites (see ibid., 27 and 28 July 1880). He affirmed his preference for these two works when he reviewed the Parisian premiere of Israel in Egypt, presented under the aegis of the Société des grandes auditions musicales de la France (ibid., 7 June 1891). The Société is identified in Chapter VII, n. 39.

[33] According to Barzun, Berlioz, 2:264.

[34] JD feuilleton of 28 February 1867.

[35] Reyer's review of Delsarte's Archives--a selection of music ranging from the hymns of SS. Ambrose and Gregory to excerpts from the operas of Lully and Rameau--constitutes part of "Chronique musicale," AthF 5 (26 April 1856):358. Lajarte's airs à danser is briefly described by Reyer in the JD feuilleton of 9 November 1875.

When the first volume of the Farrencs' Trésor des pianistes appeared, Reyer devoted nearly half a feuilleton to their project of publishing a collection of clavecin, organ, and piano music dating from the sixteenth century to the time of Mendelssohn and Chopin. He concluded: "Il me semble que le Trésor des pianistes pourrait bien être aussi le Trésor des compositeurs." (CP feuilleton of 18 October 1859.) Upon completion of the series with the publication of the twentieth volume in 1872, Reyer again called attention to "ce magnifique ouvrage" (JD feuilleton of 29 December 1872).

[36] Neither the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, nor the Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève (Paris) possesses a copy of this collection, which perhaps is no longer extant. I am grateful to Miss Diana Snigurowicz--a graduate fellow of the RIPM research center at the University of Maryland, College Park--for calling my attention to an advertisement for and reprints from the collection, in L'Art musical. On p. 96 of the issue of 30 June 1885, Quarante vieilles chansons is advertised as being one of the "volumes nouveaux" published by the Bibliothèque-Leduc. The musical supplement for that month of L'Art musical includes reprints of four items from Quarante vieilles chansons: the table of contents, preface, and two songs. The one-page preface cannot be counted amongst Reyer's critical writings, for it pertains only to his work as compiler of the collection. He cites the sources in which he found the melodies; regrets that he was not always able to ascertain the names and dates of the composers; mentions that the publisher changed the time signatures of three melodies from 6/4 or 3/2 to the familiar 6/8; and explains that the piano accompaniments which he provided were written "sans aucune prétention à l'archaïsme . . . je me suis appliqué seulement à rester, autant que je l'ai pu, dans le sentiment et dans la couleur du sujet."

[37] JD feuilleton of 12 December 1879.

[38] Ibid., 29 June 1872.

[39] Reyer maintained that these old masterpieces would familiarize young composers with the immutable principles of their art, would deepen their understanding of outstanding contemporary composers, and would improve the skills of singers. Indeed, he recommended the study of these works as the basis of musical education for non-musicians and musicians alike, because he believed that "ce serait là le vrai moyen . . . de perfectionner le goût musical" (ibid., 18 June 1881; see also the quotation given in Chapter V, pp. 188-89). The writings in which Reyer expressed this view are too numerous to cite, for they range from articles

published in the 1850s to a feuilleton that appeared in the JD in 1898, the year of his retirement: see "Chronique de la quinzaine. Revue musicale," RP 22 (15 July 1854):314; and the JD feuilleton of 12 June 1898.

[40] Among the changes recommended by Reyer were the introduction of two new courses: one in conducting, which he regarded as an exacting art (ibid., 29 June 1872, 8 July 1879, 26 March and 18 April 1880); and an analysis class which would embrace "les chefs-d'oeuvre classiques de toutes les écoles" as well as "des oeuvres modernes, toujours sans distinction d'école, produites par les maîtres aux tendances les plus extrêmes, par les maîtres les plus discutés," such as Wagner and Berlioz (ibid., 19 August 1878). Reyer also urged the following: the reviving of a student orchestra, such as had been founded by Pasdeloup in 1852 (ibid., 29 June 1872); and the reestablishment of the pensionnat (ibid., 21 August 1882).

[41] Apropos of this plan, see ibid., 29 June 1872, 6 November 1887, 8 April 1888, and 10 November 1894. Reyer's keen interest both in the training of young composers and in their careers may be attributed partly to the fact that he had received almost no formal instruction in music, and partly to his awareness of the difficulties confronting any composer who--like himself--wanted to have a career in Paris.

[42] Ibid., 10 November 1894.

[43] Ibid., 8 April 1888.

[44] "Qu'on lise . . . l'Histoire d'un musicien et les Souvenirs d'Allemagne. Cela est d'un grand écrivain, d'un grand écrivain classique. La phrase est nerveuse, pittoresque, amusante, colorée, vive." Emile Henriot, Preface to Quarante ans de musique, by Ernest Reyer (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1909), p. xvi.

[45] Gabriel Fauré, "Ernest Reyer," Le Figaro, 16 January 1909, p. 1. The writings singled out by Fauré were the following: a study of Lohengrin, published as the JD feuilletons of 30 September and 7 October 1868 (see Chapter VIII, p. 323); the obituary "Hector Berlioz" (JD, 31 March 1869, p. 3); and the review of Fidelio in translation at the Théâtre-Italien (JD feuilleton of 2 December 1869). All had been reprinted in Reyer's Notes.

Fauré's article was reprinted in a posthumous collection of his critical writings: Opinions musicales, compiled, with a preface, by P. G. Gheusi (Paris: Les Editions Rieder, 1930), pp. 118-22.

[46] Pierre Lalo, De Rameau à Ravel: portraits et souvenirs, compiled, with a preface, by Gustave Samazeuilh (Paris: Editions Albin Michel, 1947), p. 91.

[47] See Adolphe Boschot, Institut de France. Académie des Beaux-Arts. Inauguration du monument d'Ernest Reyer à Marseille, le 16

décembre 1934 (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1934), p. 5. The use of the first person plural, an old custom of the well-bred, was habitual in Gautier's writings. It is found in most of Reyer's articles for both the RP and the AthF, as well as in his early ones for the RF; see, for example, "Chronique musicale. Les Vêpres siciliennes," RF Année 1, Tome 2 (20 July 1855):186-92. Among the later writings in which Reyer resorted to this practice are the following: the review of Berlioz's Mémoires (JD feuilletons of 15 and 16 March, 4 and 5 June 1871); the obituary of Gautier (in ibid., 1 November 1872); the essay on the history of the musical feuilleton of the JD (in Le Livre du centenaire, pp. 427-40); and the three speeches honoring the memory of Berlioz.

48 Henriot, Preface to Quarante, p. xii.

49 In a delightful character sketch of Reyer written in 1876, Charles Monselet--a well-known Parisian theatre critic--remarked that "Ernest Reyer, qui a succédé à Berlioz dans ces mêmes fonctions [de critique au Journal des Débats], a de plus que lui la tenue et l'impartialité." (Quoted by Pougin, "Reyer," p. 26.) Many years later, an obituary of Reyer in a prominent English review stated that "his articles, not unworthy of his predecessor Berlioz as regards style and esprit, provided highly interesting reading." ("Obituary," The Musical Times 50 [1 February 1909]:104.)

50 Ernest Legouvé, review of Notes de musique, by Ernest Reyer, in the JD, 4 May 1875, p. 3.

51 Henri de Curzon, Ernest Reyer, sa vie et ses oeuvres (1823-1909) (Paris: Perrin, 1924), p. 187.

52 JD feuilleton of 30 June 1889. This ballet, composed when Ambroise Thomas was seventy-seven, proved to be his last major work.

53 Ibid., 6 January 1868.

54 Ibid., 29 May 1892.

55 Legouvé declared that Reyer seemed to have inherited Prévost-Paradol's gift for irony, "cet art tout français [qui] est presque perdu en France." (Review of Notes, JD of 4 May 1875.) Both Georges Servières and the composer-critic Gaston Carraud observed that Reyer's ironies were less bitter than those of Berlioz. See Servières, La Musique française moderne: César Franck; Edouard Lalo; Jules Massenet; Ernest Reyer; Camille Saint-Saëns (Paris: G. Havard fils, 1897), p. 276; and a remark by Carraud quoted in Curzon, Reyer, p. 189.

56 JD feuilleton of 30 March 1890. Thus Reyer conveyed his opinion that, although Saint-Saëns was an impeccable technician, his works sometimes lacked inspiration.

[57] Consider, for example, the review of Gounod's Le Tribut de Zamora. Reyer's retelling of the story is generously sprinkled with quotations of feeble verses such as the following (the song of Ben Saïd's harem):

"Heureuse vie,
Digne d'envie,
Toujours suivie
D'un songe d'or,
Plus doux encore."
(Ibid., 7 April 1881)

[58] Ibid., 13 May 1888.

[59] Ibid., 25 March 1873.

[60] CP feuilleton of 11 September 1857.

[61] JD feuilleton of 22 March 1879. (For further information on this "festival," see Chapter VII, pp. 271-72.)

[62] Even in the mid-1890s--nearly four decades after a production of Tannhäuser at Wiesbaden had introduced him to Wagner's music--Reyer was still expressing admiration for "la haute, la colossale personnalité du maître saxon." (Ibid., 8 December 1894.)

[63] JD, 16 October 1871, p. 3.

[64] "Chronique musicale," AthF 4 (22 September 1855):817.

[65] JD feuilleton of 25 April 1897.

[66] Ibid., 9 March 1873. Ten years later, Reyer recalled the incident and admitted that he himself had concealed the music (ibid., 28 October 1883).

[67] See, for example, his recollections of the following persons: the violin pedagogue Hubert Léonard (ibid., 1 June 1890); the eminent conductor Pasdeloup (ibid., 18 August 1887 and 10 November 1894); various singers (ibid., 9 March 1873), including Rose Caron (ibid., 28 September 1885); and the composers Rossini (CP feuilleton of 15 May 1857; JD feuilleton of 7 March 1880), Félicien David (letter-article, JD of 3 September 1876, p. 3), Meyerbeer (JD feuilletons of 27 March, 29 March, and 29 April 1881), Liszt (ibid., 28 March 1886), Verdi (ibid., 13 June 1886 and 11 February 1887), and Ambroise Thomas (letter-article, JD of 18 February 1896, p. 2).

[68] The long friendship of Berlioz and Reyer is discussed in Chapter VII. All of Reyer's principal writings on Berlioz the man were published in the JD: the obituary "Hector Berlioz" (31 March 1869, p. 3); the serialized review of Berlioz's Mémoires (feuilletons of 15 and 16

March, 4 and 5 June 1871); and the review of Adolphe Jullien's biography of Berlioz (feuilleton of 3 February 1889).

69 Ibid., 29 June 1873. "Le chef-d'oeuvre d'un célèbre compositeur nommé Rossinidâsa" is an allusion to Rossini's Guillaume Tell (1829), which had long been a mainstay in the repertoire of the Paris Opéra.

70 Ibid., 27 September 1874.

71 "Histoire d'un musicien," RF Année 3, Tome 9 (20 June 1857):321-29.

72 See Frédérix's review of Sigurd ("Une Première représentation à Bruxelles," JD of 16 January 1884, p. 3), and his feuilleton on Salammbô (ibid., 18 February 1890). Frédérix was then music critic for the newspaper L'Indépendance belge.

73 JD feuilleton of 29 May 1892. Reyer's reviews of his other operas appeared in ibid., 24 October 1871 (Parisian premiere of Erostrate), 13 December 1873 (revival of Maître Wolfram), 5 May 1878 (Parisian premiere of La Statue as an opéra instead of an opéra comique), and 21 June 1885 (Parisian premiere of Sigurd). The reviews of Erostrate and Maître Wolfram each constitute only part of the feuilleton.

74 Ibid., 24 October 1871.

75 Fortunately, one of the reprinted items is Souvenirs d'Allemagne, Reyer's longest literary effort and one of his finest. It occupies 140 pages in Notes, which also offers 13 feuilletons, 2 other titled articles, and excerpts from 13 feuilletons. Quarante is a slightly smaller collection, consisting of 19 feuilletons and excerpts from 14 others. The two volumes comprise respectively 438 and 397 pages of text. The contents of each, and the sources in which the writings were originally published, are itemized at the end of Appendix A.

76 Legouvé, review of Notes (JD of 4 May 1875). Like Legouvé, Pougin praised Reyer's literary style as being witty and often mordant, but added that it was also distinguished by charm. Adolphe Jullien, in his review of "cet excellent livre," expressed particular admiration for Souvenirs d'Allemagne, for the "remarquables études sur Berlioz," and for the writings on Lohengrin, Struensee, Fidelio, Erostrate, and Maître Wolfram. See Pougin's announcement and review of Notes in Le Guide musical 21 (22 and 29 April 1875):6, 7; and Jullien's review in Le Français, 5 July 1875.

77 Preface to Notes (page is not numbered).

78 Pougin remarked that Reyer's writings provided ample material for a second, third, and fourth compilation "qui seraient loin de manquer d'intérêt." ("Reyer," p. 27.) Gaston Carraud also urged that a

second compilation be made (as Jullien recalled in the JD feuilleton of 14 November 1909).

79 See Henriot's preface to Quarante, p. iv.

80 For example, in the reprint of one feuilleton we see "l'abbé Wayler" instead of "l'abbé Vogler" (Quarante, p. 225). Elsewhere in the compilation we find errors such as the following: "Gurnemauy" instead of "Gurnemanz," "Marold" instead of "Morold," "Shuré" instead of "Schuré," "Mlle Laudi" instead of "Mlle Landi," and "Faravey" instead of "Paravey."

81 There are three serious defects. The first is Henriot's claim that Reyer published some writings in the Moniteur universel before 1857. I have not encountered such a statement in any other source, and my examination of the annual tables of the Moniteur for the years 1850-71 yielded nothing signed by Reyer except Souvenirs d'Allemagne (serialized during 1864-65). The second defect in Henriot's preface is that he names only five of the fifteen newspapers and periodicals with which--I have discovered--Reyer was associated as editor and/or writer (see Appendix A). The third defect which warrants attention is Henriot's statement that Joseph d'Ortigue, Reyer's predecessor as music feuilletoniste for the JD, held this post for "quelque mois" (preface to Quarante, p. ii). In fact, d'Ortigue was feuilletoniste for approximately three years, from 1863 until his death in November 1866.

82 The preface and the "Table" comprise pp. i-xix and 401-29 respectively. The "Table" is introduced by a few remarks, including the erroneous statement that the the newspapers CP and JD were the only publications for which Reyer wrote "d'une façon régulière." As indicated on p. 80 of this chapter, Reyer wrote on a regular basis for four journals as well as the two newspapers.

There are many flaws in the "Table" itself. For example, one feuilleton is listed twice: once for the year 1872, as "septembre. Les Malheurs d'Euterpe" (date is incorrect); and once for the year 1874, as "27 septembre. Les Malheurs d'Euterpe. -- A propos de l'Opéra-Comique et de l'Opéra. -- Recueil de chants religieux israélites, par M. Naumbourg" (date is correct, but some subtitles have been omitted and the others have been shortened). One feuilleton--that of 29 January 1882 in the JD--is not listed by Henriot.

The "Table" is further marred by many errors such as the following, which seem to be mere inadvertences (underlined here for emphasis): "Une pensée par jour" instead of "Une première par jour"; "Répertoire symphonique" instead of "Ouverture symphonique"; and "Intérieur d'un ténor" instead of "Interview d'un ténor." In addition, there are innumerable typographical errors in the spelling of proper names: "Gastinet" instead of "Gastinel"; "Albert Cohen" instead of "Albert Cahen"; "Bordier d'Angen" instead of "Bordier d'Angers"; "Mougnet" instead of "Mouquet"; and Mathias Cornu instead of Mathias Corvin, etc.

[83] As Gaston Carraud remarked, "ces délicieux feuilletons de Reyer . . . ne méritent véritablement pas de s'en aller tout entiers au vent avec lex vieux journaux." (Quoted by Adolphe Jullien in the JD feuilleton of 14 November 1909.) Similar sentiments were expressed by Michel Brenet, "Les Feuilletons d'Ernest Reyer," Le Courrier musical 13 (15 January 1910):54; by an anonymous article entitled "Reyer critique," Le Monde musical 21 (30 December 1909):252; and by at least two critics who reviewed Quarante: Servières in Bulletin français de la S.I.M. 5 (15 December 1909):1052; and Curzon in Le Guide musical 56 (2 January 1910): 18.

[84] The sections which comprise Quarante appear in the following succession: "Ernest Reyer"; "Wagner"; "Berlioz"; "Gluck"; "Liszt"; "Weber"; "Félicien David"; "Gounod"; "Georges Bizet"; "Verdi"; "Massenet"; "Saint-Saëns"; and "Lalo." The critics who objected to this obvious lack of organization included Brenet ("Feuilletons," p. 54), Servières (review of Quarante, p. 1053), and Jullien (JD feuilleton of 14 November 1909). Jullien nevertheless praised the compilation as "un choix très judicieux" (ibid.). His opinion was seconded by Curzon (review of Quarante, p. 19), and by Emile Vuillermoz, "Le Rescapé," Les Marges, no. 5 (January-June 1910), p. 62.

[85] Henriot, Preface to Quarante, p. xviii.

[86] Henriot's first selection in the "Wagner" section is the feuilleton in which Reyer saluted Wagner's genius after hearing a performance of Tannhäuser at Wiesbaden (1857). The review of the Parisian premiere of Rienzi (1869) exemplifies the perceptiveness with which Reyer defended Wagner's music when it was being anathematized by many French critics. Reviews of Lamoureux's presentation of Act I of Tristan und Isolde in concert (1884) and of the Parisian premiere of Der fliegende Holländer (1897) are made particularly interesting by Reyer's descriptions of how his perception of each work had changed over the decades (see Chapter III, pp. 131-32). Reviews of Siegfried at Brussels (1891) and both Die Walküre and Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg at Paris (1893 and 1897) testify to Reyer's appreciation for Wagner's later works.

Two of the items selected by Henriot exemplify Reyer's attitude toward the pro-Wagner movement. In the first of these--a review of a concert performance of the prelude to Parsifal (1882)--Reyer summarized his position concerning prejudice both for and against Wagner's music (see the excerpts given in Chapters III and VIII, pp. 130 and 321). The second selection--to which Henriot tacitly added the title "Etudes classiques et wagnérisme"--is one of Reyer's characteristic warnings that young French composers who admired Wagner should guard against servilely imitating him, and should realize that he had learned much from earlier masters (see the excerpt given in Chapter VIII, p. 346).

[87] Curzon, review of Quarante, p. 19. Reyer's writings on Bizet and Massenet are particularly well represented. We find reviews of three works by Bizet which span virtually his entire career: the opera La Jolie Fille de Perth (1867); the incidental music for Daudet's play

L'Arlésienne (1872); and Carmen (1875). This sampling of reviews concludes, appropriately, with the touching tribute written by Reyer when Bizet died. Massenet, too, can be followed from his early years to his maturity, through reviews of four works: the oratorio Marie-Magdeleine (1873); the opera Hérodiade (1881); his greatest work, Manon (1884); and one of his finest late operas, Werther (1893).

Reyer's writings about the music of Gounod, Lalo, and Saint-Saëns are represented by only a handful of items: reviews of the Parisian premieres of Faust (1859), Le Roi d'Ys (1888), and Samson et Dalila (1890); and the obituary feuilleton on Gounod.

88 In Notes we find Reyer's obituary "Hector Berlioz," and the four feuilletons devoted to the composer's Mémoires. (The sixth selection pertaining to Berlioz is Reyer's feuilleton on the "festival" which he organized and conducted to commemorate the first anniversary of the composer's death.) These selections are complemented in Quarante by three reviews of performances of Berlioz's music: La Damnation de Faust, revived in its entirety in 1877; La Prise de Troie, premiered in concert in 1879; and Béatrice et Bénédict, premiered at Paris in 1890. (The fourth item in the "Berlioz section" of this compilation is a description of the annotations--including a fragment of music--made by Berlioz in his copy of one of his favorite tales, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's Paul et Virginie, which he had bequeathed to Reyer.)

89 Namely, the feuilleton commemorating the centenary of the death of Gluck (1887), and the review of Weber's Euryanthe at the Théâtre-Lyrique (1857).

90 For example, Curzon concluded his review of Quarante by exclaiming: ". . . que d'omissions on regrettera!" (p. 19).

91 Servières, review of Quarante, p. 1053.

CHAPTER III

REYER'S APPROACH TO CRITICAL WRITING

His "Profession de Foi"

A discussion of Reyer's approach to critical writing must begin with an examination of the "profession de foi" which he solemnly presents in his first feuilleton for the Débats (2 December 1866). We are indeed fortunate to possess such a credo, for it provides valuable insights into Reyer's motivation for becoming a critic, his concept of the purpose of criticism, and his perception of the role of the critic.

Reyer's motivation for becoming a critic is implicit in the opening section of his "profession de foi," in which he discusses the dilettantism which characterizes the attitude of the French public toward music. After citing eclecticism and an infatuation with "les pauvretés musicales" as manifestations of this dilettantism, he attributes its prevalence to the French habit of confusing the understanding of music with the seeking of sensory pleasures which, for Reyer, are mere by-products of the musical experience. This habit, says the critic, is in turn due to the fact that the French in general feel capable of judging the arts "avec nos sens, sans éducation préalable." He illustrates his statement by pointing out that many Frenchmen dismiss a serious musical work on grounds that it does not happen to please them, but exult "un petit opuscule burlesque" for the simple reason that they enjoy it. The ultimate origin of what Reyer regards as the peculiarly

French habit of forming artistic judgments based solely on instinct is, he suggests, the traditional French attitude that "puisque la musique est un art d'agrément, il n'y a pas d'autre musique que la musique agréable." Clearly, his motivation for becoming a critic is a desire to combat the public's belief in this "vieille et sotte qualification de la musique."[1]

Reyer's concept of the purpose of criticism becomes apparent in the next section of his "profession de foi." He explains that his dislike of the old French attitude toward music does not mean that he feels it must be counteracted by making every member of the public acquire a thorough musical education. He wishes only that the public, "prêché plus souvent par des gens compétens et désireux de l'instruire," be made to understand that it must be wary of its natural preference for "le joli, le facile, le trivial même," and that--above all--it must guard against the tendency to make superficial and premature judgments of both a serious musical work and its composer.[2] Thus, Reyer evidently thinks that music criticism must be educative in purpose: it must foster understanding by providing information, showing the reader things that he or she would otherwise not see or would be unable to formulate in the absence of criticism.

The implication of Reyer's line of reasoning is that the critic's role must be to educate the public, a point of view held also by two pioneers of music criticism in the French press: François-Joseph Fétis and Hector Berlioz. Fétis founded the Revue Musicale--the first significant nineteenth-century Parisian music journal--to foster wide-spread musical education, as he explained in the three-page prospectus

published at the beginning of February 1827.[3] He later expressed this goal more succinctly: "Our purpose as critics is to teach, and to teach you must know."[4] Berlioz's reasons for taking on the occupation of critic may have been financial necessity and a desire to keep his name before the public, but, like Fétis, he evidently felt that the nature of the enterprise was pedagogical. The favorable reception accorded L'Enfance du Christ in 1855 was, in Reyer's eyes, proof that Berlioz's critical writings were indeed having an educative impact:

> . . . peut-être . . . l'éducation du public est-elle en voie de progrès: il en est temps! Berlioz y est bien pour quelque chose: a-t-il assez prêché l'amour du grand et du beau, le mépris du pont-neuf et de l'ariette, du mesquin et du vulgaire![5]

Since Reyer had great admiration for both Fétis and Berlioz--respecting Fétis's "érudition . . . vaste et profonde" and declaring Berlioz "notre maître à tous dans l'art de la critique"[6]--it is not surprising that he, too, envisioned for himself an educative role.

The Three Basic Tenets of Reyer's Criticism

In mid-century Paris, many writers of music criticism for the newspapers were men of letters--such as Gautier--who were hired to write not only about music but also about literature, drama, and the other arts.[7] Most of these littérateurs had little or no musical training, and therefore were both uninterested in technical detail and incapable of providing it. They either took refuge in generalities or in literary paraphrases, or expressed themselves in evasive terms.[8] Reyer's wish that the Parisian public be "prêché plus souvent par des gens compétens" indicates that he believed in professional training as a basis for

criticism, as opposed to "the common feuilleton mixture of audience reaction, publicity, [and] polemics."[9]

Reyer's criticism was founded not only on his professional understanding of music, but also on intellectual integrity. Believing that his responsibility was to offer the reader "mon opinion et non celle des autres,"[10] he disregarded external influences such as the material allurements offered by composers, the reactions of audiences, and the prejudices of the general public. He also resisted the temptation to harbour any prejudices of his own. Furthermore, because of his conviction that the role of a critic must be pedagogical, Reyer carefully considered his opinions and did not shrink from amending them.

Equally important as a basis of Reyer's criticism is his aesthetic, the understanding of which is essential because his judgments may seem arbitrary unless we realize that they were motivated by a discernible critical philosophy. Reyer did not give a detailed presentation of his aesthetic in one place, but his principles can be readily deduced from various writings. Recognition of these principles, and of the consistency with which they were applied, demonstrates the unity of thought that guided him in the art of judging music.

Professional Understanding of Music

Fétis's dictum that "to teach, you must know" could have come from the pen of Reyer, who tried to instruct readers by utilizing his musical training in order to analyze the works they encountered. From 1857 onwards Reyer cited few technical details in his analyses, but this does not mean that he no longer exploited his training; on the contrary, he

used it to focus on those details which might lead readers closer to a genuine understanding of the composition.

Reyer and "l'analyse technique"

Reyer consistently made a display of his professional understanding of music in articles dating from the early and middle 1850s, when he was beginning his career as critic. Seemingly wanting to prove that he was as knowledgeable as any laureate of the Conservatoire, the young author utilized specialized terms, signalled many details of harmony and instrumentation, cited tonalities, and--on occasion--discussed tunings and tessituras. Consider, for example, the following excerpts from two reviews written in 1855, the first concerning Berlioz's L'Enfance du Christ, and the second, Gounod's Messe de Sainte-Cécile.

> Le choeur des bergers, accompagné par le quatuor, et dont les strophes sont séparées par une courte ritournelle de hautbois et de clarinettes employées dans le registre du chalumeau, est remarquable par de piquantes modulations tout à fait inattendues . . . Ce choeur est précédé d'une belle introduction en style fugué, et dans laquelle la note sensible non atténuée monte sur la tonique, effet que nous avons déjà signalé dans le cantabile du roi Hérode [O misère des rois!].[11]
>
> * * *
>
> Des voix d'anges, accompagnées par des tremolo de violons à l'aigu, chantent la première strophe du Gloria in excelsis; . . . j'ai remarqué dans le Kyrie le dessin continue exécuté par les premiers violons, et comme seule critique je demanderai très-timidement à M. Gounod s'il n'a pas un peu abusé, en général, de la même cadence plagale; . . . la messe est presque entièrement écrite avec accompagnement d'orgue obligé; je ne sais pas si M. Gounod est de mon avis, mais je trouve qu'il est fort difficile d'obtenir une très-grande justesse dans la combinaison de l'orgue et des instruments à vent.[12]

As Reyer's career began to flourish in the course of the decade, he incorporated fewer and fewer specialized terms in his writings. While this decrease in the use of technical language may be ascribed partly to increasing self-confidence, it must be attributed principally to his growing misgivings about the value of technical analysis for stimulating the reader's interest in a work. Reyer began expressing this feeling of doubt in the mid-1850s, as for example in the prefatory remarks to his analysis of Gounod's grand opera La Nonne sanglante.

> . . . quand il s'agit de musique dramatique ou de symphonie descriptive, la plume ne peut guère que détailler froidement les impressions que l'on a reçues; . . . nous doutons que le lecteur puisse se faire une idée d'un chant ou même d'un accompagnement quand on lui dit que la phrase est délicieuse ou vulgaire, que les bassons ou les clarinettes dessinent un contre-sujet sans la mélodie, dût-on ajouter que le morceau est en mi bémol, ou la mineur, ou en sol naturel.[13]

When Reyer became music critic for the daily Courrier de Paris in 1857, he evidently decided that his educative purpose would not be served by technical analysis, for he declared in one of his earliest feuilletons:

> Je ne veux pas prendre la partition d'Euryanthe depuis la première note jusqu'à la dernière et essayer une analyse technique de ce chef-d'oeuvre; il m'a semblé . . . fort problématique qu'un tel travail offrît au lecteur beaucoup d'intérêt.[14]

In later writings for the Courrier, for the short-lived weekly Gazette du Nord, and finally for the Journal des Débats, Reyer gave several reasons why technical analysis would be of dubious interest. It would, of course, necessitate the use of specialized terms which would mystify "ceux qui . . . n'ont jamais appris même à solfier."[15] Furthermore, a technical analysis within the confines of a single article in a

newspaper or journal would be unfeasible and, indeed, unnecessary, as Reyer indicated in the following excerpt from a review in the Gazette:

> Je n'entreprendrai point l'analyse de la partition de Fidelio pour laquelle il me faudrait non pas les colonnes d'un journal, mais les pages d'un livre; d'ailleurs, les amateurs qui sont friands de ces sortes de dissertations . . . ont l'habitude de les aller chercher dans les journaux spéciaux.[16]

Reyer thus made a strong case for his assumption that "l'analyse technique . . . [est un] genre d'analyse à laquelle les lecteurs des grands journaux prennent peut-être moins de goût que ceux des feuilles spéciales."[17]

As Henriot observed, there are so few specialized terms in Reyer's writings for the Débats--and, we might add, the Courrier and the Gazette--that the vast majority can be read "en entier" by "le moins musicien."[18] We shall see that Reyer's sparing use of specialized terms goes hand-in-hand with the careful selection of a few technical details.

Reyer's descriptive approach to analysis

The above-given excerpts from Reyer's reviews of La Nonne sanglante, Euryanthe, and Fidelio manifest his realization that the writing of musical analysis for consumption by the general public is a difficult art, inasmuch as the analysis must be meaningful to non-musicians as well as musicians. In his review of the world premiere of Aïda he pointed out that the difficulty lies in avoiding those details which would be of no interest to non-musicians:

> . . . écrire du Caire à Paris que la romance de Rhadamès est en si bémol et que le chant de Termuthis, à la fin du dernier acte, reparaît dans le ton de sol bémol mineur, c'est tremper dans l'encre une méchante plume d'auberge pour ne rien dire du tout.[19]

According to Reyer, the art of writing an analysis that would appeal to both non-musicians and musicians resides in distinguishing those details which can serve an educative function by showing how the composer uses specific musical forces in order to create certain effects. Reyer noted that "Berlioz a écrit d'admirables pages en ce genre sur l'oeuvre de Spontini, de Gluck, et de Beethoven."[20]

Like Berlioz, Reyer believed that if he cited only "les détails que j'ai le plus remarqués"[21] he could provide some insight into the musical forces that he regarded as being responsible for the impact of the work, while at the same time sparing his readers "l'ennui d'une analyse technique."[22] Therefore, as Berlioz had done, Reyer carefully selected a few technical details and blended them into analyses that are more descriptive than technical. He often explained that the purpose of such an analysis was simply to pique the reader's interest:

> Vous connaissez mes principes en matière d'analyse musicale; je supprime dans mon discours les dièzes et les bémols, ayant le pédantisme en horreur, et, bien vite à bout d'argumens et de métaphores, impuissant à raconter ce qui doit être chanté, je renvoie le lecteur... à la lecture, ou, mieux encore, à l'audition de la partition, me contentant de lui en signaler les passages saillans et de lui donner une idée du style qui la caractérise.[23]

The structure of Reyer's analysis is best summarized by the quotation cited directly above. He usually begins by giving the reader "une idée du style"--that is, he describes his general impression of the work and cites the musical force(s) which he regards as being most responsible for creating this impression. For example, in his review of Massenet's Hérodiade he attributes the opera's languid and voluptuous ambience to the use of a particular rhythm in the solos sung by the

principal characters.

> Vous le savez, n'est-ce pas? j'ai peu de goût pour les analyses techniques avec bécarres et bémols. Mais je veux pourtant vous dire qu'une chose m'a frappé dans la partition d'Hérodiade: c'est l'emploi très fréquent fait par le compositeur du même rythme, du rythme mollement cadencé, du rythme amoureux par excellence, de celui qui se développe dans une mesure à neuf-huit ou à douze-huit. J'espère que les musiciens ne seront pas les seuls à me comprendre. C'est sur ce rythme que chantent tour à tour Phanuel, Hérode et Hérodiade, Jean, Salomé et même Vitellius. Ah! mon cher Massenet, vous êtes un grand charmeur et vous avez mis dans ces romances, dans ces cantilènes une tendresse, une langueur, une volupté qui, même ailleurs qu'au théâtre, les feront applaudir, les feront aimer.[24]

Reyer sometimes waxes poetic when describing his impression, as is demonstrated by the following excerpt from his rapturous review of Bach's St. Matthew Passion. Here he cites the elements of harmony and lyric declamation as being responsible for the dramatic impact of the work.

> Là sont jetés à pleines mains tous les trésors de la science, toutes les richesses de l'imagination. Et si l'art moderne nous a créé des ressources plus grandes, au point de vue des combinaisons et des sonorités de l'orchestre, il ne nous a révélé, dans le domaine de l'harmonie, aucun secret que ne connût l'immortel auteur de cette oeuvre immense. Aujourd'hui encore nous sommes frappés de l'imposante allure de cette déclamation, de l'ampleur de ces récits, qui sont restés des modèles inimitables après avoir été si souvent imités; l'esprit du compositeur, de celui qui pense et qui analyse, de celui qui aime à s'abreuver aux sources fécondantes du beau, reste ébloui par la grandeur et l'unité de ce style, par la puissance et la variété de ces chants inspirés. Le drame lyrique et là tout entier, dans ces élans superbes, dans ces mélodies onctueuses et tendres, dans ces apparitions si vigoureusement et si habilement calculées. Bach, en allemand, veut dire ruisseau, ruisseau dont l'onde est pure et fortifiante, ruisseau plein de doux murmures et de débordements, ruisseau plus large qu'un fleuve, plus impétueux qu'un torrent.[25]

Reyer's approach to the analysis of "les passages saillans" is the same as for an entire work: he describes his impressions and strives to

explain how they were created by specific musical forces. For example, in the following citation he isolates instrumentation as the element most responsible for the effectiveness of the depiction of the Golgotha tableau in Massenet's oratorio Marie-Magdeleine. As is typical of Reyer's descriptive style of analysis, a few technical details are embedded in richly pictorial prose:

> . . . la Madeleine s'approche de la croix pour recueillir le dernier soupir de Jésus. La terre tremble, le ciel se couvre de ténèbres, l'orchestre s'agite et gronde, le son lugubre du tamtam se mêle à l'éclat des instrumens de cuivre, et, au milieu de ce grand cataclysme . . . s'exhale la plainte suprême du divin rédempteur: Consummatum est![26]

As previously indicated, Reyer knew that the confines of a single article precluded the possibility of treating all the parts of the work which--in his opinion--were strikingly effective. Therefore, after analyzing a few in the manner exemplified by the preceding excerpt, he simply cites the others. Such an enumeration is illustrated by the following extract from a feuilleton on Berlioz's Roméo et Juliette. After offering an analysis of several sections within the first four movements, Reyer hastens to add that the remaining three include some outstandingly beautiful music.

> Il faut . . . que j'égrène mon chapelet jusqu'au bout et que je vous dise tout ce qu'il y a d'onction touchante dans les exhortations du Frère ou du Père Laurence, dans le magnifique air qui précède le serment de réconciliation et combien est dramatique l'intervention du choeur dans cette scène si mouvementée qui aboutit à la péroraison la plus grandiose, la plus magistrale qui se puisse concevoir pour une oeuvre toute pleine d'inspirations géniales.[27]

Despite his avowed determination to avoid using technical language in analyses written for the general public, Reyer reverted to such

language on the rare occasions when he felt that the harmonic liberties taken in a composition should not be countenanced. This is illustrated by his reaction to the "drame allégorique" Les Sept Péchés capitaux, the first work by Adalbert von Goldschmidt, a young Viennese disciple of Wagner.

> Dès la huitième mesure du prélude . . . nous voyons arriver les doubles bémols. Nous en verrons bien d'autres. Si je voulais faire une analyse technique, ce qui, vous le savez, n'est guère dans mes habitudes, je vous parlerais de dissonances, d'accords altérés, de fausses relations et de croisemens des parties . . . Vous n'avez pas besoin d'aller chercher bien loin: lisez seulement les premières mesures du premier choeur: . . . A la page suivante vous trouverez une phrase de dix mesures seulement que débute en mi majeur et finit en ut mineur sur un accord de septième diminuée. . . . J'admets toutes les hardiesses, toutes les licences même dans ce genre, mais à la condition qu'il en résultera autre chose qu'une impression peu agréable pour l'oreille.[28]

Passages in some of Reyer's articles indicate that, before writing a descriptive analysis for his readers, he had done a technical analysis for himself. For example, in his review of the Parisian premiere of Johann Josef Abert's opera Astorga, Reyer reflected: "Si je ne savais combien est sèche et aride pour le lecteur l'analyse technique d'une partition, j'entrerais dans des détails qui indiqueraient certainement tout le soin que j'ai mis à étudier l'oeuvre de M. Abert."[29] Remarks of this nature suggest that, for Reyer, a technical analysis was often a necessary preliminary to the choosing of the few details on which to focus in his descriptive analysis.

Intellectual Integrity

Objectivity

Several of Reyer's contemporaries admiringly declared that he never compromised his intellectual integrity for the sake of the material rewards with which some composers discreetly sought to win the favor of critics.[30] His own writings provide abundant evidence of a resolve not to permit his opinions to be affected by other external factors. For example, he often began a review by stating that he had not allowed his judgment to be swayed by the responses of either the claque or the rest of the audience.[31] Equally apparent was his determination not to be influenced by the prejudices of the public outside the theatre--a determination strikingly demonstrated by his reaction to the premiere of Siegfried at Brussels in 1891. Although excerpts from Wagner's music dramas were then very popular with Parisian concert societies, Reyer bravely expressed the opinion that certain parts of this work are too long, and issued the following challenge to his readers: "Que ceux qui sont de mon avis le disent, comme je le dis moi-même, sans me soucier des colères ou des représailles que cet excès de franchise pourra m'attirer."[32]

Reyer not only ignored the prejudices of the public, but also refused to entertain personal prejudices. As early as 1855 he emphatically declared that he was not opposed to any composer or to any school of composition,[33] and he made a similar avowal eleven years later, in his "profession de foi": ". . . si j'ai de très vives prédilections, je n'ai pas de parti pris, pas de préventions systématiques, et je sais

reconnaître le beau, partout où il est."[34] The implication that a prejudiced musician fails to "recognize the beautiful, wherever it exists," was later made explicit in the following denunciation of the exclusivism of Wagner's fanatical admirers.

> Les wagnériens . . . ont fait en France tant de tort à Wagner par leur exclusivisme inepte . . . mon admiration pour Wagner ne m'empêche pas d'admirer [d'autres compositeurs] . . . parce qu'en art il faut . . . savoir comprendre et apprécier le beau partout où il se trouve.[35]

Reyer evidently believed that, since a prejudiced musician either cannot or will not recognize the beautiful wherever it exists in music, his credibility is suspect.[36] For this reason Reyer shunned all prejudices, as he explained in his review of the prelude to Parsifal.

> Je ne suis point un wagnérien enragé, et pas plus un wagnérien de parti pris qu'un wagnérien sans le savoir. J'ai eu et j'ai encore des enthousiasmes très sincères, très justifiés, du moins à mes yeux; mais je ne me suis jamais enrôlé sous la bannière de qui que ce soit, dans la confrérie des disciples et des thuriféraires. . . . Cela soit dit dans le seul but de bien établir, en toute circonstance, la liberté de mes appréciations et l'entière sincérité de mes critiques et de mes éloges.[37]

Reyer's careful consideration of his judgments

Reyer's intellectual integrity is manifested also by his wariness of making premature judgments. He often voiced his reluctance to express an opinion of a work which he had heard only once,[38] and--in accordance with this position--he made every effort to offer his readers something more than his "first impression." If he had the opportunity to attend more than one performance of a work, he would do so before attempting to assess it, and he recommended that his readers do like-

wise.[39] If the work had been published, Reyer would study the score in addition to attending--if possible--more than one performance.[40] Even after he had written the review of a work, he sometimes returned to the score repeatedly over a period of years.[41] In his "profession de foi" Reyer explained that he had mistrusted his initial opinion ever since 1849, when the contempt he had felt for Meyerbeer's Le Prophète had been transformed into admiration as he heard this opera for the second time.[42]

If, in the course of years or decades, Reyer became dissatisfied with his assessment of a work, he forthrightly amended it and explained his reason(s) for so doing. This refusal to feign infallibility is implicit in the remarks which preface his first review for the Débats:

> . . . assurément le public est le seul juge; ses instincts le mènent; mais la mission de la critique n'est elle point de le guider et de lui donner l'exemple de la réflexion, de la circonspection et du doute? Sommes-nous vraiment infaillibles, et les augures de tous les temps n'ont-ils donc laissé sortir que des vérités de leurs bouches? Croyez-bien . . . que plus d'un [de mes confrères] m'ont confié combien il lui en coûtait de rendre ses oracles avec trop de précipitation pour céder à de regrettables exigences, pour se conformer à de fâcheuses traditions.[43]

Reyer's willingness to acknowledge his errors is exemplified by his writings on Wagner's Tristan und Isolde and Der fliegende Holländer, both of which he first heard during his visit to Germany in 1863-64. He became acquainted with Tristan by reading the score at the piano with a friend, and found the work thoroughly distasteful. Twenty years later, after hearing the first Parisian performance of Act I in concert, he courageously cited the judgment he had previously expressed, then graciously revised it by describing Tristan as the culminating point of

Wagner's art. He offered the following explanation for the change in his appraisal of the work:

> Quelle métamorphose s'était opérée depuis vingt ans dans mes facultés musicales! Mais aussi quelle différence dans les moyens d'exécution! C'était la première fois que j'entendais Tristan et Iseult à l'orchestre.[44]

After the Parisian premiere of Der fliegende Holländer in 1897 Reyer remarked that, when he had heard this work more than thirty years ago, he had failed to appreciate it fully. Again, he quoted his original assessment "à titre de simple document et un peu aussi pour faire acte d'humilité."[45] This expression of humility demonstrates that, even during his last years as a writer on music, Reyer continued to regard his critical functions critically, instead of presuming that age and experience rendered him incapable of error.

Reyer deliberately tried to make his readers realize that he was uttering his personal opinions, not prophecies or impersonal judgments.[46] This effort was manifested not only by his willingness to amend his views, but also by his use of the first person singular--instead of the plural--in almost all of his writings,[47] and by his frequent employment of such expressions as "mon avis," "mon impression," or "mon opinion."[48] Musical tastes, he declared, were intrinsically personal: ". . . en matière d'opinions musicales . . . il est fort difficile de s'entendre et d'être du même avis."[49] This conviction doubtless accounts for his refusal to pose as an impersonal and infallible judge or prophet.

Aesthetic

Reyer's concept of beauty

Reyer evidently believed that a musical composition--like any work of art--must be judged according to the criteria of an ideal beauty, a beauty which is divine in origin and, therefore, renders the true work of art timeless. The concept that beauty is inspired by the Divinity, and is therefore an absolute and imperishable quality, is poetically expressed in a review of Berlioz's Roméo et Juliette. Reyer first cites from the composer's Mémoires the passage in which he metaphorically describes his effort to create a worthy musical translation of Shakespeare's tragedy, and thus to reach "the enchanted island upon which stands the temple of pure art." Reyer then expresses the opinion that Berlioz had succeeded in faithfully translating into sublimely beautiful music the sublime beauties of Shakespeare's work, and--continuing the composer's lovely metaphor--had thus reached the enchanted island and had inscribed his name on the pediment of the temple.

> "De quelle ardente vie je vécus pendant tout ce temps!["] écrit-il dans ses Mémoires; ["]avec quelle vigueur je nageai sur cette grande mer de poésie, caressé par la folle brise de la fantaisie, dans les chauds rayons de ce soleil d'amour qu'alluma Shakespeare, et me croyant la force d'arriver à l'île merveilleuse où s'élève le temple de l'art pur!..."
>
> Si la fantaisie tient une large place dans la symphonie de Berlioz, le compositeur n'en a pas moins traduit plus fidèlement que ne l'a jamais fait et que ne le fera jamais aucun musicien, et dans un langage sublime, les sublimes beautés de l'oeuvre du poète. Il a donc franchi les écueils qui entourent l'île merveilleuse et inscrit son nom sur le fronton du temple de l'art pur.[50]

The criteria of beauty

What, in Reyer's opinion, were the criteria of beauty in a musical composition? This question can only be answered with regard to the types of works which were the mainstays of musical life in nineteenth-century France, and were therefore discussed at length by Reyer: genres that combine music and text. As shall be shown below, Reyer obviously thought that the principal criterion of beauty in all such genres was consistency between the effect of the music and the ideas of the text.

If the genre is secular, Reyer maintains that consistency is manifested when the music faithfully dramatizes the implications of the text: "Ce qui caractérise à mes yeux le plus grand mérite d'une oeuvre lyrique, c'est la vérité de l'expression dramatique."[51] For Reyer, this "vérité" is not achieved by word-painting and other imitative effects, as he indicates in the following excerpt from his review of Bruneau's Le Rêve:

> . . . pourquoi tant de mots soulignés par des effets imitatifs d'orchestre qui tombent le plus souvent dans la puérilité? Il y a un effet pour le fantôme qui apparaît à l'imagination un peu exaltée, comme vous savez, de l'amante de Félicien; il y en a un autre pour les Saintes qui s'évanouissent dans l'air; il y a un éclat de voix sur le mot "éclatante" ("Vierge éclatante de blancheur"), et Angélique se croit obligée de pousser un cri sur une note haute à la fin de cet autre vers:
>
> Elles ne m'ont jamais parlé si haut!...
>
> Ce sont là de simples enfantillages.[52]

Reyer's ideal of "la vérité de l'expression dramatique" is attained when the composer faithfully illustrates and enriches not the individual words, but rather the emotions and situations provided by the text, thus realizing its dramatic potential. For example, in a review of Berlioz's

Roméo et Juliette he applauds the composer for having succeeded completely in dramatizing the love scene by utilizing instruments alone.

> Les deux amoureux . . . je vous assure qu'on les entend, et que, dans ses moindres péripéties, cette scène "d'amour et de désespoir" est bien complète, et telle qu'il n'en a jamais été écrit de pareille. Il y a dans la phrase principale un élan passionné que vous ne retrouverez nulle part. . . . Ecoutez Juliette dire à Roméo: "Mon amour, je te l'ai donné avant que tu l'aies demandé, et pourtant je voudrais qu'il fût encore à donner... rien que pour être généreuse et te le donner encore."[53]

Reyer's conception of consistency between music and text in a sacred work stems from what he regards as a tradition that originated with Palestrina--a tradition of avoiding secular suggestion, especially in the melodic line.

> Les musiciens qui, depuis la révolution accomplie par Palestrina, se sont inspirés des textes liturgiques, ont cru devoir s'astreindre, dans des limites différentes, à ce que l'on appelle les exigences du style religieux. Ces exigences ne comportent pas seulement l'emploi du contre-point, de la fugue, des imitations, en un mot, de tous les artifices de la science scolastique; mais elles imposent à la mélodie une forme et un caractère particuliers.[54]

Reyer does not object when "les procédés de l'art moderne . . . tempèrent quelque peu les sévérités du style religieux,"[55] as long as the musical setting emphasizes the ethical rather than the purely aesthetic function of religious music. In short, the music must uplift the soul to contemplation in order to be consistent with "[le] sens que les paroles veulent exprimer."[56] This position is exemplified by his response to a distinguished amateur's setting of the Stabat mater.

> Du moment que l'on applique à une oeuvre religieuse les ressources de l'harmonie et de l'instrumentation modernes, il n'y a plus, à proprement parler, de style religieux. Mais on peut cependant, . . . tout en usant

> d'une très grande variété de nuances et d'oppositions, conserver à la traduction musicale d'un texte liturgique quelque chose de ce parfum d'église qui dispose à la prière et au recueillement. Ainsi a fait Mme la vicomtesse de Grandval, à l'exemple de maîtres illustres qui l'ont précédé et lui ont frayé le chemin.[57]

While Reyer praises music that he regards as being consistent with the ideas of the text, he condemns music that--in his opinion--is unsuitable in this respect. When reviewing a secular work, he reacts negatively if he believes the composer has failed to develop the full potential of the dramatic opportunities inherent in the text. Such a reaction is illustrated by the following excerpt from Reyer's review of Massenet's Marie-Magdeleine. Here, the musical portrayal of the character of Judas is censured as being underdeveloped.

> M. Massenet, en traitant le rôle du faux disciple un peu dans la manière de Haendel, a rompu l'unité de style de son oeuvre sans donner au caractère du personnage un relief suffisant. Judas n'est ni assez humble avec Jésus, ni assez perfide avec Marthe, ni assez tendre avec Meryem.[58]

Since Reyer believes that the function of sacred music is to uplift the soul, he is critical of settings which, in his opinion, sound "trop mondaine, c'est-à-dire trop dramatique."[59] This dislike of patent theatricality is manifested by his reservations concerning several parts of Verdi's Requiem.

> [Le] Qui Mariam absolvisti . . . l'on dirait détaché de la partition d'Aïda; ces trémolos de violons divisés, ces traits de bassons et de clarinettes, et la forme mélodique elle-même, m'ont fait songer à la grande scène entre Amnéris et les prêtres qui viennent de condamner Rhadamès. . . .
>
> Nous rentrons dans le style théâtral avec le Lux eterna, du moins quant aux premières mesures du morceau: trémolos des violons divisés et marches d'harmonie rappelant la scène de l'invocation du Prophète. . . .

> [Et] à la reprise du Requiem eternam, . . . il nous faut signaler encore une nouvelle réminiscence d'Aïda dans la phrase du soprano: Quia pius es.[60]

Whether dealing with a secular or a sacred work, Reyer is a harsh critic of any effect for which he is unable to find textual motivation. For example, he faults Berlioz for having sometimes paid scant heed to the intent of the text in his Requiem.

> Lancé dans les développemens d'une phrase ou à la poursuite d'un rythme, il ne s'arrête plus; après avoir chanté il psalmodie, et souvent même on dirait que les mots ne sont que les très humbles esclaves de sa fantaisie ou de son inspiration. Telles paroles scandées par les basses, dans le premier morceau par exemple, sont vocalisées amorosemente par les soprani, tandis que dans le Quantus tremor et futurus, c'est au tour des ténors de vocaliser. Est-il possible d'expliquer de pareilles négligences de style autrement que par l'intention bien arretée chez le compositeur de se préoccuper surtout de l'effet purement musicale . . . ?[61]

In Reyer's aesthetic, a further tenet relating to the text is that it be set in such a way as to be easily understood by the audience. This conviction is implicit in the review of Berlioz's Requiem, in which Reyer disapprovingly notes that the "négligences de style" cited above constitute "des licences qui touchent également à la prosodie du texte et au sens que les paroles veulent exprimer."[62] The implication is that the words will be difficult--if not impossible--for the listeners to understand. Thus, Reyer's aesthetic demands that a musical score not only create effects that are consistent with the implications of the secular or sacred text, but also preserve the intelligibility of the language.

* * *

We have seen that Reyer believed criticism must be educative in function and therefore envisioned for himself an educative role, which he filled by basing his criticism upon professional training, intellectual integrity, and a consistently applied aesthetic. His training equipped him with the technical expertise--aptly praised by one contemporary as "savoir technique aussi éloigné de la rigueur dogmatique que du pédantisme"[63]--to make his analyses informative for musicians and non-musicians alike. If, as Jacques Barzun has said, this "special art" has been mastered by "only a scant half dozen men besides Berlioz,"[64] then Reyer surely deserves to be included in the group. He again shows himself to be a disciple of Berlioz in the uncompromising integrity with which he discharged his responsibilities as a critic. Indeed, Barzun's words concerning Berlioz apply equally well to Reyer: "[He] could not brook any interference with the act of judgment; every other emotion must yield to the esthetic."[65]

Endnotes

[1] "Quant à ma profession de foi, . . . l'amour du beau ne m'empêche point de convenir que le joli est aimable; j'ai l'estomac assez complaisant pour pouvoir dîner d'une symphonie et souper d'une chanson. De là à être éclectique, il y a loin; de là à applaudir les pauvretés musicales pour lesquelles une fraction beaucoup trop considérable du public parisien se passionne depuis quelques années, la distance est plus grande encore. Puisque je viens de parler des tendances actuelles du dilettantisme parisien (je dis actuelles, mais elles sont déjà de vieille date), qu'il me soit permis de faire une réflexion qui trouve ici tout naturellement sa place: on confond chez nous le sentiment musical avec la recherche de certaines sensations que je ne veux pas qualifier d'une façon trop brutale, auxquelles la musique sert de prétexte et auxquelles cependant elle est tout à fait étrangère. Pourquoi cette confusion et d'où vient-elle? Je ne puis guère me l'expliquer que par la prétention que nous avons en général de vouloir juger et comprendre les arts spéciaux (la musique surtout) avec nos nerfs, avec nos sens, sans éducation préalable, sans l'aide de connaissances acquises. Quand on parle à certaines gens de la valeur d'une oeuvre qui n'est point de leur goût, ils vous répondent sans la moindre hésitation que cette oeuvre ne leur a pas plu, qu'ils y ont bâillé ou dormi, et, partant, qu'elle est mauvaise. Ont-ils pris plaisir à l'audition d'un petit opuscule burlesque, de quelqu'une de ces bouffonneries que les Allemands appellent Possen, qui les divertissent fort, mais qu'ils tiennent pour ce qu'elles valent, aussitôt vous voyez ces mélomanes trop faciles à émouvoir proclamer qu'ils ont trouvé leur critérium musical, vous rappeler sentencieusement la vieille et sotte qualification de la musique, et en conclure que puisque la musique est un art d'agrément, il n'y a pas d'autre musique que la musique agréable." (JD feuilleton of 2 December 1866.)

[2] "Est-ce à dire pour cela qu'il faille faire subir un examen de solfège ou de contre-point à toute personne qui se présente à la porte d'une salle de concert ou d'un théâtre lyrique où l'on exécute une oeuvre sérieuse? Assurément non; mais je voudrais que le public, prêché plus souvent par des gens compétens et désireux de l'instruire, comprit qu'il doit se défier un peu plus de ses goûts naturels, de ses préférences pour le joli, le facile, le trivial même; se défier de ses impressions du moment quand il entend pour la première fois une oeuvre savante et forte, et qu'il doit surtout ne pas se hâter d'affirmer son opinion sur l'oeuvre elle-même et sur l'artiste convaincu qui l'a péniblement et consciencieusement élaborée." (Ibid.)

[3] A substantial excerpt from the prospectus is both quoted and translated by Peter Bloom in "François-Joseph Fétis and the Revue Musicale (1827-1835)" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1972), pp. 26-27.

[4] Translated in ibid., p. 62. The original French is as follows: "De quoi s'agit-il, au fait[,] dans un journal de musique? D'instruire. Or, pour instruire autrui, il faut savoir soi-même" ("De l'utilité d'un journal de musique," RGMP 6 [4 September 1839]:348).

[5] "Chronique musicale," RF Année 1, Tome 1 (10 February 1855):74.

[6] CP feuilleton of 11 September 1857.

[7] See the recollections concerning music criticism in the French press "depuis une trentaine d'années," in Albert de Lasalle and Ernest Thoinan [Antoine-Ernest Roquet], La Musique à Paris pendant l'année 1862 (Paris: Morizot, Libraire-Editeur, 1863), pp. 257-58.

[8] Gautier, for example, often resorted to what have been described as "ses formules favorites"; see Georges Servières, "Les Relations d'Ernest Reyer et de Théophile Gautier," Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France, no. 24 (1917), p. 71.

[9] Dorothy Veinus Hagan, "French Musical Criticism Between the Revolutions (1830-1848)" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1965), p. 3.

[10] "Je ne m'exagère certes pas la valeur et la portée de mon opinion personnelle; mais enfin je dois au public mon opinion et non celle des autres." (CP feuilleton of 13 September 1859.)

[11] "Chronique musicale," RF Année 1, Tome 1 (10 February 1855):75.

[12] "Chronique musicale," AthF 4 (15 December 1855):1082.

[13] Ibid., 3 (28 October 1854):1014.

[14] CP feuilleton of 11 September 1857.

[15] JD feuilleton of 1 November 1867.

[16] "Chronique musicale," GN 2 (12 May 1860):5.

[17] From Reyer's review of the premiere of Ambroise Thomas's Mignon, in his first feuilleton for the JD (2 December 1866).

[18] Emile Henriot, Preface to Quarante ans de musique, by Ernest Reyer (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1909), p. xvi.

[19] JD feuilleton of 16 January 1872.

[20] Ibid.

[21] "Chronique musicale," RF Année 4, Tome 12 (10 February 1858): 122.

[22] JD feuilleton of 15 December 1869.

[23] Ibid., 19 May 1889.

[24] Ibid., 25 December 1881.

[25] Ibid., 31 May 1868.

[26] Ibid., 23 April 1873.

[27] Ibid., 8 December 1894.

[28] Ibid., 30 March 1885.

[29] Ibid., 3 January 1867.

[30] Henriot offered the following testimony to Reyer's integrity:

> "La critique d'Ernest Reyer vaut par son absolue, son admirable sincérité. Ceux qui l'ont vu de près peuvent confirmer ce que j'avance. Jamais Reyer n'a dit ou n'a écrit quelque chose qui fût contraire à son sentiment." (Preface to Quarante, p. v)

Henriot's assertion was echoed two years later by Henry Roujon: "S'il fallait résumer cette existence ce serait dans ce mot: honnêteté." (Institut de France. Académie des Beaux-Arts. Notice sur la vie et les travaux de M. Ernest Reyer (1823-1909), membre de l'Académie [Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1911], p. 28.)

[31] The following repudiation of such external influences is typical of Reyer:

> "Sans me préoccuper des fluctuations de l'opinion publique pendant le cours de la représentation, sans me soucier davantage des dissonances de la claque, je vais essayer de dire quelle impression m'a laissée l'oeuvre."
> ("Chronique musicale," RF Année 4, Tome 12 [10 February 1858]:122)

[32] JD feuilleton of 18 January 1891.

[33] In his review of the premiere of Verdi's Les Vêpres siciliennes, the young Reyer--writing in the first person plural, in the manner of Gautier--expressed pleasure at what he regarded as advances in the Italian composer's style: "Nous avons été agréablement surpris, et comme nous ne sommes systématiquement opposé à aucun maître, à aucune école, nous avons applaudi avec bonheur, avec sincérité." ("Chronique musicale," RF Année 1, Tome 2 [20 July 1855]:188.)

[34] JD feuilleton of 2 December 1866.

35 From a conversation with Arthur Pougin on 14 December 1891; quoted by Pougin in "Ernest Reyer," Le Ménestrel 75 (23 January 1909): 27. See the longer excerpt given in n. 217 of Chapter VIII.

36 This view is implicit in the following excerpt from Reyer's review of the world premiere of Aïda:

> "Lorsque j'ai accepté de venir en Egypte, assister à la première représentation d'Aïda, il a été bien convenu que je ne subirais aucune influence et que j'exprimerais mon opinion avec la plus entière franchise. L'opéra de Verdi eût été médiocre, je l'eusse dit sans détour; il a réussi, il méritait de réussir: je suis heureux d'en répandre la bonne nouvelle, et de féliciter le maestro auquel, on le sait, je n'ai jamais témoigné ni beaucoup d'admiration ni une bien grande sympathie. . . .
>
> . . . c'est, je le répète, une oeuvre des plus remarquables et à laquelle les musiciens, quel que soit le drapeau sous lequel ils s'abritent, prendront, il n'en faut pas douter, un très vif intérêt. Je parle des musiciens qui n'ont pas de parti pris: celui qui dans les questions d'art ne montre ni sincérité ni bonne foi, n'est point un artiste."
> (JD feuilleton of 16 January 1872)

37 Ibid., 12 November 1882. In this feuilleton Reyer deplored the violently pro- and anti-Wagner sentiments that the performances of the prelude had evoked from Parisian audiences and from members of the press (see Chapter VIII, p. 321).

38 When he reviewed Tannhäuser in 1857, he freely admitted that "il me faudrait plus d'une audition pour pouvoir me livrer sans trop de défiance à une appréciation complète de l'oeuvre de M. Richard Wagner." (CP feuilleton of 30 September 1857.) This sentiment was echoed in many other reviews, including the one which Reyer wrote after hearing the premiere of Verdi's Otello thirty years later: "Me voilà encore en présence d'une oeuvre qui . . . est trop considérable pour que je me permette de l'analyser et surtout de la juger après ne l'avoir entendue qu'une seule fois." (JD feuilleton of 11 February 1887.)

39 After declaring that he had attended a second performance of the opéra comique Djamileh by the young Bizet, Reyer remarked: "C'est un exemple qu'en plus d'une circonstance d'autres m'ont donné, et que je donne à d'autres: il est bon à suivre" (JD feuilleton of 31 May 1872).

40 While in Cairo for the premiere of Aïda, for example, he attended three performances of the new work and studied the score: "Cette partition, je l'ai lue très attentivement et je l'ai entendue trois fois, y prenant chaque fois un plaisir nouveau." (Ibid., 16 January 1872.) Numerous writings indicate that, if Reyer had heard only one performance of a published work, he would study the score before

writing the review. See especially the following feuilletons in the JD: 15 December 1869 (Parisian premiere of Schumann's choral work Das Paradies und die Peri); 11 February 1887 (premiere of Verdi's Otello at Milan); and 8 March 1894 (premiere of Franck's opera Hulda at Monte Carlo).

41 Two illustrations of this point will suffice: Der fliegende Holländer (see below, n. 45) and Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg. Reyer's first review of Meistersinger--which he heard at London--was published as an anonymous letter-article in the JD of 18 June 1882, p. 2. When Reyer reviewed the Parisian premiere fifteen years later, he recalled his delight at the London performance, then added that, over the years, he had had "le temps d'étudier la paritition . . . et de m'imprégner des nombreuses beautés de cet ouvrage" (JD feuilleton of 21 November 1897).

42 Reyer recalled that he had occupied a very poor seat at the premiere. After the performance, he had expressed his disgust for the opera to a friend, who had made him promise to hear it a second time, under better conditions. Reyer did so, "et mieux placé, mieux disposé, je compris alors ce que je n'avais pas compris la veille: les beautés de l'oeuvre m'apparurent dans toute leur splendeur; . . . c'était la révélation d'un chef-d'oeuvre." (JD feuilleton of 2 December 1866.)

43 Ibid. (These comments precede his review of Thomas's Mignon.)

44 Ibid., 22 March 1884.

45 Ibid., 23 May 1897. Reyer then indicated that he had also heard Holländer at Brussels, and that this second experience of the work had affected him in much the same way as his second hearing of Le Prophète:

> "La seconde fois que j'entendis le Vaisseau-Fantôme, ce fut, il y a quelques années, à Bruxelles, et l'interprétation, qui était excellente, me révéla, dans le chant comme dans l'orchestre, des détails qu'à Weimar je n'avais pas suffisamment appréciés. Ce furent pour moi autant de surprises et j'en ressentis comme une impression nouvelle, un charme nouveau. Depuis, sans faire de la partition du Vaisseau-Fantôme mon bréviaire, je la lis de temps en temps et je prends à cette lecture un plaisir extrême."
> (Ibid.)

46 He once avowed: "Assurément je ne veux point me faire passer pour prophète" (ibid., 17 November 1872).

47 As was explained in Chapter II, Reyer wrote in the first person plural during the early years of his career, then adopted the first person singular, reverting to the plural on the rare occasions when he wanted to strike a formal tone.

[48] After his first few years as a critic, Reyer made a habit of qualifying his statements by means of such expressions. The following assessment of Act III of Verdi's Otello is but one of countless examples: ". . . il ne me reste à signaler que le finale de l'act, qui est à mon avis un des morceaux d'ensemble les plus grandioses et les plus habilement traités qu'ait écrits la plume magistrale de l'illustre compositeur." (JD feuilleton of 11 February 1887.)

[49] Ibid., 16 May 1883.

[50] Ibid., 8 December 1894.

[51] Ibid., 1 September 1868.

[52] Ibid., 21 June 1891.

[53] Ibid., 8 December 1894.

[54] Ibid., 14 June 1874.

[55] Ibid., 30 November 1871.

[56] Ibid., 30 March 1878.

[57] Ibid., 1 May 1870.

[58] Ibid., 23 April 1873.

[59] Ibid., 30 November 1871.

[60] Ibid., 14 June 1874. These manifestations of what Reyer regarded as "le style théâtral" prompted him to pronounce Verdi's Requiem "bien plus une oeuvre dramatique qu'une oeuvre religieuse. . . . Une fois cette réserve faite, je serai plus à l'aise pour louer comme elle le mérite la belle et savante composition de l'auteur d'Aïda."

[61] Ibid., 30 March 1878.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Georges Servières, La Musique française moderne: César Franck; Edouard Lalo; Jules Massenet; Ernest Reyer; Camille Saint-Saëns (Paris: G. Havard fils, 1897), p. 275.

[64] Jacques Barzun, Berlioz and the Romantic Century, 3d ed., 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), 2:266. Barzun does not name these men.

[65] Ibid., 2:261.

CHAPTER IV

REYER'S VIEWS ON OPERA

The principles of Reyer's critical aesthetic and the consistency of their application can best be illustrated by an investigation of his writings about opera, the genre on which he most frequently focused his attention. His reviews of countless operas enable us to see clearly how his aesthetic motivated his judgments of operatic composition and performance, as well as his views on Italian, French, and German operatic traditions.

Operatic Composition and Performance

For Reyer, the drama is the essence of an opera. "La vérité dramatique"[1]--dramatic truth or realism--is his overriding concern when he assesses any aspect of an opera: the libretto, the music, or the performance. According to Reyer, the libretto is successful only if it preserves dramatic veracity while offering dramatic variety; the effect of the music must be consistent with the events and emotions provided by the libretto; and the dramatic integrity of the marriage of words and music must be upheld by the performer's vocal characterization and acting.

The Libretto

We observed in Chapter III that the text of any composition is of fundamental importance in Reyer's aesthetic. He therefore consistently

attaches great significance to the libretto of an opera. For example, when discussing a premiere he frequently devotes approximately half of his article to the operatic poem; reviews of Verdi's Aïda and Falstaff, as well as Wagner's Lohengrin, Siegfried, and Die Walküre, are prime examples.[2] The significance he attaches to the libretto evidently stems from what he regards as the traditional French approach to the appreciation of opera--an approach which he contrasts with that of the Italians:

> Les Italiens, plus musiciens ou plus musicaux que nous, font volontiers bon marché du poëme. Nous autres Français, par la pente de notre esprit philosophique, raisonneur, mettant les points sur les i, et chercheurs d'éternels pourquoi, nous nous attachons à la fable, la musique passe après.[3]

According to Reyer, then, the French do not view the libretto as an insignificant text supplied for a predominantly musical experience; rather, they regard the libretto as the basis of the operatic experience.

This view of the importance of the libretto requires that the reader fully understand it before attending a performance of the opera. Reyer obviously believes that he is expected to supply the information necessary for such understanding; for example, after the Parisian premiere of Rienzi by the then-controversial Wagner, the critic remarks: "Calmons l'impatience du lecteur et donnons-lui une courte analyse du poème."[4] In Reyer's critical framework, an understanding of the libretto is essential both for the comprehension of the dramatic events that unfold on the stage, and for the appreciation of the music, because--as we saw in Chapter III--his aesthetic demands that the musical setting of any secular text faithfully illustrate and enrich the emotions and

situations provided by the text. Consequently, the principal element of Reyer's "analyse du poème" is always a fairly detailed retelling of the story.

In addition to relating the dramatic events, Reyer assesses the quality of the libretto by concerning himself with the following questions: Does the libretto provide situations which lend themselves to musical expression? Is the development of the drama logical? There are clear indications that he regards a combination of these two elements as essential to a successful libretto.

One theme present throughout Reyer's writings is that a key element of a good libretto is a variety of dramatic situations and emotions that lend themselves to musical development. Such a conviction is obviously engendered by his aesthetic principle that the music must reflect the dramatic action: if the libretto lacks variety, the music, too, will lack interest. This conviction is most clearly manifested by his attitude toward librettos based on pre-existent sources--legend, history, or a literary work. Whether or not the librettist chooses to respect the source depends for Reyer on the scope it offers for musical development, as is indicated by the following comments concerning the libretto of Gounod's Roméo et Juliette.

> Dans la version de MM. Michel Carré et Jules Barbier, c'est au milieu de la fête nuptiale que Juliette tombe inanimée dans les bras de son père. Je ne crois pas que personne songe à reprocher aux auteurs du libretto . . . les quelques modifications qu'ils ont cru devoir apporter à la marche du drame telle qu'elle existe dans l'oeuvre du poëte. Habiles et experimentés en l'art d'écrire pour le théâtre, ils ont parfaitement rempli le but que tout librettiste doit se proposer d'atteindre: intéresser le public et fournir les

> situations les plus variées et les plus musicales au compositeur.[5]

Thus, in Reyer's view, departures from the source--even if it be a literary masterpiece--are acceptable when they create "musical situations." His belief that a libretto must offer opportunities for musical development explains not only his willingness to accept deviations from a preexistent source, but also his preference for legend, rather than history, as the basis for a libretto. He evidently feels that history cannot be treated as freely as legend: "On ne doit violer l'histoire, a dit Alexandre Dumas, qu'à condition de lui faire un enfant."[6]

The other element which Reyer regards as being essential to a successful libretto is dramatic veracity--the developing of the drama with an intelligibility and naturalness of action.[7] This theme, too, is well illustrated by his assessments of librettos based on preexistent sources. In the first excerpt given below, he excuses Boïto for not always adhering to Shakespeare's play The Merry Wives of Windsor; in the second, he criticizes Wagner for adhering too closely to Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton's novel Rienzi, the Last of the Tribunes. Both judgments are motivated by Reyer's conviction that a libretto must display dramatic veracity while supplying a variety of possibilities for musical development.

> Falstaff touche . . . près à la comédie de Shakespeare, bien que l'auteur du livret ait laissé de côté quelques personnages secondaires, quelques scènes épisodiques dont l'absence, ne portant aucun préjudice à la marche de l'action, l'allégeant, au contraire, dans ce qu'elle peut avoir d'un peu substantial, d'un peu lourd, n'est pas autrement regrettable. Différents emprunts ont été faits à la tragédie de Henri IV, . . . et, si M. Boïto a pris de temps en temps la liberté de substituer tel

> personnage à tel autre, il l'a fait assez discrètement pour que la vraisemblance n'ait rien à y perdre.[8]
>
> * * *
>
> Voulant faire de Rienzi le héros d'un drame lyrique, le poëte-musicien ne pouvait guère rester fidèle à la vérité de l'histoire; mais peut-être aurait-il dû s'apercevoir du défaut d'intérêt qu'il est si aisé de remarquer dans le roman anglais . . . et y suppléer par quelques efforts d'imagination. De cette façon, nous eussions eu bien certainement un meilleur livret, . . . plus intelligible et plus varié.[9]

The Musical Realization of the Libretto

As was indicated in Chapter III, Reyer's aesthetic demands that the musical score of a work based on a secular text faithfully dramatize the emotions and situations provided by the text. Therefore, when analyzing the score of an opera, he concentrates on two issues: does the effect of the music reinforce the ideas of the text; and with what specific musical elements has the composer created this effect?

When describing the musical elements with which the composer has reinforced the dramatic ideas of the libretto, Reyer devotes considerable attention to the subject of instrumentation. He wholeheartedly champions a concept pioneered by his revered friend Berlioz--"the concept that instrumentation was an art that offered a new dimension to the shape of operatic drama."[10] For example, in the following excerpt from his review of Massenet's Manon, Reyer applauds the composer for making the orchestra an exponent of the dramatic action, instead of using it merely to provide an accompaniment for the voices. As if to emphasize his conviction that the restricting of the orchestra to an accompanimental function is an antiquated tradition, Reyer addresses some of his

remarks to the oldest character in the opera.

> L'instrumentation de M. Massenet est pleine de caresses, de coquetteries et de séductions: elle vous enveloppe, vous fascine, vous séduit. C'est un orchestre irrésistible que le sien. Ah! mon bon monsieur des Grieux (c'est au père que je m'adresse), vous pouvez bien chanter ce que vous voudrez et comme vous voudrez: c'est ce dessin de violoncelles, c'est ce contre-sujet de clarinettes que j'écoute et qui en dit plus à mon âme et à mes oreilles que toute votre chanson. Vous m'objecterez[,] en vous appuyant sur des théories surannées, sur des traditions déjà fort anciennes, que cela ne doit point se passer ainsi dans une oeuvre dramatique, que la clarinette ou le violoncelle ont leur rôle dans l'orchestre et qu'ils n'ont que faire de se substituer au chanteur. Mais je suis d'un avis tout différent, et il ne me déplaît pas à l'occasion de voir la clarinette, le violoncelle ou le cor, instrumens au timbre poétique, mystérieux et tendre, prendre la place d'un chanteur . . . [Et] je voudrais que le public s'habituât à tenir un peu plus compte de l'importance que doivent avoir, même au théâtre, les instrumens de l'orchestre et à ne pas traiter dédaigneusement de symphonistes à court de mélodies les musiciens qui leur donnent quelquefois (pas toujours, cela va sans dire) un rôle prépondérant.[11]

Frequently, Reyer cites instrumentation as accounting for the impact of a specific segment(s) of an opera. He may feel, for example, that an orchestral accompaniment offers insight into a character by conveying ideas or emotions that are not expressed in words; such is the case in the famous drinking-song in Act I of Der Freischütz, in which he finds that the shrill notes of the piccolo suggest "le caractère diabolique"[12] of Caspar. Or, Reyer may be struck by the effectiveness with which an instrument creates an appropriate mood. This is illustrated by the following passages from his reviews of Gounod's Le Médecin malgré lui and Wagner's Der fliegende Holländer. In the first excerpt, Reyer notes that the flute and the bassoon contribute in turn to the irresistible humor of two incidents in Molière's satirical play; in the second

passage, he praises the dramatic effect of the solo for kettledrums which accompanies the entry of the Dutchman in Act II.

> J'entends la flûte exécuter une gamme chromatique isolée.....[sic] et le cynique docteur explique ce qu'il faisait dans la cour de Géronte; puis c'est le tour du basson, dont les notes plaintives et saccadées accompagnent la pantomime de Sganarelle, à l'entrée de l'apothicaire..... Je ne sais si les dames qui ont les plus ri étaient précisément celles qui pouvaient cacher leur hilarité derrière un mouchoir et un éventail.[13]
>
> * * *
>
> Ce solo de timbales, avec ses notes répercutées et son tremolo en sourdine, est un des effets les plus dramatiques qui soient au théâtre. A cette scène émouvante, à cette apparition vivante de l'homme au sombre regard . . . il ne fallait pas d'autre écho dans l'orchestre; les accords les plus fantastiques n'y eussent pas produit l'effet de ces quelques notes de timbales.[14]

Harmony, too, receives Reyer's attention when he is citing the elements that he feels are responsible for the impact of the music. He occasionally isolates harmony as the dominant cause for the creation of a specific musical expression, as in his description of the hero's "touchante prière" in Act V of Rienzi: ". . . il faut la louer comme une des plus belles inspirations de Wagner . . . depuis le premier accord de l'orchestre jusqu'à cette pédale de si bémol sur laquelle passent de si pénétrantes harmonies."[15]

Reyer often refers to harmony and orchestration in virtually the same breath, as if to suggest that the two go hand-in-hand in producing the effect of the music. For example, in the following excerpt he indicates that the combination of rich harmonies and luxuriant orchestration is of primary importance in generating the emotional intensity of Tristan und Isolde:

> Ce travail instrumental, pourtant si compliqué, est d'une beauté réelle. N'y cherchez point les piquantes sonorités, les ingénieuses oppositions de timbres que vous aimeriez peut-être à y rencontrer et auxquelles d'autres oeuvres[,] qui certainement ne valent pas celle-là et ne sont pas conçues dans le même esprit[,] vous ont habitués. Ce sont des flots d'harmonie qui vous enveloppent avec des intensités diverses.[16]

When explaining and analyzing the reasons for the impact of a particular segment of an opera, Reyer does not necessarily limit his discussion to one or two musical elements. If, in his opinion, a combination of several elements is involved, he identifies each of them. This procedure is demonstrated by a passage from his review of Berlioz's La Prise de Troie:

> Pendant l'apparition d'Hector au troisième acte, les sombres accords des contrebasses et des violoncelles divisés, les notes bouchées du cor et la progression descendante de la voix par intervalles chromatiques donnent à cette scène un caractère fantastique d'une effrayante réalité. Il est impossible, par des moyens aussi simples, d'arriver à un aussi grand effet.[17]

For Reyer, then, the impact of this moment in the score is due to the successful musical expression of the dramatic intent of the text: the elements of harmony, orchestration, and melody are effectively combined to convey a feeling of supernatural horror.

While Reyer praises the use of musical elements when he regards them as being appropriate to the implications of the text, he criticizes what he feels is inappropriate in this respect. His sensitivity to those situations in which a musical effect is at odds with dramatic reality is illustrated by his objection to one particular imitative device in an opéra comique by Saint-Saëns.

> L'instrumentation de la Princesse jaune est remplie . . . d'effets imitatifs on ne peut mieux réussis. Cependant je vais prendre la liberté de faire une réserve. Quand Kornélis vide la coupe au fond de laquelle il va trouver l'oubli de la réalité et le commencement du rêve, pourquoi l'orchestre fait-il entendre une gamme chromatique ascendante, puisqu'il est incontestable qu'une boisson descend à mesure qu'on l'avale? Je trouve bien plus caractéristique et d'une réalité bien autrement saisissante, le trait de flûte que M. Gounod a placé au troisième acte du Médecin malgré lui.[18]

Reyer holds the singers themselves responsible for many a contradiction between the musical setting and the dramatic intent of the text. For example, after remarking that he finds thoroughly incongruous the presence of a long and virtuosic aria in Paul Lacome's opéra bouffe La Dot mal placée, Reyer adds that this aria must have been written only to display the vocal capabilities of the soprano. He seizes this opportunity to express his regret that influential singers are able to impose their will on composers.[19]

Reyer repeatedly objects to the practice of tailoring operatic roles to the demands of singers because he believes that these demands are almost invariably motivated not by concern for dramatic integrity, but rather by

> un mouvement d'amour-propre ou de sotte vanité, par le désir d'agrandir son rôle . . . [ou] de mettre un peu plus en relief sa virtuosité. . . .
>
> Le public serait bien étonné si on lui citait, pris dans les ouvrages qui ont eu le plus de succès, tous les morceaux, fort médiocres pour la plupart, que les compositeurs ont écrits dans le seul but de complaire à des interprètes . . . Ici c'est une valse ou un air à roulades, là c'est une cavatine ou une romance ornée de toutes sortes de fioritures, de points d'orgue et autres agrémens, selon moi extrêmement désagréables.[20]

Clearly, the idea that the musical setting of the libretto should serve as a means for flattering a singer contradicts the cardinal principle of

Reyer's aesthetic, which demands that the effect of the music be consistent with the ideas of the text.

The Vocalist

Reyer does not offer in a single article or feuilleton a detailed presentation of what he requires of an operatic vocalist. However, his numerous and extensive evaluations of individual performers and contemporary vocal practice provide definite indications of what he expects of the singer in opera.

Reyer often remarks that, in his opinion, effective vocal characterization does not require a voice that is "beautiful"; he recognizes factors other than the voice as being of importance in the making of an operatic vocalist. This position is expressed in, for example, his writings about the dramatic soprano Gabrielle Krauss.[21] When he hears her in 1875--at the height of her brilliant career--he finds her singing profoundly expressive although her voice, like that of the great mezzo-soprano Pauline Viardot-Garcia, "n'est pas précisément ce qu'on est convenu d'appeler une belle voix."[22] Twelve years later, after attending one of her last performances, he writes:

> . . . je ne m'inquiète guère de savoir s'il s'est produit au cours de ces dernières années quelque altération dans l'organe de Mlle Krauss. Je l'écoute avec ravissement au concert comme au théâtre, parce qu'elle a le feu sacré, parce qu'elle m'émeut, parce qu'elle est une admirable musicienne, parce que son talent est presque du génie.[23]

To Reyer, then, an imperfect voice utilized with musicianship is more moving than a voice that is merely a beautiful or a stunningly agile instrument. He longs for the day when the French public will

cease idolizing singers whose only claim to notoriety is their virtuosity or some phenomenal vocal characteristic, and will instead prize vocalists who are distinguished by both musicianship and acting ability.

> Alors seulement on pourra donner au théâtre des interprètes vraiment dignes des belles oeuvres, des chefs-d'oeuvre qui y seront représentés, ce qui est absolument impossible en y employant des chanteurs dont le seul mérite est de produire par soirée une certaine qualité et une certaine intensité de sons, avec des gestes bizarres et ridicules par-dessus le marché.[24]

The following paragraphs demonstrate that each of the qualities Reyer requires from the operatic vocalist as musician stems from his view of the importance of the drama. In his opinion, a good musician is one who possesses the sensitivity to vary his or her vocal characterization in accordance with the dramatic ideas of the text; respects the logic of the drama by refraining from taking musical liberties for which there is no dramatic motivation; and enunciates clearly, so that the text can be understood by the audience.

Reyer's conviction that the drama is the essence of an opera motivates him to regard sensitivity to the dramatic ideas of the text as being a fundamental characteristic of good musicianship. This belief is implicit in his praise of one vocalist's interpretations of two very different roles: the Virgin Mary in Berlioz's oratorio L'Enfance du Christ, and Marguerite in Gounod's opera Faust:

> C'est une musicienne qui chante, une musicienne qui comprend ce qu'elle chante et qui y met toute sa passion, toute son âme. Elle a compris le rôle de la Vierge Marie comme elle avait compris celui de Marguerite, avec l'intelligence d'une véritable artiste.[25]

In a review of a revival of Der Freischütz Reyer insists that an operatic vocalist must interpret not only every role, but also every

situation within a single role, according to the dramatic implications of the text.

> Est-ce que l'air d'Agathe, par exemple, doit être chanté comme l'air de Léonore, au deuxième acte, comme celui de dona Anna ou celui d'Armide: Venez, venez, haine implacable! N'y a-t-il pas des degrés dans la passion comme dans tous les sentimens humains? Agathe est une jeune paysanne; elle attend son fiancé et elle prie. Des pas se font entendre: C'est lui! c'est lui! Elle court à la fenêtre, agite son mouchoir:
>
> Dein Maedchen wacht noch in der nacht.....
>
> Ton amante veille encore au milieu de la nuit..... Sans doute il est vainqueur! o douce espérance!
>
> Et de son coeur s'élance un cri de joie, de reconnaissance et d'amour. Mais est-ce là de la passion dramatique? est-ce de la tragédie ou du drame intime?[26]

And Reyer continues, comparing the performance of Mlle Hisson as Agathe with that of Gabrielle Krauss, who had sung both this role and that of Leonora in Fidelio. Reyer attributes the success of Mme Krauss to her ability to impart to each role the variety of expression which suits the events and emotions of the text. He supports his view by comparing her interpretations of the principal arias of Agathe and Leonora:

> Si cet air d'Agathe n'est pas sans analogie avec celui de Fidelio, quelle différence dans l'expression! Mme Krauss, qui les a chantés tous les deux cet hiver, donnait à chacun le style, le caractère, l'expression qui lui conviennent, et voilà pourquoi elle y a un très grand succès, un double succès de cantatrice et de tragédienne lyrique. Mlle Hisson, au contraire, chante cet air d'Agathe comme elle chante le duo du quatrième acte des Huguenots, le trio du cinquième acte de Faust ou la fameuse cavatine du Trouvère, avec la même solennité, la même exagération, les mêmes emportemens et les mêmes défaillances.[27]

Thus, Reyer believes that a vocalist must bestow upon the music an expression which suits the dramatic situation, in order to be successful

as both a musician and an actor.

The great importance Reyer attributes to the dramatic elements of the operatic experience also accounts for his conviction that a good musician shows respect for dramatic logic by performing the music as written. To borrow Reyer's expressive metaphor, "les curés sont faits pour dire la messe, et les sacristains pour la servir"[28]; just as priests say the Mass and sacristans serve it, so the will of the composer should be served by the singers. They are bound by the score, just as the composer is bound by the libretto.[29] Reyer bases his evaluation of the performance of M. Lauwers on this belief, while deploring the fact that few vocalists faithfully perform their roles:

> . . . comme M. Lauwers est un excellent musicien, il n'a introduit dans son rôle ni rallentando, ni changement d'aucune sorte, ce qui est pourtant un privilège dont les chanteurs tant soit peu renommés et même ceux qui ne le sont pas du tout ont, à toutes les époques, largement usé.[30]

Operatic vocalists who tamper with a score are censured by Reyer, because he feels that changes--whether traditional or extemporized--are almost invariably motivated solely by vanity, and therefore rarely coincide with the interests of dramatic logic.[31] Such changes "dénaturent le caractère de la phrase complètement," and hence are antithetical to "l'expression d'un véritable sentiment dramatique."[32] For Reyer, true dramatic expressiveness does not consist of empty virtuosity, or the periodic production of an extraordinary note or vocal effect, or any other liberty taken without reference to the dramatic and musical consequences.[33] He therefore wonders why the French public idolizes singers who thus abuse artistic licence, instead of acclaiming the vocalist who

is faithful to the score.

> Les point d'orgue, les oppositions de nuances trop brusques, trop fréquentes, les rallentando, les négligences rythmiques et autres licences sont la mort du chant. Qu'on ne vienne pas me citer l'exemple de grands chanteurs qui en prennent à leur aise au point de défigurer le texte à force de l'altérer et n'en sont pas moins applaudis. Ce n'est pas moi qui leur ai signé leur brevet. Et puis est-il bien vrai que le public soit séduit, au point de les encourager, par toutes ces infractions aux règles immuables et au bon goût? Est-il bien vrai que pour lui la véritable expression ne consiste que dans l'abus de tels artifices? On peut en douter quand on le voit acclamer, et décréter d'ordre tout à fait supérieur, une artiste respectueuse de la pensée du compositeur et unissant le charme, l'élégance de la diction à la simplicité, à la pureté du style.[34]

The concluding statement of this excerpt shows that Reyer regards clear diction as another characteristic of good musicianship. We observed in Chapter III that his aesthetic motivates him to demand that a text be set in such a way as to be easily understandable to the listeners. However, he recognizes that their comprehension of the text depends on the performer, and he therefore praises vocalists who enunciate clearly. One such artist was the famous dramatic bass Francisque Delmas, who created the role of Wotan in the Parisian premiere of Die Walküre: "Quel superbe Wotan que M. Delmas! La richesse de son organe et la netteté de sa diction, sa haute stature et sa bonne mine donnent à ses récits et à ses attitudes une grande noblesse et une incontestable autorité."[35]

As the preceding paragraphs have indicated, Reyer's concept of good musicianship is founded upon his belief that the drama is the essence of the operatic experience. The importance of the drama in his aesthetic also explains his conviction that, in order to interpret a role

effectively, an operatic vocalist must be "à la fois un chanteur vaillant et un habile comédien."[36]

His concern that the operatic vocalist display acting ability prompts Reyer, on occasion, to offer a detailed examination of purely dramatic considerations: he analyzes the performance as if he were a drama critic evaluating an actor. Such scrutiny of the dramatic interpretation of a role is exemplified by a passage from his review of the Parisian premiere of Verdi's Falstaff. Here, Reyer draws attention to the dramatic talent displayed by the contralto Marie Delna, especially in the first scene of Act II. His comments on Mlle Delna would be readily applicable to a spoken drama.

> Ah! que voici une jolie scène et délicieusement jouée par Mlle Delna (Mrs Quickly)! Révérence! quand elle entre; révérence! quand elle sort; l'inflexion troublante de la voix, l'obséquieuse, l'ironique humilité du geste, tout y est. C'est une bien charmante et bien intelligente comédienne que Mlle Delna. J'aime autant le dire tout de suite: elle a admirablement compris son rôle, et si bien qu'elle l'a mis au premier plan.[37]

Since Reyer believes that the success or failure of an interpretation depends upon the combined effect of the singing and the acting, he usually intertwines his evaluations of these two aspects of a performance. He may find that certain features of the vocal characterization and the dramatic interpretation were particularly striking, as was the case with Delmas's precise diction and his noble gestures in the performance of Die Walküre mentioned above. Or, Reyer may draw attention to a specific moment at which the performer's singing and acting were highly effective. During the world premiere of Verdi's Otello, such a moment occurred when the famous baritone who created the role of Iago

interpreted this character's description of Cassio's dream:

> M. Victor Maurel s'est élevé dans le récit de ce songe à une vérité et à une puissance d'expression tout à fait émouvantes. Il faut être à la fois un grand chanteur et un grand comédien pour traduire avec un tel talent la pensée du poète et du compositeur.[38]

On the other hand, Reyer may offer only a general impression of an interpretation, without referring either to any particular aspect of the performance or to any specific part of the opera. In a review of a revival of Mozart's Nozze di Figaro, for example, he expresses his negative reaction to the interpretation of the title role by stating simply that both the singing and the acting lacked animation: "Je n'ai pas beaucoup aimé M. Fugère dans le personnage de Figaro où il m'a semblé, tant comme chanteur que comme comédien, manquer absolument de relief."[39]

Reyer occasionally demonstrates at length how the performer's singing and acting accounted for the success or failure of the interpretation. One illustration of this technique is his evaluation of Mlle Hisson as Valentine in a revival of Les Huguenots. Reyer attributes her lack of success to flaws in both vocal characterization and dramatic interpretation:

> Son chant et son geste sont emphatiques et exagérés; Valentine n'est point une princesse de mélodrame, ni la reine de Saba, ni la reine des Amazones; c'est tout simplement une femme qui trahit "et l'honneur et son père" pour un joli garçon qu'elle aime. Mlle Hisson ignore l'art de bien phraser et de dire avec simplicité; elle a des élans, de la chaleur, mais l'inégalité de son style détruit presque toujours l'effet qu'elle cherche à produire et dont elle paraît se préoccuper exclusivement.[40]

By the same token, he may explain how a combination of superb vocal characterization and effective acting caused the success of an

interpretation, as in his description of Rose Caron as Elisabeth in the Parisian revival of Tannhäuser:

> On ne pouvait rêver pour le role d'Elisabeth une artiste plus parfaite que Mme Rose Caron, aux attitudes plus nobles, aux inflexions de voix plus suaves, au jeu d'une expression à la fois plus chaste et plus passionnée. Elle a eu d'admirables élans et des murmures d'une tendresse, d'une douceur exquises. Avec ses longues tresses blondes et sa tunique aux plis harmonieux elle semblait échappée de quelque toile de Memmling [sic] ou d'Albert Dürer.[41]

Reserving his most ardent praise for the rare performer who displays a high calibre of acting ability as well as distinguished musicianship, Reyer again emphasizes the importance of the drama in the operatic experience.

The Italian, German, and French Operatic Traditions

Reyer's aesthetic determined not only his judgments of the libretto, the musical setting, and the operatic vocalist, but also his attitudes toward the three principal European traditions--the "trois écoles"[42]--of operatic composition: the Italian, German, and French. He preferred the German and French, evidently because he believed that the Italian school was characterized by two traditions which were antithetical to the fundamental principles of his aesthetic.

One of the two "traditions italiennes"[43] which Reyer found objectionable was the conception that the singer had supremacy over the music. We observed earlier in the chapter that Reyer's aesthetic motivated him to condemn two practices which, in fact, were manifestations of this tradition: the compositional practice of writing elaborately ornamented vocal music solely to display a singer's virtuosity, and the

vocal practice of altering a score when there was no dramatic motivation for so doing. The other Italian tradition which Reyer disliked was the custom of making the aria serve as the essential vehicle of musical expression.[44] In accordance with this tradition, recitative was of relatively little musical importance, and the orchestra had not much to do but accompany the singers--all of which was contrary to Reyer's aesthetic principle that the music must dramatize the emotions and situations provided by the libretto. In his eyes, the Italians' perfunctory recitatives--"les banalités du récitatif italien"[45]--failed to develop the dramatic potential of the narrative passages of a libretto. He also expressed disappointment that the Italians generally did not exploit what he regarded as one of the most potent forces in the musical realization of the drama: instrumentation.[46]

Despite his dislike of the two "traditions italiennes," Reyer did not reject all Italian opera. He had a special fondness for the eighteenth-century composers Cimarosa, Piccini, and Sacchini, and voiced great respect for certain aspects of the music of Rossini and Bellini.[47] However, of all the composers of the Italian school, the one who elicited the warmest praise from Reyer was Verdi--the Verdi of Aïda, Otello, and Falstaff.[48] The critic hailed Aïda as manifesting a transformation in the Italian master's style.

> Certes l'ancien Verdi subsiste encore; on le retrouve dans Aïda avec ses exagérations, ses brusques oppositions, ses négligences de style et ses emportemens. Mais un autre Verdi . . . s'y manifeste aussi, usant d'une manière fort habile, avec une science et un tact qu'on ne lui soupçonnait pas, de tous les artifices de la fugue et du contrepoint, accouplant les timbres avec une ingéniosité rare, brisant les vieux moules mélodiques, même ceux qui lui étaient particuliers,

> caressant tour à tour les grands récits et les longues mélopées, recherchant les harmonies les plus nouvelles, les plus étranges quelquefois, les modulations les plus inattendues, donnant à l'accompagnement plus d'intérêt, souvent plus de valeur qu'à la mélodie elle-même; enfin, comme le disait Grétry en parlant de Mozart, mettant parfois la statue dans l'orchestre et laissant le piédestal sur la scène.[49]

Reyer avowed that there was great potential in the "nouvelle manière,"[50] and later admired Otello and Falstaff as magnificent flowerings of that potential.[51]

We have noted that the Italian tradition of making the aria function as the essential vehicle of musical expression was incompatible with Reyer's aesthetic. He therefore praised what he regarded as expressive vocal declamation and the adaptation of the orchestra to the dramatic requirements in each of Verdi's last three operas. After encountering these features in Aïda, Reyer remarked that Verdi had learned much from the masters of the German and French traditions of operatic composition:

> Ah! il ne faut pas qu'on vienne me dire maintenant: Verdi vit dans l'isolement le plus complet et reste absolument indifférent à toute oeuvre nouvelle, à tout système nouveau. On m'assurait il y a quelques années qu'il n'avait jamais lu Don Juan. C'est bien possible, mais il l'a lu depuis, et il a même été beaucoup plus loin. Je suis bien certain que les oeuvres de Richard Wagner lui sont familières, et celles de Berlioz pareillement. Il a dû aussi étudier quelque peu les partitions de Meyerbeer et se rendre compte des procédés de M. Gounod.[52]

As we shall see in later chapters, Reyer applauded both the lyric declamation and the treatment of the orchestra in French and German operas by composers ranging from Gluck to Lalo. This demonstrates, once again, the consistency with which Reyer applied his aesthetic principles.

Endnotes

[1] JD feuilleton of 23 April 1873.

[2] Ibid., 16 January 1872, 21 April 1894, 8 May 1887, 18 January 1891, and 13 May 1893, respectively.

[3] "Musique. Opéra," RP 8 (May 1852):151.

[4] JD feuilleton of 18 April 1869.

[5] Ibid., 5 May 1867.

[6] Ibid., 25 October 1884. Reyer continues: "Peut-être à l'opéra historique préférez-vous l'opéra légendaire? Moi aussi. J'y trouve plus de poésie . . . L'opéra fantastique ou légendaire, voilà à mon sens, et selon mon goût, le véritable opéra. Obéron me ravit; Armide, les Troyens, le Freischütz, Lohengrin pareillement."

[7] Consider the following excerpt, in which a fictitious "musicien" --a mouthpiece for Reyer--describes the libretto he had obtained for his first opera:

> ". . . j'avais en main un excellent poëme . . . Chaque scène avait sa raison d'être, et la surprise n'y tenait pas la place de l'intérêt. On pouvait suivre d'autant plus facilement la marche de l'action qu'elle était des plus simples, et cette simplicité n'en attenuait nullement ni la grandeur ni la nouveauté."
> ("Histoire d'un musicien," RF Année 3, Tome 9 [20 June 1857]:327)

[8] JD feuilleton of 21 April 1894.

[9] Ibid., 18 April 1869.

[10] H. Robert Cohen, "Berlioz on the Opéra (1829-1849): A Study in Music Criticism" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1973), p. 84.

[11] JD feuilleton of 26 January 1884.

[12] Ibid., 16 December 1866.

[13] CP feuilleton of 24 January 1858.

[14] JD feuilleton of 23 May 1897 (review of the Parisian premiere).

[15] Ibid., 18 April 1869.

[16] Ibid., 22 March 1884.

[17] Ibid., 12 December 1879 (review of the premiere of this work in concert).

[18] Ibid., 19 June 1872. Cf. the quotation from Reyer's review of Le Médecin malgré lui given above on p. 151.

[19] Reyer concludes: "J'ai déjà exprimé, en plus d'une occasion, mon sentiment sur cette influence fâcheuse que tant de compositeurs, grands et petits, se resignent à subir et qui leur fait accepter les plus absurdes fantaisies et quelquefois même la collaboration de tel chanteur ou de telle cantatrice." (Ibid., 9 March 1873.) Indeed, Reyer had been remonstrating against this "influence fâcheuse" ever since the early years of his career as critic. See, for example, his brief editorial on the power wielded by the Théâtre-Lyrique's Marie Cabel, in "Chronique de la quinzaine. Revue musicale," RP 22 (1 September 1854): 799.

[20] JD feuilleton of 9 March 1873. According to Reyer, the fact that the celebrated tenor Adolphe Nourrit had given Meyerbeer the idea of writing the great duet in Act II of Les Huguenots should not be cited as evidence that a composer ought to accept the suggestions of a singer. Reyer points out that Nourrit's request had been prompted by his sensitivity to the requirements of the drama; that "cet admirable duo" had been composed by Meyerbeer, not Nourrit; and that the tenor had sung his part exactly as written.

[21] The Austrian soprano Gabrielle Krauss (1842-1906) sang with the Vienna Opera for several years before coming to Paris. She appeared with the Théâtre-Italien from 1867 until 1870, when the Franco-Prussian War compelled her to leave the French capital. After performing in Italy and Russia, she returned to Paris in 1875 to sing the title role of La Juive at the inauguration of the Opéra's new building, the Palais Garnier. With the exception of the period 1885-86, she remained with the Opéra until 1888, when she retired from the theatre and devoted herself to concerts and teaching.

Mlle Krauss, whom the French nicknamed "la Rachel chantante" because of the dramatic intensity of her interpretations, was renowned for her portrayals of Verdi's Leonora (a role she first sang at the Italien in 1867) and of the Meyerbeer heroines Valentine, Alice, and Sélika. However, she was most famous for her interpretations of Donna Anna and Aïda; she was, in fact, the Opéra's first Aïda (1880).

[22] Ibid., 15 January 1875 (review of La Juive at the inauguration of the Palais Garnier).

[23] Ibid., 20 November 1887.

[24] Ibid., 17 August 1885.

[25] Ibid., 30 January 1881.

[26] Ibid., 31 May 1870. Reyer's allusion to "l'air de Léonore, au deuxième acte," probably designates her "Abscheulicher" (Act I), which --as he notes in an earlier feuilleton--"est placé au second acte dans la partition d'orchestre publiée avec paroles allemandes et françaises par Aristide Farrenc" (ibid., 2 December 1869).

[27] Ibid., 31 May 1870. See also Reyer's assessment of Mlle Hisson as Valentine in Les Huguenots, quoted on p. 160.

[28] Ibid., 5 May 1878.

[29] As shall be shown in Chapter V, Reyer maintains that all of the musical personnel involved in the production of an opera--including rehearsal coaches, conductors, and directors as well as vocalists--should be faithful to the score.

[30] Ibid., 30 January 1881.

[31] Ibid., 15 November 1875. There were "traditions" associated with many works, as Reyer indicates in his review of La Juive at the inauguration of the Palais Garnier:

> "Certains rôles, à l'Opéra, ont leur tradition, et cette tradition est respectée par les chanteurs auxquelles ils échoient successivement, avec une surprenante fidélité. Pour le rôle d'Eléazar, il y a la tradition de [Gilbert] Duprez. Ce qui veut dire que ce rôle est chanté, non pas avec le grand style et la belle diction du célèbre artiste, mais avec les changemens qu'il y a apportés. . . . le respect du texte vaudrait infiniment mieux."
> (Ibid., 15 January 1875)

[32] Ibid., 11 April 1886. Reyer repeatedly makes plain his conviction that "la meilleure façon de chanter un morceau, quelle qu'en soit la forme et je dirai même quelle qu'en soit la valeur, c'est de le chanter tel qu'il est écrit." (Ibid., 17 August 1885.) However, he tolerates a few ornaments "introduits par-ci par-là dans un passage où le compositeur lui-même a voulu laisser le champ libre à la fantaisie du virtuose," as in passages of the role of Rosina in Il Barbiere di Siviglia (ibid., 7 March 1880). Reyer's position is expressed most succinctly in the following statement: ". . . l'altération du texte peut être admise dans certains cas et dans certaines musiques; mais c'est là une licence dont il faut user avec la plus grande réserve." ("Chronique de la quinzaine. Revue musicale," RP 22 [1 July 1854]:156.)

[33] Reyer directs particularly strong and frequent criticism at "des virtuoses"--a term which he uses to designate those singers who court notoriety by indulging in technical display, and "ceux qui, n'ayant pu atteindre à la perfection du mécanisme, s'en tiennent à la production

périodique de phénomènes naturels." (JD feuilleton of 17 August 1885.) See, for example, his comments on the following: Marie van Zandt's practice of displaying her ability to sing a high B-flat by adding it to a given role (ibid., 20 May 1882); and the "hoquets," "saccades," and other vocal mannerisms of the Italian tenor Gayarré (ibid., 11 April 1886).

[34] Ibid., 17 August 1885. Reyer objects not only to the artifices cited in this quotation, but also to the practice of transposing to suit the capabilities of the singer. This position is exemplified by his comments on the performance of a M. Bouhy as Hoël in Meyerbeer's Le Pardon de Ploërmel.

> "Le seul reproche que j'adresserai à M. Bouhy, c'est de se défier un peu trop de l'étendue de sa voix et de céder trop facilement à la manie de la transposition. Ainsi l'air d'Hoël est en mi majeur, M. Bouhy le chante en mi bémol. La sonorité de l'orchestre n'est plus la même, l'effet du morceau y perd considérablement, et je ne sais trop ce que peut y gagner M. Bouhy."
> (Ibid., 5 September 1874)

[35] Ibid., 13 May 1893. Francisque Delmas (1861-1933), a graduate of the Paris Conservatoire, made his Opéra debut in 1886, and soon became one of the company's leading singers. He sang the role of the Landgrave when the Opéra revived Tannhäuser (1895), and, for this theatre, created all the principal bass parts in Wagner's other operas and music dramas, from the King in Lohengrin (1891) to Gurnemanz in Parsifal (1914). As an interpreter of Wagner he was considered unsurpassed, and the Parisian public idolized him.

Delmas also sang Gluck, Mozart, Weber, and Verdi, and had an enormous French repertoire which included Meyerbeer, Rossini, Gounod, and Saint-Saëns. He created literally dozens of roles in French operas, including the following: Amrou in Massenet's Le Mage (1891) and Athanael in Thaïs (1894); Narr'havas in Reyer's Salammbô (1892); and the principal bass parts in works by Dukas (Ariane, 1906), Bruneau (L'Ouragan, 1916), and d'Indy (Fervaal, 1912; La Légende de Saint Christophe, 1920).

[36] Ibid., 29 April 1883.

[37] Ibid., 21 April 1894. Marie Delna (1875-1932; real name Ledan) sang in a café at Meudon, her birthplace, where she was "discovered" by a music-loving painter. She was taken to Paris and brought to the attention of Léon Carvalho, who was then trying in vain to cast the role of Dido for a production of Les Troyens à Carthage at the Opéra-Comique. Carvalho was so impressed by Delna's voice that, although she was scarcely seventeen, he gave her the role. After her debut (1892) she remained with the Comique for six years as one of its most successful principals. A highlight of her career at this theatre came in 1894, when critics were enthralled by her performance as Mrs. Quickly opposite Victor Maurel (identified below in n. 38).

Delna left the Comique in 1898 and joined the Opéra, where the most notable of the roles she created was Cassandre in the Parisian premiere of La Prise de Troie (1899). In 1901 she went back to the Comique, then married in 1903 and retired for five years. She finally reappeared at the Comique and became a favorite; one of her greatest triumphs was in the title role of Gluck's Orphée (1910). That same year she went to America and made a deep impression as Françoise in the Metropolitan Opera's premiere of Bruneau's L'Attaque du moulin. She then returned to Paris, where she sang at the Comique for many years.

38 Ibid., 11 February 1887. Victor Maurel (1848-1923) made his debut at the Opéra in 1868, but left during his first season in order to further his career abroad. After establishing an international reputation, he returned to the Opéra, and remained on the roster from 1879 until 1894. During those years he also sang frequently at Covent Garden and La Scala. After leaving the Opéra in 1894, Maurel divided his time between the Opéra-Comique, Covent Garden, and the Metropolitan Opera. His last appearances were at Covent Garden in 1904.

Maurel's performance of the title role in the revised version of Simon Boccanegra (La Scala, 1881) prompted Verdi to choose him to create the roles of Iago (1887) and Falstaff (1893). In France and America, too, Maurel was celebrated as an interpreter of Verdi: he sang Amonasro in the American premiere of Aïda (1873) and in its premiere at the Opéra (1880), and he recreated the roles of Iago and Falstaff in the Parisian premieres of Verdi's last two operas (both in 1894). Another of Maurel's most notable creations in the Italian repertoire was Tonio in Leoncavallo's Pagliacci (Teatro dal Verme, Milan, 1892). Maurel also distinguished himself in Wagnerian roles: he was London's first Telramund and Wolfram (1875 and 1876 respectively), and Covent Garden's first Dutchman.

39 Ibid., 20 May 1882.

40 Ibid., 28 January 1869.

41 Ibid., 25 May 1895. Mme Caron was identified in n. 27 of Chapter I. In addition to being acknowledged as Reyer's finest interpreter, Mme Caron was celebrated for her performances of Wagner, Verdi, Beethoven, and Gluck. She was the Opéra's first Elsa (1891), its first Sieglinde (1893), and, as indicated above, she sang the role of Elisabeth in the revival of Tannhäuser (1895). Verdi, who came to Paris to hear her, insisted that she create the role of Desdemona when the Opéra gave the French premiere of Otello, and after this premiere he declared: "Je ne mourrai donc pas avant d'avoir rencontré ma Desdémone." (Quoted by Reyer in ibid., 13 October 1894.) In the late 1890s Mme Caron left the Opéra for the Opéra-Comique, where she was most successful in the title roles of Fidelio and Orphée--the latter revived expressly for her. Shortly after her acclaimed appearance in the Comique's revival of Iphigénie en Tauride (1900) she retired from the theatre. In 1902 Mme Caron was appointed professor of singing at the Paris Conservatoire; she was also a member of this institution's Conseil supérieur des études.

[42] Ibid., 10 May 1877.

[43] Ibid., 5 September 1874.

[44] Paul Henry Lang offers the following explanation for the Italian "cult of the aria" during the early nineteenth century:

> ". . . opera had become the possession of the singing stars. The composers spurned everything that was not suitable material for arias, because the Marchesis, the Rubinis, the Pastas, and the Catalanis demanded arias to sing, not well-constructed operas."
> (Critic at the Opera [New York: W. W. Norton, 1971], p. 124)

[45] JD feuilleton of 31 May 1870.

[46] For example, the young Reyer--writing in the first person plural--once wondered why Bellini was criticized more than were other Italian composers for having

> "trop négligé la partie instrumentale de ses opéras. Nous voulons bien admettre que quelques-uns de ses accompagnements pêchent par un excès de simplicité, et que ses effets d'orchestre sont peu variés, mais en cela il ne s'est pas autant écarté qu'on veut bien le dire des traditions de l'école italienne."
> ("Critique musicale," RP 16 [March 1853]:494)

[47] Reyer praised Cimarosa's comic operas Le Astuzie femminili and Il Matrimonio segreto as masterpieces, and avowed that there were "certaines affinités" between the temperaments of Cimarosa and Mozart (JD feuilleton of 8 February 1874). Reyer also counted Piccini and Sacchini as being among the masters of eighteenth-century Italian opera (ibid., 12 December 1879).

While censuring Rossini as "l'inventeur des crescendo formidables et des ensembles pompeux," Reyer admired him for explicit reasons: "Evidemment il a créé des formes nouvelles, et l'art du chant lui doit d'incontestables progrès; . . . il faut aussi lui tenir compte de ses recherches harmoniques . . . et du développement qu'il a donné au rôle de l'instrumentation." (Ibid., 29 November 1868.) Reyer once described the overture to Guillaume Tell as "une grande composition symphonique" (ibid., 16 May 1883), and he esteemed both Tell and Barbiere as masterpieces. (See his reviews of revivals of these two operas in ibid., 29 November 1867 and 21 October 1873 respectively.)

Bellini was for Reyer a musical poet whose undistinguished instrumentation was compensated "par une inspiration si élégante et si dramatique, par des chants si pleins de tendresse, de passion, et d'originalité" ("Critique musicale," RP 16 [March 1853]:494).

[48] This is not to say that Reyer had no liking for any of Verdi's earlier operas. When he heard Luisa Miller--which, in 1853, established

Verdi's popularity in Paris--he was impressed by several aspects of the composer's style:

> "Ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable dans la musique de M. Verdi, c'est le mouvement, la passion, l'originalité de la forme mélodique et le brio de l'orchestre. C'est là de la musique à grand effet, dont l'exécution ne peut pas être confiée à des talents ordinaires."
> ("Critique musicale," RP 16 [January 1853]:158)

The intense emotionalism of Verdi's operas sometimes prompted Reyer to criticize what he regarded as "violences" ("Chronique musicale," RF Année 2, Tome 6 [20 October 1856]:542). He nevertheless admired much of both Il Trovatore and Don Carlos, and eventually signalled them as being milestones in Verdi's career before Aïda (JD feuilleton of 21 April 1894).

[49] Ibid., 16 January 1872.

[50] ". . . s'il persiste dans sa nouvelle manière, le maëstro Verdi . . . opérera bien des conversions et se fera bien des adeptes, même dans les cénacles où jusqu'à présent il n'était guère admis." (Ibid.) One of the "cénacles" was probably the Opéra. True, this institution had wooed Verdi from the late 1840s until the early 1860s: it had presented a revised French version of I Lombardi as Jérusalem (1847) and a French translation of Il Trovatore as Le Trouvère (1857); it had commissioned the grand opera Les Vêpres siciliennes (1855); and it had commissioned another grand opera, Don Carlos, as its major new offering for the period of the Universal Exposition at Paris in 1867. However, since the revival of Les Vêpres siciliennes in 1863 Verdi's popularity with the Opéra's audience had rapidly declined. The revival had disappeared from the Opéra's active repertoire after only fifteen performances in 1863-64. Three years later, Don Carlos had been a failure in the eyes of the public and most of the press (with the notable exceptions of Gautier and Reyer; see the latter's review in ibid., 20 March 1867). The causes of Verdi's fall from grace at the Opéra had to do partly with the political climate of the middle and late 1860s, and partly with the composer's musical style, as Genevieve Lomax Chinn demonstrates in "The Académie Impériale de Musique: A Study of Its Administration and Repertory from 1862 to 1870" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1969), pp. 135-40.

The Opéra did not risk presenting Aïda until 1880, four years after it had proved successful at the Théâtre-Italien. (Reyer reviewed these performances in the JD feuilletons of 26 April 1876 and 26 March 1880.)

[51] Ibid., 11 February 1887 (world premiere of Otello at Milan), 21 April 1894 (French premiere of Falstaff at the Opéra-Comique), and 13 October 1894 (French premiere of Otello at the Opéra).

[52] Ibid., 16 January 1872.

CHAPTER V

REYER AND THE LYRIC THEATRES OF PARIS

Having demonstrated how Reyer's aesthetic motivated his views on opera, we now turn to his observations concerning the major Parisian lyric theatres during the period of his activity as a music critic: the Opéra, the Opéra-Comique, and the Théâtre-Lyrique. The extent and frequency of his remarks about these theatres, and his insistence on the necessity of reestablishing a third home for lyric theatre after the demise of the Théâtre-Lyrique, indicate that these were subjects of great importance to him. We shall see that his reactions to the many attempts to revive the Lyrique afford a detailed picture of his conception of an ideal lyric theatre.

The Opéra, Opéra-Comique, and Théâtre-Lyrique during the Second Empire (1852-1870)

Introduction

In 1866, when Reyer began his career as feuilletoniste for the Journal des Débats, the Second Empire was at its height. Paris, brilliantly transformed by Napoléon III's Préfet de la Seine,[1] was attracting visitors from all over Europe and from America, and was regarded as a model for other European cities. The French capital offered a richly varied theatrical life for those who could afford to sample it: ballet was performed at seventeen theatres;[2] the Théâtre-Français and the Odéon presented new dramatic works in alternation with the great classics of

Racine, Corneille and Molière; operetta flourished at many small theatres; and four large theatres were consecrated to opera.

The four Parisian lyric theatres were the Académie Impériale de Musique (or Opéra, as it was informally called), the Théâtre National de l'Opéra-Comique, the Théâtre-Italien, and the Théâtre-Lyrique. All but the last-named were officially recognized and generously subsidized throughout the period of the Second Empire. The first two theatres were maintained for the performance of French opera and opéra comique respectively; the third presented Italian works in Italian; and the Théâtre-Lyrique gave performances of both French opera and opéra comique, as well as foreign works in French translation.[3] Of the four theatres, by far the most popular were the Opéra, the Opéra-Comique, and the Théâtre-Lyrique.[4]

Despite the fact that the government supported two privileged state showpieces for French opera--namely, the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique--conditions were by no means encouraging for young French composers. In order to grasp that paradox and to comprehend the reasons for Reyer's insistence that a Théâtre-Lyrique be reestablished after the fall of the Empire, we must understand more fully the extraordinarily complex situation in these three lyric theatres during the reign of Napoléon III.

The Opéra and the Opéra-Comique

The most prestigious lyric theatre in all of France was the Opéra. Established in 1669 as a home for French lyric drama, this institution had remained the only subsidized theatre for the performance of serious opera in the French language. It had known its greatest days during the

reign of Louis Philippe (1830-1848), when the public had come in droves to see and hear the spectacular genre now known as French grand opera, exemplified by such works as Meyerbeer's Robert le Diable (1831) and Les Huguenots (1836). Even after the revolution which toppled the regime of the roi des Français, the Opéra's wealthy audience continued to adore grand opera, and by the early 1860s--when the Second Empire was at its zenith--this theatre had become "a kind of club of the upper classes, desiring no new members and requiring no fresh forms of entertainment."[5]

During the Second Empire the Opéra, because of its unique position as France's premier and most heavily subsidized lyric theatre, was the center of a controversy regarding its responsibility to the state and to the public.[6] The government required only that the Opéra reflect the brilliance of the achievements of Napoléon III's Empire by providing dazzling displays. For many of the Opéra's patrons--the aristocracy and the nouveau riche--this theatre was merely to offer a glamorous setting where they would be entertained but not necessarily artistically stimulated. However, for the reasons given below, Reyer and other members of the intellectual community complained that the Opéra was remarkably unsatisfactory as an artistic undertaking.

Throughout the reign of Napoléon III, the core of the Opéra's repertoire consisted of grand operas which had been presented repeatedly since they had taken Paris by storm during the late 1820s and 1830s.[7] The successive directors of this institution augmented the repertoire with only a handful of new works, and consistently revealed dubious artistic judgment in their choices: they mounted operas by successful composers like Ernest Boulanger, Victor Massé, and Jules Duprato, while

leaving works of the less popular Berlioz and Gounod to be produced by the Théâtre-Lyrique, the musical equivalent of the Salon des Refusés.[8] If the Opéra showed little or no favor toward established composers such as Berlioz and Gounod, it was virtually inaccessible to debutants, including Bizet, Massenet, and Saint-Saëns.[9] Celebrated foreign composers fared even worse than their French contemporaries, because the regulations governing the Opéra permitted only the presentation of works composed to French texts. One notable exception to this rule was the production--by royal command--of a French version of Wagner's Tannhäuser (1861); however, the music of the controversial composer stretched the tolerance of the public too far, and the production closed after three tumultuous nights. The bulk of "le répertoire classique"[10] had disappeared before the dawn of the Second Empire, and the few treasures that were revived were usually presented in mutilated form.[11]

Reyer did not hold the Opéra's administration solely responsible for the choice of the repertoire; he felt that the audience was partly to blame, because the directors had to respond to its conservative tastes in order to maintain its vital financial support.[12] Nevertheless, he criticized the directors for constantly endeavouring only to please the audience, instead of striving also to educate it by presenting a more stimulating repertoire.[13]

Second in importance to the Opéra--and on a slightly different social level--was the Opéra-Comique. Formally created in 1801 by the amalgamation of two theatrical companies which had prospered during the eighteenth century, the Opéra-Comique was the officially recognized and subsidized home for the national French form of comic opera. The new

company flourished in the 1820s and 1830s, when the directors built up a large repertoire of opéras comiques by numerous composers, including Auber, Adam, Boïeldieu, Hérold, and Halévy. However, in subsequent years the same works, and others very similar to them, were performed hundreds of times before the bourgeois families who patronized this theatre.

During the Second Empire, the Opéra-Comique elicited from Reyer and other French musicians the same criticisms as did the Opéra, because the successive directors of the Comique pursued the same managerial policies as were concurrently displayed at the Opéra: the domination of the stage by works that had proved to be popular; the production of fewer new works than required by the cahier des charges governing the institution; and the obtaining of most of these works from composers and authors who had enjoyed previous successes.[14] Worst of all, according to Reyer and other critics of the Comique, was the fact that the directors often demonstrated questionable artistic judgment when choosing works by debutant composers: the early comic operas of Delibes and Gounod were rejected or ignored,[15] while works by newcomers of lesser stature--such as Boulanger, Massé, and Duprato--were accepted.[16]

Reyer felt that the audience was partly responsible for the choice of repertoire at the Opéra-Comique, as was the case at the Opéra. The Comique had established a reputation as a sanctuary for the family--a veritable stronghold of domesticity--and the successive directors were loathe to risk alienating the theatre's bourgeois patrons by premiering works that might prove offensive to their sensibilities.[17] As a result,

the Opéra-Comique was almost as tight and reactionary an organization as the Opéra.

The policy of performing established works kept attendance high at both the Opéra-Comique and the Opéra during the Second Empire, and can be understood if one realizes that each of these theatres was expected to show a profit. However, the resulting stagnation of both repertoires was a source of great irritation to composers and critics alike. As we have seen, Reyer and other critics attacked this policy, and questioned the directors' choices of the new works added to the repertoires. The passage of time has justified Reyer's misgivings: the few new entries into the repertoires of the Comique and the Opéra never gained prominence, whereas some of the operas first presented at the Théâtre-Lyrique have proved to be among the most lasting of any produced in the nineteenth century.[18] The inability of the directors of the Comique and the Opéra to recognize the artistic and commercial value of operas which met with enormous success at the Théâtre-Lyrique deprived the two oldest Parisian lyric theatres of possible glory, not to speak of revenue. As Saint-Saëns once observed, "C'est un malheur irréparable et qu'on ne déplorera jamais assez."[19]

The Théâtre-Lyrique

The only opera house which gladly opened its doors to young French composers and to older ones who had not been acclaimed by the public was the Théâtre-Lyrique.[20] Founded in 1847 by the composer Adolphe Adam,[21] this venture led a precarious existence until 1848, when it was forced to close because of financial reverses intensified by the revolution.

It reopened in 1851 under a new director[22] and flourished during the Second Empire, becoming the rival company to the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique. Such an achievement was remarkable in view of the fact that, during most of its adventurous existence, the Lyrique depended entirely on box office receipts to support itself; only from 1863 until its demise in 1870 did this theatre receive a meager annual subsidy from the government.[23]

Although the Lyrique was finally granted a small subsidy, this house--unlike the constantly and heavily subsidized Opéra and Opéra-Comique--remained "indépendant et libre,"[24] that is, free to stage foreign works in French translation, and to present both French opera and opéra comique.[25] Moreover, this theatre was led by a succession of imaginative directors who, avoiding the conservative managerial policies that blighted the other two homes of French lyric theatre, "tried wholeheartedly to encourage original works and to build up an enterprising audience."[26] These directors succeeded in creating a repertoire that many theatre-goers found much more exciting than that of either the Opéra or the Opéra-Comique. As for the Théâtre-Italien, it lost much of its audience to the Lyrique, where the current Italian repertoire was performed in French.[27]

In Reyer's eyes, the director most responsible for the artistic success of the Lyrique was Léon Carvalho, who directed this theatre during the second half of the 1850s and most of the 1860s.

> M. Carvalho, et je me plais à lui rendre cette justice, est le seul directeur qui ait compris la véritable mission du Théâtre-Lyrique existant entre l'Opéra-Comique et l'Opéra. Et l'on oublie les fautes qu'il a pu commettre . . . quand on songe à ce que l'art musical

> doit à son intelligence et à son habileté. Orphée et Obéron, Faust et les Troyens, sans compter le reste,....[sic]![28]

Carvalho's leadership made the Lyrique one of Paris's cultural centers, not only because of its distinguished repertoire, but also because of its company, which--during the 1860s--was widely considered the finest musical ensemble in the capital.[29] Receipts from Carvalho's productions were great, but his expenses were always greater, and the meager subsidy granted by the government did little to ameliorate his precarious financial situation. In 1868 he resigned because of mounting deficits. His departure marked the end of the Lyrique's period of eminence, and the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War in July 1870 dealt this theatre a mortal blow.[30]

From the time of its inception until its demise, the declared policy of the third home for French lyric theatre was to present works by young composers and by others who, although known in the French capital, had not become popular with the conservative audiences of the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique. Therefore, the most progressive French composers of the Empire--including Berlioz and Gounod, as well as such younger men as Bizet--were in general associated with the Lyrique. Three works created at the Lyrique proved, in fact, to be the most durable of the theatre's offerings, and among the most enduring nineteenth-century operas: Gounod's Faust (1859), his Roméo et Juliette (1867), and Berlioz's Les Troyens à Carthage (1863).[31] The Lyrique's policy of encouraging unknown young composers and older ones who had not achieved popularity made this theatre admirably suited to carry out the condition of its subsidy, which demanded the annual presentation of a three-act opera by

a Prix de Rome laureate who had not previously had a work staged in Paris.[32]

In addition to promoting new French works, the directors of the Lyrique sought to cultivate public interest in older French opera by reviving seventeenth-, eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century works, many of which had long been neglected by the other two homes of French lyric theatre. Operas and opéras comiques by composers ranging from Gluck to Méhul were resurrected.[33] Among the most distinguished of these revivals were Gluck's Orphée (1859) and his Iphigénie en Tauride (1868), two treasures which were virtually unknown in mid-nineteenth-century Paris.[34]

Throughout its history, the Lyrique's freedom to perform works in translation was a very important influence on repertoire, enabling the successive directors of this theatre to enhance its enviable artistic reputation by presenting notable foreign operas both new and old. The Lyrique thus became a truly cosmopolitan stage--the only Parisian lyric theatre where foreign works were celebrated like national works.[35] Of the Lyrique's contemporary foreign offerings, the production of Rienzi (1869) was perhaps the most notable, for it was the first Parisian presentation of an opera by Wagner since the fiasco of Tannhäuser at the Opéra in 1861. The Lyrique also premiered or revived many distinguished older foreign works, including Beethoven's Fidelio (1861), four operas by Weber, and five by Mozart.[36]

In the course of its brief but brilliant career, the Lyrique--like each of the other two homes of French lyric theatre--established its own social and intellectual ambience. Whereas the Opéra was the theatre of

the aristocracy and the nouveau riche, and the Opéra-Comique that of the bourgeoisie, the Théâtre-Lyrique stood as the opera house of the working man and woman and the little-known or unrecognized artist. According to Reyer, it was the musical theatre par excellence: open to all glories, within reach of all talents, and "accessible à toutes les bourses."[37]

After the demise of the Lyrique, Reyer often pointed out that it had played a double role in French musical life--a role that had been at once innovative and educative. He explained that this theatre had been an innovative force because it had provided a hearing for the "classics" and for contemporary works both French and foreign.[38] By revealing such a wealth of music, the Lyrique had performed an invaluable educative function, because it had broadened the musical knowledge of French musicians and non-musicians alike, and had served as a training ground where young singers had acquired practical experience in a wide range of roles.[39] He therefore endorsed wholeheartedly the judgment expressed by the Société des compositeurs de musique: ". . . le Théâtre-Lyrique . . . a rendu à lui seul plus de services à l'art musical dramatique, aux compositeurs et aux artistes lyriques, que l'Opéra et l'Opéra-Comique réunis."[40]

The Need to Reestablish a Third Lyric Theatre after the Demise of the Théâtre-Lyrique

After the failure of an attempt to reestablish a third home for lyric theatre in Paris, Reyer mused: "Un théâtre lyrique, à côté de ceux qui existent déjà et dont la mission est déterminée, n'a sa raison d'être que s'il comble une lacune dans le mouvement musical."[41] This

statement is likely to raise a number of questions in the reader's mind: Did Reyer think that the demise of the Lyrique had left a void in French musical life? If so, did he expect one of the existing lyric theatres to fill this void, or did he feel that a new theatre should be founded? What was his concept of the "missions" of the two established theatres? Clear indications of the answers to these questions appear in his extensive writings on the situation in the lyric theatres of Paris after 1870.

Reyer's observations leave no doubt that, in his opinion, the loss of the Lyrique had left a large lacuna in French musical life--a lacuna which was very damaging. After the closing of this theatre, he often lamented that there was no Parisian outlet for the many new French works which--on the one hand--exceeded the physical resources of the Opéra-Comique, and--on the other--were rejected by the conservative Opéra.[42] He also pointed out that there was no outlet for contemporary foreign operas, because the regulations governing the two existing lyric theatres forbade the presentation of works composed to non-French texts.[43] Equally distressing to Reyer was the fact that the "répertoire classique"--long ago abandoned by the Opéra--was not being performed in Paris.[44] He complained that, because there was no opportunity to see productions of the "classics" and of a multitude of new works by French and foreign composers, musical life in the French capital was becoming less and less stimulating.

> . . . le cercle de nos connaissances musicales . . . depuis quelques années va se rétrécissant. Si bien qu'un beau jour nous finirions par ne plus connaître grand'chose et par ne plus nous y connaître du tout. Pour une ville qui a été pendant si longtemps

> l'arbitre du goût musical en Europe, et même dans le monde entier, qui avait l'insigne privilège de consacrer les belles oeuvres et les grandes renommées de tous pays, quoi de plus humiliant que de finir ainsi?[45]

During the first half of the 1870s, Reyer called upon the Opéra to serve not simply as a privileged state showpiece for French grand opera, but rather as a stage dedicated to French and foreign works of all eras --a stage which thus would take the place of the defunct Lyrique.[46] However, his vision of the mission of the Opéra underwent a radical change in 1875, when the company moved to the Palais Garnier. He quickly came to the conclusion that the new theatre--the largest in Europe, and much bigger than the company's former home[47]--was too vast to be a suitable setting for anything except grand opera and the few later works which kept alive the imposing spirit of that eclectic genre.[48] In other words, he felt that the Opéra could no longer fulfil any mission other than the preservation of the grand-opera tradition.[49]

Reyer was convinced that the Opéra-Comique could no more compensate for the loss of the Lyrique than could the Opéra. In his opinion, the stage of the Comique was somewhat diminutive, the orchestra too small, and the supernumeraries too few for the successful production of most opéras sérieux.[50] Even if these physical limitations were overcome, said Reyer, the Opéra-Comique could never replace the Lyrique, because the latter had not been supported by the bourgeois family audiences which, for generations, had patronized the Comique. He substantiated his position by pointing out that Carvalho--who had led the Lyrique to the peak of its glory, and subsequently directed the Comique from 1875 until 1887--failed to make this theatre function as both the Opéra-

Comique and a new Théâtre-Lyrique.[51] Reyer concluded that, in view of the Comique's physical limitations and its long-established social and intellectual ambience, this theatre could fulfil only the mission for which it had originally been founded: to serve as the home of "un genre éminemment national."[52]

Since Reyer felt that the void left by the demise of the Lyrique could not be filled by either the Opéra or the Opéra-Comique, he called for the reestablishing of a third lyric theatre which would resume the innovative and educative role of the original Lyrique.[53] The new theatre would function as an innovative force by opening its doors to the "classics" and the host of contemporary French and foreign operas "que l'Opéra dédaigne et que l'Opéra-Comique n'est pas de taille à s'approprier."[54] By thus revealing old masterpieces and discovering new ones, the theatre would serve as an educative force, for it would broaden the musical horizons of the French, and would afford singers a desperately needed opportunity to perfect their skills through mastering a wide variety of roles.[55]

In short, Reyer insisted that the lacuna created by the disappearance of the original Lyrique could be filled only by the founding of an analogous theatre. If Paris possessed such a theatre, there would be no need to compromise either the mission of the Opéra-Comique or that of the Opéra:

> . . . que peut-il y avoir de plus glorieux pour une grande ville comme Paris, surnommée, à si juste titre, la capitale des arts, que de posséder un Théâtre-Lyrique? Alors toute chose sera remise à sa place: le genre éminemment national, d'un côté, le genre cosmopolitain, de l'autre. . . . Et puis, comme l'Opéra ne peut pas plus rétrécir son cadre que l'Opéra-Comique ne peut

> élargir le sien, toute une catégorie d'ouvrages, sans distinction d'origine, et dont l'énumération n'est plus à faire, trouveront leur place naturelle sur une scène analogue à celle où quelques-uns d'entre eux accomplirent jadis de si brillantes destinées. O mânes de Weber et de Mozart, de Gluck et de Beethoven, vous en souvenez-vous? Wagner et Berlioz y entreront aussi en bons frères dont la mort a apaisé les rivalités et les haines. Quelques jeunes compositeurs errants et découragés y viendront à leur tour. Et mon coeur de musicien sera tout réjoui de voir enfin se combler un vide que, depuis tant d'années, je déplore avec une persistance qui ne se lassera pas.[56]

Reyer's Conception of an Ideal Lyric Theatre

Reyer was by no means alone in demanding the establishment of a new Théâtre-Lyrique: other members of the Parisian press, and many prominent musicians, also clamored for such a theatre.[57] The collective pressure which they brought to bear on the government produced results in the mid-1870s: two of the early attempts to revive the Lyrique were granted subsidies,[58] and the municipal council of Paris founded a committee to consider the question of establishing a new lyric theatre. This question was still before the council when Reyer retired from the Débats in June 1898.[59]

During the last three decades of the century, there were a number of attempts--some subsidized, others privately funded--to establish a new lyric theatre in Paris. Unfortunately, none of the subsidized theatres survived even two years, and most of the privately funded ones perished within a few weeks or months.[60] Reyer greeted the founding of each new theatre with solicitous advice, and discussed the factor(s) which he held responsible for each failure. The issues which he examined most frequently were the following: the complex role of the

government; the composition of the repertoire; and the rights and responsibilities of performers and other key persons involved in the life of a theatre. His numerous and extensive statements concerning these and other matters afford a detailed picture of his conception of an ideal lyric theatre.

Role of the government

Reyer believed that the survival of a lyric theatre depended largely on financial assistance and judicious supervision from the government. As we shall see, he expressed vital interest in four aspects of the relationship between the government and a lyric theatre: subsidization; the choosing of a director; the question of whether or not the government was entitled to exercise any control over a director; and the scope of the privilège which licensed a theatre to present a particular genre or genres.

Reyer once declared that "les hauts patronages, chez nous, sont nécessaires aux grandes entreprises."[61] A theatre devoted to the popularization of great music was--in his opinion--such an enterprise; therefore, "il faudrait d'abord en assurer l'existence et l'indépendance au moyen d'une subvention regulière et considérable."[62] A large annual subsidy would guarantee the theatre's survival "contre les destins contraires."[63] Furthermore, it would make feasible the hiring of good singers,[64] the charging of modest prices for tickets,[65] and the production of works which might not be commercially successful.

> Ah! les bonnes soirées que j'ai passées à écouter quelque chef-d'oeuvre incompris de la grande masse du public, Fidelio, par exemple, dans une salle aux trois quarts vide! Elever le niveau de l'art, imposer les

> belles oeuvres à l'admiration de la foule, cela ne peut se faire que dans un théâtre largement subventionné, soit que le directeur le fasse de son plein gré, soit que son contrat l'y oblige.[66]

According to Reyer, the government should not be solely responsible for choosing the director, but should have a voice in the making of this important choice.[67] He evidently felt that, of all the qualities to be sought in a director, administrative ability was the most essential.

> En un mot, les deux choses indispensables à l'existence d'un théâtre lyrique, c'est une large subvention et une sage administration. Une subvention insuffisante est perdue d'avance: cela est déjà vue; un administrateur incapable n'est bon qu'à organiser la faillite . . . On ne peut pas dire que cela ne se soit jamais vu.[68]

Ideally, the director should be not only a capable administrator, but also "un homme honorable . . . [et] bon musicien."[69] Reyer often warned the government against entrusting the directorship to a mercenary entrepreneur who was neither a musician nor even a lover of the arts, and would therefore regard the subsidy as a stake for self-enrichment:

> . . . on ne doit . . . confier la direction [d'un théâtre où l'on popularisera la grande musique] qu'à un homme d'une intelligence supérieure et d'un talent éprouvé. Un entrepreneur, même un entrepreneur riche, n'y suffirait pas. Si l'on veut que le Théâtre-Lyrique rende de véritables services à l'art et aux compositeurs, si l'on veut que ce soit une scène modèle, une scène véritablement privilégiée, il ne faut pas que la routine et la spéculation viennent s'y installer.[70]

Reyer maintained that the granting of a subsidy did not entitle the government to subject the director to "la tutelle d'un Conseil municipal ou d'une administration supérieure qui mettent à propos de rien le nez dans vos affaires et vous chicanent sur des vétilles."[71] On the contrary, the director--once chosen--should be free of any interference from those who had selected him. He should, for example, be at liberty

to hire a singer without having first to secure the government's approval, and should be permitted "d'aller au gré de ses inspirations et même de ses fantaisies"[72] when choosing the repertoire--provided, of course, that he neither went beyond the boundaries set forth by the privilège of his theatre, nor relied on works which were immediately successful at the box office.[73]

Reyer unequivocally opposed unlimited freedom for the theatres of Paris, because this would have meant the abolishing of the privilèges. He feared that the revoking of these licenses would result in unhealthy competition--competition which would lead to such incongruities as the performance of operetta on the vast stage of a major lyric theatre.[74] A privilège, in his opinion, was therefore as essential for the guaranteeing of certain rights to a new lyric theatre as were the existing privilèges which protected the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique.

He warned, however, that too restrictive a privilège would be as detrimental to a new theatre's chance for survival as would be the revoking of all privilèges. Hence he criticized the theatre committee's frequent recommendation that a third lyric theatre be licensed to present only the works of young French composers. To restrict the privilège in this way would be to encumber a theatre needlessly

> dans des liens qui ne tarderaient pas à l'étouffer, même s'il était né viable et richement subventionné. . . . l'âge du compositeur ne fait rien à l'affaire. Il y a des compositeurs très jeunes qui ont beaucoup de talent, et il y a des compositeurs très vieux qui n'en ont pas du tout. Il y a aussi des opéras étrangers qui sont des chefs-d'oeuvre et des opéras français qui sont de véritables platitudes. Nous n'avons que faire de ceux-ci et nous avons le plus vif désir d'entendre les autres.[75]

Reyer insisted that the government could and should find a workable compromise between a fatally restrictive privilège and unlimited freedom.[76] He suggested that such a compromise would be a privilège which would license a theatre to present any genre except operetta, and to open its doors "aux compositeurs de tout âge et aux oeuvres de tout pays, à l'art moderne et à l'art classique."[77] Only by offering the operas both new and old, both French and foreign, which were not presented by the other two lyric theatres, could a new Théâtre-Lyrique attract the interest of the public, and thus survive in the face of competition not only from the two established houses but also from various concert series and festivals.

Repertoire

Our discussion of Reyer's conception of an appropriate privilège leads us to consider his views concerning "la question du répertoire, . . . une question primordiale, quand il s'agit de fonder un théâtre lyrique et d'en assurer l'existence."[78] He insisted that the "classics" must serve as the foundation of the repertoire, because--as explained below--familiarity with old masterpieces of lyric theatre would develop the musical taste of the French public, just as revivals of great works by French playwrights cultivated the public's appreciation of drama and comedy:

> . . . c'est le répertoire classique qui doit être le fond, la base, le point d'appui d'un théâtre lyrique sérieux. C'est au Théâtre-Lyrique qu'on doit aller entendre les chefs-d'oeuvre qu'on n'entend plus à l'Opéra, qu'on n'entend plus qu'exceptionellement et par petits fragmens ailleurs. C'est au Théâtre-Lyrique que ceux qui veulent se retremper dans les plus chers souvenirs du passé, ceux qui veulent épurer leur goût et

> s'instruire doivent retrouver Gluck, Mozart, Beethoven, Weber, Spontini . . . des grands maîtres! Rendez-nous les deux Iphigénies et Armide, Fidelio et Idoménée, Euryanthe, Fernand Cortez et la Vestale; . . . Pourquoi ne voulez-vous pas faire pour la musique ce que vous faites pour l'art dramatique? N'est-ce pas une obligation qui incombe au Théâtre-Français et à l'Odéon que celle de jouer Molière et Regnard, Racine et Corneille?[79]

Reyer urged that, while the repertoire must be founded upon "l'art classique," it must give "[une] place égale ou à peu près égale aux oeuvres du présent."[80] As we observed earlier in this chapter, he was deeply distressed that contemporary French composers lacked a Parisian outlet for the majority of their works, and that the operas of their foreign counterparts were completely ostracized from both of the existing lyric theatres. In the following excerpt he pointed out that, to make matters worse, contemporary foreign operas were being unfairly judged on the basis of the few excerpts which found their way onto the programs of Parisian concert societies.

> Voilà assez longtemps que nous ne rendons plus à nos voisins les politesses qu'ils nous font: les oeuvres de nos compositeurs passent la frontière; celles des compositeurs étrangers ne nous arrivent que par petits ballots, comme si elles nous étaient apportées par des contrebandiers. Et, ayant pris la mauvaise habitude de les juger sur ces échantillons dépareillés, nous les jugeons fort mal.[81]

Believing that "le mouvement musical résulte de la libre circulation d'oeuvres produites par des écoles différentes,"[82] Reyer insisted that --for the sake of contemporary French and foreign composers alike--a third Parisian lyric theatre must be "pourvu d'un répertoire qui fasse une part égale aux ouvrages modernes et aux chefs-d'oeuvre du passé."[83]

Rights and responsibilities of performers and other key persons

We observed in Chapter IV that, because Reyer's overriding concern when assessing any aspect of an opera was the implications of the drama, he demanded that the singers show respect for dramatic logic by performing the music as written. We shall now see that he insistently recommended such fidelity to all of the performers and to other key persons involved in the life of a lyric theatre.

After remarking that one of the vocalists at the Opéra had thanked the conductor "d'avoir fait plier le merveilleux bataillon de l'orchestre à toutes ses petites exigences de cantatrice," Reyer protested:

> Les cantatrices n'ont rien ou du moins ne devaient rien avoir à exiger ni du chef d'orchestre ni du directeur, dans le cas où ce directeur, contrairement à l'usage[,] sait les choses de la musique . . . Elles n'ont qu'à s'incliner devant la volonté manifestée ou respectueusement exprimée par le compositeur, si celui-ci est vivant, et à se souvenir du respect dû à sa mémoire, s'il est mort.[84]

Reyer was not suggesting that operatic vocalists were inconsequential; he was simply expressing his conviction that they were not as important as the music, and therefore had no right to demand adjustments in consideration of their abilities and tastes.[85]

According to Reyer, the responsibility for insuring that singers performed their roles faithfully rested with vocal coaches and conductors, all of whom he exhorted to exercise their rightful authority instead of acquiescing to the singers' whims.[86] He was particularly indignant when a conductor acted as "un simple batteur de mesures . . . le très humble et très obéissant serviteur de messieurs les chanteurs, de ces messieurs et de ces dames."[87] In Reyer's opinion, the conductor

should assert his right to express what he required from the vocalists and to insist that the latter respect his wishes.[88]

In addition to commanding the principal singers, the conductor must "veiller sur les choeurs et veiller sur l'orchestre, . . . veiller sur tout."[89] Reyer therefore urged that the conductor abandon the French custom of facing the stage--with his back turned to the orchestra--in favor of the Italian practice of facing both the orchestra and the stage, so as to wield greater control over the instrumentalists.[90]

The conductor at Reyer's ideal lyric theatre would not only demand that all the vocalists and instrumentalists respect the score, but also would respect it himself. Reyer criticized any musical transgression on the part of the conductor, regardless of whether it was traditional or the result of either the conductor's own conception or the pressures exerted on him by influential singers. Reyer lashed out with particular vigor at changes in instrumentation because he felt that, almost invariably, they were detrimental to the dramatic impact of the music. For example, after hearing a performance of Fidelio he complained about the omission of the contrabassoon part in the accompaniment of the final duet sung by Leonora and Rocco: "Les contre-basses seules ne rendent que très imparfaitement l'effet lugubre voulu par le compositeur."[91] If deviations from a score deserved criticism, faithfulness merited praise. Reyer was especially pleased when a conductor dared to suppress spurious "traditional" alterations, as did Jules Danbé when he conducted a revival of Mozart's Noces de Figaro:

> Je remercierai d'abord M. Danbé . . . d'avoir corrigé certaines erreurs qui s'étaient glissées dans le chant comme dans l'instrumentation et d'avoir fait disparaître

> certains changemens, certains altérations qui y avaient été volontairement apportés. Ici on avait renforcé la mélodie par deux bassons jouant en tierces; ailleurs on avait remplacé l'orchestration de Mozart . . . par une orchestration plus moderne et beaucoup plus riche. Il se trouvera toujours quelque malfaiteur pour accomplir un travail de ce genre! Félicitons-nous quand il se rencontre un musicien assez scrupuleux, assez honnête pour l'anéantir.[92]

In order both to command and to enforce faithfulness to the score on the part of all performers, the conductor had to be accorded "pleins pouvoirs . . . l'autorité absolue d'un maître de chapelle, fort au-dessus de celle d'un simple batteur de mesures."[93] Reyer pointed out that a Kapellmeister, in addition to having absolute authority over the performers, had a say in the charting of the musical course followed by the theatre. Someday, Reyer hoped, conductors in French lyric theatres would also wield such influence.[94]

While charging the conductor with the duty of demanding and practicing faithfulness to the score, Reyer by no means absolved the director of any responsibility for the performance. On the contrary, he believed that the achieving and maintaining of high musical standards required vigilance from both the director and the conductor:

> . . . je le répète, et plût à Dieu que ce conseil fût toujours suivi par les directeurs, par les chefs d'orchestre et par les chefs d'orchestre directeurs, il est de la plus absolue nécessité de veiller à ce que l'exécution ne laisse rien à désirer, car il n'y a pas de bonne musique sans une bonne exécution.[95]

Reyer therefore maintained that every director should monitor rehearsals and performances in order to have the opportunity of vetoing the taking of liberties with the score on the part of any artist--including the conductor.[96]

One major responsibility which, in Reyer's opinion, rested entirely on the shoulders of the director, was the selecting of the repertoire. As we have seen, Reyer felt that a third lyric theatre should offer a repertoire consisting equally of neglected classics and contemporary works--most of which were unknown to the Parisian public. He was therefore disappointed whenever a director of a newly founded lyric theatre relied on well-known works of proven commercial value, instead of undertaking "quelques-unes de ces expériences que la fortune ne suit pas toujours."[97] After all, said Reyer, the purpose of a lyric theatre was not to line the director's pockets, but rather to render service to musical art and to composers.[98]

Another responsibility which Reyer placed squarely on the shoulders of the director was that of forming "une troupe sans 'étoiles,' mais avec quelques excellents chanteurs, offrant un ensemble très satisfaisant"[99]--a good ensemble company which would present each work as written, without the disfiguring ornamentations and personal vocal mannerisms that were the trademarks of "stars." Reyer complained that, in addition to disrupting the musical homogeneity of a performance, these virtuosos commanded exorbitant fees which drained a theatre of funds needed both to purchase the rights to new operas and to provide good salaries for the permanent members of the company. The resentment bred by this situation sometimes prompted key members of a company to resign, as Reyer pointed out when the great baritone Jean-Baptiste Faure threatened to break his contract with the Opéra in protest over the enormous sum granted to the coloratura soprano Adelina Patti for appearing in a revival of Les Huguenots.[100]

Since Reyer felt that "stars" fermented artistic and financial discord at a lyric theatre, he criticized directors who perpetuated the "star system" by handsomely rewarding the public's idols.[101] Avowing that "sans une troupe d'ensemble . . . il n'y a pas de bonne exécution possible,"[102] he urged directors to stop searching obsessively for virtuosos, and instead to hire vocalists who--even if their voices were not outstanding--were well-trained musicians.[103] By thus establishing a good ensemble company, a director could successfully break the "star system," as Reyer explained in the following excerpt:

> La plupart des ouvrages du répertoire exécutés comme ils l'étaient à l'origine en seraient tout rajeunis: ils apparaîtraient au public étonné avec une physionomie toute nouvelle. Et le public, prenant goût peu à peu aux bonnes exécutions d'ensemble, perdrait par cela même l'habitude de se pâmer aux excentricités de tel ou tel chanteur exotique dont la renommée le fascine, l'éblouit.[104]

When considering the production of an opera by a living composer, Reyer urged that the latter refuse to accept the collaboration of singers whose only aim was to make the music serve as a means for flattering their exhibitionism.[105] Moreover, said Reyer, the composer had the prerogative of demonstrating to the conductor the tempos required in the opera, and should even be allowed to conduct the rehearsals and the performances, provided he was experienced in the art of conducting opera. Reyer explained that such experience was essential because opera posed special challenges to a conductor--even to one who was skilled at conducting in the concert hall.

> Félicien David et Berlioz, qui ont été d'excellens et très habiles chefs d'orchestre, n'ont jamais dirigé que l'exécution de leurs oeuvres symphoniques. Au théâtre, ayant à suivre, en même temps que la partition, le jeu

> des acteurs et les mouvemens de la scène, ils eussent peut-être éprouvé des difficultés sérieuses et que connaissent seuls ceux qui, du maître de chapelle au simple batteur de mesure, ont l'expérience, la pratique qu'exige la direction d'une oeuvre de théâtre, d'un opéra-comique ou d'un opéra.[106]

Other matters

When Reyer pondered the myriad questions pertaining to the establishing of a new lyric theatre, he not only examined in detail the three major issues discussed above, but also reflected briefly on various other matters. We need consider only those for which he expressed especially keen concern: the size and constitution of the orchestra; the question of whether or not the theatre would need a corps de ballet; and the physical attributes to be required of a home for lyric theatre.

In response to the theatre committee's detailed proposal for the founding of an "Opéra populaire municipal," Reyer expressed dismay that the orchestra would consist of only sixty musicians, and that a corps de ballet would be optional. He felt that the composition of the orchestra was a subject of great importance, and therefore described at length his ideal orchestra: a group consisting of at least seventy-seven musicians, not including replacements and any extra instrumentalists who might be required for a specific opera.[107] He advised the committee that the establishing of a corps de ballet should be compulsory, because ballet was an integral part of many of the "oeuvres 'de haute valeur'"[108] which the proposed theatre was required to present.

Excellent acoustics and a large seating capacity were the physical attributes which Reyer regarded as being essential to a building destined to serve as a lyric theatre. When the theatre committee

recommended that such a building have more than two thousand seats, Reyer pointed out that this was the capacity of the Théâtre du Château-d'Eau and the Eden-Théâtre, each of which he often proposed as a home for a new lyric theatre.[109] In his opinion, ample seating was as necessary as subsidization, for only these two things would make feasible the charging of modest prices for tickets--prices that would put the theatre "à la portée des plus petites bourses," as Reyer insisted it should be, "car il n'y a pas une musique pour le peuple et une autre musique pour l'aristocratie, pour les gens riches ou même pour les bourgeois aisés."[110] A theatre which thus would be accessible to all strata of society would be the answer to Reyer's plea that the government "democratize" great music: ". . . je demande que l'audition de nos chefs-d'oeuvre lyriques soit mise à la portée de toutes les bourses, faisant peut-être ainsi . . . de la démocratie."[111]

* * *

Reyer's conception of an ideal lyric theatre is best summarized by the critic himself. After announcing a forthcoming revival of Adolphe Adam's popular comic opera Si j'étais roi, ou Le Dormeur éveillé, he indulged in a wistful flight of fancy:

> Si j'étais roi de Béotie ou seulement Président d'une petite république aristocratique à la façon des républiques de l'ancienne Grèce, je voudrais avoir à moi un théâtre lyrique où le luxe intérieur serait peu de chose, où la musique serait tout; un théâtre où l'on ferait une place égale à l'ancien répertoire et au nouveau, un théâtre où rien ne serait laissé au caprice des artistes, un théâtre où les chefs-d'oeuvre "qui ne font pas le sou" seraient honorés et surtout joués par cela seul que ce sont des chefs-d'oeuvre, un théâtre où les musiciens d'orchestre ne seraient pas payés comme des garçons de bureau, un théâtre qui s'enorgueillirait de ses succès et non point de ses bénéfices, un théâtre

comme on n'en voit guère, un théâtre comme on n'en voit pas, même ailleurs que chez nous. . . .

A peine venais-je d'annoncer la reprise de Si j'étais roi, je me suis endormi; j'ai fait un rêve, et voilà le dormeur éveillé.[112]

Endnotes

[1] Baron Haussmann. The emperor and Haussmann had made the capital more beautiful, had provided for the increasing traffic, and had improved the living conditions as well as the recreational opportunities of the poor. See Denis W. Brogan, The French Nation: From Napoléon to Pétain, 1814-1940 (London: Hamilton, 1957), pp. 111-13.

[2] See Ivor Guest, The Ballet of the Second Empire, 1852-1870, with a Preface by Serge Lifar (London: A. & C. Black, 1953), pp. 136-39.

[3] The Opéra and the Opéra-Comique were not allowed to stage a work unless it was composed to a French text. (We shall see that an exception was made in the case of Wagner's Tannhäuser.) Italian opera remained the prerogative of the Théâtre-Italien, and could not be presented in translation at either of the other two state-aided theatres. (Again, there were occasional exceptions, such as the Opéra's production of Verdi's Le Trouvère after the tremendous success of Il Trovatore at the Théâtre-Italien.) The Théâtre-Lyrique, however, remained exempt from these regulations, even after it was granted a small subsidy in 1863.

[4] Reyer's writings on the Théâtre-Italien--which declined in popularity during the Second Empire and expired in 1878 (see below, n. 41) --are not sufficiently extensive to require consideration in this chapter.

[5] Mina Curtiss, Bizet and His World (London: Secker & Warburg, 1959), p. 125. The repertoire of this theatre did not change significantly until the directorship of Bertrand (1892-1900), as Marvin Carlson explains in The French Stage in the Nineteenth Century (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, 1972), pp. 219-20.

Throughout the nineteenth century, both ballet and opéra-ballet (i.e., ballet involving sung or spoken words) were at least as popular as lyric drama at the Opéra. The 1830s and 1840s, in fact, witnessed the peak of French romantic ballet, exemplified by La Sylphide (1832) and Giselle (1841). Ballet was also an integral part of grand opera, and was inserted into any opera--whether old or new, French or foreign --that was adapted for the Opéra. Indeed, the presence of ballet and recitatives instead of speech were the two traditional requirements associated with lyric drama at this theatre.

[6] See Genevieve Lomax Chinn, "The Académie Impériale de Musique: A Study of Its Administration and Repertory from 1862 to 1870" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1969), pp. iii and 69-81.

[7] Namely, Auber's La Muette de Portici (1828), Rossini's Guillaume Tell (1829), Halévy's La Juive (1835), and the two works by Meyerbeer

cited above on p. 173. Other staples of the repertoire were a handful of later grand operas: Meyerbeer's Le Prophète (1849) and L'Africaine (premiered posthumously in 1865), and--until 1863-64 (see Chapter IV, n. 50)--Verdi's Les Vêpres siciliennes (1855).

[8] The Lyrique premiered Berlioz's Les Troyens à Carthage under the somewhat misleading title Les Troyens (1863), and a varied succession of works by Gounod: the opéra comique Le Médecin malgré lui (1858); Faust (1859); the light-hearted Philémon et Baucis (1860); the opéra dialogué Mireille (1864); and the five-act opéra Roméo et Juliette (1867).

After the failure of Benvenuto Cellini at the Opéra in 1838, the doors of this institution had closed to Berlioz. Gounod had suffered a similar fate. His operas Sapho (1851) and La Nonne sanglante (1854) had been coolly received by the Opéra's audience, with the result that the administration had rejected his next work, Faust. After the success of Faust at the Lyrique, the Opéra had accepted and premiered La Reine de Saba (1862); however, this work had been a fiasco, and Gounod had again been ostracized from the Opéra.

[9] See Camille Saint-Saëns, Ecole buissonnière: notes et souvenirs (Paris: Pierre Lafitte, 1913), p. 22.

[10] Ernest Reyer, JD feuilleton of 17 January 1878. Reyer utilized this expression to designate the wealth of neglected French and foreign operas which predated the rise of grand opera. He most often referred to the works of Gluck, Mozart, Spontini, Beethoven, and Weber as compromising the "répertoire classique" (for example, see ibid., 29 July 1871 and 29 June 1872).

[11] For example, a reasonably authentic French version of Weber's Der Freischütz (1841; recitatives by Berlioz) was turned into a curtain-raiser in 1850 and again in 1870. Berlioz, who supervised the revival of Gluck's Alceste in 1861, ensured that alterations were kept to a minimum, but in 1866 it suffered the same fate as Freischütz. Mozart's Don Giovanni fared no better: the five-act French arrangement by Blaze de Bury and E. Deschamps (1834) was revived in 1866, with the added irrelevancy of an interpolated ballet. This mutilated work remained in the repertoire until "the unbelievably late date of 1904." (Chinn, "Académie Impériale," p. 70.) Reyer objected strongly to these mutilations: "Laissez donc dormir les chefs-d'oeuvre plutôt que de les rendre à la vie défigurés, mutilés et presque méconnaissables." (JD feuilleton of 29 May 1873.)

[12] Reyer once wrote the following in defence of a director of the Opéra: "Un directeur qui a charge d'âmes et de commanditaires n'est pas toujours libre de faire à sa fantaisie. . . . ce ne sont pas ses préférences qu'il doit consulter: C'est l'intérêt de son entreprise . . . c'est le goût du public." (Ibid., 8 October 1881.)

[13] Reyer stressed the need for authentic productions of "de grandes et belles partitions qui, malheureusement, sont à peu près inconnues à

la génération actuelle." This repertoire would gradually "assainir le goût et le jugement du public" ("Chronique de la quinzaine. Revue musicale," RP 22 [15 July 1854]:313-14).

14 When the Opéra National--later rechristened the Théâtre-Lyrique --opened in 1851, Edmond Viel rhetorically asked, "Why a third opera house?" and then supplied the well-known answer that both the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique were virtually inaccessible to young French composers. See his article "Opéra National. Ouverture. Mosquita la sorcière, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. Scribe et G. Vaez, musique de M. Xavier Boisselot," Le Ménestrel 18 (5 October 1851): [1-2]. See also the criticism of the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique in Paul Scudo's L'Année musicale, 3 vols. (Paris: Hachette, 1860-62), 1: 292; and in Benoît Jouvin's "Un Feuilletoniste étant de loisir," Le Figaro, 26 April 1863. Between 1848 and 1868 the Comique produced only 251 new acts instead of the required minimum of 400, observed Adolphe Jullien in Airs variés (Paris: G. Charpentier, 1877), p. 199.

15 See Reyer's "Chronique musicale," RF Année 4, Tome 12 (10 February 1858):117.

16 Most of the works by these young composers received a lukewarm or even chilly reception from Reyer. For example, he drubbed Aimé Maillart's La Croix de Marie in "Chronique musicale," AthF 1 (24 July 1852): 60-61. One of the few works which Reyer applauded was Massé's Les Noces de Jeannette; see "Critique musicale," RP 16 (March 1853):497-98.

Of all the young composers whose works were accepted by the Comique during the period of the Second Empire, only one eventually achieved a place of distinction in the history of French music: Ambroise Thomas, for whose talent Reyer often expressed great respect (see especially his review of Thomas's Mignon, JD feuilleton of 2 December 1866).

17 Even at the outset of Reyer's career as critic, he often acknowledged the Comique's reputation as a family theatre. For example, he observed that the librettists who had adapted a famous Italian tale for Duprato's Les Trovatelles had remained within "les bornes imposées à leur muse égrillarde par les goûts simples et délicats des habitués de l'Opéra-Comique." ("Chronique de la quinzaine. Revue musicale," RP 22 [15 July 1854]:311.)

18 Of the new works presented at the Comique and the Opéra during the Second Empire, only two have endured: Massé's Les Noces de Jeannette (1853) and Thomas's Mignon (1866), both of which were premiered at the Comique. Apropos of the Lyrique's offerings, see p. 178.

19 Saint-Saëns, Ecole buissonnière, p. 31.

20 Shortly before its demise in 1870, Reyer praised the Lyrique for having been the one theatre accessible to "les ouvrages que l'Opéra ne joue plus . . . [et] ouvert également aux compositeurs vivans sans distinction de nationalité." (JD feuilleton of 17 April 1870.)

[21] In 1845, after a quarrel with the director of the Comique, Adam had obtained a license to allow him to withdraw his works from that theatre and to present them himself, together with new works by other composers. With financial backing from three men, he converted a circus theatre (the Salle du Cirque on the boulevard du Temple) into a lyric theatre, which opened on 15 November 1847. Adam called it the Opéra National. See Albert de Lasalle, Mémorial du Théâtre-Lyrique (Paris: Librairie Moderne, J. Lecuir, 1877), pp. 1 and 3-6; and T. J. Walsh, Second Empire Opera: The Théâtre Lyrique, Paris, 1851-1870 (London: John Calder; New York: Riverrun Press, 1981), pp. 2-3.

[22] In 1848 Adolphe Adam, financially ruined, had retired from the position of director. His successor was Edmond Seveste. The long-dormant Opéra National had also a new home: the former Théâtre-Historique (capacity 2,000). The curtain rose on the reborn Opéra National on 27 September 1851. The next year, on 12 April, the administration changed the name of the theatre to Théâtre-Lyrique.

[23] In 1862 the Lyrique had moved to the Grand-Châtelet (capacity 1,243), an impressive structure which had been raised on Haussmann's new Place du Châtelet. This remained the home of the Lyrique until it expired. See Lasalle, Mémorial, pp. 13-16 and 62-66.

The subsidies of the Lyrique and the Théâtre-Italien, each of which received 100,000 francs annually, were small in comparison with those of the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique. In the year 1863, for example, the two latter theatres received 820,000 and 240,000 francs respectively. See Jullien, Airs variés, p. 185; and Albert de Lasalle and Ernest Thoinan [Antoine-Ernest Roquet], La Musique à Paris pendant l'année 1862 (Paris: Morizot, Libraire-Editeur, 1863), p. 8.

[24] Reyer, JD feuilleton of 29 January 1870.

[25] The Lyrique's license also permitted the presentation of opera-ballet, but only four such works were performed at this theatre between its inception in 1847 and its demise in 1870. See Walsh, Second Empire Opera, p. 46; and Lasalle, Mémorial, p. 93.

[26] Curtiss, Bizet, p. 126.

[27] The 182 operas performed at the Lyrique between 1847 and 1870 are listed alphabetically in the "Table" of Lasalle's Mémorial.

[28] JD feuilleton of 20 April 1884. Reyer's concept of the "mission" of a Théâtre-Lyrique is clarified on pp. 183-84. During Carvalho's first term as director (February 1856-April 1860) he revived Gluck's Orphée and works by Mozart as well as Weber, and premiered several contemporary French operas, including Gounod's Faust. Carvalho's second term (October 1862-August 1868) was equally illustrious: more works by Mozart and Weber were revived (see below, n. 36); contemporary Italian operas--such as Rigoletto, Norma, Don Pasquale, and La Traviata --were premiered in French translation; and there were premieres of

notable French works, including Berlioz's Les Troyens à Carthage (which, as previously indicated, was presented under the title Les Troyens), and Gounod's Roméo et Juliette.

29 The company was then led by the noted soprano Caroline Miolan-Carvalho (Carvalho's wife), the Swedish soprano Christine Nilsson, the tenor Pierre Michot, and the bass Eugène Troy.

30 Carvalho had been succeeded by the distinguished conductor Jules Pasdeloup, who had struggled for more than a year to bring prosperity to the theatre. After Pasdeloup's departure in January 1870, there were a number of contenders for the post of director, including Carvalho. However, the proposals which he presented to the municipal council of Paris were not well received, and--despite a petition on his behalf, signed by Reyer and by many other prominent musicians--the government chose Louis Martinet. See the announcement in the RGMP 37 (28 May 1870):174.

Martinet's plans for the Lyrique were dashed by the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War on 16 July 1870. During the war's tragic aftermath --the Commune--flames consumed the home of the Lyrique, along with many other buildings in the city. After the Commune, when the remaining theatres were reassembling their companies, the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique appropriated many of the Lyrique's best singers, and the Comique took much of the repertoire of the defunct theatre (see below, n. 39).

31 After the demise of the Lyrique, Reyer often drew attention to the service this theatre had rendered by opening its doors to unknown French works. The following passage is typical: "Si le Théâtre-Lyrique n'eût jamais existé . . . je voudrais bien savoir où l'on eût joué Roméo et Juliette, Faust, Mireille et les Troyens." (JD feuilleton of 1 February 1879.)

The Lyrique had launched not only Gounod, but also Félicien David (La Perle du Brésil, 1851), Delibes (Maître Griffard, 1857; Le Jardinier et son seigneur, 1863), Reyer (Maître Wolfram, 1854; La Statue, 1861), and Bizet (Les Pêcheurs de perles, 1863; La Jolie Fille de Perth, 1867). Lasalle lists a host of other French composers whose works had been premiered at the Lyrique; see Mémorial, p. 94.

32 One such work was Bizet's Les Pêcheurs de perles. Despite its failure, Carvalho demonstrated his faith in the young composer by commissioning him to write another opera (Ivan IV) and then another La Jolie Fille de Perth). Carvalho's precarious financial situation prevented him from mounting Ivan IV. See Curtiss, Bizet, pp. 131, 153-56, and 172.

33 There were revivals of more than a dozen works by such composers as Auber, Boïeldieu, Dalayrac, Hérold, and Isouard, as well as Gluck and Méhul. The Lyrique also resuscitated works by two little-known composers: François Devienne (1759-1803) and Jean Pierre Solié (1755-1812). See Walsh, Second Empire Opera, Appendix B.

[34] Carvalho's revival of Orphée, with the great mezzo-soprano Pauline Viardot-Garcia in the title role, became an immediate popular success, and remained in the repertoire of the Lyrique for five years. Iphigénie was revived by Pasdeloup, but closed after only fifteen performances.

[35] Lasalle notes that 44 of the 182 operas given at the Lyrique were by foreign composers (Mémorial, p. 94).

[36] The premiere of Fidelio--a work never before performed in French--distinguished the brief directorship of Charles Réty, who led the Lyrique from April 1860 until October 1862. The productions of works by Weber and Mozart were mounted by Carvalho. The four operas by Weber were: Obéron (1857), which had never been performed in French; Euryanthe (1857); Abou Hassan (1859), which had never been seen in France; and Le Freischütz (1866). All five of the Mozart operas staged at the Lyrique--Les Noces de Figaro (1858), L'Enlèvement au sérail (1859), Peines d'amour perdues ([Cosi fan tutte] 1863), La Flûte enchantée (1865), and Don Juan (1866)--had previously been presented, in the original language and/or French translation, at other Parisian theatres. However, all of the productions of Mozart in French had been mutilated versions of the originals. Weber's music, too, had been popularized by French arrangements which were virtual travesties of the originals (see Chapter VI, pp. 215-16).

Although Carvalho made some alterations in all of the above-mentioned classics, Reyer never censured him for so doing. The critic evidently felt that a production which was not scrupulously faithful to the score was preferable to the revival of a mutilated version--such as Castil-Blaze's arrangements of Le Nozze di Figaro, Don Giovanni, and Der Freischütz--and was infinitely preferable to no production at all. See Reyer's remarks apropos of Carvalho's abridged version of Weber's long-neglected Euryanthe, quoted in n. 8 of Chapter VI.

[37] JD feuilleton of 17 April 1870.

[38] The following is one of the several passages in which Reyer called attention to the Lyrique's function as an innovative force in French musical life:

> "Ne vous souvient-il plus de cette brillante époque où le Théâtre-Lyrique, pourvu d'une troupe incomparable, nous donnait les Noces de Figaro et la Flûte enchantée, Don Juan et l'Enlèvement au sérail, Orphée et Fidelio, le Freyschütz [sic] et Obéron . . . ? Cela empêchait-il M. Carvalho de produire des oeuvres telles que Faust et Mireille, Roméo et Juliette, le Médecin malgré lui, et bien d'autres qui comptent parmi les meilleures et les plus renommées du répertoire moderne?"
> (Ibid., 17 January 1878; see also 1 February 1879, 20 May 1882, and 27 May 1883)

[39] As Reyer once observed,

> "Autrefois, la véritable école à laquelle se formaient les chanteurs et surtout les cantatrices, c'était le Théatre-Lyrique. C'est là que l'Opéra venait s'approvisionner: c'est là qu'il a pris Mme Gueymard-Lauters, Mme Marie Sass, Mlle Caroline Duprez, Mlle Christine Nilsson, M. Bosquin et d'autres dont le nom ne vient pas au bout de ma plume.
>
> Quand l'Opéra avait pris ce qu'il lui fallait, c'était au tour de l'Opéra-Comique de choisir. Celui-là prenait en même temps les chanteurs et les oeuvres, de quoi enrichir à la fois son personnel et son répertoire."
>
> (Ibid., 18 June 1881)

By 1883, the Opéra-Comique had appropriated the following works from the defunct Lyrique: Mozart's Les Noces de Figaro and La Flûte enchantée; Gounod's Roméo et Juliette, Le Médecin malgré lui, Philémon et Baucis, and Mireille; Maillart's Les Dragons de Villars; Reyer's La Statue; and Félicien David's La Perle du Brésil. (Ibid., 27 May 1883.) The Opéra had taken only one work: Gounod's Faust. (In 1860 Gounod had substituted recitatives for the original spoken dialogue; in 1869, when the work was transferred from the foundering Lyrique to the Opéra, he added the requisite ballet.)

[40] Quoted in ibid., 1 February 1879.

[41] Ibid., 20 April 1884. The existing theatres to which Reyer alluded were the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique. The government had discontinued the subsidy of the Théâtre-Italien in 1870, and this theatre had expired in 1878.

[42] For example, the fact that the first opera by Edouard Lalo--Fiesque, completed in 1867--had not yet been premiered when the score was published by the composer in 1872, prompted Reyer to deplore the situation in the lyric theatres of France in general and Paris in particular.

> "Il serait à désirer, dans l'intérêt de l'art et des artistes, et un peu aussi dans l'intérêt de M. Lalo, que son oeuvre fût représentée, parce qu'elle renferme des pages fort belles, et que, de quelque façon qu'on la juge, c'est l'oeuvre d'un musicien convaincu. Mais à quelle porte aller frapper en France? Les théâtres de province ne veulent que des ouvrages dont Paris a consacré le succès; le Théatre-Lyrique n'existe plus . . . ; l'Opéra-Comique est un trop petit cadre pour une oeuvre essentiellement dramatique et à grand spectacle. Reste donc l'Opéra.
>
> Je crois que M. Lalo ira se faire jouer en Belgique."
>
> (Ibid., 19 June 1872)

Reyer was appalled at the number of new operas by French composers of all ages that were being premiered not in France, but rather on foreign soil (see his comments on "les opéras qui émigrent à l'étranger," ibid., 8 October 1881). He observed that many of his compatriots--especially the debutants--lacked the financial resources "d'aller se faire jouer sur des théâtres étrangers," and therefore had virtually no hope of ever seeing their works reach production (ibid., 29 March 1884; see also 15 May 1880).

[43] Ibid., 18 June 1881.

[44] The neglect of "le répertoire classique, absolument abandonné aujourd'hui," (ibid., 24 September 1878) was deplored in innumerable feuilletons, because--as noted in Chapter II, p. 89--Reyer maintained that it should be the foundation of musical education.

[45] Ibid., 11 January 1885.

[46] Reyer frequently declared that the Opéra--as France's most prestigious and generously subsidized lyric theatre--should be compelled to include old masterpieces in its active repertoire, just as the principal subsidized dramatic theatres were required to keep alive the classics of French comedy and drama (see ibid., 29 July 1871 and 29 June 1872). He also pleaded for the admission of the operas of Berlioz and of "[les] compositeurs inconnus ou peu connus, qu'on appelle des jeunes compositeurs," as well as translations of celebrated contemporary foreign works (ibid., 30 April 1874).

[47] The new opera house had been begun in 1860 at the command of Napoléon III. The seating capacity of the Palais Garnier (2,000) was not much greater than that of the Opéra's old home on the rue Le Peletier (capacity 1,954), but the architect Charles Garnier's creation was much more spacious. It contained more than three times the cubic volume of the next two largest theatres in Europe: the Munich Opera and the Alexandra Theatre in St. Petersburg. See Le Nouvel Opéra: monument; artistes (Paris: Michel Lévy frères, 1875), pp. 16-17; and Albert de Lasalle, Les Treize Salles de l'Opéra (Paris: Sartorius, 1875), p. 238.

[48] He applauded the choice of Halévy's La Juive to inaugurate the Palais Garnier: "L'oeuvre d'Halévy méritait bien l'honneur qu'on lui a fait . . . C'est bien là le véritable drame lyrique à grand spectacle." (JD feuilleton of 15 January 1875.) He praised subsequent revivals of this and other grand operas at the Palais Garnier; for example, on the occasion of the seven hundredth performance of Meyerbeer's Les Huguenots, he observed that such a work offered "une grande scène comme l'Opéra . . . toute la splendeur à laquelle elle doit prétendre." (Ibid., 29 April 1881.)

Reyer's writings on the handful of operas "à grand spectacle" created by later French composers manifest a conviction that these works, too, were suitable for the Palais Garnier. See his reviews of the

following: Massenet's Le Roi de Lahore, Le Cid, and Le Mage (ibid., 10 May 1877, 6 December 1885, and 24 March 1891); Gounod's Le Tribut de Zamora (ibid., 7 April 1881); and Reyer's own Sigurd and Salammbô (ibid., 21 June 1885 and 29 May 1892). He insisted that Berlioz's monumental Les Troyens could be suitably presented only at the Palais Garnier (see Chapter VII).

Reyer was particularly delighted by the production of one foreign work which showed the influence of grand opera: Verdi's Aïda.

> "L'intérieur du temple de Vulcain, la vue de Thèbes avec sa longue avenue de sphinx, le frais paysage des bords du Nil aux étoiles scintillantes, . . . et enfin le tableau final montrant superposés le temple resplendissant de lumière où Amnéris vient prier et le souterrain sombre où Radamès et Aïda vont mourir sont de véritables merveilles bien dignes de l'Opéra."
> (Ibid., 26 March 1880)

[49] He now insisted that "la place naturelle [du répertoire classique] est bien plus au Théâtre-Lyrique qu'à l'Opéra, où le cadre . . . est trop grand, même pour certains chefs-d'oeuvre. J'en citerai deux seulement: Don Juan et Freischütz." (Ibid., 9 November 1890)

Reyer also maintained that the Palais Garnier was too large a setting for the many contemporary French and foreign works lying outside the grand-opera tradition--works which did not feature enormous choruses, crowd scenes, and "toutes ces magnificences de mise en scène qui réjouissent les yeux." (Ibid., 15 January 1875). This position is illustrated by his reaction to a regulation--instituted by the French government in 1885--that the Opéra had to premiere annually a two- or three-act opera or ballet by a young French winner of an award for composition (such as the Prix de Rome). Reyer often expressed concern that, because of the modest proportions of these works, they seemed dwarfed by the vast stage of the Palais Garnier, and the public was therefore indifferent to them. As a result of this indifference, said Reyer, such works were dropped from the repertoire after only a few performances (ibid., 11 November 1893 and 12 June 1898).

[50] Ibid., 1 February 1879 and 27 May 1883. For Reyer, the distinction between opéra comique and opéra sérieux rested not on the technical point of spoken dialogue in the one as against recitative in the other, but rather on "le style": works such as Verdi's Otello were "trop dramatiques, trop compliquées" for presentation at the Comique (ibid., 17 April 1887; see n. 52 below).

Since Reyer felt that the distinction between the two genres rested solely on style, he defended various directors of the Comique--including Carvalho--for enriching its repertoire with contemporary works which, in Reyer's opinion, belonged stylistically to the opéra-comique tradition even though they contained little or no spoken dialogue. (See, for example, his reviews of Gounod's Roméo et Juliette and Delibes's Lakmé, ibid., 1 February 1879 and 22 April 1883.) However, he maintained that there was a great difference between expanding the repertoire with

appropriate new works, and transforming the theatre into a home for two genres instead of one (ibid., 1 February 1879).

[51] For instance, apropos of Carvalho's unsuccessful revival of Félicien David's La Perle du Brésil--which had been very popular at the old Lyrique--Reyer wrote:

> "Non, l'Opéra-Comique aura beau faire, il aura beau donner de la profondeur à sa scène, doubler son orchestre et ses comparses, mêler le chant à la danse, fusionner tous les genres, amoindrir le dialogue et même le supprimer, il aura beau en arriver même à changer sa façade, il ne changera pas son enseigne, il ne réalisera jamais ce rêve qui le tourmente, qui l'obsède d'être à la fois l'Opéra-Comique et le Théâtre-Lyrique. . . . Ces deux théâtres ont des missions différentes, doivent exploiter des genres différens et n'ont pas le même public. Que ce public-ci soit plus intelligent ou plus arriéré que celui-là, peu importe; ce n'est pas le même, voilà tout."
> (Ibid., 27 May 1883)

[52] Ibid., 24 July 1881. How, Reyer once asked, could the theatre entrusted with the preservation of such treasures as Boïeldieu's La Dame blanche (1825) and Auber's Le Domino noir (1837) be expected to do justice to large-scale operas such as Verdi's Otello?

> "Otello est bel et bien un grand opéra qui, même sans ballet, remplissait parfaitement la vaste salle de la Scala. Il sera trop à l'étroit sur la scène de l'Opéra-Comique, où d'autres ouvrages de même dimension, je ne dis pas de même calibre, se sont sentis mal à l'aise avant lui. . . .
>
> En maintes occasions j'ai dit mon sentiment sur la mission de l'Opéra-Comique, sur sa destinée qu'on ne saurait changer sans la compromettre. L'Opéra-Comique ne sera jamais le Théâtre-Lyrique, et encore moins l'Opéra. Il doit rester l'Opéra-Comique, ce qui est bien quelque chose, et ce qui est bien assez, selon moi et selon beaucoup d'autres."
> (Ibid., 17 April 1887)

[53] "Le Théâtre-Lyrique doit être à la fois un théâtre de tentatives intéressantes, hardies même, et un théâtre d'enseignement." (Ibid., 25 January 1882.)

[54] Ibid., 1 February 1879.

[55] One of Reyer's most detailed descriptions of the educative aspect of the mission of a new lyric theatre appeared in 1878, when he addressed the following remarks to the theatre committee created by the municipal council of Paris.

> "Or, puisque vous trouvez avec raison que la transition est trop brusque entre le Conservatoire et l'Opéra, ayez . . . un théâtre où les sujets qui se destinent à l'interprétation du drame ou de la tragédie lyrique fassent une sorte de stage avant d'aborder la vaste scène de l'Opéra. . . . Les lauréats du Conservatoire y feront leur apprentissage de grands chanteurs; . . . Le public . . . ira y applaudir des oeuvres qu'il n'a jamais entendues, et comme votre intention est, je crois, de répandre dans les masses le goût de la grande musique, vous lutterez victorieusement peut-être contre les succès des cafés-concerts et l'envahissement de l'opérette."
> (Ibid., 15 December 1878)

56 Ibid., 5 February 1893. By the end of the 1890s Reyer was no longer citing Wagner as one of the composers whose works would find an outlet only at a Théâtre-Lyrique. The Opéra--which had finally presented Lohengrin in 1891--had opened its doors to La Valkyrie (1893), Tannhäuser (1895; revival), and Les Maîtres Chanteurs de Nuremberg (1897), and these productions had made Wagner so popular that the director of the Opéra had complained to the Minister of Fine Arts: "Monsieur le ministre, il n'y a pas un seul ouvrage français qui, aujourd'hui, puisse 'faire de l'argent.' Il n'y a que les opéras de Wagner: le public n'en veut pas d'autres." (Quoted by Reyer in ibid., 25 April 1897.) While Wagner's works reigned at the Opéra, Reyer continued to insist that a Théâtre-Lyrique was a necessity for the wealth of music--old and new, French and foreign--that remained neglected or untouched by both the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique. (For example, see ibid., 12 June 1898.)

57 The eminent conductor Charles Lamoureux, for one, submitted to the government a Mémoire relatif à la reconstitution du Théâtre-Lyrique, in which he declared:

> "La nécessité d'un théâtre lyrique établi sur des bases solides et largement ouvert aux compositeurs français n'a jamais fait de doute pour personne: la presse n'a cessé d'en réclamer la création, et les musiciens directement intéressés dans la question en ont poursuivi l'établissement sans trêve ni relâche."
> (Quoted by Reyer in the JD feuilleton of 15 May 1880)

Reyer discussed Lamoureux's proposals in detail, and wholeheartedly endorsed them.

58 One of these temporary resurrections was led by Bagier (the director of the Théâtre-Italien) and the other by Albert Vizentini, who had been successfully presenting spectacle and fairy plays at the Théâtre de la Gaîté. See especially the following feuilletons in the JD: the recollection of Bagier's experiment, which had survived for only a fortnight (26 December 1875); and the examination of the probable reasons for the failure of Vizentini's Théâtre National Lyrique (17 January and 28 February 1878).

[59] See ibid., 12 June 1898. The committee existed under various names at different times. From February 1878--two months after the demise of Vizentini's Théâtre National Lyrique--through the 1880s and 1890s, the committee either presented proposals for the reestablishing of a third lyric theatre, or suggested ways to compensate for its absence.

The committee's most frequent recommendations were that the government should found a theatre--either a professional company or a Théâtre-Ecole--which would present only works by young French composers; and that the privilège (license) of the original Théâtre-Lyrique should be grafted onto that of the Opéra-Comique. (These ideas were first advanced in the late 1870s; see ibid., 13 February 1878 and 1 February 1879.) Neither proposal met with Reyer's approval. He maintained that any professional or amateur lyric theatre consecrated to works by debutant composers would be doomed to failure (see p. 187). His reasons for insisting that the Opéra-Comique could not function as both the Comique and a new Lyrique have been summarized on pp. 182-83.

[60] Of all the attempts to reestablish a third lyric theatre, the one which survived longest was Vizentini's subsidized Théâtre National Lyrique, which opened in the spring of 1876 and closed on 29 December 1877.

[61] JD feuilleton of 17 October 1874.

[62] Ibid., 12 December 1879. Reyer declared that the subsidy should be provided by either the federal government or the municipal council of Paris, both of which were the natural protectors of an enterprise that could be a source of great pride to the nation and the capital (ibid., 24 September 1878).

[63] Ibid., 11 January 1885.

[64] Ibid., 9 November 1890.

[65] Ibid., 11 November 1893.

[66] Ibid., 5 February 1893. Reyer maintained that, while the subsidy should help finance revivals of old masterpieces, it should also give contemporary works which did not win instant popularity a chance to prove their musical worth (see below, n. 73).

[67] Reyer suggested that the director be

> "nommé à l'élection, par un groupe d'électeurs qui comprendra un tiers de librettistes et de critiques, musicaux et littéraires, et un tiers de musiciens. L'autre tiers se composera d'édiles et de fonctionnaires de l'administration des beaux-arts[,] auxquels cette prérogation ne saurait être contestée."
> (Ibid., 12 June 1898)

[68] Ibid., 11 January 1885. Reyer had made similar remarks in many earlier writings about unsuccessful attempts to establish a new lyric theatre (for example, see ibid., 15 May 1880 and 20 April 1884).

[69] Ibid., 18 June 1881.

[70] Ibid., 19 November 1882. Reyer had once expressed such a warning more succinctly: "Personne ne vous reprochera vos libéralités, à la condition qu'elles profitent à l'art et aux artistes, et n'aillent point s'engouffrer dans la poche d'un entrepreneur heureux." (Ibid., 29 June 1872.)

[71] Ibid., 14 June 1884. Reyer attributed the demise of an "Opéra-Populaire" to excessive supervision from the government (see ibid., 10 November 1883 and 20 April 1884).

[72] Ibid., 20 April 1884.

[73] When the Opéra-Comique abandoned Benjamin Godard's Dante--which had been performed only nine or ten times--for the sake of presenting with greater frequency André Messager's lucrative new opéra comique La Basoche, Reyer reproached the government for not taking enough of an interest in the director's use of the subsidy: ". . . si vous admettez qu'un théâtre subventionné ait le privilège de réserver son affiche aux pièces qui lui rapportent le maximum de la recette, à quoi bon alors le subside . . . ?" (Ibid., 15 June 1890.) High profits, said Reyer, were not necessarily an indication that the theatre was fulfilling its mandate to maintain a high artistic standard.

[74] Ibid., 17 April 1870.

[75] Ibid., 25 January 1882.

[76] Ibid., 15 May 1880.

[77] Ibid., 25 January 1882. Among the numerous writings in which Reyer made this point were the following in ibid.: 13 February 1878 and 24 July 1881.

[78] Ibid., 20 April 1884. Reyer cited the repertoire as being partly or even entirely responsible for the failure of many a new lyric theatre. For example, shortly after the closing of Vizentini's Théâtre National Lyrique, the critic attributed its fate largely to what he regarded as an undistinguished repertoire--a repertoire which did not include the "classics" and outstanding contemporary foreign works (such as Wagner's Tannhäuser and Lohengrin). See ibid., 28 February 1878, and --apropos of another theatre--n. 98 below.

[79] Ibid., 17 January 1878. He often recalled that the old Lyrique had been described by Théophile Gautier as the musical equivalent of the

Odéon (ibid., 20 April 1884 and 9 November 1890). Reyer added that the classics of opera, no matter how often they were revived, would never seem stale: ". . . de telles oeuvres ne s'usent jamais." (Ibid., 12 June 1898.)

[80] Ibid., 25 January 1882.

[81] Ibid., 11 January 1885.

[82] Ibid., 18 June 1881. Reyer therefore urged that foreign works not be banned "par patriotisme . . . [ou] par d'autres raisons." He expressed this view most often during the two decades following the Franco-Prussian War, when anti-German sentiment remained strong in France (see ibid., 30 April 1874, 24 July 1881, and 11 January 1885).

[83] Ibid., 12 December 1879.

[84] Ibid., 20 May 1882.

[85] As previously indicated (Chapter IV, p. 157), Reyer's position was motivated by his overriding concern for the implications of the drama in opera.

[86] "Il ne faut pas toucher à la musique . . . c'est le devoir de tout artiste de s'en souvenir; c'est le devoir de tout chef d'orchestre, de tout maître de chant, de le rappeler à n'importe quel artiste qui peut être tenté de l'oublier." (Ibid., 5 September 1874; see also 15 November 1874.)

[87] Ibid., 11 April 1886.

[88] Ibid., 20 May 1882.

[89] Ibid., 31 October 1869.

[90] Reyer explained that the Italian practice enabled the conductor to hold the orchestra "sous la double influence de son geste et de son regard." (Ibid., 11 February 1887.)

[91] Ibid., 2 December 1869.

[92] Ibid., 20 May 1882. The revival was staged at the Opéra-Comique during Carvalho's first term as director (1875-87).

[93] Ibid., 11 April 1886.

[94] Ibid., 18 April 1880.

[95] Ibid., 31 October 1869.

[96] See Reyer's comments concerning the many changes in orchestration and tempo that were readily apparent in revivals of Les Huguenots and Guillaume Tell at the Opéra (ibid., 25 March 1873).

[97] Ibid., 5 February 1893.

[98] In 1883, when yet another director was aspiring to have his theatre subsidized and designated as the official successor of the old Lyrique, Reyer recalled the familiar offerings of several earlier directors, and wondered if this new aspirant would build a more stimulating repertoire.

> "Fera-t-il une part égale aux morts illustres et aux vivans qui réclament leur place au soleil de la rampe? Je le répète, ce n'est pas en offrant au public des ouvrages tels que le Trouvère, la Lucie [Lucie de Lammermoor], Si j'étais roi, . . . des chefs-d'oeuvre assurément, mais des chefs-d'oeuvre dont on a usé et abusé sur toutes les scènes du monde, . . . qu'un directeur peut se concilier la sympathie des artistes et mériter des encouragemens officiels."
> (Ibid., 19 October 1883)

[99] Ibid., 21 November 1897.

[100] Ibid., 17 October 1874. Faure's stand was applauded by Reyer, who--a few weeks before the crisis--had summed up his own objections to "stars":

> "Qu'on me permette de le dire, sans qu'il y ait la moindre irrévérence pas plus dans ma pensée qu'au bout de ma plume: ce n'est pas avec des chanteurs ambulans qu'on forme une troupe d'ensemble, une troupe capable d'assurer la marche du répertoire et même de le varier."
> (Ibid., 27 September 1874)

[101] Throughout Reyer's career he was critical of this system. As indicated in Chapter IV (n. 19), he objected to the amount of authority accorded Marie Cabel, "l'étoile en vogue" at the Théâtre-Lyrique during the brief directorship of Emile Perrin ("Chronique de la quinzaine. Revue musicale," RP 22 [1 September 1854]:799). See also the following sampling of writings from the later decades of Reyer's career: a long editorial on the damage the "star system" was doing to all Parisian lyric theatres ("Chronique musicale," GN 2 [9 June 1860]:4-5); and remarks addressed to the successive directors of the Opéra, in the JD feuilletons of 17 October 1874, 16 November 1884, and 11 November 1893.

[102] Ibid., 17 October 1874.

[103] Reyer presented several convincing reasons why singers who had been trained in solfège would save a director incalculable amounts of time and money (ibid., 29 July 1871 and 16 November 1884).

[104] Ibid., 11 April 1886. Reyer often complained that directors, in their eagerness to find phenomenal voices to "star" at their theatres, were ignoring the capable singers who were graduating from French institutions of music. For example, he regretted the neglect of a Mlle Berton, who "n'avait à offrir au public que ses récens succès au Conservatoire, sa gentillesse et sa jolie voix. Ce n'était point assez. On a habitué le public parisien aux virtuoses: il lui en faut à tout prix. Et l'on sait ce qu'il en coûte!" (Ibid., 20 May 1882.)

[105] See especially the editorial in "Chronique musicale," RF Année 3, Tome 8 (20 February 1857):190.

[106] JD feuilleton of 18 April 1880. Reyer argued that the principal disadvantage of according every French composer the right to conduct his own opera(s)--regardless of whether or not he had had any experience --was that the composers who were incompetent as conductors would undermine the already scant authority of this figure in French lyric theatres, and would give impetus to the notion that anyone who composed could call himself a conductor. (Ibid., and 26 March 1880.) We should remember that Reyer regarded conducting--whether in the concert hall or the lyric theatre--as an exacting art which required specialized training (see n. 40 in Chapter II).

[107] Reyer stressed the need for "un quatuor solide qui tonnera magistralement dans les oeuvres de Mozart et Gluck où les instrumens de la petite harmonie et les cuivres comptent beaucoup plus de pauses que dans les ouvrages modernes." He therefore suggested that the string section should comprise a minimum of 12 first violins, at least 10 second violins, 10 violas, 8 cellos, and 8 double basses. The other sections of his ideal orchestra consisted of the following: 3 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, and 3 bassoons; 4 horns, 2 valve trumpets, 2 natural trumpets, 3 trombones, and 1 tuba; and at least 3 performers for the percussion section, which had to include 1 kettledrum. He also called for 2 harps, "ce qui fait en tout un personnel . . . de SOIXANTE-DIX-SEPT MUSICIENS [sic], sans compter les remplaçans et les supplémentaires." (Ibid., 24 July 1881.)

[108] Ibid. (Reyer has quoted a phrase from the committee's proposal.)

[109] See, for example, ibid. (Théâtre du Château-d'Eau) and ibid., 1 January 1888 (Eden-Théâtre). The Château-d'Eau, one of the minor Parisian theatres during the Second Empire, had fallen into a state of disrepair. The Eden, built in 1876 for the production of spectacular ballet, was nearly bankrupt by 1888.

[110] Ibid., 18 June 1881.

[111] Ibid., 15 December 1878.

[112] Ibid., 28 October 1877. More than two decades later--in his penultimate feuilleton for the JD--Reyer again described his ideal lyric theatre, and appended the following "articles additionels":

> "La Ville lui accorde une subvention de 300,000 fr., ou plus si elle est en veine de générosité. . . . Aucune personne étrangère au théâtre ne pourra pénétrer sur la scène. Mais un foyer qui sera un salon de bonne compagnie, comme celui de la Comédie française, sera réservé à MM. les abonnés. . . . la troupe devra être sédentaire: plus d'artistes nomades et pas de noms en vedette sur l'affiche. Les représentations ne seront interrompues qu'un seul jour par semaine. Et ce jour, -- concession à l'idée d'un théâtre populaire, -- ne sera pas un dimanche."
> (Ibid., 12 June 1898)

CHAPTER VI

REYER AND THREE NEGLECTED MASTERS OF LYRIC THEATRE: GLUCK, SPONTINI, AND WEBER

When Reyer was beginning his career as music critic in the early 1850s, both Gluck and his follower Spontini--each of whom had resided for a time in Paris, and had written or revised several operas for the capital--were virtually forgotten. None of Gluck's works had survived in the repertoire of the Opéra past 1848, and none was seen again in Paris until 1859, when Carvalho revived Orphée at the Théâtre-Lyrique. This production, with the great mezzo-soprano Pauline Viardot-Garcia in the title role, was a stunning success,[1] and sparked a rebirth of interest in Gluck. However, as we shall see, the renaissance lasted only a few years. Fate was less kind to the French operas of Spontini. Olimpie and Fernand Cortez had disappeared from the repertoire in 1826 and 1840 respectively, and La Vestale--revived at the Opéra in 1854 after a long period of neglect--did not survive past the season 1856-57.

Unlike Gluck and Spontini, Weber--who, ironically, had spent only five days in Paris[2]--was much performed in the French capital during the first half of the nineteenth century. However, his music was popularized by three French arrangements which were virtual travesties of the originals: Robin des bois, ou Les trois balles (1824), Castil-Blaze's adaptation of Der Freischütz;[3] La Forêt de Sénart (1826), his pastiche of music borrowed from Weber's Freischütz and Euryanthe as well as works by several other composers; and Les Bohémiens (1826), Thomas Sauvage's

arrangement of Weber's incidental music for P. A. Wolff's drama Preciosa.[4] The public, perhaps because it was accustomed to such travesties, seemed indifferent to "authentic" productions of these works,[5] even in translation: Euryanthe and Freischütz--the latter with recitatives by Berlioz--were given at the Opéra in 1831 and 1841 respectively, but neither one found much favor with the public.[6] The Opéra's revival of Freischütz in 1850 was, in the words of the outraged Berlioz, "raccourci, mutilé de vingt façons, . . . transformé en lever de rideau pour le ballet."[7]

Carvalho's efforts to introduce Weber to French audiences during the late 1850s were scarcely more successful. He revived or premiered reasonably authentic versions of three works by the German composer--Oberon (1857), Euryanthe (1857), and Abu Hassan (1859, the year of Orphée)[8]--but only Oberon achieved great popularity.[9] Its appeal may have been largely attributable to the fact that it had escaped the tinkerings of arrangers. Abu Hassan had also escaped mutilation, but Carvalho presented it alongside Mozart's L'Enlèvement au sérail to make "a suitable middle eastern double bill,"[10] and Mozart's work proved to be so much more popular than Weber's that the latter disappeared after only twenty-one performances.[11]

During the final four decades of the century, Spontini's operas were completely ignored by Parisian lyric theatres, and, after a brief flurry of interest in the early and middle 1860s, the works of Gluck were sorely neglected. In 1861, when Orphée was still drawing crowds to the Lyrique, the Opéra countered by reviving Alceste; however, the popularity of both works soon waned, and they succumbed in 1863.[12] Alceste

was again revived at the Opéra in 1866, but, after only three performances, was reduced to the first two acts and used as a curtain-raiser to a ballet.[13] The sad fate of this opera, and the failure of the Lyrique's revival of Iphigénie en Tauride two years later, spelled the end of the brief Gluckian renaissance.[14] During the remainder of the century, there were only three revivals of works by Gluck: Orfeo ed Euridice (Gaîté, 1889); Orphée (Opéra-Comique, 1896); and Iphigénie en Tauride (Renaissance, 1899).[15]

Weber's music fared little better during the last four decades. Robin des bois and the other arrangements were no longer in vogue,[16] but audiences still were unenthusiastic about "authentic" Weber. Freischütz, in a new translation, was coldly received both when it was premiered by Carvalho at the Lyrique in 1866 and when it was revived by Bagier at the Salle Ventadour in 1875;[17] and, at the Opéra, the version with recitatives by Berlioz was again resurrected and truncated, this time for use as a curtain-raiser to Delibes's Coppélia (1870).[18] After the failure of Bagier's revival of Oberon (1876), there were only two more productions of works by Weber: Freischütz in yet another new translation (Château-d'Eau, 1891); and a second revival of Oberon (Renaissance, 1899).[19]

Reyer often described how Gluck, Spontini, and Weber were criticized for what were generally conceived as technical imperfections in their operas, and he attributed their neglect mainly to such criticism.[20] His defence of all three of these composers was motivated by his aesthetic principle that the overriding concern of the composer of an opera must be to dramatize faithfully the emotions and situations

provided by the libretto. The natural corollary of this proposition was that a composer should not be condemned for sacrificing theoretical rules in favor of expressiveness. This position is exemplified by the following excerpt, in which Reyer supported his argument by referring to Rossini:

> Les règles fondamentales, les principes de l'art sont indispensables à connaître, cela n'est pas douteux; . . . mais, après la satisfaction, le bonheur que l'on éprouve à les posséder, il n'en est pas de plus grand, je crois, que de les enfreindre. Et n'allez pas m'accuser trop vertement d'hérésie: ces règles, ces principes, ne les méprise pas qui veut; et celui qui ose commettre le délit doit être bien sûr qu'il pourra se justifier et se faire absoudre. Faut-il rappeler ici les quintes et les octaves tant reprochées à Rossini, dans le beau choeur: Voici la nuit, de Guillaume Tell?[21]

Reyer not only made clear his readiness to overlook what were commonly perceived as technical imperfections in any score which--in his opinion--fully realized the dramatic implications of the text, but also appealed to his readers not to expect him to cite these supposed flaws. For example, he once described the profound emotional reaction he experienced even when reading such a score at the piano, then declared, in effect, that he should not be asked to extinguish the flames of his enthusiasm with the cold rain of carping rationality.

> Vous croyez peut-être que quand je juge une partition de Weber en dehors du presitge de la scène, quand je la juge de sang-froid, assis à mon piano, . . . je suis plus méticuleux, plus sévère? Pas le moins du monde. Dès les premières mesures l'émotion me gagne; elle grandit, elle m'enveloppe des pieds à la tête, et elle est d'autant plus absolue, d'autant plus violente, que l'exécution idéale que j'entends, les voix et les instrumens, les chants et les harmonies ont une vérité d'expression, un charme, une verve, une pureté, une mélancolie que la réalité la plus parfaite ne saurrait atteindre. Il doit en être ainsi, du reste, chaque fois

> qu'un musicien convaincu se trouve aux prises avec une oeuvre complètement belle; et si vous supposez qu'un critique soit accessible autant qu'un autre aux nobles mouvemens du coeur et de l'intelligence, si vous lui accordez une dose de sensibilité susceptible de s'accroître au contact d'une chose sublime, vous n'exigerez pas de lui qu'il s'arrache à ses joies égoïstes, qu'il domine une sensation intime, personnelle, pour vous dire: ici sont deux quintes défendues, deux octaves cachées; et, plus loin, la phrase n'est pas carrée, le chant du ténor est écrit trop haut; il y a dans l'accompagnement de cette romance une basse fautive. Vous croirez si vous voulez que la science lui fait défaut; mais il se peut cependant, qu'emporté par la fougue de son imagination et de son enthousiasme, seul en face d'une oeuvre qui l'absorbe tout entier, il ne prenne seulement pas garde aux manifestations indiscrètes de votre curiosité.[22]

Reyer defended his position by referring to a revered fellow-critic:

> J'ai vu notre maître à tous dans l'art de la critique, M. Hector Berlioz, pleurer de joie, sangloter de bonheur, en lisant au piano, lui, Théodore Ritter et moi, l'Alceste de Glück. . . . intérieurement l'effet était complet, prodigieux, immense, et M. Berlioz . . . était le plus ému de nous trois. Demandez-lui donc, même aujourd'hui que les souvenirs de cette soirée lui échappent peut-être, demandez-lui de vous signaler les imperfections d'Armide, d'Iphigénie ou d'Alceste, et priez-le de vous dire en quoi les biographes et les savans ont raison quand, dans la hiérarchie du talent ou du génie, ils placent Glück à une distance si respectueuse de Haydn, de Mozart et de Beethoven.[23]

Reyer's Assessments

Gluck

Like Berlioz, Reyer was an ardent worshipper of Gluck. In 1873 he rejoiced that the elder critic's eloquent essays on Gluck's operas had inspired two of his admirers--Fanny Pelletan and Berthold Damcke--to preserve these works for posterity by undertaking a critical edition.[24] For nearly two decades Reyer conscientiously kept readers of the Débats

informed about the progress of the project, which was finally completed a few years after his retirement.[25]

Reyer admired Gluck principally because he found this composer's lyric declamation eminently expressive of the text. For example, after hearing Iphigénie en Tauride in 1868, he exclaimed that this work was distinguished by several

> magnifiques récitatifs: le songe d'Iphigénie au premier acte, le dialogue entre Oreste et Pylade: Quel silence effrayant, quelle douleur funeste! la scène dans laquelle le parricide Oreste raconte à sa soeur la mort d'Agamemnon et le meurtre de Clitemnestre, les fureurs et les tourmens du héros . . . , les hésitations et les angoisses d'Iphigénie au moment du sacrifice, . . . éternels modèles de déclamation lyrique.[26]

On the occasion of the Gluck centenary nearly twenty years later, Reyer declared uncategorically that this composer's recitatives had never been surpassed[27]--high praise from a man who, by then, had long professed enthusiasm for the lyric declamation in Berlioz's Les Troyens and in several of Wagner's operas.[28]

While Reyer voiced profound admiration for Gluck's lyric declamation, he was also impressed by the dramatic impact of many of this composer's arias. Again, we turn to the review of Iphigénie en Tauride, which he lauded as "l'un des chefs-d'oeuvre les plus parfaits et les plus splendides de la musique dramatique."[29] He praised the vividness with which the contrasting emotions of this drama are expressed in certain arias,[30] and, especially, the masterful depiction of a single emotion: the friendship between Orestes and Pylades. Various hues of this emotion--one of the major forces in the drama--are conveyed by

> l'air du second acte: Unis dès la plus tendre enfance, l'adorable phrase du duo: Rendez-moi mon ami! et cette

> touchante prière interrompue par les sanglots d'Oreste: Ah! mon ami, j'implore ta pitié! Quelle grandeur! quelle poésie! quels saisissans contrastes! quel sentiment profond de l'art antique dans cette oeuvre sublime sur laquelle un siècle a passé et d'autres siècles passeront sans en altérer les beautés immuables![31]

Another reason for Reyer's appreciation of Gluck was this composer's adaptation of both the chorus and the orchestra to the requirements of the dramatic action. As a prime example of Gluck's skillful treatment of the chorus, Reyer cited the tempest scene in Iphigénie en Tauride--a scene which, he suggested, may have served as a model for the analogous one at the opening of Verdi's Otello.[32] Reyer applauded Gluck's handling of the orchestra in various passages of Iphigénie en Tauride and Armide,[33] but was evidently most impressed by its role in the temple scene in Act I of Alceste. He avowed that in this scene, which he once described as "l'une des pages les plus grandioses, les plus dramatiques de l'oeuvre de Gluck,"[34] the dramatic effect of the High Priest's invocation and command is intensified by "les sifflemens aigus, les imposantes fureurs de l'orchestre."[35] While Reyer praised specific orchestral effects in certain passages of Gluck's scores, he also admired the treatment of the strings in general, and strongly recommended that this aspect of Gluck's orchestration be studied by young composers.[36]

The expressiveness of Gluck's vocal writing and his adaptation of both chorus and orchestra to the dramatic requirements, together with his theories on opera,[37] made him--in Reyer's estimation--a seminal force in the history of the genre. This opinion was emphatically expressed as early as 1858, in an attempt to persuade the administration

of the Opéra--which was toying with the idea of reviving a work by Gluck --to ignore the familiar criticisms of this master's compositional technique.

> Notre génération a un peu oublié, si jamais elle les a connues, ces belles pages, ces larges inspirations qu'un souffle puissant anime et qui ont servi de modèle à la plupart des compositeurs dramatiques de ce siècle. Si le talent de Gluck a été critiqué, si, au point de vue de la science, ses oeuvres ont fourni plus d'un prétexte à la malignité des puristes, son génie du moins est incontestable.[38]

In the feuilleton written nearly thirty years later to mark the centenary of Gluck's death, Reyer echoed these sentiments; indeed, he went so far as to hint that even Wagner was not the equal of Gluck:

> Comme j'avais écrit dernièrement que trois ou quatre musiciens seulement pouvaient regarder Mozart en face, on m'a demandé, plus d'une fois déjà, quels étaient ces trois ou quatre musiciens. Gluck est l'un de ceux-là. Et Gluck n'a pourtant jamais passé de son vivant ni même depuis sa mort pour un grand musicien. Il en savait à peu près autant que le cuisinier de Haendel, au dire de Haendel lui-même. Admettons donc avec les savans théoriciens et les impeccables contrepointistes que Gluck n'était pas un bien grand clerc en musique. Mais qu'on nous accorde au moins qu'il était un musicien de génie. L'art dramatique, à aucune époque, et pas même à l'époque actuelle, ne nous a donné un compositeur de cette taille-là.[39]

Spontini

As we observed at the opening of this chapter, all but one of Spontini's operas had disappeared from the lyric theatres of Paris by the time Reyer began his career as critic. Furthermore, after the 1854 revival, La Vestale left the repertoire of the Opéra, and for the rest of the century Spontini was both ignored by the lyric theatres and virtually forsaken by the concert societies. Thus, the Opéra's revival of

La Vestale proved to be the only occasion for Reyer to write at length about Spontini.[40]

Reyer's two reviews of La Vestale, together with a handful of scattered remarks on Spontini,[41] attest eloquently to his appreciation of this composer but scarcely explain it. The only aspect of Spontini's music upon which Reyer focuses admiring attention is the orchestration of La Vestale, and his comments are very general because--as we observed in Chapter III--during the mid-1850s he was having doubts about the value of technical analysis for the layman. In one review of La Vestale he simply points out that Spontini's orchestra includes the tam-tam; in the other, he observes that the orchestration was so full and brilliant for its time that it seemed "bruyante" to Spontini's contemporaries:

> L'orchestration de la Vestale fut surtout l'objet des critiques les plus acerbes, et nous avons peine à les comprendre aujourd'hui que nos oreilles sont plus exercées ou moins délicates que l'étaient celles de nos pères. Spontini avait devancé son époque.[42]

Reyer declined to describe in detail all the tribulations which Spontini had suffered at the hands of the French savants of his time, for this chapter in the history of Parisian musical life had already been recounted by Berlioz in Soirées de l'orchestre. However, Reyer repeatedly defended Spontini against the rumours of plagiarism which had been concocted and circulated in an attempt to discredit the Italian composer. These rumours, said Reyer, were utterly ridiculous, and--as a perusal of Berlioz's essay would prove--had no basis whatsoever.[43]

In addition to defending Spontini's musical integrity, Reyer strove to overcome the public's indifference to La Vestale when it was revived at the Opéra. He blamed this indifference partly on the fact that the

French had become accustomed to what he regarded as the excessive use of brass and percussion; hence the public's complaint that Spontini's instrumentation--which impressed Reyer as being majestically simple--at times sounded thin.[44] The performers, too, were partly to blame: Reyer declared that the conductor, principal singers, and chorus all demonstrated a woeful lack of familiarity with the traditions associated with old masterpieces of French serious opera.[45] He argued, in short, that the public's indifference to La Vestale could not be attributed to the opera itself. This conviction was only implied in his first review of the revival; in the second, however, it was emphatically expressed in an outburst of frustration and anger.

> D'où vient cette indifférence pour une oeuvre si belle, si simple et si grandiose? D'où vient cette léthargie qui s'était emparée de la salle entière . . . ? D'où cela vient-il? du bruit assourdissant auquel, depuis quelque temps, nous ont habitués les charlatans de la musique, les saltimbanques de l'art; du clinquant magistral de ces oeuvres qui cachent un squelette sous leurs oripeaux d'emprunt. D'où cela vient-il? d'une exécution pâle, terne et incolore, qui atteste, une fois de plus, que les belles traditions sont perdues dans le sanctuaire même chargé de les recueillir et de les transmettre. Voilà d'où cela vient, et il n'y a assurément pas à s'en prendre à l'oeuvre elle-même, qui est restée aussi jeune, aussi vivace et aussi puissante qu'au temps de sa création.[46]

Reyer attempted to win public favor for La Vestale by pointing out that, at its premiere in 1807, this opera had triumphed in the face of virulent opposition from members of the Parisian musical establishment, who had been scandalized by what they perceived as Spontini's flagrant violations of the rules of counterpoint and harmony.[47] He assured his readers that--despite these supposed defects--"ce magnifique ouvrage," which had endured for half a century, deserved "d'être placé au nombre

des chefs-d'oeuvre lyrique les plus complets et les plus grandioses."[48] For many years after La Vestale left the repertoire, Reyer called for revivals of both this opera and Fernand Cortez, citing these works as belonging to the "répertoire classique"--the treasure of old masterpieces which, he insisted, should never have been abandoned.[49]

Weber

Reyer wrote more extensively about Weber than about either Gluck or Spontini, partly because Weber was performed more often in Paris than were the other two masters, and partly because he was severely criticized by one of Reyer's most influential contemporaries: François-Joseph Fétis.[50] In his article on Weber in the Biographie universelle des musiciens, the learned Belgian signalled many "défauts"[51] in the German composer's music. Reyer repeatedly disputed these criticisms, taking the side of imagination against what he evidently regarded as cold scholasticism.[52]

Fétis's major contention was that Weber had never mastered the technique of composition.

> Il ne comprenait l'art que dans sa manière de le sentir . . . Harmoniste d'instinct, il écrivait mal, et mettait souvent de l'embarras dans le mouvement des parties, parce que des études . . . n'avaient pas réglé l'usage de ses facultés. Il avait reçu des leçons de chant d'un bon maître, mais à un age où l'on ne peut comprendre en quoi consiste cet art: de là vient que tout ce qu'il a écrit pour les voix est hérissé de difficultés et leur semble antipathique.[53]

Reyer responded by frankly admitting that "mon admiration pour le génie de Weber m'empêche de voir les défauts de son style, les côtés faibles de son talent";[54] in other words, he did not deny that Weber had

transgressed the rules of composition. However, he would not condemn these transgressions, because he did not feel that they adversely affected the dramatic impact of the music:

> . . . quand j'entends cette musique de Weber qui me charme, qui m'émeut, qui tantôt me plonge dans de délicieuses extases, tantôt me passionne . . . , j'avoue que je m'inquiète fort peu de savoir si tel sujet est traité selon les règles de la fugue ou du contre-point, si dans tel morceau d'ensemble il y a vraiment de l'embarras dans le mouvement des parties.[55]

Reyer granted that Weber's music is difficult to sing, but never suggested--as did Fétis--that this composer did not know how to write for the voice. On the contrary, he enthusiastically praised some of the most challenging arias in Weber's oeuvre.[56] He also argued, quite justifiably, that Fétis's criticism of everything Weber had written for voice(s) was a dangerous generalization, and that the Belgian scholar should have searched for exceptions, because there were certainly some to be found.[57]

Reyer was astonished that Fétis attributed what he perceived as the flaws in Weber's compositional technique to the fact that his musical education had often been interrupted, and had been directed by a succession of teachers.[58] These pedagogues, Reyer pointed out, had included some of the most distinguished in Germany: Heuschkel, Michael Haydn, Kalcher, and the abbé Vogler. The pupil of such men--indeed, the favorite pupil of Vogler--"ne pouvait pas ignorer l'art d'écrire correctement."[59] Reyer therefore maintained that Weber's transgressions of the rules of composition were evidence not of ignorance, as Fétis implied, but rather of a determination not to be shackled by conventions.

> Et quand bien même il me serait démontré que Weber n'aimait point la fugue ou que la fugue n'aimait point Weber, je ne m'écrierais pas sur le ton de la pitié ou du désespoir que, hors la fugue, il n'y a point de salut. On ne me persuadera jamais qu'un musicien est ignorant parce qu'il secoue les entraves qui gêneraient son vol, alors qu'il veut s'élancer dans le monde de la fantaisie et de l'inconnu où l'attire son génie.[60]

Another of the criticisms which, Reyer observed, "j'appellerais sévères si elles ne me paraissaient pas injustes"[61] was Fétis's assertion that, although Weber's music effectively expresses situations characterized by seriousness, "Dans l'expression de la gaieté, Weber est moins heureux; ses mélodies, en s'efforçant d'être naturelles, deviennent triviales, et lorsqu'il essaye d'être léger, il ne l'est pas de bonne grâce."[62] Reyer found this criticism vague, and faulted Fétis for failing to cite examples which would support it. As might be expected, Reyer then defended Weber by naming specific numbers which, he insisted, could not possibly merit the harsh judgment expressed by Fétis.[63] He concluded his argument by declaring that, in Weber's entire oeuvre, he found nothing which would support Fétis's criticism, and added that surely Fétis was no more anxious than he to discover a tendency toward triviality in Weber's music.[64] Such a remark seems to imply that Reyer wondered whether, in fact, Fétis's attitude toward Weber was completely objective.

When Carvalho's production of the second French translation of Euryanthe was favorably received at the Lyrique in 1857, Reyer seized the opportunity to dispute Fétis's statement that "une belle ouverture, un joli duo, deux choeurs d'un bel effet et un finale sont tout ce qu'on peut citer dans la partition d'Euryanthe comme des produits de la verve

originale de Weber."[65] Once again, Reyer faulted Fétis for the vagueness of his comment.[66] Then, in an attempt to demonstrate that the Belgian critic's enumeration was too sparing, Reyer cited several parts of the score which, he contended, were strikingly effective.[67] He argued that Fétis's judgment had probably been influenced both by the recollection of the failure of the first translation of this work, and by a dislike of the libretto.[68] For Reyer, the improbabilities of the libretto were more than compensated by the abundant beauties of the score, and he therefore pronounced the work "[un] chef-d'oeuvre."[69]

Carvalho's productions of Oberon and Freischütz as well as Euryanthe afforded Reyer opportunities to defend Weber against other critics whose names he did not cite. For example, he insisted that the overtures to all three of Weber's chief dramatic compositions deserved to be regarded as models of this genre, despite the fact that the fugal writing in the overtures to Euryanthe and Oberon had been criticized by "les puristes."[70] Reyer maintained, above all, that Weber's critics were wrong in comparing him with earlier masters:

> On a reproché à quelques-uns de ses morceaux de manquer de développement; on a dit que, dans les parties dramatiques de ses oeuvres, il n'avait pas toujours montré cette puissance, cette ampleur qui caractérisent le vaste génie de Mozart ou de Beethoven. Comme Weber ne procède de personne, comme il est lui-même . . . , aucune comparaison n'est possible pour apprécier son oeuvre; d'ailleurs, pour la bien juger, il ne faut pas la placer hors de son cadre ni lui chercher aucun point d'affinité avec les oeuvres d'une autre école. . . . [Weber] s'est créé dans sa solitude un monde à lui, un monde fantastique qui lui a chanté ses plus poétiques ballades, qui lui a dicté ses harmonies les plus étranges, ses accords les plus saisissants. Dans chacune de ses trois grandes oeuvres, vous surprenez le secret de ces confidences surnaturelles et vous vous

> trouvez transporté à votre insu dans ce pays des songes où le musicien vous promène au gré de sa fantaisie, tantôt au bord des lacs bleus où les willis se baignent, tantôt sur la lisière de la forêt sombre où le chasseur noir sonne des fanfares infernales.[71]

Reyer was pleased that so influential a critic as Fétis had at least acknowledged the many features which, in the opinion of both writers, distinguished the musical style of Weber.

> Quant à l'originalité de ses formules, à l'imprévu de ses modulations, à la nouveauté de ses cadences; quant au coloris si brillant et si poétique de son orchestration, M. Fétis veut bien en dire un mot, et cet aveu a du prix dans la bouche d'un juge aussi compétent, aussi intègre.[72]

Of all these features, the one upon which Reyer dwelt most often--and, hence, must have regarded as the most distinctive component of Weber's musical style--was orchestration.[73] The effects which especially impressed Reyer in Freischütz range from the use of solo viola in the accompaniment of Ännchen's tender aria "Trübe Augen, Liebchen,"[74] to the deployment of the full orchestra to evoke the supernatural horrors of the Wolf's Glen scene, which he twice described as comprising some of the finest symphonic music ever written for the theatre.[75] In Euryanthe, he particularly admired Weber's orchestral rendering of another weirdly horrific scene: the apparition of the serpent in Act III.[76] The aspect of Weber's orchestration which Reyer found most effective in Oberon was the use of the horn--"[le] cor enchanté"[77]--in various parts of the opera, including the overture and the vaporous Mermaids' Song in the finale of Act II.[78]

Reyer's reviews of the productions of both Oberon and Euryanthe at the Lyrique in 1857 leave no doubt that, at that time, his favorite

composer was Weber.[79] In succeeding years, Reyer opened the doors of his musical pantheon to Berlioz and Wagner, but Weber--together with Gluck and Spontini--remained one of his highest gods. The most striking evidence of his lasting admiration for Weber is the fact that in 1880, when he first attended the Handel Festival at London, he suggested that the English should celebrate annually the memory of "un autre musicien, un musicien de génie,"[80] who had died at London shortly after directing the premiere of Oberon at Covent Garden. We can therefore assume that during the final decades of Reyer's career, just as in 1857, he regarded Weber as "la plus sublime expression de la fantaisie allemande, dans toute sa grâce, toute sa poésie, toute sa naïve élégance."[81]

* * *

Reyer's writings on Gluck, Spontini, and Weber demonstrate the consistency with which he applied his aesthetic principle that a composer's overriding concern must be to create an effective musical translation of the text. Had he criticized what were generally perceived as technical imperfections in the works of these three composers--imperfections which, in his opinion, did not detract from the dramatic impact of their music, and were therefore inconsequential--he would have been false to his aesthetic. Moreover, he would have defeated his purpose of imparting to his readers something of the enthusiasm which once prompted him to exclaim: "Puisse le ciel faire surgir encore, en dehors des Conservatoires de tous pays, des musiciens d'aussi peu d'orthographe et d'autant de génie que Gluck, Spontini et Weber!"[82]

Critical Analysis

Gluck

Many of Reyer's judgments of Gluck's music reveal remarkable understanding which approaches that of another ardent Gluckian: Berlioz. Like the elder critic, Reyer expressed profound admiration for Gluck's handling of the strings--an aspect of his craft which is either underrated or ignored by most modern commentators accustomed to the full-bodied sounds of Romantic and post-Romantic music. Reyer also shared Berlioz's enthusiasm for the temple scene in Act I of Alceste; this scene is still regarded as one of Gluck's finest. Both critics' sensitivity to the music of Gluck is further revealed by their discussions of the tempi appropriate to certain parts of various works.[83]

Reyer's comments on the dramatic impact of Gluck's arias and the effectiveness of certain aspects of his orchestration are prophetic of the pronouncements of various twentieth-century writers. For example, apropos of the arias--which Reyer found intensely vivid and often electrifying in effect--Joseph Kerman has written: ". . . at the crises, Gluck's great arias cut through, cunningly placed, tremendously powerful."[84] Like Reyer, Winton Dean finds Gluck's orchestration most impressive for its qualities of "formidable power and ethereal delicacy";[85] to support his statement, Dean unknowingly chooses some of the examples cited by Reyer.[86]

One of Reyer's most interesting observations, and one which deserves the consideration of modern scholars, is that Verdi may have recalled the opening of Gluck's Iphigénie en Tauride when composing the

beginning of Otello. The storm-music in Verdi's opera does indeed have an expressiveness paralleling that of the tempest in Iphigénie: just as the Greek priestess is tormented by a dream, so Iago is tortured by his burning ambition and his hatred of Otello. Furthermore, in the opening of both operas the chorus takes an active role by following the progress of the storm as it rises and finally subsides. We can therefore conclude that Reyer's speculation concerning Otello and Iphigénie may be well-founded. Both Winton Dean and Martin Cooper have astutely remarked that Gluck's storm, which launched Iphigénie with a powerful thrust unprecedented in opera, may also have inspired the raging storm which opens Wagner's Die Walküre, a work in which--as in Iphigénie--an outcast, nameless brother unwittingly seeks salvation at a sister's hands.[87]

Although Reyer usually demonstrated fine sensitivity to Gluck's music, sometimes--like Berlioz--he erred on the side of indulgence. Such was obviously the case when, on the occasion of Gluck's centenary (1887), Reyer claimed that this composer had never been surpassed or even equalled in the art of lyric declamation, and that he was the greatest of all musical dramatists. These claims are inconsistent with other remarks made by Reyer both before and after the centenary--remarks which testify abundantly to his veneration for operas by composers ranging from "divin Mozart"[88] to Berlioz and Wagner, "[les] deux plus grands musiciens de ce siècle."[89] Why, then, did he make such overblown statements about Gluck? The answer to this question can readily be deduced if we remember that Parisian enthusiasm for Wagner's music was approaching fever pitch when Reyer was writing his commemorative feuilleton on

Gluck.[90] His exaggerations were probably spurred by fear that Gluck's operas--none of which had been heard at any Parisian lyric theatre since 1868--would be forever eclipsed by those of Wagner. Reyer himself was an ardent supporter of Wagner, but would not join the ranks of the many who liked "to designate him as the 'consummation' of Gluck, the master who had brought to perfection what good old Gluck had striven after."[91]

Reyer was clearly a passionate admirer of Gluck, but he did not blindly worship him. As we observed in the introduction of this chapter, Reyer readily acknowledged that Gluck, Spontini, and Weber were not flawless technicians, even though he refused--as did Berlioz--to point out technical flaws as if they were mathematical errors in need of "correction." His aesthetic led him to look beyond Gluck's weaknesses and to contemplate instead his immense intuition for dramatic effects and his great gift for realizing these effects through the elevation of recitative to the level of dramatic musical speech, the purifying of the vocal line in the aria, and the skillful handling of both the chorus and the orchestra. As a twentieth-century critic has said, "There is no such thing as bad harmony, counterpoint, form or melody judged apart from the living body of the music."[92]

The preceding paragraphs have demonstrated that Reyer's evaluation of Gluck's music is, on the whole, remarkably sensitive and just. However, the same cannot be said of his assessment of Gluck's famous "reform." Gluck did not heroically carry out what Reyer described as "la grande révolution musicale que son génie avait rêvée,"[93] for his practice was not always consistent with the principles of the reform--a fact

which seems to have eluded Reyer. True, he criticized Gluck for having inserted in Orphée a bravura aria which, until quite recently, was thought to have been plagiarized from Bertoni's Tancredi;[94] but he was unaware both that Gluck had borrowed this aria from one of his earlier Italian operas, and that there are a few other scarcely revised self-borrowings in the "reform" operas.[95] Nor did Reyer know that, between the production of Orfeo in 1762 and that of Echo et Narcisse--the seventh and last "reform" opera--in 1779, Gluck had written no fewer than seven works which are, in the words of Patricia Howard, "retrogressions to his earlier style."[96]

Reyer's perception of the reform was further distorted by his assumption that the principles had been conceived by Gluck, for whom Calzabigi was simply, to quote Reyer, "un poète qui comprit ses idées."[97] Modern scholars recognize Calzabigi as one of the driving powers behind the reform--"not a mere assistant, but the obstetrician of the new operatic reform"[98]--and, moreover, they acknowledge the influence of the philosopher Algarotti.[99] Of course, research on Gluck was still in its infancy during the period of Reyer's activity as critic, and, in all fairness, we should note that he was not alone in perceiving Gluck as a great reformer: Berlioz, the leading mid-century authority on Gluck, stated that this composer had "accompli une révolution musicale,"[100] and viewed Calzabigi as "son intelligent collaborateur."[101]

Reyer not only had an inaccurate perception of Gluck's "reform," but also overestimated this composer's influence on posterity. As we observed, he wrote in 1858 that "ces belles pages, ces larges inspirations . . . ont servi de modèle à la plupart des compositeurs

dramatiques de ce siècle."[102] The influence of Gluck can indeed be traced in the French operas of Méhul, Cherubini, Spontini, and Berlioz.[103] Outside France, however, Gluck's works were virtually ignored. The fact that Reyer never repeated his judgment of 1858 leads us to wonder whether it constituted his mature opinion or whether--like the exaggerated statements made on the occasion of Gluck's centenary--it was simply a desperate attempt to stimulate interest in Gluck at a critical time. Be that as it may, throughout his career Reyer correctly designated Berlioz as the worthy continuer of the Gluckian tragédie lyrique. He mistakenly regarded Wagner, too, as a spiritual descendant of Gluck, but--as previously noted--he did not view Wagner's works as the "consummation" of Gluck's ideals.

Although he overestimated Gluck's true significance for the history of opera, Reyer nevertheless deserves to be applauded as one of the principal forces behind the Gluckian renaissance in mid-century Paris. In the 1850s, when it had "long been the fashion to talk and think of Gluck as 'heavy' and to believe that his works would not bear representing as a whole,"[104] who but Berlioz and Reyer proclaimed the greatness of this composer? Together with the efforts of Berlioz, Reyer's attempt in 1858 to persuade the Opéra to revive a work by Gluck must have been largely responsible for Carvalho's bold decision to mount Orphée, the production which triggered the brief renaissance. As feuilletoniste for the Débats, Reyer continued Berlioz's battle to create an appreciation for Gluck; indeed, his deploring of the neglect of Gluck and the other masters of the "répertoire classique" recurs with the persistence of an idée fixe. He also did his best to help the editors of the critical

edition, carefully following the progress of their project and even appealing on their behalf for assistance in locating two fragments that were missing from the manuscript of Alceste.[105] All things considered, we cannot help but wonder if Gluck's works would have survived without the efforts of both Berlioz and Reyer.

Spontini

When La Vestale was revived in 1854, Reyer declared that no one could dispute its right "d'être placé au nombre des chefs-d'oeuvre lyriques les plus complets et les plus grandioses."[106] As always, we should pause to consider the contemporary French musical scene before we use Reyer's statement as a yardstick with which to measure his competence as a critic. In 1854, none of Wagner's works had been heard in France; Berlioz had not begun Les Troyens; Carvalho had not yet assumed the directorship of the Théâtre-Lyrique, where he would acquaint Parisians with French and foreign masterpieces both old and new; and the Opéra was relying almost entirely on revivals of grand operas. Therefore, the only "chefs-d'oeuvre lyriques" then known in Paris were the grand operas of the 1820s, 1830s, and 1840s. In view of this circumstance, Reyer's assessment of La Vestale--an assessment which went against popular opinion--bespeaks remarkable discernment, for this work had brought opera in the grand manner to a climax during the First Empire.[107]

Reyer shared Berlioz's admiration for Spontini's orchestration in La Vestale, and with good reason. This work was the first modern tragédie lyrique calling on the participation of a large orchestra, which,

as Reyer noted, even includes the tam-tam. As significant as the size of the orchestra was Spontini's skillful use of the brass--an example which was not lost on Wagner.[108]

Why did the sounds of Spontini's large orchestra seem thin to mid-century audiences? During the 1850s both Berlioz and Reyer often complained that French composers were making excessive use of brass and percussion; therefore, we can accept Reyer's explanation that this "bruit assourdissant"[109] had rendered listeners insensitive to the comparative simplicity of Spontini's orchestration. One of the many writings in which Reyer voiced the conviction that there is a difference between sonority and the mere noisiness of too much brass and percussion is his review of the young Edouard Membrée's François Villon, which the Opéra premiered as a curtain-raiser in 1857. In the following excerpt, Reyer points out that the old masters knew how to use very simple resources in ways that produced extraordinary effects--effects that were rarely appreciated by the new generation.

> . . . il m'a semblé que M. Membrée abusait parfois des instrumens à percussion et des cuivres. Berlioz n'a pas manqué de le lui reprocher . . . Il y a à l'Opéra des précédens que je ne veux pas spécifier davantage aujourd'hui . . . Grétry a écrit ceci: "Montrez-vous sobre, avare même dans l'emploi des instrumens de la petite harmonie (il ne parle même pas des trombones et de la grosse caisse!) vous verrez que dans l'occasion vous jouirez du fruit de vos épargnes." Grétry avait raison . . . J'aime le progrès en toutes choses, mais en toutes choses aussi je suis l'ennemi de l'exagération; en musique je ne confonds pas la sonorité avec le bruit, et évidemment j'ai tort contre une foule d'autres.
>
> En habituant nos oreilles à d'étranges tumultes, nous nous rendons inhabiles à comprendre les grandes oeuvres des anciens maîtres chez lesquels la grandeur de l'idée était la chose principale, ce qui arrivaient aux plus grands effets par les moyens les plus simples; dans Iphigénie en Tauride, par exemple, le choeur des

> Scythes, accompagné seulement par le quatuor, un triangle et un tambour, est d'une férocité, d'une énergie qui n'ont pas encore été dépassées; la majesté imposante du Tuba mirum de Mozart, s'accommode parfaitement d'un seul trombone.[110]

Reyer's defence of La Vestale against the indifference of mid-century Parisians was also well-reasoned as regards interpretation. We should bear in mind that this 1854 revival was not supervised by France's greatest living authority on tragédie lyrique: Berlioz. A few years later, when Berlioz was invited to oversee the revivals of Gluck's Orphée and Alceste at the Lyrique and the Opéra respectively, he found that he had to coach the singers and conductors because they had not the slightest idea of what Reyer once described as "le style qu'exige l'interprétation de la musique classique."[111] If such was the state of musical ignorance circa 1860, the situation must have been the same when La Vestale was revived in 1854. Reyer's criticism of the acting, the singing and the tempi demonstrates his awareness that Spontini's music, like that of Gluck, sounds impoverished when insensitively performed.

Reyer obviously knew the score of La Vestale extremely well, as witness his comments on both the orchestration and the interpretation. However, he evidently had a very limited perception of the sources of its musical style, for he remarked vaguely that Spontini had "profité des sublimes inventions dramatiques de Gluck."[112] Spontini did not proceed solely from Gluck; rather, he synthesized French and Italian elements, as Edward Dent and Dennis Libby have observed. The French elements include Gluckian accuracy and vehemence of textual declamation as well as several features traditional to French opera, such as large choral groupings and spectacular stage tableaux. The Italian elements

are also strongly in evidence: Italianate lyricism is very apparent, especially in the slow tempi; and the finales of Acts I and II owe much to the Italian ensemble technique.[113]

Berlioz never wavered in his belief that both of Spontini's other principal operas--Fernand Cortez and Olimpie--were great works. Indeed, he ranked Fernand Cortez with La Vestale as one of the immortal masterpieces of French opera in the generations after Gluck. Reyer, however, was not so impressed by Fernand Cortez, and was even less enthusiastic about Olimpie.[114] History has endorsed his judgment of the relative merits of these works. Olimpie and Fernand Cortez have not been seen on any stage since 1870 and 1916 respectively, but La Vestale has survived almost to the present day, and has long been recognized as Spontini's masterpiece.

Although Reyer was a better judge of Fernand Cortez and Olimpie than was Berlioz, he shared the latter's view of Spontini's role in the history of French opera: both critics saw Spontini as the most significant composer in the tradition of Gluckian tragédie lyrique. Spontini was certainly "the last of the great opera composers in whose music the dramatic methods of Gluck were still of living force,"[115] but Spontini was also an Italian whose training in Naples had been of tremendous importance to his musical development. He should therefore be regarded both as an exponent of the Gluckian tradition and as "one of that long succession of Italian émigrés who periodically revitalized French music with transfusions from the Italian."[116] His synthesis of French and Italian tendencies may be held largely responsible for the overwhelming success of La Vestale during the early years of the century.

Weber

Weber was quite at home in certain genres outside the realm of the theatre. However, his descriptions of finding musical inspiration in nature support his most important recent biographer's contention that "music was for him an art that was connected, in its innermost forms as well as its surface imitation, to a dramatic interpretation of the world."[117] He was, in other words, a born opera composer. Moreover, like Gluck and Spontini, he was attracted to the type of subject matter which held the strongest appeal for Reyer: the legendary or fantastic rather than the historical. We cannot wonder, then, that Weber was one of the composers most highly esteemed by Reyer.

Reyer's defence of Weber against Fétis's charge of amateurishness is carefully reasoned and supported by some convincing evidence. Although two of the teachers cited by Reyer--namely, Heuschkel and Kalcher--were secondary figures, Michael Haydn and the abbé Vogler were, as he stated, among the finest pedagogues Germany could offer in Weber's day. Furthermore, Weber was indeed the favorite of Vogler, even when his students included so great a talent as the eighteen-year-old Meyerbeer. Reyer could have strengthened his defence by pointing out that, although Weber's musical education was frequently interrupted as Fétis observes, it included a total of almost two years with Vogler, first at Vienna (1803-4) and later at Darmstadt (1810-11). Reyer's conclusion that Vogler and the others would not have failed to give a thorough education to a student of Weber's genius seems reasonable; he might have added that Vogler would surely not have been so impressed with Weber if

the latter had been anything less than diligent. We can only conclude, with Reyer, that Weber's transgressions of the rules are evidence of independence rather than ignorance.

Reyer was obviously right in faulting Fétis for making the generalization that Weber did not know how to write for the voice--that "tout ce qu'il a écrit pour les voix est hérissé de difficultés et leur semble antipathique."[118] Reyer himself demonstrated excellent judgment in admitting that some of Weber's arias are hurdles for any singer, while refusing to condemn even the most challenging numbers as being unsuitable for the voice. We might expand upon his appreciation of the difficulty of one of his favorites--Reiza's "Ocean! thou mighty monster" in Oberon --by noting that, in the opinion of John Warrack, it requires "the voice of a Brünnhilde."[119]

Fétis's objection that Weber's attempts to express gaiety in music all sound "triviales"[120] may have been aimed at Der Freischütz, in which case we might construe it as bespeaking a distaste for the contours of German folk music, from which so many of the melodies in this work are distilled. However, Fétis's complaint is so vague that we cannot be certain whether it refers to Freischütz or to Weber's music in general. Reyer evidently chose the latter interpretation, and understood the word "triviales" as an allusion to the world of comic opera and operetta. Viewed in this light, his denial that there was anything "trivial" in Weber's music is certainly understandable, and the examples with which he defends his position are entirely appropriate.[121]

Reyer's interpretation of Fétis's barb about Weber's "triviales" attempts to express gaiety prompted him to hint that the Belgian

critic's attitude toward this composer was not objective. Fétis's stance is indeed questionable, for--as we have seen in the preceding paragraphs--he was prone to make severe generalizations which he failed to substantiate.

Like the other points in Reyer's defence of Weber, his insistence that Fétis had undervalued the music of Euryanthe was well-supported with examples. However, he was on shaky ground when he speculated that Fétis's underrating of the score was caused both by a dislike of the libretto and by a recollection of the failure of the 1831 production. True, Fétis was very critical of the libretto, but there is no evidence that this attitude colored his judgment of the music. Moreover, he made no reference whatsoever to the disastrous production of 1831, although we should bear in mind that he must have been aware of this failure because he was at that time editor of the Revue Musicale.

Can we find fault with Reyer's opinion that Euryanthe is a masterpiece even though its libretto is, in his words, "de la plus franche absurdité"?[122] No, because there are many operas based on absurd librettos which we cheerfully accept for the sake of the music; Die Zauberflöte is a prime example. Two modern authorities--Donald Grout and Warrack--maintain that Euryanthe contains some of Weber's greatest music,[123] and is more advanced than the Singspiel Der Freischütz as regards harmonic style, melodic language, the role of the chorus, and the handling of the orchestra.[124] They also recognize Euryanthe as an important move in the direction of Wagnerian music drama because of its musical continuity and its suggestions of Sprechgesang, as well as what Warrack describes as "the most advanced example of true leitmotif then

to have appeared in opera."[125] In short, they praise Euryanthe as a mature and ambitious German Romantic opera seria--"a landmark in the history of German opera between Fidelio and Lohengrin, and a work that deserves to be performed more frequently."[126]

Reyer's fine sensitivity to Weber's art is manifested not only by his carefully reasoned and convincingly supported replies to Fétis's judgments of Weber's music in general and Euryanthe in particular, but also by his praise of the overtures to Freischütz, Euryanthe, and Oberon. When Reyer declared that "elles ont leur place . . . à côté des oeuvres symphoniques les plus originales, les mieux conçues,"[127] he was probably alluding to the fact that--unlike so many opera overtures of the early nineteenth century--each is a complete symphonic movement in sonata form, and each musically characterizes the principal dramatic conflicts of the opera.[128] History has borne out Reyer's prediction that all three overtures would remain models of the genre: the Freischütz overture is still admired as one of the finest in operatic literature, and some scholars insist that the other two deserve to rank beside it.[129]

As is the case with his writings on Spontini, the one deficiency in Reyer's critiques of Weber is a lack of awareness of the sources of his musical style. We observed that Reyer's reaction to critics who compared Weber's operas unfavorably with those of Mozart and Beethoven was to create a Romantic image of a great "original":

> Comme Weber ne procède de personne, comme il est lui-même plus qu'aucun musicien qui ait jamais existé, aucune comparaison n'est possible pour apprécier son oeuvre; d'ailleurs, pour la bien juger, il ne faut pas

> la placer hors de son cadre ni lui chercher aucun point d'affinité avec les oeuvres d'une autre école.[130]

In some ways, Reyer was right: Weber was an "original" whose distinctive style developed very early[131] and derived neither from Beethoven's Fidelio--a rescue opera--nor from the operas of Mozart. On the other hand, Weber's style did not proceed entirely from himself alone, but instead synthesized German and French elements with a dash of Italianate vocal writing.

Der Freischütz, the work that established German Romantic opera, strikingly illustrates Weber's synthesis. Reyer was obviously aware that part of the ancestry of this work lies with Singspiel,[132] but he never alluded to the influence of two German works which were well known to Weber and distinctly foreshadow the Romantic mood of Freischütz: E. T. A. Hoffmann's Undine (1813) and Ludwig Spohr's Faust (1816).[133] Reyer seems also to have been oblivious to the French influence which Warrack finds clearly perceivable in Weber's work.[134] For example, Reyer did not point out either that the characters have a considerable amount of French blood in their veins, or that the technique of melodrama--used in the Wolf's Glen scene--is French, as is the insertion of an entr'acte. Nor did he call attention to Weber's use of the old device of reminiscence motifs, which, though by no means unfamiliar in German opera, was more widespread in French opera of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.[135] The Italian influence recognizable in the melodic style of the major solo numbers elicited no comment from Reyer. He perhaps felt that the element of sheer display is more effectively kept under control in these numbers than is generally the

case in Italian operatic melody.[136]

As the two preceding paragraphs indicate, there is much in Weber's music that Reyer did not trace to earlier models. However, we should not be too critical of him for failing to discern many of the sources of a style which evidently sounded as strikingly original to him as it had once seemed to the composer's German contemporaries. In any case, Weber's originality and his significance lie not in his musical ancestry but rather in "the new expressive content he showed music could hold."[137] This can be best observed in his orchestration, the aspect of his art which Reyer admired most fervently, and which is still regarded as having exerted the strongest influence on later composers. When Reyer wrote in 1857 that Weber was "le plus grand coloriste de son siècle,"[138] he was amazingly close to the mark: Weber was undoubtedly the most gifted orchestrator of his generation, and is still recognized as one of the greatest in history. Reyer praised his effective and powerful tuttis,[139] but was more impressed by his innate understanding of the quality of each individual instrument.[140] Thus he sensed that Weber was at his most characteristic and most inventive when, in the words of Debussy, "He scrutinizes the soul of each instrument and exposes it with a gentle hand."[141]

What was Reyer's view of Weber's historical significance? Since the works which constitute the immediate background of German Romantic opera--such as Hoffmann's Undine and Spohr's Faust--were not heard in Paris during the period of Reyer's critical activity,[142] he regarded the composer of Der Freischütz as the creator of "romantische oper."[143] Such an opinion is not far wrong, inasmuch as Freischütz established the

genre and was a stimulus to Marschner, Lortzing, Schumann, and other composers who continued the tradition of German Romantic opera. This tradition was brought to a climax by Wagner, in whose music Reyer rightly discerned the strong influence of Weber.[144] He was aware that Berlioz, too, was musically indebted to this early Romantic composer, but Reyer's references to the nature of this debt are very general,[145] perhaps because he knew that Berlioz's own writings--including the famous Mémoires and the Treatise on Instrumentation--are full of enthusiastic references to Weber. We can speculate that, had Reyer been addressing not the general public but rather the readers of a music journal, he might have been more explicit concerning all that both Wagner and Berlioz had learned from Weber.[146]

In Reyer's eyes, then, Weber was the founding father of German Romantic opera; one of the greatest orchestrators in history; and a vital influence on Wagner and Berlioz. We might object that Reyer was unaware of the fact that Weber's initiative had been foreshadowed by Hoffmann and Spohr, and had been pursued by Marschner, Lortzing, and countless other German composers before the advent of Wagner. However, we must bear in mind that their works were unknown to Reyer, and that we can judge his assessment of Weber's historical significance only within the context of the music familiar to him. Within that context, his assessment of Weber is accurate.

* * *

Reyer's defence of Gluck, Spontini, and Weber vividly illustrates the pragmatic nature of his aesthetic: since a composer's overriding concern must be the effective realization of the dramatic ideas of the

text, he should be ready to sacrifice any theoretical rule in favor of achieving such effectiveness, and should not be criticized for so doing. By taking such a position, Reyer showed himself to be a disciple of Berlioz, who likewise depended "on pragmatic rather than theoretical rules."[147] Again like Berlioz, Reyer defended his position by referring to a celebrated composer: just as Berlioz had upheld his defence of a succession of fifths and octaves in Rossini's chorus "Voici la nuit" from Guillaume Tell by citing a similar passage in Beethoven's Eroica,[148] so Reyer, decades later, supported his defence of Weber--and, indeed, all musicians who transgressed theoretical rules--by referring to Rossini's chorus.

We cannot reproach either Reyer or Berlioz for this pragmatic relativism, because it kept them from what might be regarded as the critic's worst fault--that of indulging in "picayune, theoretically-oriented criticism . . . [which] tended to destroy the intoxicating atmosphere created by a musical masterwork."[149] Thus, when discussing Gluck, Spontini, or Weber, both critics alluded to the so-called flaws in the works of these composers, but insisted that they nevertheless were masters. One of Reyer's pronouncements eloquently summarizes the pragmatism of his aesthetic creed:

> Certes la science est une belle chose, et il ne faut pas dédaigner d'être savant autant qu'on peut le devenir; mais dans une oeuvre dramatique où les beautés abondent, pourquoi relever si minutieusement ces légères incorrections harmoniques et ces hardiesses dont le grand Beethoven lui-même n'a pas su se garder dans quelques unes de ses plus belles symphonies et surtout dans ses derniers quatuors?[150]

Endnotes

[1] At Carvalho's invitation, Berlioz had established the score and had overseen the production. Orphée far outlasted current offerings: it was performed a total of 138 times during a five-year run (1859-63). See T. J. Walsh, Second Empire Opera: The Théâtre Lyrique, Paris, 1851-1870 (London: John Calder; New York: Riverrun Press, 1981), pp. 111-14 and 312; and Jacques Barzun, Berlioz and the Romantic Century, 3d ed., 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), 2:165-68.

[2] While on his way to London in 1826. His stay is described in detail by John Warrack, Carl Maria von Weber, 2d ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), pp. 345-49.

[3] Castil-Blaze was identified in n. 10 of Chapter II. His Robin des bois (premiered at the Odéon in 1824) was highly successful for many years--so successful, in fact, that as late as 1855 Emile Perrin, who was then director of the Théâtre-Lyrique, added it to the repertoire of this theatre. There it remained until the end of 1863, by which time it had been performed 128 times. The first production at the Lyrique was reviewed by Reyer in "Chronique musicale," AthF 4 (10 February 1855): 122-23. For a history of Parisian productions of both the adaptation and the authentic work, see Jacques-Gabriel Prod'homme, "Robin des bois et Le Freyschütz à Paris (1824-1926)," Le Ménestrel 88 (22 and 29 October 1926):437-40 and 449-51.

[4] Reyer angrily condemned such mutilations:

> "Jamais le proverbe italien, Traduttore, tradittore, n'a mieux été appliqué qu'au traducteur du Freyschütz, et, malheureusement pour lui, l'auteur de Robin des bois ne trouve pas son excuse dans le seul désir d'avoir voulu populariser en France un chef-d'oeuvre peu connu et peu goûté dans sa forme primitive; . . . il a altéré la pensée du musicien, il l'a défigurée ici, il l'a travestie ailleurs, et il s'est enrichi à ce travail sacrilège." ("Chronique musicale," RF Année 3, Tome 8 [20 March 1857]:378)

[5] A German company which visited Paris sporadically between 1829 and 1838 staged Der Freischütz, Euryanthe, Oberon, and Beethoven's Fidelio, but met with little success. (Noted by Reyer in ibid., p. 381, and in the JD feuilleton of 16 December 1866.)

[6] The Opéra's Euryanthe closed after just four performances (LoewAO, col. 690). Berlioz not only composed the recitatives for the translation of Freischütz, but also directed the rehearsals. This work overcame a cabal and even succeeded in making money, but was

"nevertheless dropped from the repertory within six months." (Barzun, Berlioz, 1:408.)

[7] Quoted in Prod'homme, "Robin et Freyschütz," p. 450.

[8] Earlier Parisian presentations of Oberon (in German) and Euryanthe (in German and French) were cited above in nn. 5 and 6; Abu Hassan had never before been performed in France. As noted in Chapter V, the Lyrique's productions of these works involved some minor alterations. Reyer stated in his reviews that he would have preferred to have heard each work exactly as written, but he sympathized with Carvalho. Apropos of Euryanthe, for example, Reyer wrote:

> "Si M. Carvalho eût eu plus de confiance dans le goût du public . . . il nous eût donné la partition allemande sans y changer une note. Malheureusement, c'était là une expérience qui n'était pas sans danger, même aux yeux d'un directeur auquel on ne refusera certainement pas une intelligence peu commune, beaucoup d'initiative et des aspirations artistiques tout à fait élevées.
>
> En somme, mieux vaut entendre Euryanthe comme on le joue au Théâtre-Lyrique, que de ne pas l'entendre du tout."
>
> (CP feuilleton of 11 September 1857; see also ibid., 18 May 1859 [Abu Hassan] and "Chronique musicale," RF Année 3, Tome 8 [20 March 1857]:380 and 383 [Oberon])

[9] Neither Euryanthe nor Abu Hassan lasted longer than one season. Oberon however was performed a total of one hundred times: it dominated the Lyrique's 1857 season, and was revived in 1858 and again in 1863. (Walsh, Second Empire Opera, pp. 309 and 311.)

[10] Ibid., p. 106.

[11] During the late 1850s Carvalho turned his attention to one other score by Weber: the incidental music for P. A. Wolff's drama Preciosa. The director evidently felt at liberty to treat this score much more freely than Weber's operas, because he made wholesale changes which Reyer condemned: "O grand Castil-Blaze! Vos mânes doivent être contens: le Théâtre-Lyrique vient de leur offrir son premier sacrifice." (CP feuilleton of 24 April 1858.)

[12] Berlioz had restored the score and coached the singers for the Opéra's revival of Alceste (see Barzun, Berlioz, 2:207-8 and 210), just as he had done for the Lyrique's Orphée. Reyer was not in the employ of any newspaper or periodical when Berlioz's productions of Orphée and Alceste were premiered (on 19 November 1859 and 21 October 1861 respectively). Consequently, the young composer-critic did not--to my knowledge--review these productions. There is evidence, however, that he at least attended Orphée (see the JD feuilleton of 2 June 1889, excerpted in n. 83).

[13] Jacques-Gabriel Prod'homme, L'Opéra (Paris: Librairie Delagrave, 1925), p. 41. Berlioz had directed the 1866 revival of his production of Alceste; the Opéra's truncation of it must have been a bitter blow.

[14] Iphigénie en Tauride--Jules Pasdeloup's first major production after assuming the functions of director and conductor at the Lyrique in the early autumn of 1868--closed after only fifteen performances. Reyer found the principals disappointing, with the exception of the tenor Bosquin, who sang the role of Pylades (JD feuilletons of 29 November and 6 December 1868).

[15] LoewAO, cols. 263 and 371. Orfeo was revived by a wealthy impresario who was trying to resurrect the Théâtre-Italien (see Reyer's review, which includes comments on the differing merits of the Italian and French versions of this work, in the JD feuilleton of 2 June 1889). The revival of Orphée at the Comique was mounted by Carvalho, who probably hoped that this version of the masterpiece--which had created a sensation at the old Lyrique--would become an immediate success with a new generation of theatre-goers. (The production was reviewed for the JD by Adolphe Jullien, with whom the semiretired Reyer had been sharing the duties of feuilletoniste since 1893. The Renaissance's Iphigénie en Tauride was also reviewed by Jullien, who had succeeded Reyer upon the latter's retirement in 1898.)

[16] Prod'homme, "Robin et Freyschütz," p. 451.

[17] (Bagier, director of the foundering Théâtre-Italien, was attempting to turn his enterprise into a new Théâtre-Lyrique.) In reviews of the two productions of the new translation, Reyer expressed keen disappointment in both the mise en scène and the singing (JD feuilletons of 16 December 1866 and 15 January 1875). He was particularly displeased that the principals took the liberty of embellishing their roles.

[18] The use of Freischütz as a curtain-raiser at this theatre became traditional: it was repeatedly revived until 1894, when the settings were among the many lost in the fire which destroyed the Opéra warehouse (Prod'homme, "Robin et Freyschütz," p. 450). Reyer's disgust at this treatment of Weber's masterpiece was expressed in many writings for the JD (see the feuilletons of 31 May 1870, 29 May 1873, and 31 October 1886, as well as an untitled article--signed by Reyer--in the issue of 6 July 1876, p. 4).

[19] LoewAO, cols. 679 and 702; and Prod'homme, "Robin et Freyschütz," p. 451. Reyer reviewed Bagier's revival of Oberon (JD feuilleton of 18 June 1876), but not the new translation of Freischütz. The latter ran for a mere four nights at the Château-d'Eau--another ill-fated attempt to replace the old Lyrique--in July 1891. (It seems reasonable to presume that, at that time, Reyer was on his annual summer holiday, because no feuilleton bearing his signature was published in the JD between 21 June and 20 September 1891.) The Renaissance's

revival of Oberon in 1899--like its production of Iphigénie en Tauride that same year--was reviewed by the retired Reyer's successor, Jullien.

20 In his review of the Lyrique's coolly-received Freischütz (1866), for example, Reyer observed that François-Joseph Fétis had censured Weber as a "harmoniste d'instinct" who had never mastered the craft of composition; see the quotation given on p. 225. Reyer then pointed out that the same thing had been said of both Gluck and Spontini:

> "N'a-t-on pas aussi adressé à Gluck le reproche d'être un musicien d'instinct plus qu'un musicien de savoir? Et Spontini!.... [sic] Les puristes qui assistaient à la première représentation de la Vestale ne lui épargnèrent point les coups de férule et les coups de plume; après Olympia comme après Fernand Cortez, il persistaient à vouloir le renvoyer à l'école; Spontini n'y alla point: il aima mieux partir pour Berlin." (JD feuilleton of 16 December 1866)

In reviews of works by Gluck, Spontini, and Weber, Reyer often alluded to "les puristes" or "les savants"--appellations which, presumably, meant Fétis and other musicians known for their orthodoxy in matters of harmony and counterpoint.

21 CP feuilleton of 11 September 1857.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid.

24 In the JD feuilleton of 25 November 1873, Reyer quoted Berlioz's anguished warning that unless someone undertook--on the basis of existing knowledge and the most authentic documents--to rectify the many errors, fill the lacunae, and clarify the obscure points in Gluck's scores, they would within a few years be regarded as incomprehensible relics of a vanished age. (See Les Grotesques de la musique [Paris: Bourdilliat, 1854], p. 198.) Reyer then announced that Mlle Pelletan and M. Damcke "ont entendu les plaintes du maître," and that the first fruit of their efforts, Iphigénie en Aulide, had just been published. He praised the meticulousness and erudition of their work.

Berthold Damcke (1812-1874) was an experienced German conductor, composer, and critic. After settling in Paris in 1859, he had become a staunch friend and admirer of Berlioz. Fanny Pelletan (1830-1876) was a wealthy and gifted amateur musician whose musical education had included theory lessons from Damcke. She shared his admiration for Berlioz.

25 See the following JD feuilletons: 3 June 1874; 30 May, 30 October, and 8 November 1880; and 4 December 1887. Both Iphigénie en Aulide and Iphigénie en Tauride had appeared, and the engraving of Alceste was underway, when Damcke died. At Mlle Pelletan's request Camille Saint-Saëns began assisting her, and it was he who, after her death, carried the project to completion by editing Armide, Orphée, and

Echo et Narcisse (the last-named published in 1902). Saint-Saëns once discussed the project and paid tribute to both Mlle Pelletan and M. Damcke; see "Mademoiselle Pelletan" in his collection Harmonie et mélodie (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1885), pp. 115-25.

[26] JD feuilleton of 29 November 1868.

[27] "Aucun ne l'a égalé par la grandeur de l'inspiration et l'admirable vérité d'expression dans la déclamation lyrique." (Ibid., 4 December 1887.)

[28] As we shall see in Chapters VII and VIII, Reyer believed that both of these composers had been strongly influenced by Gluck's art of lyric declamation.

[29] Ibid., 29 November 1868.

[30] Notably the superstitious Thoas's gloomy aria "De noirs pressentimens mon âme intimidée"; Orestes's aria of self-delusion, "Le calme rentre dans mon coeur," which Reyer described as "une des plus touchantes et des plus sublimes inspirations de Gluck"; and "O malheureuse Iphigénie," sung by the anguished heroine upon learning that only one member of her family is alive. (Ibid.)

[31] Ibid., 6 December 1868. Reyer also expressed ardent admiration for certain arias in other operas by Gluck: "J'ai perdu mon Eurydice" from Orphée (ibid., 2 June 1889); and both "Divinités du Styx" and "Non, ce n'est point un sacrifice" from Alceste (ibid., 4 December 1887). Reyer chose "Divinités du Styx" to represent Gluck in the concert or "festival" which he organized and conducted in 1870 to commemorate the first anniversary of Berlioz's death. On the program of the second "festival" (1879) Gluck was again represented, this time by one of the idyllic choral scenes from Armide. (For further information on both "festivals," see Chapter VII, pp. 269-70 and 271-72.)

[32] After attending the world premiere of Otello at Milan, Reyer praised the "rôle actif" of the chorus, "dont les voix . . . suivent les péripéties indiquées par le travail symphonique. . . . Gluck ne nous en a-t-il pas donné un exemple frappant et bon à suivre dans la tempête d'Iphigénie en Tauride?" (Ibid., 11 February 1887; repeated almost verbatim in his review of the Parisian premiere, ibid., 13 October 1894.)

[33] In his review of the Lyrique's production of Iphigénie en Tauride, for example, he admired the mad scene for Orestes, in which "les fureurs et les tourmens du héros" were intensified by "de terribles accords en arpège" (ibid., 29 November 1868). After attending a concert given by Colonne to mark the centenary of Gluck's death, Reyer remarked on the effectiveness of the delicate sound of flutes "se mêlant . . . à la voix du chanteur" in the Sleep Aria from Act II of Armide (ibid., 4 December 1887).

[34] Ibid., 4 December 1887.

[35] CP feuilleton of 11 September 1857 (in which Reyer recollects reading the score of Alceste at the piano with Berlioz and their mutual friend Théodore Ritter; see the excerpt given above on p. 219). Decades later, in a review of a concert at which the temple scene was performed, Reyer elaborated on the contribution of the orchestra to the dramatic impact of various parts of this scene (JD feuilleton of 23 November 1895).

[36] "Les musiciens savent quelle importance a le quatuor dans les opéras de Gluck et comment il est traité. Nos jeunes compositeurs feraient bien, tout en n'étant point réfractaires aux progrès de l'instrumentation moderne, de méditer un peu plus sur cette grande simplicité de moyens et sur les admirables effets . . . qu'un musicien de génie peut en tirer. Il arrive assez rarement que l'on obtienne par l'accumulation de toutes les forces de l'orchestre une impression de grandeur." (Ibid., 2 June 1889.) Reyer made many such pleas for economy of musical forces; see, for example, the quotation on pp. 237-38.

[37] See Chapter VIII, pp. 331-32.

[38] CP feuilleton of 30 September 1858. One of the "puristes" to whom Reyer referred in that excerpt must surely have been Fétis, who--despite his admiration for what he described as "les beautés répandues dans les partitions de Gluck"--agreed with contemporary criticisms of this composer's technique:

> "On a reproché à Gluck, avec raison, de chanter quelquefois péniblement; de manquer de variété dans ses tours de modulation et d'avoir évité avec affectation le développement des formes musicales. Il faut l'avouer, ces reproches ne sont pas dénués de fondement. . . . il est certain que les mélodies des airs de Gluck sont quelquefois communes; qu'il y néglige trop la période; . . . Gluck n'était pas harmoniste correct . . . Son orchestre est souvent écrit avec un embarras apparent." (FétisB, 4:37)

Fétis did not support his criticisms by citing examples from Gluck's music.

[39] JD feuilleton of 4 December 1887. Reyer's opening statement requires some explanation. In an earlier feuilleton, he told readers that the journal Paris Illustré would commemorate the centennial of Don Giovanni by publishing a special issue, which would include some contemporary French composers' opinions of Mozart. Reyer then gave the "primeur" of the statement which he would contribute: "Trois ou quatre musiciens seulement peuvent regarder Mozart en face. Les autres doivent s'incliner." (Ibid., 9 October 1887.)

[40] Like Gluck, Spontini received both praise and criticism from Fétis. The learned Belgian admired what he vaguely described as "le

côté de l'originalité, de l'inspiration et de l'expression sentimentale" of La Vestale, but--as in his article on Gluck--declared that the criticisms of the composer's contemporaries were not unfounded. He then enumerated what he perceived as the many "imperfections de métier" in La Vestale, such as consecutive octaves, frequent dissonances which "n'ont pas leur résolution normale," and modulations in which he did not sense a clear relationship between the tonalities (FétisB 8:91). He did not substantiate his criticisms by giving examples from the score.

41 For example, in the review of his second commemorative "Festival Berlioz"--which included music by Gluck, Spontini, and Berlioz--Reyer described these three masters as "glorieux représentans du grand art lyrique" (JD feuilleton of 22 March 1879). Reyer reviewed the Opéra's revival of La Vestale in "Chronique musicale," AthF 3 (25 March 1854): 268-69, and in "Revue musicale," RP 21 (1 April 1854):154-56. (These two reviews are hereafter cited as "La Vestale," AthF, and "La Vestale," RP.)

42 "La Vestale," AthF p. 268.

43 Ibid., and "La Vestale," RP p. 155.

44 After informing his readers that Spontini's contemporaries had found the instrumentation too noisy (see the excerpt given above on p. 223), Reyer added that he would not be surprised "d'entendre dire par plus d'un de nos compositeurs modernes que cette instrumentation . . . pèche ça et là par quelques vides qu'il serait, du reste, facile de combler au moyen d'éclats de trombones et de coups de grosse caisse." ("La Vestale," AthF p. 268.)

45 "La plupart des mouvements ont été tronqués, ralentis, dénaturés; l'orchestre a joué sans vigueur, sans courage et sans intelligence. Mlle Cruvelli a dramatisé son rôle comme s'il se fût agi de celui de Valentine [des Huguenots]; elle a manqué de candeur, de simplicité et de poésie. Roger a cherché a dissimuler par des moyens factices, par des hoquets perpetuels et des élans intempestifs[,] l'insufficance de sa voix et de son talent." ("La Vestale," RP p. 156; see also "La Vestale," AthF p. 269.)

46 "La Vestale," RP p. 156.

47 "La Vestale," AthF p. 268. Reyer added:

> ". . . sans la haute protection de l'impératrice Joséphine, Dieu sait si ce chef-d'oeuvre aurait jamais vu le jour. La partition, examinée par les contrepointistes de l'époque, fut d'abord déclarée d'une exécution impossible; Spontini avait peu suivi la tradition de ses prédécesseurs: tout en ayant profité des sublimes inventions dramatiques de Gluck, il s'était écarté des règles tracées au point de se faire traiter comme un simple écolier ignorant le danger des quintes, des

quartes non préparées, des octaves et autres écueils . . . Le conservatoire se leva comme un seul homme pour protester et crier au scandale." (Ibid.)

48 Ibid.

49 As we may recall from the quotation given on pp. 188-89 of Chapter V. We should note that Spontini was one of only three composers--the others being Gluck and Berlioz--whose music Reyer presented at both of the "festivals" honoring the memory of Berlioz. The audience at the first "festival" heard the recitative, prayer, and finale of Act III of La Vestale; at the second "festival," the overture to this opera was performed.

50 Theorist, historian, pedagogue, and founder of the Revue Musicale, François-Joseph Fétis (1784-1871) was one of the most powerful and respected figures in Parisian musical life during the first half of the nineteenth century. Although Reyer did not endorse Fétis's criticisms of what were generally regarded as technical imperfections in the works of Weber, the young critic nevertheless admired his older colleague: "M. Fétis est un homme haut placé dans l'estime des musiciens; il a travaillé comme un bénédictin, et son érudition est vaste, profonde. . . . il est beaucoup plus savant que moi, beaucoup plus savant que je ne pourrai jamais l'être." (CP feuilleton of 11 September 1857.)

51 FétisB 8:433.

52 We have observed that Reyer included Gluck and Spontini on the programs of both of the commemorative "festivals." Weber, another member of Berlioz's musical pantheon, was not represented on either program. The reason can readily be deduced: his works did not belong to the tradition of French lyric drama--a tradition which, in Reyer's opinion, was exemplified by the operas of Gluck and Spontini. We shall see in Chapter VII that Reyer viewed Berlioz as the worthy perpetuator of this tradition.

53 Ibid., 8:432-33; quoted by Reyer in the JD feuilleton of 16 December 1866.

54 Ibid.

55 CP feuilleton of 11 September 1857.

56 "Ah! c'est une musique fort difficile à chanter que celle de Weber, et on n'y atteint pas du premier coup à la perfection. Il y faut de la voix, sans doute, mais il y faut aussi du style et un goût particulier." (JD feuilleton of 18 June 1876.) Among Reyer's favorite arias were the following: Caspar's aria of infernal triumph--"l'air admirable et si difficile"--in Act I of Freischütz (ibid., 31 May 1870); "le brillant allegro, l'émouvante péroraison du grand air d'Agathe" in Act II

(ibid., 16 December 1866); and, in Oberon, Reiza's "Ocean! thou mighty monster" (CP feuilleton of 17 October 1858).

57 "Chronique musicale," RF Année 3, Tome 8 (20 March 1857):382. (This review is hereafter cited as "Oberon," RF.) Reyer's praise--in this and in other reviews--of certain pages in Weber's music surely indicates that he regarded them as being eminently suited to the voice, and, hence, exceptions to Fétis's judgment.

In Freischütz alone Reyer admired the two arias mentioned above in n. 56, and many other pages: Max's aria in Act I (JD feuilleton of 31 May 1870); Caspar's "fameuse chanson à boire" (ibid., 16 December 1866); "la ravissante . . . l'admirable prière" which precedes Agathe's brilliant aria (ibid., 31 October 1886); the entire opening scene--"toutes ces pages poétiques et charmantes"--of Act III (ibid., 31 May 1870); and, in the final scene, "la touchante prière" sung by the Hermit to Prince Ottokar (ibid., 16 December 1866).

The vocal numbers which Reyer found most impressive in Oberon included the "magnifique récit" which precedes Reiza's apostrophe to the sea (CP feuilleton of 17 October 1858), and the Mermaids' Song, "ondoyant et mystérieux . . . l'une des fleurs les plus délicates de la partition." ("Oberon," RF p. 380.) Reyer also applauded much of the vocal writing in Euryanthe (see below, n. 67).

58 See FétisB 8:432.

59 "Oberon," RF p. 382; see also the CP feuilleton of 11 September 1857, and the JD feuilleton of 16 December 1866.

60 CP feuilleton of 11 September 1857.

61 "Oberon," RF p. 382.

62 FétisB 8:433; quoted by Reyer in the CP feuilleton of 11 September 1857.

63 Reyer first singled out the peasants' chorus in Act III of the German edition of Euryanthe--a number which he regarded as one of the outstanding pieces in this opera (see below, n. 67). He then continued: "L'allusion [de Fétis] s'applique-t-elle aux couplets de Fatime dans Oberon, à la polonaise de Nancy [Ännchen] dans le Freyschütz? C'est invraisemblable." (Ibid.)

64 "J'ai beau chercher dans l'oeuvre de Weber, je n'y trouve rien de trivial, rien qui sente la fatigue, qui témoigne d'un effort de la pensée, même dans les choses les plus légères, et cependant je ne suis pas plus disposé que ne l'est M. Fétis, sans doute, à vouloir reconnaître quand même, chez le plus grand de nos compositeurs dramatiques, les moindres tendances à écrire de ces petits airs guillerets et sautillans qui sont le propre de la musique bouffe." (Ibid.)

65 FétisB 8:433; quoted by Reyer in the CP feuilleton of 11 September 1857.

66 "Une ouverture, un duo (lequel?), deux choeurs et un finale (lequel encore?), est-ce donc là, sérieusement, tout ce qu'une critique savante et judicieuse a pu découvrir dans la partition d'Euryanthe?" (Ibid.)

67 Including the following: in Act I, the entire first scene, throughout which Reyer sensed "ce souffle guerrier et chevaleresque des poëmes légendaires du moyen âge"; in Act II, the "magnifique" finale, "tout rempli d'une verve impétueuse, des éclats de la douleur et du désespoir!"; and, in Act III, "le délicieux choeur de paysans . . . Cette pastorale . . . est un bijou, un modèle de fraîcheur et de grâce." (Ibid.) Reyer also thought that the musical evocation of the serpent was outstanding (see below, n. 76).

68 Reyer pointed out that the volume containing the article on Weber

> "porte la date de 1844. On voit qu'à cette époque[,] l'heure de la réparation n'avait pas encore sonné pour Weber; il n'y avait guère qu'une vingtaine d'années qu'il était mort. M. Fétis s'est peut-être trop souvenu en 1844 du jugement qui fut porté sur Euryanthe après l'exécution de cet ouvrage, à l'Académie royale de musique [en 1831] . . . J'admets très volontiers que le poëme . . . est de la plus franche absurdité; . . . mais cela ne m'expliquera pas l'opinion tant soit peu dédaigneuse de M. Fétis à l'égard d'une si belle oeuvre." (Ibid.)

69 Ibid. Reyer was impressed by "tous ces ingénieux détails, . . . toutes ces fines ciselures, ces élégantes broderies, ces merveilleux accouplemens de timbres, ces cadences originales, ces modulations imprévues qui fourmillent dans la partition, dans le chant comme dans l'orchestre" (ibid.).

70 Ibid. Reyer recalled that the instrumentation, too, had been jeered:

> "Cette instrumentation si riche, si puissante et si colorée n'a-t-elle pas fait dire à je ne sais quel musicien contemporain de Weber: 'Cela ressemble aux taches que produirait une bouteille d'encre répandue sur du papier blanc!' De là aux scandaleux lazzis des Conservatoriens de l'époque sur la musique de Spontini, il n'y a pas loin." (Ibid.)

71 "Oberon," RF p. 383.

[72] Ibid., p. 382. See the handful of favorable comments in FétisB 8:433.

[73] In 1857 Reyer described Weber as "le plus grand coloriste de son siècle." ("Oberon," RF p. 383.) This judgment--although premature, and never repeated--bears witness to the fervor of his lifelong admiration for Weber's skillful handling of the orchestra.

[74] ". . . une des plus belles inspirations de Weber" (JD feuilleton of 2 April 1868; see also 31 May 1870 and 29 May 1873).

[75] Ibid., 16 December 1866 and 29 May 1873.

[76] In his review of the translation presented at the Lyrique, Reyer expressed regret over the omission of this event, "qui a pourtant inspiré à Weber une des pages les plus fantastiques de son troisième acte." (CP feuilleton of 11 September 1857.)

[77] "Oberon," RF p. 379.

[78] See ibid. and the CP feuillton of 30 October 1857, apropos of the overture and the Mermaids' Song respectively. Reyer esteemed Oberon as Weber's "troisième chef-d'oeuvre" (ibid., 11 September 1857).

[79] In his review of Oberon, Reyer declared that "Weber est le compositeur que j'aime et j'admire le plus" ("Oberon," RF p. 382). A few months later, when he reviewed Euryanthe, he pronounced Weber "le plus grand de nos compositeurs dramatiques" and, indeed, "[le] plus grand musicien de ce siècle" (CP feuilleton of 11 September 1857).

[80] JD feuilleton of 27 July 1880.

[81] "Oberon," RF p. 383.

[82] JD feuilleton of 16 December 1866.

[83] For example, Reyer expressed great admiration for the Gluck critical edition, but he nevertheless cautioned readers not to think "qu'une telle édition . . . ne laisse rien à l'intelligence, à l'initiative du chef d'orchestre et des chanteurs." He illustrated his point by observing that several numbers in Act I of Iphigénie en Tauride--namely, the choruses "Les Dieux apaisent leur courroux" and "Il nous fallait du sang," as well as the airs de ballet--were all marked Allegro.

> "Eh bien! ce sont là, à mon sens, autant de mouvemens différens. La nuance est légère, sans doute; mais un chef d'orchestre se tromperait en se réglant rigoureusement sur un numéro métronomique une fois choisi, au lieu de tenir compte de la différence de rythme et de caractère de chacun de ces morceaux. Il y a allegro et allegro; mais les anciens maîtres n'y regardaient pas de si près, et quelques-uns . . . s'en fiaient un peu

> trop à l'intelligence de leurs interprètes . . . pour les guider: même dans leurs oeuvres les plus complexes, il est rare qu'un mouvement soit indiqué."
> (Ibid., 4 December 1887)

When Reyer reviewed the revival of Orfeo at the Gaîté two years later, he objected to several of the tempi, regretting in one instance the conductor's ignorance of "la tradition suivie au Théâtre-Lyrique, où les études d'Orphée furent faites . . . sous la direction de Berlioz" (ibid., 2 June 1889).

84 Joseph Kerman, Opera as Drama (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Vintage Books, 1956), p. 71. We should note that Reyer's admiration for specific arias also anticipated current judgments. Two of his favorites--Alceste's "Divinités du Styx" and, from Iphigénie en Tauride, the heroine's "O malheureuse Iphigénie"--are regarded by such authorities as Donald Grout and Winton Dean as being among Gluck's finest. See Grout's A Short History of Opera, 2d ed., 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), 1:235; and NG, s.v. "Gluck, Christoph Willibald," by Gerhard Croll and Winton Dean, pp. 469-70.

85 NG, s.v. "Gluck," p. 471.

86 Compare Dean's comments on the role of the orchestra in the mad scene in Iphigénie en Tauride and the exquisite use of flutes in certain scenes of Armide (ibid.), with those of Reyer (cited above in n. 33).

87 NG, s.v. "Gluck," p. 471; and Martin Cooper, Gluck, with a Preface by Edward J. Dent (New York: Oxford University Press, 1935; reprint ed., St. Clair Shores, Michigan: Scholarly Press, 1978), p. 239.

88 JD feuilleton of 25 November 1873. See also the assessment quoted above in n. 39.

89 Ibid., 12 April 1896.

90 As we shall see in Chapter VIII, the long-suppressed Lohengrin had been premiered at the Eden-Théâtre that very spring (1887), and would have gained a foothold in the capital if the government had not intervened. Moreover, excerpts from Wagner's works had been dominating the programs of Parisian concert societies since the mid-1880s, and the Revue wagnérienne was flourishing.

91 Alfred Einstein, Gluck, trans. Eric Blom, The Master Musicians Series (London: J. M. Dent, 1936; reprint ed., New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1964), p. 192. Reyer's views concerning the doctrines and music of Gluck vis-à-vis those of Wagner will be discussed in Chapter VIII.

92 Laurence Powell, quoted in Barzun, Berlioz, 1:571.

93 CP feuilleton of 30 September 1858.

[94] Reyer agreed with Berlioz's hypothesis that the aria "L'espoir renaît" was inserted by Gluck to satisfy the demands of Legros, the tenor entrusted with creating the title role when Orphée was premiered in 1774 (see Reyer's feuilleton in the JD of 2 June 1889). A modern scholar, Tom Hammond, declares that "from the evidence available, it is now quite certain that the music is by Gluck," and that the earliest version of this aria dates back to 1764. See "A note on 'L'espoir renaît dans mon âme,'" in C. W. von Gluck: "Orfeo", comp. Patricia Howard, Cambridge Opera Handbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 109-12.

[95] The first aria in the last act of Iphigénie en Tauride, for example, is from Telemaco (1765), and has been described as "a splendid but somewhat too magniloquent number, a piece for a prima donna." (Einstein, Gluck, p. 169.) Other self-borrowings are mentioned in the following: Cooper, Gluck, p. 249; Grout, Opera, 1:243; Sir Charles Mackerras, "Berlioz: the best of both worlds," in "Orfeo", pp. 102 and 104; and Patricia Howard, Gluck and the Birth of Modern Opera (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1963), p. 9.

[96] Howard, Gluck, p. 1.

[97] CP feuilleton of 30 September 1858.

[98] Einstein, Gluck, p. 66.

[99] Both Einstein and Grout call attention to the strong resemblance between Algarotti's Saggio sopra l'opera in musica ("Treatise on the Opera"; 1755) and the dedicatory preface to Alceste (1769). See ibid., pp. 103-4; and Grout, Opera, 1:232.

[100] Hector Berlioz, Les Soirées de l'orchestre, texte établi, avec introduction, notes et choix de variantes, par Léon Guichard, Préface de Henry Barraud (Paris: Gründ, 1968), p. 438. [A volume in the proposed first complete edition of Berlioz's Oeuvres littéraires. Prepared in collaboration with le Centre national de la recherche scientifique (France).]

[101] Idem, A travers chants, texte établi, avec notes et choix de variantes, par Léon Guichard, Préface de Jacques Chailley (Paris: Gründ, 1971), p. 168. [A volume in the proposed complete edition of Berlioz's Oeuvres littéraires. Prepared in collaboration with le Centre national de la recherche scientifique (France).]

[102] CP feuilleton of 30 September 1858; see the longer excerpt given above on p. 222.

[103] Grout calls these four composers Gluck's "spiritual descendants," and explains that "the line, particularly as regards Berlioz, is through similarity of dramatic aims and ideals rather than actual musical idiom." (Opera, 1:245.)

[104] From an article in The Musical World of 26 November 1859, quoted in Walsh, Opera, p. 112.

[105] See the JD feuilleton of 3 June 1874.

[106] "La Vestale," AthF p. 268.

[107] According to Grout, Opera, 1:306.

[108] Paul Henry Lang comments on Spontini's effective use of trombones and trumpets, then adds: "Wherever one looks in Wagner, not only in the early operas like Rienzi or The Flying Dutchman, but in Tristan or Meistersinger, there are many scenes that are pure Spontini." (Critic at the Opera [New York: W. W. Norton, 1971], p. 180.) He cites as an example of Spontini's influence "the blaring trumpets that greet the arrival of the hero in Lohengrin" (Music in Western Civilization [New York: W. W. Norton, 1941], p. 793).

[109] "La Vestale," RP p. 156. See the longer excerpt given above on p. 224.

[110] CP feuilleton of 29 April 1857.

[111] JD feuilleton of 21 December 1895.

[112] "La Vestale," AthF p. 268. See the longer excerpt given above in n. 47.

[113] Edward J. Dent, The Rise of Romantic Opera, ed. Winton Dean (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), pp. 96-98; and NG, s.v. "Spontini, Gaspare (Luigi Pacifico)," by Dennis Libby, pp. 19-21.

[114] At each "festival" honoring the memory of Berlioz, Reyer--as previously noted--represented Spontini with music from La Vestale rather than Fernand Cortez or Olimpie. Equally significant is the fact that, in his review of the second "festival," he deplored the Opéra's continual postponing of a revival of La Vestale ("ce magnifique opéra") but did not seize the opportunity to recommend that either Fernand Cortez or Olimpie be resurrected (JD feuilleton of 22 March 1879). In his repeated pleas for a revival of "le répertoire classique," Reyer did not always cite Fernand Cortez alongside La Vestale, and he rarely cited Olimpie.

[115] Grout, Opera, 1:308.

[116] NG, s.v. "Spontini," pp. 19-20. These émigrés included Cherubini, who had settled in Paris fifteen years before Spontini arrived in 1803, and--later in the century--Rossini, Bellini, and Donizetti.

[117] Warrack, Weber, p. 375. Note the incident recounted on p. 342.

118 FétisB 8:433; quoted by Reyer. See the longer excerpt given above on p. 225.

119 Warrack, Weber, p. 343. We might add that the renowned Wagnerian soprano Birgit Nilsson sings the role of Reiza in the only complete recording of this opera (DG 2709 035 [3 discs]; reissued, without the spoken dialogue, as DG 2726 [2 discs]).

120 FétisB 8:433; quoted by Reyer. See the longer excerpt given above on p. 227.

121 The examples were enumerated above in n. 63. Reyer's reference to "la musique bouffe" (see the excerpt quoted in n. 64) leaves no doubt as to how he interpreted Fétis's use of the word "triviales."

122 CP feuilleton of 11 September 1857.

123 Notably the overture (Grout, Opera, 2:387), and the "tremendous scene" for the villainous Lysiart at the beginning of Act II (Warrack, Weber, p. 372).

124 See Warrack, Weber, pp. 288-89 (harmonic style), 291-92 and 295-97 (melodic language), 292 (use of the chorus), and 292-95 (handling of the orchestra), as well as Grout, Opera, 2:387-88.

125 NG, s.v. "Weber, Carl Maria (Friedrich Ernst) von," by Philipp Spitta and John Warrack, p. 252. The "leitmotif" to which Warrack refers is associated with the villainess, Eglantine (ibid., pp. 252-53, and Weber, pp. 290-91 and 373). Apropos of Sprechgesang, Grout writes: "It was not entirely new with Wagner--Weber had done something similar in Euryanthe" (Opera, 2:398). Warrack is more specific, declaring that Wagner's Sprechgesang is worthily anticipated by "passages of free yet well-organized declamation . . . Eglantine's highly flexible motif provides the basis for the most striking of these passages." (NG, s.v. "Weber," p. 254; see also Weber, pp. 291-92.)

126 Grout, Opera, 2:387.

127 CP feuilleton of 11 September 1857.

128 After discussing Weber's "lack of ease" with sonata form in the first movements of his concertos and his two symphonies, Warrack declares: "It is in the three major operatic overtures . . . that a sonata structure is most successfully handled, through the dramatic motivation both forming the themes and then giving rise to what is something of an orchestral tone-poem on the dramas." (Weber, p. 374.)

129 See ibid., p. 341, and Grout, Opera, 2:387, concerning the overtures to Oberon and Euryanthe respectively.

130 "Oberon," RF p. 382. A longer excerpt was given above on pp. 228-29.

131 See Alfred Einstein's remarks on Silvana (composed during the years 1808-10, and entitled "Romantic Opera") in Music in the Romantic Era (New York: W. W. Norton, 1947), p. 110.

132 Witness his insistence that the Opéra's substitution of recitatives for the original spoken dialogue was inappropriate because "le Freischütz est un opéra de genre, un opéra de demi-caractère" (JD feuilleton of 31 May 1870). He also objected that French singers habitually interpreted Freischütz with the solemnity and dramatic passsion suitable instead to Don Giovanni, Fidelio, and other "oeuvres essentiellement dramatiques . . . Il faut avoir vu le Freischütz joué par des Allemands pour bien apprécier le véritable caractère de cet ouvrage." (Ibid.) Advice on the interpretation of Freischütz was given by Reyer in this feuilleton and in those of 16 December 1866, 29 May 1873, and 31 October 1886, as well as in a signed--but untitled--article in the JD of 6 July 1876, p. 3.

133 We should note that Hoffmann's Undine was never staged in France during Reyer's lifetime, and that the only productions of Spohr's Faust in nineteenth-century France occurred at Paris in 1830 and at Marseille in 1837 (LoewAO, cols. 647 and 648). If the fourteen-year-old Reyer attended the Marseille production, it did not make a lasting impression on him, because he never mentioned it in any of his writings. Indeed, there is no evidence that he ever saw this or any other opera by Spohr or Hoffmann.

The score of Undine, long rumored to have been destroyed in a fire at Berlin in 1816, was not published during Reyer's lifetime. Spohr's Faust fared somewhat better: a vocal score of the three-act version was printed at Leipzig in 1853. Reyer probably obtained a copy of it, because--in a review of the revival of Berlioz's La Damnation de Faust--he pointed out that Berlioz and Gounod were not the only composers who had freely treated Goethe's great work: the poet's countryman, Spohr, had composed "une oeuvre qui porte aussi le nom de Faust, . . . et qui pourtant ne ressemble point au poëme de Goethe." (JD feuilleton of 13 March 1877.) However, Reyer never cited Spohr's opera in any of his writings on Weber.

134 See Warrack, Weber, pp. 224-25.

135 Ibid., pp. 225-26, and Lang, Critic, p. 231. Weber knew this device not only from Hoffmann's Undine and Spohr's Faust, but also from Grétry's Richard Coeur-de-Lion (1784) and from other French works by Méhul and Cherubini. Weber had staged Grétry's Richard during his directorship of the Prague theatre (1813-16). Méhul and Cherubini were among the composers whom Weber had featured first at Prague and later at Dresden, where he was director of the Court Opera (1816-26).

[136] The number which, in the opinion of Warrack, reveals most clearly that Weber's melodic style is not always as distinct from an Italian manner as the composer liked to claim, is Agathe's second-act Szene und Arie, "itself an Italianate designation" (Weber, p. 225). Reyer often remarked on the brilliancy of both this number and Caspar's first-act aria (see above, n.56), but he never described them as being Italianate.

[137] Ibid., p. 366.

[138] "Oberon," RF p. 383.

[139] See the comment quoted in Chapter VIII, p. 334.

[140] The devilish glitter of the piccolos' trill which answers Caspar in the drinking-song in Freischütz, the warm tones of solo viola in Ännchen's "Trübe Augen, Liebchen," and the myriad effects obtained from the horn, especially in Oberon--all were enthusiastically admired by Reyer (as noted above on p. 229, and on p. 150 of Chapter IV).

[141] Translated by Warrack, Weber, p. 222.

[142] The successive directors of the Théâtre-Lyrique--which, as noted in Chapter V, was the only Parisian lyric theatre free to present operas composed to German texts--staged a total of eighteen German operas in French translation. However, most of these were contemporary operas which were popular in Germany, such as Wagner's Rienzi (Dresden, 1842), Friedrich von Flotow's Marthe (Vienna, 1847), and Otto Nicolai's Die lustigen Weiber von Windsor (Berlin, 1849). The minor works of the basic German operatic repertoire of the first half of the century--works by Hoffmann, Spohr, Marschner, Lortzing, and other composers who contributed to the musical formation of first Weber and then Wagner--did not find their way to the Parisian stage. See Albert de Lasalle, Mémorial du Théâtre-Lyrique (Paris: Librairie Moderne, J. Lecuir, 1877), p. 94; and the list of all the operas presented at the Lyrique, in Walsh's Second Empire Opera, Appendix B.

[143] JD feuilleton of 31 May 1870.

[144] See Reyer's comments concerning Der fliegende Holländer, Tannhäuser, and Lohengrin, in Chapter VIII, pp. 335-36 (assessed in the Critical Analysis, pp. 352-53 and 356-57).

[145] A typical example is the remark on Berlioz's musical "dieux" quoted in Chapter VII, p. 279.

[146] Reyer might, for instance, have elaborated on the musical rapprochement between Euryanthe and Wagner's Lohengrin (see Chapter VIII, p. 357). Weber's subtle but profound influence on Berlioz is succinctly described by David Cairns:

> ". . . it is not so much the specific parallels that strike us--though they are there: note, for instance, the use of flutes in thirds in the lower register in Freischütz (Agathe's scena) and in Romeo and Juliet (Love Scene), the very Berliozian rhythmic figure which depicts Max's anxiety, the triplet ostinato in the finale of Romeo, etc.--as the general influence of a vital example of expressive orchestration in the interests of musical drama studied and absorbed."
> (Hector Berlioz, The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz, trans. and ed. David Cairns, 2d ed. [London: Victor Gollancz, 1977], p. 569)

147 H. Robert Cohen, "Berlioz on the Opéra (1829-1849): A Study in Music Criticism" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1973), p. 90.

148 See the excerpts quoted in ibid.

149 Peter Anthony Bloom, "François-Joseph Fétis and the Revue Musicale (1827-1835)" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1972), pp. 171-72.

150 JD feuilleton of 16 December 1866.

CHAPTER VII

REYER AND BERLIOZ

The friendship of Reyer and Berlioz dates from Reyer's early years in Paris. We may recall that, shortly after arriving in the French capital in 1848, the young Reyer became acquainted with Berlioz--then musical feuilletoniste of the Journal des Débats--through such mutual friends as Gautier, feuilletoniste of La Presse. In 1856, when Berlioz moved from the rue de Boursault to the rue de Calais, he found himself living near Reyer's tiny apartment on the rue de la Tour d'Auvergne. Reyer soon became one of Berlioz's special circle of intimates, and the two remained devoted friends until Berlioz's death in 1869.[1]

Berlioz demonstrated his admiration for Reyer in many ways. As feuilletoniste of the Journal des Débats he praised Le Sélam after its premiere in 1850,[2] and the next year he conducted excerpts from this work at one of the concerts of his Société philharmonique. Moreover, until his retirement from the Débats in the autumn of 1863, Berlioz called his readers' attention to each new work by Reyer that was premiered in Paris: Maître Wolfram was warmly reviewed, as was La Statue, to which Berlioz devoted no less than half a feuilleton; and he found occasion to express enthusiasm for the ballet Sacountalâ,[3] although he could not discuss it at length because the privilege of reviewing ballets for the Débats was reserved for the drama critic, Jules Janin. Berlioz's influence procured for Reyer his entrée--as composer and

subsequently conductor--into the brilliant musical life of Baden-Baden, and was doubtless an important factor in Edouard Bertin's decision to choose Reyer as music critic for the Débats upon the sudden death of Joseph d'Ortigue.[4]

In addition to giving powerful boosts to Reyer's careers as composer, conductor, and critic, Berlioz demonstrated in other ways his admiration and friendship for the younger man. To Reyer he gave his corrected copy of Roméo et Juliette,[5] as well as one of the five copies of his Mémoires that were printed during his lifetime.[6] Shortly before his death, he sent a pile of his unpublished works to Reyer--then feuilletoniste for the Débats--in order to assist his successor in assessing his musical achievement.[7] As a final gesture of admiration, he bequeathed his Académicien's robe and sword to Reyer,[8] who--in fulfillment of this unspoken prophecy--was eventually elected to the chair once held by Berlioz himself.

During Berlioz's lifetime, Reyer was both his devoted friend and a determined champion of his musical compositions. As feuilletoniste for first the Courrier de Paris and then the Débats, Reyer often drew attention to the overwhelming popularity of Berlioz's music outside France, and rebuked Parisians for their indifference to their great compatriot.[9] Reyer also began to work as conductor on Berlioz's behalf: excerpts from L'Enfance du Christ and Les Troyens were included by Reyer on the program of the international concert which he organized and conducted at Baden-Baden in 1865.[10] Reyer was a faithful companion of Berlioz during his long and painful old age, and was with him when he died. It was

Reyer who kept the night-long deathwatch over the body of his beloved friend.[11]

Reyer's Struggle to Establish Berlioz's Posthumous Glory

Reyer fought passionately to establish Berlioz's posthumous reputation in France. The long struggle began on 10 March 1869--just two days after Berlioz's death--when Reyer published a moving obituary notice informing readers of the Débats that music had lost a man of genius. Recalling that the late composer had been esteemed in Germany as "le Beethoven français," Reyer predicted that in France, too, Berlioz's name would one day be inscribed "parmi les noms des plus grands maîtres."[12] A few days later, he encouraged an admirer of Berlioz--the conductor Pasdeloup--to present at one of his Concerts populaires not simply excerpts from Roméo et Juliette, but rather the entire work.[13] Reyer subsequently urged the directors of all Parisian concert societies and lyric theatres thus to make amends

> à l'auteur des Troyens, de la Damnation de Faust, de l'Enfance du Christ et de Roméo et Juliette. Son oeuvre n'a pas été suffisamment comprise de la génération à laquelle il appartenait; la génération suivante l'a à peine entendue: il faut la lui faire connaître, non pas par fragmens et mutilée, mais dans son ensemble et dans toute sa perfection, si c'est possible.[14]

One of the earliest signs that a pro-Berlioz movement was beginning to develop was the birth of interest in La Damnation de Faust a few months after the composer's death. The resurrection of this work was initiated by two persons: Reyer and the German pianist-conductor Henry Litolff, who had been a faithful friend of Berlioz. In the fall of

1869, Reyer appeared as guest conductor at the inaugural concert of Litolff's Société des concerts de l'Opéra, and won the first favorable reception for three excerpts from the Damnation: "Marche hongroise" (Rákóczy March), "Ballet des Sylphes," and "Menuet des Follets." Public response was, in fact, so enthusiastic that all three were repeated at Litolff's second concert. Once again, the public acclaimed these fragments from a work which, during Berlioz's lifetime, had been indifferently received in the capital.[15] Thanks to the success of these performances, the Damnation was finally in vogue: on 9 January 1870 Pasdeloup conducted a selection at one of his Concerts populaires, and, that same day, the Société des concerts du Conservatoire presented the three excerpts that had been heard at Litolff's concerts.[16]

The popularity of the Damnation--a popularity which, as we have seen, was initiated principally by Reyer--launched a veritable "Berlioz revival in Paris in the 1870s."[17] Reyer, working tirelessly as both conductor and critic, remained at the forefront of this movement. As shall be demonstrated in succeeding pages, he was seconded by other Berliozians--notably the conductor Colonne. However, as Berlioz's biographer Boschot later observed, the true "foyer de Berliozisme" was Reyer.

> On citera des articles de Reyer ou d'autres berlioziens; on citera des reprises au théâtre... [sic] Mais d'où vient donc, surtout, la flamme berliozienne? Qui donc l'anime et l'entretient, plus que tous, sinon Reyer?[18]

The first major event in the Berlioz revival, and one which proved to be a turning point in the history of his music in France, was the

"festival"--a term often used by Berlioz--which commemorated the first anniversary of his death. Reyer, who was both organizer and conductor of this "grand festival," had the audacity to present it at the Opéra, on the very stage where the failure of Benvenuto Cellini (1838) closed the doors of this theatre to Berlioz during his lifetime. The program included fragments of the Damnation and excerpts from works by three composers whom Berlioz had admired most ardently: Gluck, Spontini, and Beethoven. Among the impressive array of soloists were some of the most celebrated operatic vocalists of the time--Mme Carvalho, Mlle Nilsson, Mme Charton-Demeur, M. Faure, and others--as well as the renowned violinist Henri Vieuxtemps, who played principal viola in the March from Harold en Italie. The soloists were joined by about ninety choristers, and by 110 instrumentalists "choisis parmi les plus renommés."[19]

Although the announcement of the venture had occasioned much derisive humor, the festival was a complete success in the eyes of both the public and the press. Reyer exulted:

> Enfin le maître a eu son apothéose, juste un an après sa mort. Et jamais de son vivant eût-il pu former autour de lui une telle constellation de virtuoses et obtenir cette unanimité d'éloges que la presse lui a prodigués? . . .
> . . . quel que soit le résultat pécuniaire du concert . . . notre but est atteint, car nous avons voulu . . . élever à Berlioz un monument musical qui réjouira certainement plus que le marbre ou le bronze l'âme du grand compositeur.[20]

Before this concert, Berlioz's music had scarcely ever been presented in Paris; the festival was, in the words of one of his biographers, "le signal de la revanche, et, de ce jour, le revirement ne fit que s'accentuer et devint irrésistible."[21]

After the festival, the Parisian public began demanding to hear Berlioz's large concert works in their entirety. It was a great tribute to Reyer that Colonne, who started presenting these compositions during the mid-1870s and who became the Berlioz conductor par excellence, turned to the deceased composer's friend and disciple for musical guidance more than once during this decade alone. For example, late in 1874 Colonne sought Reyer's advice concerning whom to engage as soloists for L'Enfance du Christ.[22] In February 1877, when Colonne was dissatisfied with his first performance of La Damnation de Faust, he sent the soloists to Reyer to be coached. Colonne's second performance, given one week later, won such acclaim that he repeated Berlioz's work at every concert until the end of the season, making a total of six consecutive performances. This triumph launched the Damnation on a career which, more than a quarter-century later, was described as being "sans précédent dans l'histoire des concerts en France--et peut-être ailleurs!"[23]

Reyer gave additional impetus to the Berlioz revival by organizing in 1879 a second festival, this time to honor the tenth anniversary of Berlioz's death. As in 1870, Reyer included on the program excerpts from works by Gluck and Spontini.[24] However, two of the three Berlioz selections for the new festival were very different from those presented in 1870: instead of featuring fragments "remarquables surtout par leur charme poétique,"[25] Reyer now highlighted the Berlioz of powerful vocal and orchestral effects, choosing the double chorus of soldiers and students from the Damnation and the apotheosis from La Symphonie funèbre et triomphale. These two excerpts contrasted strikingly with the third Berlioz selection, namely, the septet from Les Troyens.[26]

The second festival was held not at the Opéra, but rather at the Hippodrome, where the acoustics were better for massed voices and instruments. The program involved the participation of several distinguished soloists and no fewer than 450 choristers and instrumentalists, recruited by Albert Vizentini from amongst the best that Parisian lyric theatres and concert societies could offer. The directing of this great phalanx of musicians--more than twice as many as had performed at the first festival--required not one conductor but two: Reyer led the instrumentalists, and entrusted the vocalists to a M. Bertringer. This second "Festival Berlioz" was even more successful than the first. Although the Hippodrome was by no means centrally located in the city, this enormous building was packed, and the audience demanded the repetition of both the septet from Les Troyens and the double chorus from the Damnation.[27]

For three decades after the death of Berlioz, Reyer championed Benvenuto Cellini and Les Troyens--the latter known to Parisians only through an abbreviated version of the second part, Les Troyens à Carthage, which Léon Carvalho had premiered at the Théâtre-Lyrique in 1863.[28] Reyer was particularly dismayed that Benvenuto Cellini and both parts of Les Troyens remained unperformed during the 1880s, after Berlioz's large concert works had established his popularity in the capital, and after the successful Parisian premiere--albeit in concert --of La Prise de Troie, the first part of the Trojan epic.[29] Why, Reyer asked in 1890, had the doors of the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique remained closed to Berlioz despite the tremendous vogue for the Damnation? How was it possible that, although La Prise de Troie had been favorably

received at concerts conducted by both Pasdeloup and Colonne, this work had not yet been staged and not a single impresario had been tempted to revive Les Troyens à Carthage? And why had Carvalho not carried out a plan to revive Benvenuto Cellini at the Opéra-Comique in the mid-1880s?[30]

Reyer's insistence that a revival of Benvenuto Cellini would be successful in Paris may have been partly responsible for Carvalho's plan. In November 1885 the critic bluntly asked how the Opéra and especially the Opéra-Comique, which was in financial difficulties, could ignore a work that had for many years been highly acclaimed on foreign soil.[31] At that time, Carvalho--director of the Comique--disregarded Reyer's hint, and instead announced that he would stage the Parisian premiere of Wagner's Lohengrin. Within a few weeks, however, he was considering abandoning this project for fear of arousing anti-German sentiment. Reyer seized the opportunity to call Carvalho's attention to "tout le profit qu'il y aurait pour sa renommée comme pour la gloire de Berlioz de venger l'illustre musicien d'un échec . . . immérité."[32] This time, Carvalho heeded Reyer's advice: Lohengrin was abandoned, and Benvenuto--to which the Opéra had forfeited its right--was put into rehearsal.

Reyer rejoiced that the first performance was scheduled for 17 October 1886, the day of the inauguration of the Berlioz statue in Paris. However, his hope of seeing Benvenuto performed "sur le seul théâtre où elle pouvait avoir la chance d'être acceptée et de réussir"[33] was shattered when, in late September, the administration of the Comique abruptly announced that the production had been indefinitely postponed.[34]

Much to Reyer's consternation and bewilderment, this theatre never staged Benvenuto, even though it had been in rehearsal for six months.

Reyer fought long and hard to obtain a hearing for Les Troyens, which he ranked alongside the works of Mozart, Gluck, Beethoven, and Weber.[35] His dream of seeing it presented in its entirety at the Opéra did not materialize during his lifetime, but, as we shall see, his crusade may have been partly responsible for two significant events in the history of this lyric epic: the revival of Les Troyens à Carthage--after nearly thirty years of neglect--and the Parisian premiere of La Prise de Troie.

In 1879, when both Pasdeloup and Colonne bravely presented the then-unknown Prise de Troie in concert, Reyer urged that it instead be premiered on the stage, because--like any work conceived for the theatre--it lost much of its impact when performed

> sans décors, sans costumes, sans le prestige de la scène et avec des interprètes qui suffisent à peine à la lourde tâche qu'ils ont bien voulu accepter. . . .
>
> Devrons-nous donc nous contenter d'admirer, d'applaudir ce chef-d'oeuvre et les émouvans tableaux qu'il fait passer devant nos yeux, au concert, avec des héros en habit noir et des vierges en souliers de satin? Un théâtre lyrique de premier ordre, l'Opéra, ne sera-t-il donc jamais tenté, jamais séduit par tant de magnificences . . . ?[36]

At the same time, Reyer voiced his amazement that--despite the posthumous glorification of Berlioz--Les Troyens à Carthage had not been revived since its brief run at the Théâtre-Lyrique in 1863. He began insisting that the two parts of Les Troyens, presented in alternation on two nights, would triumph at the Opéra, and his prognostications of success continued throughout the 1880s.[37]

Finally, in the early 1890s, Reyer's efforts to obtain a hearing for Les Troyens began to bear fruit. By June 1891 La Prise de Troie was "promise aux abonnés de l'Opéra."[38] The next year, when the long-suppressed Lohengrin was enjoying great success at the Opéra, the recently founded Société des grandes auditions musicales de la France[39] gave financial assistance to Carvalho for a revival of Les Troyens à Carthage, which Parisians had not heard either in a theatre or on a concert stage since he had premiered it at the Lyrique. During the spring of 1893--when the Opéra was basking in yet another Wagnerian triumph, La Valkyrie--Carvalho again revived Les Troyens à Carthage, evidently hoping that "le chef-d'oeuvre d'Hector Berlioz, grand maître français,"[40] would provide competition for the celebrated work of the German master.

Neither revival of Les Troyens à Carthage was successful, and the first was sufficient to confirm Reyer's opinion that Les Troyens belonged, in its entirety, on the vast stage of the Palais Garnier.

> Je n'y vais pas par trente-six chemins et je déclare ici sans réticence ni préambule, spontanément et catégoriquement, qu'il est honteux pour l'art français qu'un ouvrage comme les Troyens en soit réduit à aller s'échouer en fragments mal ajustés sur une scène lyrique de second ordre quand le cadre de notre grand Opéra serait à peine assez vaste pour contenir un tel chef-d'oeuvre. . . .
>
> . . . Eh bien, je m'adresse au ministre qui est un homme de généreuse initiative, je m'adresse au directeur actuel de l'Opéra dont le goût artistique est si justement vanté et je leur demande que, après le triomphe sur notre première scène lyrique de l'un des plus grands maîtres dont l'Allemagne s'honore, vienne le triomphe de l'un des plus grands maîtres dont la France ait le droit de s'enorgueillir. Donnez-lui vos plus merveilleux décors et vos plus riches costumes, donnez-lui vos choeurs nombreux et votre vaillant orchestre, si bien discipliné aujourd'hui sous l'intelligente direction d'un chef habile; donnez-lui vos interprètes les plus renommés et les meilleurs, et vous verrez si son oeuvre,

> apparaissant alors dans toute la magnificence de sa conception géniale, ne vous indemnisera pas au centuple de tout ce que vous aurez fait pour elle et pour lui.[41]

Such prodding--which Reyer continued in later feuilletons[42]--may have been instrumental in inducing the Opéra eventually to honor its promise to premiere La Prise de Troie. The production took place in 1899, the year after Reyer's retirement from the Débats.

In addition to being a leader in the movement to resurrect Berlioz's music, Reyer was among the first to recognize the significance of Berlioz's critical writings.[43] During the 1850s the young Reyer began praising the work of "notre maître à tous dans l'art de la critique,"[44] who was then the musical feuilletoniste of the Débats. It is not surprising that, after Reyer himself succeeded to this post in 1866, he continued to render hommage to the writings of the man whom he clearly esteemed as his greatest predecessor.[45]

Berlioz's critical writings were regarded by Reyer as being significant because, in his opinion, they had served to further the musical education of the public--the very purpose which Reyer envisioned for music criticism, as we observed in Chapter III. He believed that Berlioz's denunciations of the mediocrity and mercantilism which pervaded French musical life had dealt serious blows to "ces abus, ces sottises, ces erreurs et ces préjugés."[46] He also applauded Berlioz's valiant struggle to cultivate in his readers a love of great music.

> A Paris . . . il pouvait essayer de convertir au culte du beau ceux qui marchaient dans une voie opposée à la sienne, en leur révélant, dans des pages qui resteront comme des modèles de style et de haute critique, les sublimes inspirations des maîtres qu'il admirait et dont il était le plus fervent disciple. C'est ainsi qu'il

> parlait de Spontini et de Weber, de Beethoven et de Gluck.[47]

Reyer declared that, although Berlioz may not have won many converts to the cause of great music, he had certainly created a few zealous proselytes. Among these were Fanny Pelletan and Berthold Damcke, who--inspired by Berlioz's eloquent articles on the necessity of preserving Gluck's operas--undertook the preparation of a critical edition of his five principal works.[48]

Reyer sought to create public appreciation for Berlioz's contributions to French musical life not only by conducting his works and writing about his oeuvre--both musical and literary--but also by playing a major role in three celebrations held to honor his memory. When a statue of Berlioz was inaugurated at Paris in 1886, one of the three speakers was Reyer, who wore on this occasion the Académicien's robe and sword bequeathed to him by Berlioz.[49] Four years later, Reyer presented yet another discourse, this time at the inauguration of a statue of Berlioz erected at his birthplace, La Côte Saint-André. In 1903, the aged Reyer--by then one of the most revered musicians in France--served as honorary president of the Berlioz Centenary celebrations, and, in this capacity, wrote a third speech in honor of his beloved friend. All three of Reyer's discourses were published in contemporary newspapers and periodicals.[50]

Many French musicians of Reyer's day rendered hommage to his work on behalf of Berlioz.[51] Indeed, some declared that he had done more than anyone else to bring honor to this composer in his native land. Such was the opinion of Berlioz's biographer Boschot, who wrote the

following tribute a few months after Reyer's death:

> . . . Reyer, malgré tous les obstacles, et malgré des musiciens trop confraternels, entraîna le public jusqu'à Berlioz; et si, aujourd'hui, quelques oeuvres du compositeur romantique,--pas toutes, hélas!--ont conquis le public musical, Reyer les y aida de la manière la plus efficace.[52]

Reyer's Efforts to Change the Public's Image of Berlioz the Composer

In mid-century Paris, Berlioz was generally dismissed as an extravagant symphonist with a mania for huge ensembles--a musical revolutionary who "believed in neither God nor Bach."[53] Reyer painted many a vivid picture of this image of

> Berlioz l'extravagant, Berlioz l'antéchrist, le briseur d'idoles, l'ennemi de toute règle scolastique, l'inventeur des orchestres monstres, le musicien qui, selon Chérubini, mettait du canon dans sa musique (un autre que lui en a mis, on s'en souvient).[54]

Both during the composer's lifetime and after his death, Reyer tried to demonstrate that Berlioz's musical personality was far more complex and subtle. He insisted that Berlioz had not turned his back on the musical heritage of the past; that, in fact, he had profoundly admired several eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century composers, and had made skillful use of fugue. Reyer also drew attention to Berlioz's gift for poetic expression, and disputed the accusations that his orchestration was a meaningless mass of curious sonorities, that his music lacked melody, and that he had no ability as a musical dramatist. In short, Reyer sought to shatter what he regarded as the ludicrous public image of Berlioz the composer, and, by so doing, to foster an intelligent appreciation for his music.

Reyer informed the Parisian public that Berlioz had been devoted to the music of earlier composers ever since his youth. During his student days, he had gloried in performances of Salieri's Danaïdes at the Opéra, had zealously studied the works of Beethoven, and had familiarized himself with the operas of Gluck by spending entire days at the Conservatoire library, admiring and copying his scores.[55] As a mature artist, Berlioz "a fait ses dieux de Gluck, de Beethoven, de Weber et de Spontini,"[56] championing them in his writings and conducting excerpts from their music at the festivals and concerts he presented in Paris and abroad.

Reyer asserted that Berlioz's music, too, bore witness to his study of earlier composers--especially Gluck and Beethoven, whom he had regarded respectively as the greatest exponents of lyric drama and symphony. The works of these two giants, said Reyer, were the sources at which Berlioz had derived inspiration while at the same time cultivating his musical individuality.[57] Reyer maintained that the influence of Gluck could be heard in the declamatory passages of Berlioz's operas,[58] and that the spirit of Gluckian tragédie lyrique could readily be sensed in many arias and other numbers of Les Troyens.[59] Berlioz's symphonies and other large concert works for voices and orchestra made him, in Reyer's eyes, a worthy successor to Beethoven. Indeed, when Gounod's opera Roméo et Juliette was triumphantly premiered in 1867, Reyer reminded readers of Berlioz's long-neglected symphonie dramatique based on Shakespeare's tragedy, and then pronounced Berlioz the greatest symphonist since Beethoven, in fulfillment of the prophecy made by Paganini.

> "Beethoven mort, vous seul pouviez le remplacer." En effet, il n'y a pas eu, ni en France ni en Allemagne, de plus grand symphoniste que M. Hector Berlioz depuis Beethoven. Bien des gens qui nient cela aujourd'hui seront de mon avis dans quelques années.[60]

Reyer strengthened his argument that Berlioz's music had strong roots in the past by drawing attention to his use of fugue. The critic pointed out that, although Berlioz had mocked the academic or school fugue (fugue d'école),[61] he had by no means shunned fugue entirely, as witness the fugues and fugal passages in Roméo et Juliette, La Damnation de Faust, L'Enfance du Christ, and the Requiem.[62] Reyer insisted that Berlioz's fugues are masterful examples of the genre, despite the composer's transgressions of "les règles sévères d'une fugue d'école";[63] in fact, Reyer applauded him as the creator of a style of fugal writing in which the melodic element is more prominent than is the case in the fugues of the Baroque masters.

> Il n'aimait pas la fugue ou, comme disait malicieusement Cherubini, la fugue ne l'aimait point! Lisez donc, vous qui vous piquez d'être les fidèles gardiens des formules scolastiques, la marche nocturne de la première partie de l'Enfance du Christ, la scène qui fait suite à l'arrivée de Joseph et de Marie chez le père de famille, dans le même ouvrage; le convoi de Juliette[;] et l'introduction de la Damnation de Faust. Si la fugue mélodique existe, pure dans sa forme, élégante dans ses développemens, séduisante par l'originalité de l'idée ou le charme de l'inspiration, on peut dire que c'est Berlioz qui l'a inventée. Est-ce parce qu'il ne pouvait faire comme Bach et Haendel qu'il a fait autrement?[64]

Another way in which Reyer sought to destroy the public's image of Berlioz as a violent revolutionary was by calling attention to his genius for poetic expression.

> Vraiment, je le demande aux artistes et aux amateurs de bonne foi, est-ce bien un génie révolté que celui qui a écrit le septuor des Troyens et le duo de Béatrice et

> Bénédict, l'adagio de Roméo et Juliette, la marche d'Harold, l'air de Méphistophélès et la scène des Sylphes [de la Damnation de Faust]?[65]

He declared that these were among the many pages which revealed Berlioz as "le poëte des demi-teintes, des nuits vaporeuses et des clairs de lune, un rêveur à la façon de Shakespeare,"[66] and that other pages--notably the "Repos de la Sainte Famille" from the second part of L'Enfance du Christ--embodied a slightly different aspect of Berlioz's poetic genius: "la naïveté et la grâce de l'inspiration."[67] Reyer insisted that, even though Berlioz had sometimes gone to extremes in his music, he had remained--at heart--a poet, for he had never deserted the Muse in order to flatter the public.[68]

Reyer tried to demonstrate that this poet was a master of the art of instrumentation--a composer whose music was not "un amas de curiosités sonores"[69] but rather a treasure-trove of artful effects which created an ideal correspondence with the dramatic situation. One of the aspects of Berlioz's orchestration which particularly impressed Reyer was the incomparable delicacy of the evocations of dramatic situations which called for deftness of touch: the nocturnal ride of Queen Mab and her entourage of buzzing insects in Roméo et Juliette; the dance of the sylphs who have cast their spell on the sleeping Faust in the Damnation; and the spirits of evil dancing the Minuet of the Will o' the Wisp in the same work.[70] While Reyer felt that the consummate delicacy of Berlioz's orchestration was eminently suitable for such situations, he insisted that, for others, the unprecedented luxuriance of the instrumentation was equally appropriate. He cited as prime examples the climax of the brilliant "fête chez Capulet" in Roméo et Juliette, and

two stirring marches: the Rákóczy March, which evokes the Hungarian army advancing into battle in the Damnation; and the Trojan March, which surges forth as the gigantic Wooden Horse left by the Greeks is drawn through the gates of Troy in La Prise de Troie.[71]

Reyer attributed much of the effectiveness of Les Troyens--"cette grande épopée lyrique"--to Berlioz's skillful use of the orchestra:

> Jamais au théâtre l'union de l'orchestre et des voix n'a été rendue avec une telle puissance, une telle science, une telle supériorité. . . . Berlioz a fait vivre l'orchestre à côté des personnages de l'épopée; il l'a fait parler, il l'a dramatisé.[72]

To illustrate his point, Reyer described in detail how the orchestra underscores the contrasting ideas of the text in the scene between Cassandre and Chorèbe: the orchestra first dramatizes the growing frenzy of the Trojan prophetess as she foretells the fall of Troy, then paints a charming pastoral tableau as Chorèbe attempts to allay his fiancée's seemingly groundless fears.

> Cassandre atteint progressivement le paroxysme de la passion et de la terreur; M. Berlioz a ménagé ce crescendo avec un art admirable; les archets des altos et des seconds violons jouant sull' ponticello, donnent au tremolo un caractère strident et féroce; la voix s'anime et monte toujours; les cuivres grondent sourdement, et Cassandre, épuisée, anéantie sous le poids de la douleur, tombe en jetant un cri déchirant auquel répondent[,] comme un écho furieux, les forces accumulées de l'orchestre.
>
> On ne saurait se faire une idée des jolis détails d'instrumentation qui accompagnent la riante pastorale que Chorèbe chante à Cassandre pour la calmer et la rassurer: le souffle de la brise, le chant des oiseaux et le son des pipeaux rustiques, tous ces effets, toutes ces imitations, toutes ces nuances donnent un charme inexprimable au sentiment doux et calme de cette églogue virgilienne.[73]

Reyer discerned many innovative features in Berlioz's orchestration. For example, he credited Berlioz with discovering a way to achieve a truly pianissimo orchestral accompaniment for the voice, as he explained in the following passage concerning Cassandre's opening lamentation and her ensuing duet with Chorèbe:

> M. Berlioz, qui, au dire de ses adversaires (je me sers d'une expression adoucie), mettrait volontiers, s'il l'osait, des canons dans son orchestre, est pourtant le premier qui ait songé à réduire le quatuor dans certains passages où la masse des instrumens à cordes, accompagnant la voix, ne pourraient arriver à un pianissimo suffisant. Ce procédé ingénieux dont il s'est servi dans quelques-uns de ses précédens ouvrages, il l'a appliqué également à plusieurs parties de la grande scène que je viens de décrire et au duo suivant qui n'est accompagné que par un tout petit quatuor en sourdines, deux flûtes, un cor anglais, deux cors et deux clarinettes. Ce duo est une merveille de grâce et de poésie amoureuse.[74]

Reyer maintained that the art of instrumentation had benefited enormously from "les progrès accomplis par Hector Berlioz."[75] He was unexcelled in "l'art de combiner les instruments et de tirer les effets les plus saisissans, les plus nouveaux des accouplemens de leurs timbres."[76] Furthermore, he had bequeathed to posterity a treatise which, in Reyer's opinion, would remain the definitive work of its kind.[77] Berlioz's music and his treatise together comprised a legacy which, Reyer suggested, had affected virtually all later nineteenth-century French composers: "Lequel de nous,--je ne parle que de ceux qui ne nient pas la lumière,--n'a pas profité des précieuses innovations sorties de sa palette instrumentale?"[78]

When attempting to dispel the image of Berlioz as a musical madman, Reyer argued that this poet and supremely skilled orchestrator was, in

addition, an inspired melodist. He responded to those who accused Berlioz of lacking melodic ideas[79] by recalling that the same had once been said of such great composers as Gluck, Beethoven, and Weber.[80] When "La Marche hongroise," "La Valse des Sylphes," and "Le Menuet des Follets" were acclaimed at Litolff's concerts a few months after Berlioz's death, Reyer pointed out that the public was already beginning to appreciate Berlioz as melodist.

> Des musiciens qui, sans être précisement hostiles à Berlioz, n'avaient pas vécu dans la familiarité de ce maître, trop peu classique pour eux, se sont montrés surpris de trouver dans son oeuvre des pages si mélodiques et d'un effet si saisissant. Je ne suis nullement étonné de leur étonnement, et s'ils veulent bien poursuivre le cours de leurs nouvelles études, ils en verront bien d'autres, non seulement dans la Damnation de Faust, mais dans Roméo et Juliette, dans l'Enfance du Christ, dans la Symphonie fantastique et dans la première partie des Troyens.[81]

Reyer was also convinced that, in time, Berlioz would be vindicated of the charge that he was "dépourvu de tout sentiment dramatique."[82] Berlioz's supposed lack of dramatic imagination was the subject of many exasperated remarks from Reyer, such as the following outburst in his review of the concert premiere of the first part of Les Troyens:

> . . . on nous donne aujourd'hui la Prise de Troie; nous aurons peut-être demain Béatrice et Bénédict et Benvenuto Cellini. Au concert, bien entendu. Car le théâtre semble avoir pour la mémoire de Berlioz d'inflexibles rigueurs. Que voulez-vous! l'auteur des Troyens n'était point un génie dramatique.[83]

This sarcastic exclamation suggests that Reyer was particularly incensed by the theatres' long ostracism of Les Troyens, which, he often declared, contained music unsurpassed even by the tragédies lyriques of Gluck. For example, when the concert societies led by Pasdeloup and

Colonne were each competing to present La Prise de Troie for the first time in the capital, Reyer assured his readers that Cassandre's opening aria and the ensuing duet with Chorèbe "sont d'une beauté achevée, et . . . qu'il n'a rien été écrit de plus noble, de plus grand, de plus sublime dans le style propre à la tragédie lyrique."[84] More than a decade later, when Carvalho revived his shortened version of Les Troyens à Carthage, Reyer wrote a similar panegyric concerning the quintet, the septet, and the love duet ("Nuit d'ivresse et d'extase infinie"). He thankfully observed that all of these outstanding numbers had escaped deletion, and for good reason:

> L'admirable et pure beauté de ces trois inspirations de génie les met à l'abri de tout accident. Pour nous aussi, c'est une "extase infinie," un long ravissement que de les entendre. Dans quelle oeuvre moderne ou classique trouverait-on l'équivalent de ces pages sublimes?[85]

Reyer was impressed not only by specific numbers in Les Troyens, but also by entire scenes which, in his opinion, were among the most effective ever conceived for the lyric theatre. As we observed in Chapter IV, one such scene is the horrific apparition of the ghost of Hector--a scene whose dramatic impact Reyer attributed to a masterful combination of the elements of orchestration, harmony, and melody. Within the context of the present chapter we cannot examine in such detail each of the other scenes which Reyer found particularly striking in the two parts of Les Troyens. However, we can at least note the scene which, for both Reyer and Berlioz, was the most profoundly moving in La Prise de Troie: the pantomime which begins with the arrival of Hector's widow, Andromaque, and her young son. After recalling that Berlioz had wept over

this clarinet solo with chorus, Reyer observed that many listeners--including himself, no doubt--had experienced the same reaction. Clearly, he felt that this scene was another superb example of Berlioz's use of the orchestra as a personnage in the drama.

> D'autres ont pleuré aussi en entendant le poétique instrument . . . exprimer la muette douleur d'Andromaque, en entendant la plainte touchante du choeur et la sombre prophétie de Cassandre:
>
> Hélas! garde tes pleurs,
> Veuve d'Hector...; à de prochains malheurs
> Tu dois bien des larmes amères.
> .....
>
> Croyez bien que Berlioz ne s'est pas trompé et que je n'exagère pas en vous disant que c'est là le point culminant de l'oeuvre; que cette page est d'une beauté achevée, qu'elle est sublime.[86]

While Reyer expressed preference for certain numbers and scenes of Les Troyens, he by no means felt that the work was uneven in quality. On the contrary, he found that it was distinguished by a consistently high level of inspiration, and he paid Berlioz the ultimate compliment of having equalled his beloved Gluck: "Les Grecs, Gluck nous les a conservés; les Troyens, Berlioz nous les a rendus. Son oeuvre d'un bout à l'autre est superbe, écrite . . . sans hésitations, sans faiblesses."[87]

In his attempts to disprove the accusation that Berlioz lacked dramatic imagination, Reyer tried to demonstrate that dramatic expression is the very pulse of many of Berlioz's non-operatic works. For example, he called attention to the importance of the dramatic element in two of his revered friend's principal religious compositions: the Requiem and L'Enfance du Christ. Although Reyer did not regard the former as being theatrical,[88] he observed that the composer's imagination had been fired by the dramatic implications of the sacred text.

> C'est bien le drame de la mort que Berlioz a voulu peindre, et il n'y a ménagé ni les effets puissans, ni les brusques oppositions, ni les étranges accouplemens de timbres qui donnent un caractère si personnel à ses compositions symphoniques.[89]

He discerned a more pronounced leaning towards operatic expression in L'Enfance du Christ, describing the first and third parts of this trilogy as "plus dramatiques que religieuses."[90]

Reyer found Berlioz's dramatic imagination demonstrated even more vividly in the two largest works based on secular texts: La Damnation de Faust and Roméo et Juliette. He stated uncategorically that these were the finest musical realizations of the great dramas of Goethe and Shakespeare.

> . . . je dirai de la Damnation de Faust ce que j'ai dit de Roméo et Juliette. L'oeuvre du musicien, dans son ensemble et même dans ses détails, est à la hauteur de l'oeuvre du poète, et aucun compositeur ayant traité l'un ou l'autre, l'un et l'autre de ces deux redoutables sujets, avant ou après Berlioz, ne s'est élevé aussi haut que lui.[91]

Of all the scenes which Reyer regarded as being quintessential résumés of the ideas of the texts in these two works,[92] there was one which struck him as being a bold foray into the realm of lyric theatre: the instrumental evocation of the tomb scene in Roméo et Juliette. He declared that his interpretation of this scene was implicit in the Note de l'auteur added by Berlioz to a late edition of the score--a Note recommending that this scene usually be expurgated because "le public n'a point d'imagination; les morceaux qui s'adressent seulement à l'imagination n'ont donc point de public."[93] The Note, together with the transcendental difficulty of the music, prompted Reyer to avow: "Jamais

aucun symphoniste n'est entré aussi hardiment ni aussi loin dans le domaine de la musique dramatique."[94]

We have observed in the preceding pages that Reyer regarded Berlioz as an innovator--especially in the art of instrumentation--but insisted that this master was not a revolutionary who had severed all musical ties with the past. Indeed, a few years before Berlioz's death Reyer audaciously predicted that the works of both this composer and his equally controversial contemporary, Wagner, would someday be revered as "classics."

> O pieux thuriféraires des gloires du passé, oublierez-vous donc toujours que les novateurs, que les romantiques de la veille deviennent les classiques du lendemain? Du vivant de Beethoven et de Weber, ne leur opposait-on pas Mozart et Haydn, comme vous opposez aujourd'hui à Wagner et à Berlioz Beethoven et Weber? . . . Les classiques! les classiques! dites-vous; tenons-nous-en aux classiques! Mais Wagner et Berlioz, dans quelques années d'ici, seront des classiques!... [sic][95]

* * *

Reyer's attitude toward the music of the compatriot whom he loved so dearly and championed so courageously is most eloquently summarized in the ringing tribute which concludes all three of his speeches celebrating Berlioz's memory:

> Honneur à Berlioz, au traducteur inspiré de Shakespeare et de Virgile, au digne continuateur de Gluck et de Beethoven, à l'un des plus illustres compositeurs de tous les temps, au plus extraordinaire peut-être qui ait jamais existé![96]

Critical Analysis

There is good reason to believe that, of all the music Reyer heard during his long career as a critic, the works of Berlioz were most

familiar to him. The two men were devoted friends, and Reyer was therefore among the circle of intimates who attended private performances of Berlioz's music.[97] We know that, at various public performances conducted by Berlioz in Paris and Baden-Baden, Reyer heard both L'Enfance du Christ and Béatrice et Bénédict in their entirety, as well as many excerpts from the large concert works and two fragments of Les Troyens. We also know that Reyer himself conducted excerpts from Berlioz's works on at least five occasions; that he was present at all twenty-two performances of Les Troyens à Carthage at the Théâtre-Lyrique; and that throughout his career he faithfully attended performances of his friend's music at other Parisian theatres and concert halls. All of these circumstances suggest that Reyer would have understood Berlioz's music more profoundly than that of any other composer, and, consequently, that his opinions apropos of this music would be the best indications of his competence as a critic. We shall see in the following pages that his estimates of Berlioz are distinguished by remarkable sensitivity and objectivity.

We have already noted several significant demonstrations of Reyer's sensitivity to the many facets of Berlioz's creative genius: as both critic and conductor, Reyer called attention to aspects of Berlioz's music that had scarcely been noticed by other mid-century Parisians; and he was among the first to recognize Berlioz's stature as a music critic. His appreciation for Berlioz's literary gift however was not confined to the critical writings of his revered friend, but extended to the texts and librettos. The libretto of Les Troyens made a particularly strong impression on Reyer. After attending a private reading of it

in 1857, he exclaimed: ". . . j'ai été ébloui par la magnificence du sujet . . . il n'y a pas de ficelles, pas de trucs, point de réminiscences, point de rafistolage: il y a de la poésie et de l'imagination à pleins bords."[98] Two years later, upon hearing fragments of the score for the first time at Baden-Baden, he pronounced the music "magnifique" and again declared that "des vers comme ceux-là . . . sont les vers d'un poëte et non pas ceux d'un librettiste."[99]

The insight with which Reyer assessed Berlioz's supreme skill as an orchestrator in Les Troyens and other works is a good indication of the clarity of his critical vision. "M. Berlioz . . . [est] le premier qui ait songé à réduire le quatuor dans certains passages où la masse des instrumens à cordes, accompagnant la voix, ne pourraient arriver à un pianissimo suffisant"[100]--this is the kind of observation which could only have come from a man like Reyer, a fellow-composer and -critic whose ears were attuned to the sounds of contemporary French music. Modern scholars should take note of such a remark from so astute a listener. Many have, in fact, unwittingly echoed some of Reyer's comments. For instance, among the innumerable instrumental combinations and distributions which struck him as being both bold and effective, there are two--the muted multi-divisi violins in the Queen Mab scherzo and the flute-and-trombone chords in the Requiem--which to this day are held up as examples of the felicitous coloristic effects in Berlioz's scores.[101] Again like Reyer, modern critics are impressed more by Berlioz's skill in handling the instruments than by his frequent inclusion of new or special instruments in his orchestras.[102] We should also note that time has borne out Reyer's prediction concerning Berlioz's

Treatise on Instrumentation: it remains the definitive work of its kind.[103]

In Chapter III we observed that intellectual integrity was one of the fundamental principles upon which Reyer based his approach to critical writing. Since the ultimate test of such integrity in any critic is his ability to be objective about the music of his friends, we would suspect that, if ever Reyer allowed his emotions to dominate his critical faculties, it would be in his observations concerning the works of his dearest and most revered friend: Berlioz. Yet, taken as a whole, his writings on this composer are as objective as those on--for example --Wagner, whose character Reyer heartily disliked.

One of the best illustrations of Reyer's uncompromisingly objective attitude toward Berlioz's music is the following excerpt from his review of the Parisian premiere of Béatrice et Bénédict, in which he faults the deceased composer for having fallen into the mannerisms which the latter had detested in the music of others.

> Ce grand esprit . . . était plein de contradictions et de bizarreries. . . . Il était l'ennemi juré des cadences surannées, des répétitions de mots, des vieilles formules qu'il reprochait particulièrement aux faiseurs d'opéras comiques de son temps, et voilà que, dans le premier opéra comique qu'il écrit, il cède lui aussi à la manie de ces fatigantes redites, de ces cadences surannées, de ces vieilles formules!
>
> Son sentiment de la déclamation lyrique, qui se manifeste dans plus d'une page de Béatrice et Bénédict avec une élévation, une puissance dignes de Glück, s'évanouit tout à coup pour faire place à des banalités de style, qui, relevées par lui chez certains musiciens, sont l'objet de ses railleries et de son mépris. C'est à se demander, tant l'ensemble de la composition est peu homogène, si c'est le même cerveau qui l'a enfantée, si c'est la même main qui y a travaillé.[104]

Further evidence that Reyer had resolved never to let even his most cherished friendship interfere with the act of judgment is the fact that he publicly reproached Berlioz for having contributed "tant soit peu" to the fall of Wagner's Tannhäuser.[105]

Although Reyer's writings on Berlioz offer abundant evidence of his determination to be objective, they also yield a few statements which the twentieth-century reader may find overblown and inappropriate. Can any of these be reconciled with Reyer's obvious resolve to be objective? Let us consider each statement in turn.

The earliest one which invites dispute is that "il n'y a pas eu, ni en France ni en Allemagne, de plus grand symphoniste que M. Hector Berlioz depuis Beethoven."[106] In 1867, when Reyer made this avowal, Parisian concert-goers were accustomed to a diet of symphonies and overtures by a small group of deceased composers whom Jeffrey Cooper has aptly dubbed "Paris's 'favorite five'":[107] Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, and Weber. Schubert was scarcely known, except through his Lieder; Schumann--whose music Reyer had "discovered" during his travels in Germany in 1863-64--was just beginning to acquire a reputation in the French capital; and the thirty-four-year-old Brahms was still nine years away from the completion of his First Symphony. In the course of Reyer's voyage musical in Germany, he had often heard Berlioz described as "le Beethoven français."[108] When we take all of these factors into consideration, we cannot wonder that in 1867 Reyer pronounced Berlioz the greatest symphonist since Beethoven.

Each of Reyer's three speeches honoring Berlioz--the first written in 1886 and the last in 1903--concluded with an eloquent tribute "au

digne continuateur de Gluck et Beethoven."[109] We might initially think that this reaffirmed the position discussed above. However, when we compare the statement made in 1867 with the one in the speeches, we realize that the superlative "[le] plus grand symphoniste" was replaced by the more cautious "digne continuateur." And let us recall that Reyer venerated Spontini as one of Gluck's heirs; therefore, the description "digne continuateur de Gluck et Beethoven" could not have been intended to designate Berlioz as the only successor to either composer. Reyer's modification of his earlier position on Berlioz as symphonist is probably attributable to increased acquaintance with the symphonies of significant German composers.[110]

In his speeches and in the Débats, Reyer repeatedly called Berlioz "le Beethoven français" (underline mine). Can we share his view? According to several authorities,[111] Berlioz was well able to construct a movement out of brief melodic figures--the usual procedure of Beethoven and other masters of the Viennese symphonic tradition--but he preferred to create from extended melody. In the words of Wilfrid Mellers, "Berlioz is least successful when he tries to emulate the sonata principle, most convincing when he allows his lyrical impulse to generate form."[112] Berlioz was nevertheless an avowed disciple of Beethoven, and, as David Cairns observes, "was profoundly influenced by Beethoven's thematic mastery and consistency"[113]--an allusion to the cyclic idea found in the Fifth and Ninth Symphonies and applied in Berlioz's Symphonie fantastique and Harold en Italie.[114] An influence that was perhaps even more profound was "the Beethovenian principle of drama embodied in musical terms."[115] Berlioz's symphonies, especially the symphonie dramatique

Roméo et Juliette, illustrate this principle because they manifest the treatment of music as--to quote Hugh Macdonald--"an expressive and dramatic art," and thus "stretch the meaning of the word ['symphony'] to new limits."[116] We scarcely need add that these symphonies make Berlioz the outstanding exponent of the genre in nineteenth-century France. In short, he may not have been "le Beethoven français" as regards thematic invention and development, but the appellation is so appropriate in several other respects that we can understand why Reyer adopted it.

A third statement which requires examination is one made in 1879 apropos of Les Troyens: "Jamais au théâtre l'union de l'orchestre et des voix n'a été rendue avec une telle puissance, une telle science, une telle supériorité."[117] Such a remark from Reyer may seem surprising because, as we shall see in Chapter VIII, he greatly admired the relationship between the instrumental and vocal elements in Wagner's music dramas. However, in 1879 Reyer scarcely knew the music dramas, having heard only the handful of excerpts which had been occasionally presented --and almost drowned out by anti-German protests--at Pasdeloup's concerts. His real introduction to these works did not begin until the 1880s, when he attended productions of Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg at London and both Die Walküre and Siegfried at Brussels. After having heard these works, he never again eulogized the uniting of voices and orchestra in Les Troyens as he had done in 1879; evidently his appreciation for Wagner's music dramas made him unwilling to place Les Troyens in a position of preeminence.

A fourth remark by Reyer which may strike us as being an exaggeration is that the instrumental evocation of the tomb scene in Roméo et

Juliette is an unprecedentedly bold venture into the realm of opera. Before we examine the Note de l'auteur--which, said Reyer, implied such a perception of this scene--let us consider a general observation by Donald Grout: ". . . it was natural for Berlioz, as it was for his eighteenth-century compatriots Rameau and Couperin, to associate music with images."[118] The same can be said of Berlioz's nineteenth-century compatriot Reyer, whose talent as composer was most strongly oriented toward musical depiction through opera. As critic, too, Reyer was listening to Berlioz's work with ears accustomed to opera, for this genre had long been the monarch of French music. When we take into account these circumstances, we can readily reconstruct how Reyer must have interpreted Berlioz's Note, reproduced below as paraphrased by Jacques Barzun:

> The public being devoid of imagination, this scene should be omitted whenever the symphony is not performed before a chosen audience familiar with Shakespeare's play, that is to say, it should be omitted in nine cases out of ten.[119]

The extraordinarily vivid musical evocation of the tomb scene would have conjured in Reyer's imagination a vision of that scene, because--if we may borrow Grout's phrase--it was natural for Reyer "to associate music with images." He would therefore have assumed that the word "imagination" in Berlioz's Note meant "capacity for visualization." This assumption would in turn have led him to conclude that Berlioz, by recommending the expurgation of this section because the public was "devoid of imagination," was saying that the public was incapable of appreciating the music because it lacked the imagination to visualize the scene. For Reyer, then, Berlioz's Note would have implied that the

visual element furnished by the imagination was as fundamental to the appreciation of this music as stage action was to the appreciation of opera. Thus, Reyer's avowal that Berlioz's musical rendering of the tomb scene was a foray into the precincts of opera should be understood as the inevitable conclusion of a logical train of thought, rather than a passionate exaggeration intended to enhance his friend's posthumous reputation.

There is one other statement which requires our scrutiny, namely, Reyer's claim that "si la fugue mélodique existe . . . on peut dire que c'est Berlioz qui l'a inventé."[120] What did Reyer mean by "la fugue mélodique"? Contemporary sources such as the Escudier brothers' Dictionnaire de musique and Fétis's La Musique mise à la portée de tout le monde recognize numerous species of fugue,[121] but a "fugue mélodique" is not among them. Moreover, all of the examples Reyer cites are what we would describe as fugatos. Why did he not call them by that name? The reason becomes apparent when we listen to them. As Mellers says, the component themes in Berlioz's fugatos--like his melodies in general--are rarely "motivic," and many of his fugatos therefore do not sound "recognizably polyphonic."[122] To Reyer, these expressive and often atmospheric fugatos evidently sounded so different from orthodox fugue in the eighteenth-century tradition that he designated them by a term which he may have coined: "la fugue mélodique."

Was Reyer correct in claiming that Berlioz was the originator of "la fugue mélodique"? Mellers would probably disagree, for he likens the "Quaerens Me" fugato in Berlioz's Requiem to "the vocal texture of sixteenth-century polyphony."[123] Other listeners might find that works

composed long after theorists had clarified and codified fugal theory yield fugatos as "melodic" as any found in Berlioz's music; consider, for example, the passage "ne absorbeat eas Tartarus, ne cadant in obscurum" in the Offertorium of Mozart's Requiem.[124] Reyer must have been aware of such precedents for "la fugue mélodique," because he knew a few sixteenth-century Masses, motets, and madrigals,[125] and was very familair with Mozart's Requiem[126] as well as a host of other works by masters of fugue ranging from Bach to Beethoven. Yet he deliberately exaggerated Berlioz's prowess, probably in hopes of goading his readers into realizing that there was no truth in the legend that Berlioz had a rooted aversion to counterpoint in general and fugue in particular.

* * *

The preceding pages have demonstrated that, of Reyer's few questionable statements concerning Berlioz, the only deliberate exaggeration was the claim that this composer had "invented" a new style of fugue--actually fugato--called "la fugue mélodique." Surely this lapse can be understood, because Reyer's aim was seemingly to serve as a kind of agent provocateur, spurring his readers to think for themselves. In any case, his remarks concerning Berlioz's "fugue mélodique" reveal keen awareness of an aspect of his friend's art which was unappreciated by his contemporaries, and, indeed, has only recently gained widespread recognition.[127] Bearing in mind the fact that no critic can boast complete impartiality on every subject, we can say that Reyer's writings concerning Berlioz are--on balance--admirably objective, and bespeak remarkable understanding of this complex musical personality.

Endnotes

[1] A passage near the beginning of Reyer's serialized review of Berlioz's Mémoires demonstrates both the loyalty of Reyer to the deceased composer and the closeness of the friendship they had shared. Writing in 1871, when the accuracy of the Mémoires was generally accepted without question, Reyer first called attention to Berlioz's admission that he had not written a scrupulously accurate autobiography, then added: "Il serait donc indiscret à nous de soulever le voile que l'illustre compositeur a jeté sur certains événemens de sa vie et d'ajouter aux seules confidences qu'il ait voulu faire à ce sujet, l'appoint de nos souvenirs personnels." (JD feuilleton of 15 March 1871. As previously noted, Reyer's review of the Mémoires was one of the writings in which he reverted to the old custom of using the first person plural.)

[2] See the review on p. 2 of Berlioz's feuilleton in the JD of 13 April 1850. (An excerpt was given in n. 7 of Chapter I.)

[3] Maître Wolfram and La Statue were reviewed by Berlioz in ibid., 10 June 1854 and 24 April 1861 respectively. He seized the opportunity to applaud Sacountalâ when, after the fourteenth performance, it was abandoned because the prima ballerina--Amalia Ferraris--departed for Russia (ibid., 15 September 1858).

[4] Reyer later recalled that, after he had been selected as d'Ortigue's successor, Bertin had informed him: "Vous ne manquez certes pas d'amis qui s'intéressent à vous et qui me l'ont écrit" (quoted in ibid., 28 October 1893). One of those friends must surely have been Berlioz, d'Ortigue's predecessor at the JD.

[5] Ibid., 7 June 1891. Reyer once described the nature of the alterations in this copy:

> "[There are] autograph corrections and some changes introduced into the instrumentation of the first morceau in fugue style, principally in the altos [i.e., violas] and the violoncellos. This score bears the date of 1857, and the symphony is dated September, 1839. Eighteen years after its publication, Berlioz discovered faults in the engraving and whole passages to modify." ("Hector Berlioz. Biographical Notes and Personal Reminiscences," The Century Magazine 47 [December 1893]: 310; hereafter cited as "Biographical Notes." This article, which comprises pp. 305-10 in the American periodical, was probably translated from a French publication.)

[6] "Hector Berlioz" (obituary by Reyer), JD of 31 March 1869, p. 3; hereafter cited as "Berlioz." Reyer also possessed Berlioz's annotated

and corrected copy of the Requiem. This was given to him in 1870 by Berthold Damcke--one of the executors of Berlioz's will--as a token of gratitude after Reyer conducted a "festival" commemorating the first anniversary of Berlioz's death. (Reyer did not inform the public of Damcke's gift until nearly twenty-five years later, when the conductor Colonne presented several of Berlioz's concert works in a "Cycle Berlioz" for the season 1894-95; see Reyer's feuilleton in the JD of 8 December 1894.) The commemorative "festival" of 1870 is discussed below on pp. 269-70.

[7] In an accompanying letter, Berlioz wrote: "Here is more than enough; there may be things in the lot which should not even be shown, but I have destroyed so many manuscripts--oratorios, overtures, operas, cantatas--that I may be pardoned for this." Translated by Jacques Barzun, Berlioz and the Romantic Century, 3d ed., 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), 2:285n. Reyer's only reference to this cache of manuscripts is the following:

> "Le sot engouement de certains amateurs trop zélés pour d'infimes productions, oeuvres de jeunesse que d'illustres compositeurs ont eu le tort de laisser vivre après eux, excita si souvent l'ironique dédain d'Hector Berlioz, qu'il ne pouvait, sans être en contradiction avec lui-même, nous léguer ses premiers essais. C'est donc à simple titre de renseignement biographique qu'il faut compter au nombre de ses productions la scène de Beverley, un opéra intitulé Estelle, une valse et un oratorio (le Passage de la mer Rouge)."
> ("Berlioz")

[8] "Biographical Notes," p. 310.

[9] As feuilletoniste for the CP, Reyer journeyed twice to Baden-Baden in order to review the international concert conducted annually by Berlioz. Reyer took care to describe the enthusiasm with which excerpts from Berlioz's works were received at these concerts (feuilletons of 12 September 1858 and 7 September 1859). When he was feuilletoniste for the JD, Reyer relayed to his readers reports of the tremendous success enjoyed by Berlioz when La Damnation de Faust was presented at Vienna in 1866 (feuilleton of 3 January 1867), and when he conducted concerts featuring his music at St. Petersburg and Moscow in the winter of 1867-68 (ibid., 6 February 1868).

[10] A general description of the program was given in Chapter I, p. 21. We may add the following details: Reyer presented "La Fuite en Egypte" from L'Enfance du Christ, and both the septet and the duet from Les Troyens à Carthage, according to Hans Kühner, Hector Berlioz: Charakter und Schöpfertum (Olten: Otto Walter, 1952), p. 198.

[11] Although Barzun states that Reyer kept the deathwatch, he does not cite this critic as being among those who had been present when

Berlioz had died (Berlioz, 2:296). Reyer's presence is proved by his description of the composer's final hours and death (see the untitled obituary notice in the JD of 10 March 1869, p. 2). Ernest Legouvé, a frequent contributor to the JD, recalled Reyer's attentiveness to Berlioz during the final agonizing months of the composer's life:

> "Pendant de longs mois je l'ai vu aller s'asseoir chaque jour auprès de ce pauvre homme de génie, aigri, malade, mourant, et employer toutes les ressources de son intelligence pour le relever, l'amuser et le consoler du présent, en lui montrant l'avenir."
> (Legouvé's review of Notes de musique, by Ernest Reyer, in the JD of 4 May 1875, p. 3)

[12] JD, 10 March 1869, p. 2.

[13] On 14 March--the Sunday after Berlioz's death--Pasdeloup had honored the memory of the deceased composer by conducting fragments from Roméo et Juliette which were already familiar to the habitués of the Concerts populaires. In a review of the concert, Reyer observed: ". . . la salle entière a acclamé ces pages sublimes détachées d'un chef-d'oeuvre que M. Pasdeloup nous fera entendre quelque jour tout entier." (JD feuilleton of 16 March 1869.)

[14] "Berlioz."

[15] As we observed in Chapter I (n. 47), Reyer did not mention that he had appeared as guest conductor at these two concerts; a notice in the RGMP 36 (28 November 1869):389 attested to his success. It was Adolphe Jullien who later credited Reyer with having been the first conductor to win popular approval for excerpts from the Damnation; see Jullien's Ernest Reyer, Les Musiciens célèbres (Paris: H. Laurens, [1909]), p. 31.

[16] Adolphe Boschot, Le Faust de Berlioz: étude sur la "Damnation de Faust" et sur l'âme romantique, Collection des grandes oeuvres musicales, publiée sous la direction de René Dumesnil (Paris: Editions musicales de la Librairie de France, 1927), p. 182.

[17] Tom S. Wotton, Hector Berlioz (London: Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1935), p. 176.

[18] Boschot, Le Faust, p. 176.

[19] JD feuilleton of 31 March 1870 (Reyer's review of the "festival"). The program--announced in ibid., 22 February--included the following items by Berlioz: the mélodie "La Captive" in the composer's setting for voice and orchestra; the duet from L'Enfance du Christ; the March from Harold en Italie; the quintet and septet from Les Troyens à Carthage; the finale of Roméo et Juliette ("Serment de réconciliation"); the Carnaval romain overture; Méphisto's aria "Voici des roses," the

ensuing chorus of the sylphs and gnomes, and the dance of the sylphs, from the Damnation; and the duet from Béatrice et Bénédict. Gluck was represented on the program by the aria "Divinités du Styx" from Alceste; Spontini, by the recitative, prayer, and finale of Act II of La Vestale; and Beethoven, by the Egmont overture.

[20] Ibid., 31 March 1870.

[21] Adolphe Jullien, ibid., 16 August 1903. Like Jullien, Boschot --another of Berlioz's early biographers--placed great importance on the festival of 1870, declaring that it "marque une date dans l'histoire du berliozisme." (Boschot, "Ernest Reyer et H. Berlioz," Musica 8 [March 1909]:37.)

[22] Colonne was unable to obtain the services of the singers recommended by Reyer, and the performance was unsuccessful (JD feuilleton of 15 January 1875).

[23] Adolphe Jullien, ibid., 16 August 1903. Reyer announced but did not review Colonne's first performance of the Damnation, which took place on 18 February 1877 (see the JD feuilleton of that date). However, he devoted an entire feuilleton to one of the later performances, and joyfully saluted the sixth and final presentation (ibid., 13 and 30 March 1877, respectively). Reyer never took credit for having coached the soloists; it is Boschot who informs us that, at the first performance, "l'oeuvre n'était pas encore au point," and that Colonne therefore resumed rehearsals and sent the soloists "chez Reyer, pour qu'ils travaillent avec l'ami et le disciple de Berlioz." (Le Faust, pp. 190-91.)

[24] For the 1879 festival, Reyer chose another item from La Vestale (the overture), and a scene from Armide (consisting of the choruses "Voici la charmante retraite" and "Jamais dans ces beaux lieux," separated by an air de ballet). See his review in the JD feuilleton of 22 March 1879.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Jullien states in Reyer (p. 31) that a fragment from the composer-critic's Sigurd--the brilliant "Cortège des noces de Gunther" --was also on the program. When Reyer reviewed the festival, he did not name this fragment but alluded to it in words of touching humility (see the excerpt given in Chapter II, p. 95).

[27] Reyer was gratified that "le succès de la soirée" belonged not only to Berlioz but also to Gluck, because the audience would have demanded the repetition of the scene from Armide "si l'on n'eût craint fatiguer les exécutans, peut-être aussi de prolonger le concert jusqu'à une heure trop avancée" (JD feuilleton of 22 March 1879). In this review Reyer recalled that, after he had selected Gluck's scene and

Spontini's overture for presentation at the concert, he had been informed by Berlioz's old friend Auguste Morel that those very items had been chosen by Berlioz in 1844 to represent Gluck and Spontini on the program of the great "Festival du Palais de l'Industrie."

[28] For this production, Berlioz had divided the original three acts of Les Troyens à Carthage into five, and had composed a prologue to take the place of La Prise de Troie (the first part of his massive opera). He nevertheless had been obliged to grant requests for many cuts. This mutilated version had been premiered--under the somewhat misleading title Les Troyens--on 4 November 1863, but had not found favor with the public, and had closed on 20 December after the twenty-second performance. At the time Reyer did not review the work, because he was not in the employ of any publication. As we observed in Chapter I, he had left Paris in the spring of 1863, having been commissioned by the French Minister of State to observe and report on musical life in Germany. However, Reyer must have returned to Paris long enough to attend every performance of Les Troyens, for he eventually wrote about the production and recalled seeing Meyerbeer in the audience "chaque soir" (JD feuilleton of 14 November 1886). Reyer also remembered being at Weimar "peu de temps après les représentations des Troyens au Théâtre-Lyrique," and recollected a conversation with Berlioz's friend and admirer the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar, who questioned Reyer "sur la façon dont l'oeuvre avait été exécutée et sur l'accueil qui lui avait été fait." (Ibid.)

Benvenuto Cellini had been withdrawn after three disastrous performances at the Opéra in 1838. Since then, it had not been staged in France--except in mutilated form, as a curtain-raiser at the Opéra--and only a vocal score had been published (1856). Reyer frequently deplored its neglect in France while pointing out that it had achieved great popularity in Germany. See, for example, his article "Hector Berlioz," L'Artiste, 6th ser., 2 (6 December 1857):212. (In order to differentiate it from the obituary "Hector Berlioz" in the JD, the article in L'Artiste will hereafter be cited as "Galerie," because it was published under the generic title "Galerie du XIX^{e} siècle.")

[29] Further information on the concert premiere of La Prise de Troie is given below on p. 274.

[30] JD feuilleton of 1 June 1890.

[31] Ibid., 15 November 1885.

[32] Ibid., 27 December 1885.

[33] Ibid., 26 September 1886.

[34] The official explanation issued by the Comique was that the rehearsals, which had ceased when the theatre had closed for the summer, could not be resumed in September because of the ill health of one of the principal singers. Consequently, the premiere had to be postponed

while the theatre fulfilled more pressing commitments. Reyer summarized this explanation for his readers (ibid.) but often hinted that he was not entirely satisfied with it; for example, see ibid., 12 June 1892.

35 Ibid., 12 December 1879. Reyer began praising Les Troyens in 1857, after attending one of Berlioz's private readings of the libretto (CP feuilleton of 29 April 1857). Two years later, at Berlioz's annual international concert at Baden-Baden, Reyer heard two fragments of the score: Cassandre's scene with Chorèbe, and the love duet of Dido and Aeneas. Both fragments were sung by Pauline Viardot-Garcia and Jules Lefort (a well-known baritone who eventually joined the Théâtre-Lyrique), accompanied by full orchestra. On that occasion Reyer again admired the libretto, and was profoundly impressed by the music (ibid., 7 September 1859). Excerpts from this initial reaction to the music are given on pp. 282-83; his evaluation of the libretto is described on p. 290.

36 JD feuilleton of 12 December 1879. The rival conductors had premiered La Prise de Troie on the same day. Reyer--mindful that Pasdeloup had tried to popularize Berlioz's music years before the younger Colonne had founded his concert society, and aware that Pasdeloup had been the first to decide to present La Prise de Troie--had chosen to attend Pasdeloup's premiere rather than that of Colonne. One of Colonne's later performances was reviewed in Reyer's next feuilleton (26 December 1879).

37 Reyer uttered one such prediction after the Comique had indefinitely postponed Benvenuto Cellini.

> "Berlioz est aujourd'hui dans toute sa gloire: il a la célébrité et la popularité que les concerts lui ont données. Les théâtres n'ont encore rien fait pour lui . . . c'est à l'Opéra à commencer. . . . Les directeurs de l'Opéra joueront les Troyens, parce que le moment est, enfin, venu de les jouer, parce que 'l'affaire' est excellent."
> (Ibid., 14 November 1886)

38 Ibid., 7 June 1891.

39 The Société was founded in 1890 by Comtesse Greffuhle, a patroness of the arts. She served as acting president, named Gounod honorary president, and chose as her advisors three musicians who--like Gounod--were members of the Académie des Beaux-Arts of the Institut: Reyer, Massenet, and Ambroise Thomas. Reyer delightedly observed that the Société was "non seulement artistique mais philanthropique," inasmuch as its purpose was to sponsor performances of little- or unknown works, "anciennes ou modernes" (ibid., 1 June 1890). During the first two years of its existence, the Société organized the Parisian premiere of Berlioz's Béatrice et Bénédict--which, despite its success at Baden-Baden in 1862, had not even been published in France--and the first

performance of Handel's Israel in Egypt in French translation (see Reyer's reviews in ibid., 8 June 1890 and 7 June 1891 respectively).

40 In the words of Reyer (ibid., 13 May 1893).

41 Ibid., 12 June 1892.

42 For example, after Wagner's third triumph at the Opéra--the revival of Tannhäuser in 1895--Reyer again pleaded that France's most prestigious lyric theatre throw open its doors to "notre grand musicien à nous, et peut-être le plus grand de tous." (Ibid., 25 May 1895.)

43 H. Robert Cohen has stated that the earliest appreciations of Berlioz's critical work were by Paul Scudo and Reyer; see Cohen's "Berlioz on the Opéra (1829-1849): A Study in Music Criticism" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1973), p. 5. Professor Cohen cited pp. 194-95 of Reyer's collection Notes de musique (Paris: Charpentier, 1875) as containing an early assessment of Berlioz's writings. These pages in Reyer's compilation are part of a feuilleton originally published in the JD of 16 January 1872. We shall see, however, that some of Reyer's appreciations of Berlioz as critic antedate this feuilleton by nearly two decades.

44 CP feuilleton of 11 September 1857. Reyer had already paid tribute "à l'écrivain érudit, au spirituel critique" in "Chronique musicale," AthF 3 (30 December 1854):1229.

45 See, for example, Reyer's first feuilleton for the JD (2 December 1866) and his obituary "Berlioz." Reyer's most extensive assessment of Berlioz's critical writings appeared in an essay on the history of the musical feuilleton of the JD. Reyer argued in this essay--as he had done before (see above, n. 44)--that "ceux qui persistent à voir en Berlioz un critique systématiquement hostile, passionné, haineux, n'ont pas lu ses feuilletons." ("La Critique musicale: Castil-Blaze, H. Berlioz," in Le Livre du centenaire du "Journal des Débats," 1789-1889 [Paris: Librairie Plon, 1889], p. 439. The discussion of Berlioz's feuilletons comprises pp. 432-40 of Reyer's essay.)

46 "Berlioz." Reyer had discussed these abuses in greater detail in "Galerie," p. 209.

47 "Berlioz." Reyer often drew attention to Berlioz's enthusiasm for these composers in order to defend him against criticism of his sarcastic pronouncements on Palestrina, Handel, Haydn, Mozart's Requiem, and other great works of the past.

> "Il a la religion des maîtres, et quelques quolibets lancés à droite et à gauche, dans des moments de verve sarcastique, à une époque où la fièvre du romanticisme tourmentait les jeunes disciples d'une école nouvelle, ne sauraient être invoqués comme des arguments sérieux

> par ceux qui lui reprochent son dédain pour certaines oeuvres classiques."
> ("Galerie," p. 214)

[48] As noted in Chapter VI, p. 219.

[49] According to Boschot, "Reyer et Berlioz," p. 37. In his speech, Reyer--using the first person plural to strike a formal tone--described what he and other disciples of Berlioz had learned from the deceased composer:

> ". . . Berlioz n'a pas fait d'élèves; mais il a eu des disciples. Nous sommes de ceux-là. Et s'il ne nous a pas été donné de suivre ses leçons, s'il ne nous a rien enseigné, du moins nous a-t-il beaucoup appris. Il nous a appris à connaître les chefs-d'oeuvre et à honorer le grand art; il nous a appris, et n'avait pour cela qu'à se donner comme exemple, que le premier devoir d'un artiste est d'être soucieux de sa dignité toujours, mais particulièrement dans les relations que les nécessités de sa carrière lui imposent; il nous a dit que les génuflexions devant certains potentats de hasard étaient une indigne faiblesse et les concessions au mauvais goût une lâcheté.
>
> Et c'est pourquoi nous rendons le même hommage à son caractère qu'à son génie."
> (Speech published in the JD feuilleton of 17 October 1886)

Reyer's expression "potentats de hasard" probably refers to the directors who reigned at Parisian lyric theatres.

[50] The first and second speeches appeared in the JD, and the third was printed in both Le Guide musical and Le Monde musical. The first speech was also published by the Institut de France. Full citations are listed in Appendix B.

[51] As noted above (p. 270), in 1903 one of Berlioz's biographers--Adolphe Jullien--stated that Reyer's "festival" of 1870 was the turning point in the history of Berlioz's music in France. Even before the end of the nineteenth century, Reyer's services to the music of Berlioz received recognition from French writers. For example, Georges Servières acknowledged that Reyer "a beaucoup fait pour ramener le public à l'admiration des oeuvres de Berlioz" (La Musique française moderne: César Franck; Edouard Lalo; Jules Massenet; Ernest Reyer; Camille Saint-Saëns [Paris: G. Havard fils, 1897], p. 275).

[52] Boschot, "Reyer et Berlioz," p. 37. Boschot's opinion was echoed by Paul Landormy and Joseph Loisel, who declared that Reyer "contribua plus que tout autre à imposer le nom et les oeuvres [de Berlioz]." ("L'Institut de France et le Prix de Rome: Ernest Reyer," in EMDC II, 6:3553.)

[53] Ferdinand Hiller, translated by Donald Jay Grout, A Short History of Opera, 2d ed., 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), 1:327. Hiller--a German pianist, composer, and conductor--lived in Paris for six years (1828-34), during which time he was a close friend of Berlioz.

[54] JD feuilleton of 31 March 1870. At the end of this excerpt Reyer has paraphrased one of Cherubini's bons mots against Berlioz: the pivotal word is canon, meaning both a big artillery gun and a contrapuntal device (of which Cherubini was generally regarded as a master). Cherubini, director of the Paris Conservatoire from 1821 until 1841, was often at odds with Berlioz when the latter was a student at this institution, and remained a determined critic of his music. Berlioz once described the opposition he encountered from this part of the Parisian musical establishment: ". . . I had against me the instructors at the Conservatoire, led by Cherubini and Fétis, whom my heterodoxy in matters of harmony and rhythm had wounded in their self-esteem and shocked in their convictions." (Translated by Barzun, Berlioz, 2:131.)

[55] See "Galerie," p. 210, and "Berlioz."

[56] "Galerie," p. 209.

[57] Reyer added: "Aussi, tout en reconnaissant les sources auxquelles il s'est inspiré, est-il impossible de surprendre dans son oeuvre la moindre imitation servile, le moindre plagiat; et si quelque réminiscence involontaire s'y est glissée, que celui d'entre nous qui est sans péché lui jette la première pierre." ("Berlioz.")

[58] Including his comic opera Béatrice et Bénédict, of which Reyer wrote: "Son sentiment de la déclamation lyrique . . . se manifeste dans plus d'une page . . . avec une élévation, une puissance dignes de Glück" (JD feuilleton of 8 June 1890). After hearing excerpts from Les Troyens at Baden-Baden in 1859, Reyer avowed that Cassandre's first "récit" had "cette ampleur de déclamation, cette grandeur de style qui font songer aux belles pages de Glück." (CP feuilleton of 7 September 1859.)

[59] Notably Cassandre's aria and the ensuing duet with Chorèbe in La Prise de Troie (see p. 285).

[60] JD feuilleton of 5 May 1867.

[61] Reyer reminded his readers that Berlioz had been well trained in fugue, having been taught both counterpoint and fugue at the Conservatoire by the esteemed theorist Anton Reicha ("Galerie," p. 210). However, Reicha's pupil disliked orthodox fugue in the eighteenth-century tradition, as Reyer explained in the following excerpt:

> ". . . Berlioz n'aimait pas la fugue telle qu'elle est employée en maintes compositions écrites soi-disant dans le style religieux. Il n'admettait pas que cette forme scolastique se prêtât à exprimer

Les sentimens pieux
Qu'en terminant ses prières l'Eglise
En un seul mot résume... [sic]"

(JD feuilleton of 13 March 1877; the lines quoted by Reyer are from La Damnation de Faust)

Berlioz's dislike of "cette forme scolastique," said Reyer, had prompted the composer to indulge in clever parodies, such as the "Amen" fugue for the dead rat in the Damnation (ibid.), and the fugue--on the subject of love--rehearsed by Kapellmeister Somarone in Béatrice et Bénédict (ibid., 8 June 1890).

62 See ibid., 8 December 1894, 13 March 1877, 11 December 1892, and 30 March 1878, respectively. In the review of the Damnation, for example, Reyer wrote: ". . . on voit avec quel art l'auteur . . . s'est servi du style fugué dans l'introduction de son oeuvre Plaines de Hongrie, dans la Marche hongroise, dans le monologue de Faust, et dans bien d'autres pages de sa partition." (Ibid., 13 March 1877.)

63 Ibid., 8 December 1894.

64 Ibid., 19 August 1878.

65 Ibid., 13 December 1872.

66 Ibid., 31 March 1870. The following were among the other pages which, according to Reyer, exemplified Berlioz the musical poet: the love duet of Dido and Aeneas in Les Troyens à Carthage; the duet in the first part of L'Enfance du Christ; "La Tristesse de Roméo" in Roméo et Juliette; the mélodie "La Captive"; and, in Lélio, both "Le Chant de bonheur" and "La Harpe éolienne." (Ibid., 22 March 1879 and 13 December 1881.)

67 "Galerie," p. 214. This touching naïveté of expression was evident, said Reyer, in several of Berlioz's mélodies--particularly "Le Jeune Pâtre breton," "La Belle Voyageuse," and "L'Absence" (ibid.)--but was most superbly manifested in the "Repos" from L'Enfance. He agreed with Georges de Massougnes that the "Repos" was "un chef-d'oeuvre de grâce naïve, unique dans l'art de notre temps." (Quoted by Reyer in the JD feuilleton of 30 January 1881.)

68 "Il est poëte, essentiellement poëte, et je crois, à quelque école que l'on appartienne, qu'il est de toute justice de le reconnaître. Il a pu se tromper, il a pu se laisser aller à des exagérations souvent blâmables; mais il n'a jamais galvaudé son talent, il n'est jamais descendu des hauteurs de l'art dans le domaine du trafic vulgaire." ("Galerie," p. 214.)

69 Quoted by Reyer from an unidentified source, in ibid., p. 209. Cf. Scudo's caustic outburst concerning Berlioz:

> "Il s'enivre de bruit, . . . [d']effets purement physiques, [d']effets de sonorité, dont il n'y a pas lieu vraiment de se féliciter. Le Chinois qui charme ses loisirs par le bruit du tam-tam, le sauvage que le frottement de deux pierres met en fureur, font de la musique dans le genre de celle que compose M. Berlioz." (De l'influence du mouvement romantique sur l'art musical et du rôle qu'a voulu jouer M. H. Berlioz, originally published in 1846; reprinted in Scudo's collection Critique et littérature musicales: première série, 3d ed. [Paris: L. Hachette, 1856], p. 50)

70 After the "Ballet des Sylphes" and the "Menuet des Follets" had been encored at Litolff's first two concerts in 1869, Reyer observed: "La délicatesse infinie de ce travail instrumental a particulièrement surpris ceux qui se sont toujours imaginé que la musique de Berlioz était faite d'extravagance, de coups de grosse caisse et même de coups de canon." (JD feuilleton of 23 November 1869.) Apropos of the Queen Mab scherzo, see below, n. 76.

71 Reyer was particularly impressed by the electrifying effect of the sonorities which climax the "Fête chez Capulet":

> ". . . quand la plaintive cantilène, soupirée d'abord par le hautbois dans l'andante ['La Tristesse de Roméo'], reparaît confiée à tous les instruments à vent de l'orchestre et fait un magnifique contresujet au thême du bal, c'est toujours, dans la salle, la même explosion admirative, le même frémissement. Une telle richesse d'instrumentation est incomparable: il vous en reste comme un éblouissement."
> (Ibid., 8 December 1894)

For his remarks on the "luxuriante instrumentation" of the Rákóczy March, and on the Trojan March--"si noble, si fière, et si colorée"--see ibid., 1 March 1876 and 12 December 1879 respectively.

72 Ibid., 12 December 1879.

73 CP feuilleton of 7 September 1859 (review of the performance of this scene in concert at Baden-Baden). Twenty years later, after hearing Pasdeloup's premiere of La Prise de Troie in concert, Reyer again described this scene to support his assertion that Berlioz had made the orchestra an integral part of the drama (JD feuilleton of 12 December 1879).

74 CP feuilleton of 7 September 1859.

75 "Berlioz."

76 Speech given by Reyer at La Côte Saint-André on 28 September 1890 (published in the JD of 29 September 1890, p. 3). Among the instrumental combinations which Reyer found most striking were the use of

violin harmonics and muted multi-divisi violins in the Queen Mab scherzo in Roméo et Juliette, and the flute-and-trombone chords in the "Hostias" and the "Agnus" of the Requiem. He speculated that no pianist had ever dared perform a transcription of the scherzo, because it required "l'orchestre avec ces délicates sonorités . . . dont Berlioz avait le secret. Notons, en passant, qu'on a beaucoup usé, depuis, des violons en sourdine divisés et des sons harmoniques." (JD feuilleton of 8 December 1894.) He explained that the startling effect of the flute-and-trombone chords in the Requiem was due largely to the use of the lowest (the so-called "pedal") notes of the tenor trombone, notes which "les exécutans, même les mieux exercés, ne rendent pas toujours avec une entière justesse, avec une complète pureté; et il résulte naturellement de cette étrange sonorité un certain saisissement pour l'oreille." (Ibid., 30 March 1878.)

77 ". . . un traité d'instrumentation, qui restera comme l'ouvrage théorique le plus savant et le plus complet qui ait été écrit dans ce genre" ("Galerie," p. 213). Reyer was referring, of course, to Berlioz's Grand traité d'instrumentation et d'orchestration modernes (Paris: Schonenberger, 1844).

78 Speech delivered at the inauguration of the statue of Berlioz at Paris on 17 October 1886 (published that same day in the JD feuilleton). Reyer repeated the question almost verbatim in his second and third speeches honoring Berlioz.

79 Among these critics was Scudo, who had declared that "M. Berlioz est peut-être le compositeur le plus dépourvu d'idées mélodiques, c'est-à-dire d'idées musicales[,] qui ait encore existé" (Critique, p. 51).

80 ". . . je ne sache pas que les plus grands musiciens aient d'abord parlé aux masses cette langue mélodique qui est à la portée du vulgaire. On a longtemps cherché la mélodie de Beethoven, la mélodie de Weber, la mélodie de Gluck . . . ; on a fini par la découvrir" ("Chronique musicale," GN 2 [4 February 1860]:6).

81 JD feuilleton of 23 November 1869. To this enumeration Reyer might well have added Benvenuto Cellini, which he once described as "si vivante et si mélodique [underline Reyer's]" (ibid., 26 September 1886).

82 "Si ceux qui ont nié les progrès accomplis par Hector Berlioz dans l'instrumentation . . . ; si ceux qui l'accusent de manquer de mélodie et d'être dépourvu de tout sentiment dramatique; si ceux-là vivent encore quelques années, ce que je leur souhaite bien sincèrement, ils seront témoins d'une réaction qui les éclairera sur la valeur de leurs jugemens." ("Berlioz.")

83 JD feuilleton of 12 December 1879.

84 Ibid., 17 October 1879.

[85] Ibid., 12 June 1892.

[86] Ibid., 12 December 1879. Among the other scenes which Reyer most admired were the one involving Cassandre and Chorèbe (see above, pp. 282-83), and the final scene of Les Troyens à Carthage, climaxed by Dido's immolation and the return of the Trojan March, "à laquelle se mêle d'une façon si saisissante, si sauvage la malédiction du peuple de Carthage" (ibid., 12 June 1892).

[87] Ibid., 12 December 1879.

[88] In the powerful musical translations of the dramatic parts of the text--notably the "Tuba mirum"--and in the sensitive renderings of the parts that are contemplative--such as the "Quid sum miser"--Reyer found Berlioz's Requiem expressive without being theatrical (ibid., 30 March 1878). Cf. his comments on parts of Verdi's Requiem (quoted in Chapter III, pp. 136-37).

[89] JD feuilleton of 30 March 1878.

[90] Ibid., 30 January 1881. Reyer speculated that Berlioz's reason for composing L'Enfance was not that the sacred legend had filled him with "l'ardeur de la foi chrétienne," but rather that "la poésie de la légende" had appealed to his dramatic imagination.

[91] Ibid., 1 March 1876; see the quotation concerning Roméo in Chapter III, p. 133.

[92] Such as the love scene in Roméo and the enchantment scene in the Damnation. The love scene he found deeply moving: ". . . jamais l'extase, jamais l'ivresse de l'amour n'ont été exprimées avec une telle puissance, avec de tels élans. C'est sublime" (ibid., 13 December 1873; see also the quotation given in Chapter III, p. 135). Apropos of the enchantment scene, he once wrote: "Il est difficile de donner une idée de l'originalité et de la poésie de cette scène (le chant de Méphisto, le choeur des gnomes . . . et la valse des sylphes) à ceux qui ne l'ont jamais entendue." (Ibid., 23 November 1869.)

[93] Quoted by Reyer in ibid., 12 December 1875.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Souvenirs d'Allemagne, reprinted in Notes, p. 26. We may recall that Souvenirs was completed in 1864.

[96] Speech delivered at the inauguration of the statue of Berlioz at La Côte Saint-André on 28 September 1890 (published in the JD of 29 September 1890, p. 3). This concluding sentence was repeated almost verbatim in the other two speeches.

97 For example, in the obituary of their mutual friend Théodore Ritter, Reyer remembered "nos soirées intimes où le maître, après avoir entendu Ritter exécuter des fragmens de Roméo et Juliette et de la Damnation de Faust, me disait: 'Sous ses doigts, le piano est beau comme l'orchestre!'" (JD feuilleton of 11 April 1886.)

98 CP feuilleton of 29 April 1857.

99 Ibid., 7 September 1859.

100 Ibid.; see the longer excerpt given above on p. 283.

101 Compare Reyer's comments (quoted above in n. 76) with those in NG, s.v. "Berlioz, (Louis-)Hector," by Hugh Macdonald, pp. 594 and 596.

102 See, for instance, Paul Bekker, The Orchestra (New York: W. W. Norton, 1936; reprint ed., The Norton Library, 1963), pp. 150-55; and Homer Ulrich's comments on the Symphonie fantastique, in Symphonic Music: Its Evolution Since the Renaissance (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1952), pp. 188-89.

103 According to such authorities as Bekker (Orchestra, p. 147) and Barzun. The latter points out that details of Berlioz's Treatise have, of course, been "amended to conform with the new designs and possibilities of instruments," but that "the essence of Berlioz' teachings has not grown obsolete . . . nor have new works on the subject, like Gevaert's or Rimsky-Korsakov's, superseded it." (Berlioz, 1:448-49.)

104 JD feuilleton of 8 June 1890.

105 Berlioz's review of Wagner's thrice-given concert at Paris in 1860 had been highly favorable toward most of the music--including excerpts from Tannhäuser--but had concluded with a Non credo dissociating himself from the theories that were then being attributed to the German composer (see Chapter VIII, nn. 17 and 27). The next year, Berlioz had abstained from reviewing the French premiere of Tannhäuser (ibid., n. 19). In Souvenirs d'Allemagne Reyer reflected sadly on the failures of first Tannhäuser at the Opéra and then Les Troyens à Carthage at the Théâtre-Lyrique, and stated bluntly that the fall of Berlioz's opera had been due in part to the stand he had taken concerning Wagner:

> "Je suis fâché de vous le dire, mon cher Berlioz, mais sachez bien que la chute de Tannhäuser, à laquelle vous avez tant soit peu contribué, a préparé la chute des Troyens . . . Mieux valait pour vous que les Troyens entrassent à l'Opéra à la suite de Tannhäuser et même de Lohengrin que de ne pas y entrer du tout. . . . le jour où vous avez condamné publiquement l'oeuvre et les doctrines de Wagner, ce jour-là, je vous le dis en toute sincérité, vous avez fait une faute et vous n'avez guère agi dans l'intérêt de votre renommée. Certes, il n'y a

> pas le plus petit rapprochement à faire entre les Troyens et Tannhäuser, quoiqu'il y ait plus d'un point de contact entre le talent de Wagner et le vôtre; mais, pour le public, Wagner et vous c'est tout un, et quand on veut reprocher à un compositeur certaines hardiesses harmoniques, quand on croit découvrir chez lui la moindre velléité de rompre avec la routine ou les traditions scolastiques, on lui dit indifféremment: 'Vous faites du Wagner ou vous faites du Berlioz....prenez garde!'"
>
> (Souvenirs d'Allemagne, reprinted in Notes, pp. 34-35)

We should remember that Berlioz was alive when Souvenirs was serialized in the Moniteur universel (during the winter of 1864-65).

106 JD feuilleton of 5 May 1867; see the longer excerpt given above on p. 280.

107 Jeffrey Cooper, The Rise of Instrumental Music and Concert Series in Paris: 1828-1871, Studies in Musicology, no. 65 (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1983), p. 120. Cooper's study shows that these five composers had been the favorites since the late 1840s, and that they remained predominant until the period of the Franco-Prussian War.

108 "L'Allemagne le considérait comme une de ses gloires; dans la patrie de Beethoven, on l'appelait le Beethoven français," Reyer recalled in the untitled obituary notice (JD, 10 March 1869, p. 2).

109 See the quotation given above on p. 288.

110 Notably Schumann, Schubert, and, eventually, Brahms. In the late 1860s Schumann made such "astonishing gains in popularity" that, before the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, he was "the most-performed composer after the 'favorite five.'" (Cooper, Instrumental Music, p. 120.) Schubert did not fare so well with the Parisian public, because "the dispersion of his symphonies was still limited by the lack of printed parts." (Ibid., p. 119.) However, it is likely that Reyer --even if he did not hear Schubert's symphonies--studied the scores during the pre-war years, because in 1868 he praised Schubert as "un des plus grands musiciens de ce siècle," and expressed regret that "en France, on ne le connaît guère que par quelques unes de ses mélodies" (JD feuilleton of 25 February 1868).

Reyer would surely have obtained the scores of Brahms's symphonies as soon as they became available. He had seen this composer's star on the musical horizon during his voyage musical through Germany in 1863-64, and consequently had included Brahms's name with those of a half-dozen young German composers whose instrumental music "leur ont donné déjà une certaine notoriété." (Souvenirs, reprinted in Notes, p. 134.) A few years later, when Brahms's String Sextet Op. 18 was premiered at Paris, Reyer was even more enthusiastic, referring to Brahms as "un jeune maître qui jouit d'une grande réputation en Allemagne . . . Il y a

dans les compositions de Brahms . . . beaucoup de science, beaucoup d'invention, des formes nouvelles et une très grande abondance d'idées." (JD feuilleton of 11 May 1869.)

111 Barzun, "Berlioz the Melodist," in Berlioz, 1:106-18 (see especially pp. 116-17); David Cairns, "Hector Berlioz (1803-69)," in The Symphony, vol. 1: Haydn to Dvořák, ed. Robert Simpson (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1966), pp. 218-19; and Man and His Music: The Story of Musical Experience in the West, vol. 3: The Sonata Principle, by Wilfrid Mellers (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), pp. 185-86. (Mellers's book was originally published as Part III in a one-volume edition of Man and His Music, Part I by Alec Harman, Part II by Harman and Anthony Milner, and Parts III and IV by Mellers [London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1962].)

112 Mellers, Sonata Principle, p. 185.

113 Cairns, "Berlioz," in The Symphony, p. 212.

114 See Cairns's discussion of these two works in ibid., pp. 212-18 and 222-23.

115 Ibid., p. 218. Mellers's description of the Beethovenian principle is more explanatory: ". . . he embodied drama entirely in musical terms, recreating form in the interests of autobiographical expression." Mellers cites the Ninth Symphony as a prime example. (Sonata Principle, p. 180.)

116 NG, s.v. "Berlioz," p. 594. Cairns's essay on Berlioz's symphonies concludes with a similar statement: "Taken for themselves, they are monuments to a poetic awareness and dramatic power which extended, without disrupting[,] the flexible bonds of the symphony." ("Berlioz," in The Symphony, p. 231.)

117 JD feuilleton of 12 December 1879; previously quoted on p. 282.

118 Donald Jay Grout, A History of Western Music, 3d ed. rev., with Claude V. Palisca (New York: W. W. Norton, 1980), p. 599.

119 Barzun, Berlioz, 1:335. The original French reads as follows:

> "Le public n'a point d'imagination; les morceaux qui s'adressent seulement à l'imagination n'ont donc point de public. La scène instrumentale suivante est dans ce cas, et je pense qu'il faut la supprimer toutes les fois que cette symphonie ne sera pas exécutée devant un auditoire d'élite auquel la cinquième acte de la tragédie de Shakespeare, avec le dénouement de Garrick, est extrêmement familier, et dont le sentiment poëtique est très élevé. C'est dire assez qu'elle doit être retranchée quatre-vingt-dix fois sur cent. Elle présente

d'ailleurs, au chef d'orchestre qui voudrait la diriger, des difficultés immenses."
(Quoted in the JD feuilleton of 16 February 1879)

"Le dénouement de Garrick" refers to the ending substituted by the English actor and author David Garrick (1717-1779), showing Juliet awakening before Romeo dies. Garrick's ending dated from 1750 but was current in the early nineteenth century, and was seen by Berlioz in 1827, when he attended a performance of Shakespeare's tragedy at the Odéon.

120 JD feuilleton of 19 August 1878; see the longer excerpt given above on p. 280.

121 Namely, those that are designated according to the relationship between subject and answer (fugue de ton, fugue réelle, fugue régulière modulée, and fugue d'imitation), as well as fugue obligée, fugue libre, and so on. See Léon and Marie Escudier, Dictionnaire de musique d'après les théoriciens, historiens et critiques les plus célèbres, 2 vols. in 1 (Paris: Bureau Central de Musique, 1844), pp. 161-62; and François-Joseph Fétis, La Musique mise à la portée de tout le monde. Exposé succinct de tout ce qui est nécessaire pour juger de cet art, et pour en parler sans l'avoir étudié, 2d ed. (Paris: E. Duverger, 1834), pp. 91-94.

122 Mellers, Sonata Principle, p. 188.

123 Ibid.

124 This fugato was brought to my attention by a treatise which is generally regarded as one of the finest English-language studies of the principles of fugue composition: Ebenezer Prout's Fugue (London: Augener Ltd., 1891; reprint ed., New York: Greenwood Press, 1969), p. 179.

125 He heard choral music by Palestrina and Lassus, for example, at concerts of the short-lived Société Bourgault-Ducoudray (JD feuilleton of 22 February 1870). Reyer's many expressions of profound admiration for Palestrina suggest that he was well acquainted with the music of this master (see especially the excerpt given in Chapter II, p. 87).

126 Witness his remark that "la majesté imposante du Tuba mirum de Mozart, s'accommode parfaitement d'un seul trombone." (CP feuilleton of 29 April 1857; see the longer excerpt given in Chapter VI, p. 237-38.)

127 Fifty years ago, Tom S. Wotton applauded Berlioz as a master of fugato (Berlioz, p. 77), but Wotton's was virtually a lone voice. Since 1950, authorities such as Barzun, Mellers, and Cairns have praised Berlioz's contrapuntal writing in general and his fugatos in particular: see Mellers, Sonata Principle, p. 188; Cairns, "Berlioz," in The Symphony, pp. 225, 227, and 229; and Barzun, Berlioz, 1:4 and 567-70. Barzun has pointed out that Berlioz introduced no fewer than sixteen fugatos "in nine out of his dozen major works." (Ibid., p. 567.)

V2. C.1

CHAPTER VIII

REYER AND WAGNER

Reyer and the Reception of Wagner in Paris

A twenty-three-year-old German composer named Richard Wagner set his sights on Paris in 1836,[1] and for the next quarter-century tried repeatedly to establish connections and a career in the French capital. One of his earliest champions was the young Reyer, who was evidently present when, in 1850, music by Wagner was performed in Paris for the first time. Throughout Reyer's long career he professed unwavering admiration for Wagner's art, loyally defending it during the 1850s, the 1860s, and especially after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, and nobly saluting its eventual conquest of the Paris Opéra during the 1890s.

1850-1870

Wagner's first three visits to Paris had aroused scarcely any interest;[2] it was not until the autumn of 1850, after his third departure from the French capital, that Parisians began to become aware that a new force in opera was developing in his works. Reports on the successful premiere of *Lohengrin*--staged at Weimar by Liszt--were sent by Gérard de Nerval and by Liszt himself to *La Presse* and the *Débats* respectively,[3] and evidently caused quite a stir in the capital, for Parisian audiences were soon given their first taste of Wagner's music: the *Tannhäuser* overture was conducted at a concert of the Société

Sainte-Cécile on 24 November. Most members of the Parisian press paid no attention to this performance,[4] but Théophile Gautier, in one of his feuilletons for La Presse, included a paragraph comprising a short notice on Wagner's fame in Germany and a brief tribute to the overture. There is strong evidence that this material was written by Gautier's friend and musical "prompter," Reyer.[5]

Two years later, after the appearance of Wagner's Oper und Drama and Eine Mitteilung an meine Freunde, Fétis published a long and detailed attack on Wagner.[6] The renowned scholar assumed the role of the defender of tradition, meting out justice to what he regarded as the subversive theories of the German composer and branding him an enemy of melody.[7] Such a manifesto was a blow to the acceptance of Wagner's art in France, because the views of so influential a critic decisively molded public opinion and fueled the antagonisms of other critics who found Wagner's theories "detestable and anarchistic."[8] We cannot be surprised that Wagner's next visit to Paris, in October 1853, was as unsuccessful as his earlier sojourns in the capital.

In January 1858, however, he returned once more to Paris. It is tempting to speculate that Reyer and Gautier were instrumental in luring him back, for in September 1857 they had journeyed together to Wiesbaden in order to attend a production of Tannhäuser, of which they had subsequently published glowing reviews in the Courrier de Paris and the Moniteur universel.[9] At that time both men were known and respected in Parisian musical circles, and Gautier was in favor at the Opéra as the author of the scenario for Giselle, one of the greatest of Romantic ballets. Wagner may have assumed that the praise of two such men would

make the administration of the Opéra responsive to him. In any case, upon his return to Paris he contacted the distinguished lawyer Emile Ollivier--husband of Liszt's daughter Blandine--and gave him power of attorney to represent his rights if some French publisher tried to rob him of them by printing pirated editions of his scores. Wagner soon found that there was little prospect of Tannhäuser being staged at the Opéra, but that the conductor of the Concerts de Paris planned to present the overture, which had not been heard in the capital since 1850. The composer attended the rehearsal, and "drilled the orchestra himself for a couple of hours."[10] The performance took place on 29 January 1858, four days before Wagner left Paris.

Less than two years later--in September 1859--Wagner was back in the French capital, this time with the intention of settling there for awhile and eventually gaining a hearing for his newly completed Tristan und Isolde. He arrived as the recognized and somewhat notorious creator of four operas which had been produced in Germany: Rienzi, Der fliegende Holländer, Tannhäuser, and Lohengrin. Thanks largely to Fétis's manifesto and the influence it had exerted "sur les jugements ultérieurs de la presse et des artistes,"[11] antagonism to Wagner was still widespread in the capital; however, there were a few discriminating spirits who felt drawn to his music. A group of these admirers assembled every Wednesday night at the small house Wagner had leased on the rue Newton--but Reyer, despite his avowed enthusiasm for Wagner's music, was not among them.[12] He perhaps felt that to join this cénacle would be to slight his long-time friend Berlioz, whose amicable feelings for Wagner had cooled since the latter's visit to Paris in 1858.[13]

Reyer nevertheless continued to support Wagner's cause in print, periodically reminding readers of both the Wiesbaden Tannhäuser and the composer's fame in Germany.[14]

Wagner soon devised a scheme for conquering Paris with a thrice-given concert of excerpts from his works, which he hoped would earn him the facilities for producing Tannhäuser, Lohengrin, and, ultimately, Tristan. He arranged to hire the Théâtre-Italien for three nights in January and February 1860, and--after only three rehearsals--the first concert was given before a full house on the evening of 25 January. The program comprised the Holländer and Tannhäuser overtures, the preludes to Acts I and III of Lohengrin, excerpts from both Tannhäuser and Lohengrin, and the prelude to Tristan with the concert ending anticipating Isolde's transfiguration.[15]

As Reyer noted in his review of the first two concerts, the audience was divided between noisy enthusiasm and equally raucous condemnation.[16] The Parisian press, which appeared en masse, was also divided. Only a handful of critics--including Reyer and Berlioz--spoke out in Wagner's favor,[17] while Fétis and the rest of the press fired off invective after each concert.[18]

Wagner, faced with the antagonisms of the press and the heavy debts incurred by the concerts, abandoned the plan that should have led to the performance of Tristan. He now set his hopes on getting the Opéra to present Tannhäuser, which, of all his works, was the one that had received the most attention in Paris. Various machinations culminated in a command from the emperor that Tannhäuser be performed, and finally, on 13 March 1861, the curtain of the Opéra rose on Wagner's work. However,

the tumultuous demonstrations of both the aristocratic Jockey Club and a cabal of journalists forced the closing of the production after just three nights. Once again, Wagner was championed by only a few members of the Parisian press, while the majority attacked his music.[19]

After the Tannhäuser fiasco--one of the most famous scandals in operatic history--no Parisian director would risk another production of Wagner's music, and, at the end of January 1862, he moved back to Germany. For the next several years Parisians heard only excerpts of his works presented in concert, usually at the Concerts populaires of Pasdeloup, who was one of Paris's leading advocates of Wagner's music.

In 1864 and 1868 Reyer expressed support for various plans to stage Wagner's works, but none of these projects was ever carried to completion.[20] Finally, in 1869, Pasdeloup--then director of the Théâtre-Lyrique--mounted the second Wagnerian production in Paris: the French premiere of Rienzi. While the work was being rehearsed Reyer repeatedly spoke out in its favor,[21] and, the day after the premiere, he inserted a notice in the Débats reassuring the timorous French public that "les belles pages sont nombreuses dans la partition de M. Richard Wagner; cette oeuvre de jeunesse pourrait couronner dignement la carrière de plus d'un compositeur."[22] The rest of the Parisian press, however, had been protesting so strongly against the work that Reyer, in his review, felt obliged to object that Wagner's critics had prejudiced the public against the opera even before the premiere.[23] If there was any truth to the rumor that Pasdeloup planned to stage all of Wagner's works at the Lyrique, his hopes must have been dashed by the public's indifference to Rienzi.

After 1870

The Franco-Prussian War of 1870 was a serious setback to the acceptance of Wagner's music in France. His arrogant insistence on the superiority of the Teutonic race would in itself have aroused the antipathy of French nationalists, but he exacerbated their bitterness by publishing in 1873 a comedy entitled Eine Kapitulation. He claimed that it was a harmless satire on the manners of the French nation, but the French interpreted it instead as blatant gloating over the surrender of Paris to the German army. Consequently, for many years the French public and most members of the press were violently antagonistic toward Wagner's music, of which Pasdeloup bravely began presenting excerpts in public concerts in 1873.[24] Even after a pro-Wagner movement finally began to develop in the early 1880s,[25] audiences were by no means attentive to performances of Wagner's music at the concerts of Pasdeloup, Colonne, and Lamoureux: enemies of the composer still tried to halt every presentation by hissing, whistling, and shouting, while his admirers retaliated by applauding frenetically and yelling "Bravo!" and "Bis!"

Reyer was appalled by the disorderly scenes which greeted Wagner's music in Paris during the 1870s and 1880s. While he shared his compatriots' hostility toward Wagner's character and his politics, he saw no reason to direct this hostility toward the music of the German composer. This position is illustrated by his reaction to the tumultuous reception accorded the prelude to Parsifal when, on 22 October 1882, each of Paris's three major concert societies presented it to open the new season.[26]

> Non, mille fois non, le prélude de Parsifal ne mérite ni l'excès d'honneur des uns, ni l'indignité des autres. . . . voilà qu'une fois encore la politique et le patriotisme se mettent de la partie. Qu'est-ce que le patriotisme et la politique ont à voir en cette affaire? . . . [Wagner] nous a injurié dans un moment où il eût été plus généreux à lui de se taire; mais est-ce qu'il nous injurie dans ses oeuvres musicales? . . .
>
> . . . Je ne pardonnerai jamais à Richard Wagner son ingrate conduite envers Berlioz, ni jamais non plus d'avoir si mal choisi son moment pour nous insulter, pour se moquer de nous. Mais je jure bien qu'il ne m'en souvient guère, lorsque je mets sur mon piano la partition de Lohengrin ou de Tristan et Iseult[,] ou même celle de Parsifal[,] qui me donne tant de mal à déchiffrer. . . .
>
> Le mieux, à mon avis, serait de tenir l'homme pour ce qu'il est et le musicien pour ce qu'il vaut; on éviterait ainsi de tomber dans des erreurs et dans des excès également regrettables.[27]

As late as 1891, when Lohengrin was mounted at the Opéra, Reyer ruefully observed that "ces haines et ces colères . . . persistent encore aujourd'hui chez une notable partie du public parisien."[28] Nevertheless, with Rose Caron and the Belgian tenor Ernest Van Dyck in the leading roles, and Lamoureux wielding the baton, Lohengrin was a great success for all concerned. After this work had been acclaimed for two years, the Opéra gave the Parisian premiere of Die Walküre, which--with Caron, Van Dyck, and the soprano Lucienne Bréval in the principal roles --created a veritable sensation. After this second Wagnerian triumph, Reyer, knowing full well that his own Sigurd would be thrown into the shade by the works of Wagner, offered a noble salute to the conqueror:

> L'ère wagnérienne est enfin arrivé: toute l'oeuvre du maître y passera. . . . Et nous tous que le génie du Titan victorieux écrase, anéantit, ce qu'il nous reste à faire, après avoir jeté un dernier et douloureux regard sur le passé, c'est de saluer l'Avenir et de tomber avec grâce.[29]

Lohengrin and Die Walküre continued their glorious careers, and, by the time Reyer retired from the Débats in 1898, two more of Wagner's works had been mounted at the Opéra: the long-neglected Tannhäuser (1895) and Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg (1897). Thirty years after the fiasco of the first Parisian Tannhäuser, the Wagnerian era had indeed arrived.

Reyer's Crusades for "Lohengrin"

Of all the Wagnerian works for which Reyer sought to obtain a hearing in Paris,[30] the one which he championed most insistently was Lohengrin. From 1864--when Carvalho was thinking of mounting it at the Théâtre-Lyrique--until its triumph at the Opéra in 1891, Reyer was one of the most determined advocates of staging this work in Paris. His steadfast insistence that it would be well received must surely have been partly responsible for the fact that this was the first of Wagner's operas to be produced in the French capital after the Franco-Prussian War.

In 1864, while Reyer was writing Souvenirs d'Allemagne, Carvalho was considering staging either Lohengrin or Der fliegende Holländer at the Lyrique. Aware of the director's vacillation, Reyer expressed a decided preference for Lohengrin, but declared that, if he were in Carvalho's shoes, he would not hesitate to stage both works.[31] However, Carvalho shied away from them, and it was a few years before he again considered a production of any work by Wagner.

During the middle and late 1860s, fragments of Lohengrin were occasionally presented in concerts, and usually were applauded rather than hissed. Therefore, when both Carvalho and Perrin--the new director

of the Opéra--were contemplating staging the work during the winter of 1868, Reyer agreed that the time had come for two Parisian theatres thus to avenge the failure of Tannhäuser.[32] In order to stimulate public interest he went so far as to devote two successive feuilletons to Wagner and Lohengrin: he first tried to demonstrate that the composer's supposedly subversive doctrines stemmed from the ideas set forth by Gluck;[33] he then told the story of Lohengrin in great detail,[34] declaring that he was reserving his discussion of the music for a later feuilleton on the premiere. Unfortunately, these efforts to prepare Parisians for a premiere were in vain, because both directors dropped the project.[35]

As we shall see in the paragraphs that follow, Reyer's next major crusade for a Parisian premiere of Lohengrin was waged over a period of approximately three years: it began in 1879 and continued through what can be described as "the Neumann affair" and its repercussions, which lasted until June 1882. Although this crusade was not victorious, we can speculate that, like Reyer's earlier and later ones, it helped pave the way for the eventual production of Lohengrin in Paris.

In the spring of 1879, Pasdeloup ventured to present the prelude and almost all of Act I of Lohengrin at one of his Concerts populaires, "se moquant de la cabale et des sifflets qui lui étaient promis."[36] Gratified by the success of this bold undertaking, he repeated it at his next two concerts; unfortunately, the third performance was disrupted by organized and violent anti-Wagner protests. Reyer applauded Pasdeloup's courageous efforts but declared that Lohengrin could be fully appreciated only if staged, because--in his opinion--the fantasmagorical mise en

scène conceived by Wagner was essential to the dramatic impact of this work.[37] He also insisted that, by virtue of both the mise en scène and the beauties of Wagner's score, Lohengrin was "un de ses ouvrages les plus accessibles à l'intelligence musicale du public français."[38] While censuring the protesters who had disrupted the third performance, Reyer gleefully pointed out that their outcries had stimulated the enthusiasm of Wagner's admirers. He therefore threw down the gauntlet: "Un directeur prendra cet ouvrage-là quelque jour et l'imposera aux plus turbulens, comme avec un peu d'audace et de persévérance cela fût arrivé pour le Tannhäuser. Les siffleurs en seront pour leurs coups de sifflet."[39]

At the end of 1881, Lohengrin, by then the Wagnerian work most familiar to Parisians,[40] became the center of the controversy concerning the German composer. Angelo Neumann, a foreign impresario who had formed a traveling company for producing Wagner operas, evidently felt that--as Reyer had been saying--Parisians were ready for a production of Lohengrin, because he sublet the Théâtre des Nations with the intention of bringing his company there to stage the work. When it became known that Lohengrin would be sung in German, many Parisian journalists protested so loudly against this supposed affront to the French that Neumann abandoned the project, as Reyer sadly observed in January 1882.[41]

Lamoureux then decided to try to profit from the flurry of debate over the Neumann incident by giving Act I and excerpts from Act III a prominent place on his programs during February, March, and April. His gamble paid off handsomely, for Wagner's music unfailingly elicited salvos of applause. Reyer, as he had done after Pasdeloup had presented

Act I in 1879, seized the opportunity to urge that the work be staged.[42] He reasoned that, because much of Lohengrin had now been popularized by concert performances, "il n'est douteux pour personne que cet ouvrage . . . obtiendrait au théâtre un succès qui pourrait consoler Richard Wagner de l'accueil fait à sa partition du Tannhäuser."[43]

The Neumann affair had another interesting repercussion. Wagner, upon learning of the controversy that had been raised by the project, dispatched from Bayreuth a letter expressing his vehement opposition to the idea of staging Lohengrin in translation, and his displeasure at the news that entire acts of his opera were being presented by Parisian concert societies. He added that, although he had once authorized Neumann to present his works in Paris, he now asked the impresario to renounce the French capital. The letter, dated 17 May 1882 and addressed to the editor-in-chief of La Renaissance musicale, a pro-Wagner journal,[44] caused quite a stir in Parisian musical circles. Reyer, for one, devoted an entire feuilleton to it, first reprinting it and then marshalling various arguments in favor of a production of Lohengrin in French.[45] He concluded by expressing the hope that Wagner would reconsider the instructions to Neumann: if the latter were allowed to premiere Lohengrin, the production would enjoy a success foreshadowed by the enthusiastic reactions to concert performances of entire acts from this work.

After the commotion caused by the Neumann affair and its repercussions, two years elapsed before any Parisian director cared to risk a production of a work by the still-controversial German composer. That director was Carvalho--then head of the Opéra-Comique--who, after Lamoureux's immensely successful concert presentations of Act I of

Tristan in March 1884,[46] decided that the moment was favorable for him to attempt to realize his old dream of staging Lohengrin. For the next two years French journalists engaged in polemics concerning this project, and Reyer found himself once again doing battle for Wagner's opera.

When Carvalho announced that he intended to add Lohengrin to the repertoire of the Comique, Reyer responded: ". . . je ne souhaite qu'une chose: c'est qu'on nous fasse entendre Lohengrin. Et je le trouverais tout aussi bien à sa place à l'Opéra-Comique que pourrait l'être la Dame blanche ou le Domino noir à l'Opéra." Despite this obvious conviction that the size and resources of the Comique would prove to be inadequate for Lohengrin, Reyer supported Carvalho's project because he felt that this director had at his disposal "des interprètes qui conviendraient on ne peut mieux à trois des principaux rôles de l'ouvrage."[47]

As soon as Carvalho set the date of the premiere for March 1886, the old hostilities toward Wagner suddenly reappeared in the form of a committee of protest which threatened to prevent or at least disrupt the production. Reyer, defending Carvalho's project, pointed out that no objections had been aroused by Lamoureux's idea of presenting the entire opera with costumes and scenery at the huge Eden-Théâtre, the new home of his concert society.

> M. Carvalho, dit-on, est à la tête d'une scène subventionnée; M. Lamoureux, bien que n'ayant qu'une part assez minime aux libéralités du gouvernement, n'émarge-t-il pas au budget?
>
> Que le théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique ne soit pas le cadre qui convienne à une oeuvre exigeant un grand luxe

> de mise en scène et d'une importance musicale sur laquelle il n'est pas besoin d'insister; que, pour faire entrer cette oeuvre dans ce petit cadre, on commette la faute de l'amoindrir et de la mutiler, ce sont là des points de discussion qui veulent être réservés.
>
> Mais invoquer d'anciennes rancunes et les écrits haineux et stupides d'un compositeur de génie pour empêcher là et non ailleurs l'exécution de sa musique, n'est-ce pas un nonsens, une puérilité?[48]

Faced with the menaces of the committee, Carvalho renounced Lohengrin. Reyer declared that this was the only prudent course of action, and consoled himself by repeating that the Opéra-Comique "ne nous êut donné qu'un Lohengrin amoindri, affaibli par les coupures 'nécessaires'." At the same time, he maintained that the eventual triumph of Lohengrin was a certainty:

> Un peu plus tard, dans quelque théâtre où le patriotisme n'aura rien à voir, l'opéra de Wagner sera représenté tout entier et on l'applaudira comme si c'était un opéra de Mozart ou de Weber, ces deux gallophobes depuis longtemps absous.[49]

Reyer's steadfast insistence that Lohengrin would ultimately conquer Paris was probably a factor in Lamoureux's decision to carry out his plan of staging it at the Eden-Théâtre.[50] Reyer repeatedly did his best to encourage public support for this undertaking: he reiterated his oft-stated conviction that Lohengrin was "l'oeuvre de Richard Wagner la plus sympathique au génie musicale de notre pays," and he astutely observed that young French composers should be desirous--rather than fearful--of success for Wagner's opera, because such success would encourage the government to reestablish at the Eden a third lyric theatre, "qui ne leur a jamais été plus indispensable qu'aujourd'hui."[51] The premiere occurred on 3 May 1887, and was received with such

enthusiasm that, according to Reyer, the applause was probably audible to the small band of young protesters outside the theatre. Unfortunately, only the protests were "audible" to the government, which immediately responded by requiring Lamoureux to withdraw the work.[52]

Although Lamoureux's hopes of familiarizing the Parisian public with Lohengrin were thus thwarted, he had at least premiered it, and its almost unqualified success surely helped open the way for the eventual acceptance of this work at the Opéra. The first sign of such acceptance was the presentation of the duet from Act III in a concert given on the stage of the Opéra in November 1890. Reyer applauded the breakthrough and declared that the time had come for France's most prestigious lyric theatre to open its doors to the works of the German composer.[53] Less than a year later, on 16 September 1891, Lohengrin was triumphantly premiered at the Opéra, and Reyer confidently predicted that it would long remain in the repertoire. To conclude his review he gave himself the satisfaction of having the last laugh on the supposed patriots who had persistently tried to prevent the acceptance of Wagner's music in France, and, by so doing, had spurred his admirers to strive all the harder on his behalf.

> Et maintenant, Messieurs les patriotes, calmez-vous et laissez-nous jouir en paix d'une des plus belles oeuvres qu'ait enfantées le cerveau d'un compositeur de génie, dont les injures ne sauraient pas atteindre "à la hauteur de notre dédain" et dont la nationalité nous importe peu. Je vous assure que mes confrères et moi sommes, quoique musiciens, aussi bons patriotes que vous pouvez l'être vous-mêmes dont c'est le métier, et qu'il n'en est pas un seul parmi nous qui consentirait à travailler, comme vous, pour le roi de Prusse.[54]

Reyer's Efforts to Change the Public's Image of Wagner the Composer

When Reyer reviewed the concerts given at Paris in 1860 by the then virtually unknown Wagner, he speculated that the music had been appreciated only by "une très faible minorité serrée entre deux haies d'enthousiastes et d'opposants."[55] Paradoxically, these two opposing camps of half-informed devotees and enemies had the same image of Wagner: "un révolutionnaire, un novateur, un briseur d'idoles."[56] Both before and after these concerts, Reyer presented strong arguments against this popular notion that "le musicien de l'avenir" had renounced the past. He also remonstrated against the charges that Wagner was a composer of "noisy" music and an enemy of melody--a blasphemous Pied Piper trying to lead listeners to a cacophonic hell.[57] As we saw in Chapter VII, these were among the ideas which comprised the mid-century Parisian public's image of Berlioz. Thus, when Wagner appeared on the musical scene, Reyer found himself trying to shatter a public image which he might have described as being very similar to that of Berlioz --and equally ludicrous.[58]

"La musique de l'avenir" and the music of the past

Reyer's struggle against the labelling of Wagner as a musical revolutionary began in 1857 when, fresh from his pilgrimage to Wiesbaden, he reviewed Tannhäuser for the Courrier. His first exposure to an opera by the controversial German composer had left a strong impression:

> Je ne suis pas absolument de l'avis des gens qui considèrent M. Richard Wagner comme un novateur, un révolutionnaire: c'est un réformateur, tout au plus, mais un réformateur auquel il faut accorder au moins

> beaucoup de talent, si on lui refuse du génie. Ses enthousiastes [en Allemagne], et le nombre en est grand, appellent sa musique la musique de l'avenir. Je l'appellerai, au contraire, la musique du passé. Il m'a semblé que les tendances de l'auteur du Tannhäuser étaient plutôt rétrospectives qu'avancées.[59]

Never again in his writings on Wagner did Reyer avail himself of the expression "la musique du passé." However, within a few months of the publication of his Tannhäuser review, he reiterated his position:

> La musique de l'avenir . . . ainsi que j'ai essayé de le dire à propos du Tannhäuser, repose, beaucoup plus peut-être que M. Wagner et ses adeptes ne semblent le croire ou ne veulent en convenir, sur les traditions immuables que nous ont léguées les plus pures gloires du passé.[60]

Throughout his career he would hold to that opinion.

Reyer's next major foray into the controversy surrounding Wagner was his review of the identical concerts given by the German composer in 1860 at Paris. Once again Reyer denounced the legend of "la musique de l'avenir" as a meaningless concoction.

> Le reproche le plus sérieux que l'on adresse à M. Richard Wagner, c'est de s'être laissé appeler le musicien de l'avenir, et c'est cette qualification, inventée par des disciples trop zélés, qui a attiré les plus violents sarcasmes sur la tête du maître. Et pourtant, parmi les musiciens que nous adorons aujourd'hui, n'en est-il pas quelques-uns qui, de leur vivant, auraient mérité d'être qualifiés ainsi? Beethoven et Weber, par exemple, n'ont-ils pas été les musiciens de l'avenir? . . . et quand, dans vingt-cinq ans, les symphonies de M. Berlioz seront devenues classiques, n'aura-t-il pas été, lui aussi, le musicien de l'avenir?[61]

Reyer then argued that Wagner's harmonic language alone proved that "la musique de l'avenir" was firmly fixed in the past:

> Je ne sais si mon oreille manque de délicatesse, mais je n'ai été blessé par aucun de ces accords bizarres que l'on accuse M. Richard Wagner d'avoir inventés: la romance de Tannhäuser, par exemple, est un chef-d'oeuvre

> de grâce et de poésie . . . Aucune modulation, ni là ni ailleurs, ne m'a paru écrite en dehors des règles établies.[62]

Finally, Reyer insisted that Wagner's disdainful comments about earlier composers should not be cited as evidence that he had renounced all of them: "Pas plus que M. Hector Berlioz, M. Richard Wagner ne fait acte d'athéisme: il a, lui aussi, ses admirations et ses croyances."[63] In this review and in the earlier critique of Tannhäuser, as well as in numerous later writings, Reyer tried to demonstrate that these "admirations et . . . croyances" were discernible both in Wagner's doctrines and in his music.

For Reyer, the supposedly revolutionary doctrines of Wagner were founded upon those of a great eighteenth-century reformer: Gluck.[64] To support this contention he juxtaposed excerpts from Liszt's pamphlet "Lohengrin" et "Tannhäuser" de R. Wagner--"où viennent se refléter les principes de Richard Wagner, ses théories et son système"[65]--and extracts from Gluck's dedicatory prefaces to Alceste and Paris et Hélène. Reyer did not analyze the principles set forth in these writings, evidently assuming that his rapprochement made self-evident the fundamental kinship of Gluck's ideas with those of Wagner: both composers had objected that a means of expression (the music) had been made an end, while the end itself (the drama) had been made the means; and both felt that the music should exist as an aspect of the expression of the plot, and, hence, should be composed without regard either to formal conventions or to the desire of singers to show off their skill. Reyer concluded that "Wagner arrivant près d'un siècle après Gluck . . . [a pris]

pour bases de son système celles sur lesquelles l'illustre réformateur avait établi le sien."[66]

Reyer's comparison of the doctrines of Gluck and Wagner was part of the study of Lohengrin published in two feuilletons in the Débats during the autumn of 1868, when a Parisian premiere of this opera was rumored to be imminent. A few weeks after the appearance of these feuilletons, Mme Judith Mendès--Gautier's daughter, and one of the most zealous French admirers of Wagner--published in La Presse a long article[67] in which she took exception to Reyer's position on the doctrines of Wagner in relation to those of Gluck. According to Mme Mendès, Reyer's position was that Wagner's doctrines conformed exactly with those of the eighteenth-century composer, an idea with which she heartily disagreed. Reyer's response, duly published in La Presse, was a courteous but witty letter-article in which he declared that she had misinterpreted his position--that, in fact, he and Mme Mendès were in complete agreement concerning the relationship between the doctrines of the two composers.

> Vous n'admettez pas qu'il existe entre le système de Richard Wagner et celui de Gluck une affinité complète. Vous avez raison, madame, et je ne l'admets pas plus que vous. J'ai dit que les bases du système de l'un étaient les bases du système de l'autre, et [je] n'ai pas voulu dire autre chose. Si Richard Wagner n'avait rien ajouté aux réformes de Gluck, je ne verrais aucun prétexte au bruit que ses doctrines ont fait dans le monde musical.[68]

Reyer thus left no doubt that, in his opinion, the doctrines of Gluck had not been merely echoed by Wagner, but rather had served as the foundation of Wagner's own reform. Throughout Reyer's career he held steadfastly to this position.[69]

Reyer frequently declared that, just as Wagner's doctrines were founded on Gluck's theories of opera reform, so Wagner's vocal writing was in the tradition of--to use Gluck's famous phrase--"une belle simplicité."[70] This was one of the features of Wagner's music which had impressed Reyer in 1857.

> Il y a dans la musique du Tannhäuser de magnifiques récits, des chants larges et empreints d'un très grand sentiment dramatique, . . . mais il n'y a . . . aucune fioriture, aucun point d'orgue, aucune roulade . . .
>
> Dans quelques pages de son oeuvre, M. Richard Wagner s'est élevé à la hauteur de Glück . . .
>
> N'eussé-je vu dans la manière de M. Richard Wagner qu'une réaction contre les ariettes, les fioritures et les agrémens de mauvais goût qui envahissent aujourd'hui nos oeuvres, même les plus sérieuses, j'aurais applaudi des deux mains à sa louable tentative.[71]

In many later writings Reyer again applauded Wagner for following Gluck's example in refusing to interrupt or stifle the action with a useless superfluity of ornaments, and he advised young composers to learn from Wagner "ce qu'il a pris à Gluck, la vérité, l'ampleur de la déclamation lyrique."[72]

Reyer felt that Wagner's art was connected with the past not only by virtue of his harmonic language, his doctrines and his lyric declamation, but also because specific pages of his operas bore witness to certain influences:

> . . . aux hésitations de ses premiers pas, aux écarts involontaires qu'il est facile de signaler . . . on reconnaît les sources pures auxquelles s'est abreuvée la jeunesse du prophète, et si M. Richard Wagner . . . était un révolutionnaire, un novateur, un briseur d'idoles, un impie, certaines pages de son oeuvre donneraient un démenti formel à ces assertions ridicules.[73]

To prove this point, Reyer repeatedly cited what he regarded as reminiscences of composers ranging from Beethoven to Berlioz in the first four

major operas by Wagner: Rienzi, Der fliegende Holländer, Tannhäuser, and Lohengrin.

According to Reyer, Meyerbeer's highly successful fusion of Italian and German elements seduced the young Wagner when he was composing Rienzi for the Paris Opéra.[74] Reyer found the influence of Meyerbeer's eclectic style in the grand ensembles, pompous mise en scène, and "des formules surannées, des airs de bravoure et des cavatines rappelant le style et la facture des maîtres italiens."[75] He felt that Rienzi pointed also to the music of Spontini, supporting this opinion by avowing that the march in Act III is reminiscent of the one in Olimpie. The works of Weber, too, had left a strong impression:

> Si l'exemple de Meyerbeer et les fiers accens de la muse de Spontini exercèrent quelque influence sur le style de Richard Wagner à son début, l'auteur de Rienzi ne trahit pas moins la profonde impression qu'avaient laissée dans son esprit les oeuvres de Weber. Cette impression (il n'hésite pas à le reconnaître) le poursuivit longtemps.[76]

Reyer discerned the influence of Weber in the chivalric ambience of Rienzi--and, in particular, in the opening number of Act II--as well as in aspects of both the harmonic vocabulary and the orchestration: "Wagner, comme Weber, sait intéresser l'oreille, sans sortir de la tonalité, et dans les tutti les plus énergiques, il n'emploie, toujours comme Weber, ni les cymbales ni la grosse caisse."[77]

Reyer praised Der fliegende Holländer as the first milestone on Wagner's road from opera to music drama--a giant step forward from Rienzi.[78] He concentrated his efforts on attempting to prove his contention that "devant certaines pages de cette partition, ou mieux devant l'ensemble de cette première ébauche de drame lyrique, . . . il faut se

dire: Voilà l'oeuf d'où l'aigle est sorti."[79] However, he did make a few comments concerning what struck him as vestiges of the past in this opera. After hearing it for the first time during his travels through Germany in 1863-64, he observed that it generally conformed with the traditions of operatic construction:

> . . . l'on trouve, sans trop s'en étonner, dans cette oeuvre de sa jeunesse, des phrases pleines de fraîcheur . . . des cadences qui n'ont aucune prétention à l'originalité, des morceaux d'une coupe tout à fait classique, un air, une ballade, une chanson, une cavatine et même des points d'orgue.[80]

In his second review--written nearly thirty-five years later, after the Parisian premiere--Reyer again was vague about the musical ancestry of this work: after quoting his earlier judgment, he added that he was enchanted by the "parfum classique" of Daland's aria in Act II, and that the Dutchman's aria in Act I was "traversé par le souffle de Weber ou de Beethoven, de Meyerbeer peut-être."[81]

Reyer drew attention to several aspects of Tannhäuser which, in his opinion, revealed the influence of earlier music. He pointed out that in Wagner's "Lettre sur la musique," which had been written in order to prepare Parisians for the Opéra's premiere of Tannhäuser, the composer himself had admitted that "[des] analogies très visibles . . . relient cet opéra à ceux de mes devanciers, et parmi ceux-ci je vous signale avant tout Weber."[82] Reyer sensed the spirit of the composer of Der Freischütz and Euryanthe in certain numbers--namely, Elisabeth's aria, the ensuing love duet with Tannhäuser, and the harmonies of the majestic march[83]--as well as in the orchestration: Wagner's "point d'affinité" with "l'école de Weber et de Beethoven . . . [est] le coloris, la clarté

et les splendeurs de son orchestre."[84] Reyer also heard traces of Italian opera, alluding to "de vagues reminiscences italiennes"[85] both in the march and in other unspecified passages.

Reyer avowed that Lohengrin, like Tannhäuser, had strong roots in the past.[86] He did not discern vestiges of Italian opera such as he had heard in the earlier work, but he felt that

> L'influence de Weber, du Weber d'Euryanthe, se fait sentir dans Lohengrin, plus encore peut-être que dans le Tannhäuser. La cause en est évidemment aux analogies très visibles qui existent entre les deux poèmes et que Wagner lui-même reconnaît.[87]

Reyer then cited the analogies--and, in fact, did so in many of his writings,[88] presumably because Wagner had neglected to cite them in the "Lettre sur la musique." Such similarities, said Reyer, "devaient évidemment amener entre M. Wagner et Weber, sinon une similitude d'idées musicales, du moins un rapprochement dans le style de l'oeuvre, dans la peinture des caractères."[89] Reyer declared that in Lohengrin he heard this rapprochement "tout aussi bien dans les voix que dans l'orchestre,"[90] an opinion which he supported by comparing the duet of Ortrud and Frederick in Act II with that of Eglantine and Lysiart in the second act of Euryanthe.[91]

Reyer occasionally drew attention to what he regarded as evidence of another influence on Wagner, namely, the concert works of Berlioz. He first cited this evidence in 1860, when discussing two of the items presented at Wagner's Parisian concerts: the prelude to Act III of Lohengrin, and the overture to Tannhäuser.

> Ne reconnaissez-vous pas dans ce dessin des contre-basses, dans cette progression harmonique, dans ce crescendo, qui amènent un des plus beau motifs de la

> troisième partie de Lohengrin, le procédé dont s'est servi M. Hector Berlioz, dans la fête chez Capulet, de Roméo et Juliette? Ce dessin persistant des violons, qui accompagne le chant des pèlerins dans l'ouverture de Tannhäuser, est-il une invention de M. Richard Wagner? Non, sans doute.[92]

Reyer did not clarify his point concerning Tannhäuser until 1893, by which time much of Wagner's music as well as the concert works of Berlioz had finally won acclaim in Paris.[93] The next year Reyer went so far as to suggest that Wagner's orchestration drew heavily on the techniques of the French composer:

> Je n'irai pas jusqu'à dire comme Mme Berlioz, au sortir du premier concert donné par Richard Wagner [en 1860] . . . : "Quel triomphe pour Hector!", mais il n'en est pas moins vrai que Berlioz . . . l'a initié, peut-être plus encore que ne l'a fait Weber, à certains procédés d'instrumentation, à certaines combinaisons de timbres et même à des mouvements d'orchestre, à des rhythmes absolument particuliers à l'auteur de la Damnation de Faust et de Roméo et Juliette. Et les wagnériens les plus enragés, quand ils sont de bonne foi, ne sauraient hésiter à le reconnaître, la haute, la colossale personnalité du maître saxon n'en étant point diminuée. Quel musicien pourrait se vanter d'avoir échappé à toute influence?[94]

Unfortunately, Reyer never developed his idea that Wagner had learned much from Berlioz. We can speculate that his silence on this subject was deliberate, for the final statements in the quotation given above suggest that he feared sparking further controversy about Wagner.

Reyer wished that Wagner--if only to protect himself from critics who detested him as a musical revolutionary--had acknowledged in full his debts to earlier composers.[95] Instead, Wagner had often expressed contempt for all those who had gone before him: "N'a-t-il pas écrit quelque part," Reyer asked rhetorically, "que 'les opéras de tous les maîtres connus sont à ses propres drames lyriques ce que le singe est à

l'homme'?"[96] Criticism of Wagner could justifiably be aimed at this ostentatious aversion to the past, but not at his supposedly revolutionary doctrines and music, as Reyer explained in the following excerpt:

> Avant Richard Wagner, des musiciens aussi bien doués que lui sous certains rapports avaient introduit dans le drame lyrique des réformes qui n'étaient pas sans analogie avec celles qu'il y a apportées lui-même, et qui avaient donné lieu à des querelles non moins ardentes. Ce qu'on peut donc lui reprocher avec le plus de justice, c'est de n'avoir pas assez insisté, dans ses écrits, sur les progrès accomplis par ses prédécesseurs.[97]

"Le vacarme infernal"[98]

As soon as Reyer heard Tannhäuser at Wiesbaden he began defending Wagner against the charge that his instrumentation was noisy.

> On adresse entre autres reproches, à M. Richard Wagner, celui d'abuser des cuivres et des instrumens à percussion. C'est une erreur. Il n'y a dans le Tannhäuser que trois coups de grosse caisse frappés à la fin de l'ouverture et qui, précisément parce qu'ils sont isolés et amenés d'une manière intelligente, donnent à la péroraison de cette page symphonique une majestueuse sonorité.[99]

After the Lyrique's production of Rienzi, the press protested so vehemently against the supposedly deafening orchestration that Reyer felt obliged to point out that, in the tuttis, Wagner had resorted to neither the cymbals nor the bass drum.[100] He admonished his readers not to confuse the luxuriant sound of Wagner's orchestration with the type of music which deserved to be called noisy: the stereotypical Italian finale, in which all the percussion instruments of the orchestra hammer out a long succession of dominant and tonic chords.[101]

Reyer attributed the public's accusation that Wagner's music was noisy not only to his powerful orchestral effects, but also to the frequently polyphonic textures of both the chorus and the orchestra. For example, apropos of the choruses in Rienzi Reyer wrote:

> Richard Wagner excelle à faire mouvoir les masses, et, comme il peut mettre une science solidement acquise au service de son génie dramatique, il sait donner un caractère particulier à chacune des parties qui concourent à l'effet de l'ensemble. Cela frappe les musiciens; le public ne s'en aperçoit guère et se contente de dire: Trop de bruit![102]

When reviewing premieres of the music dramas, Reyer observed that the public sometimes had difficulty in distinguishing the words of the vocal lines woven into the instrumental web created by the polyphonic combining of leitmotifs. Once again, he attributed the problem not to Wagner's technique, but rather to the public's initial inability to appreciate the composer's polyphonic textures.[103] Such textures, Reyer maintained, neither obscured the words nor dominated the voice:

> . . . l'instrumentation de Wagner, à part quelques grondemens peut-être exagérés des gros instrumens de cuivre, est d'une telle suavité et si habilement pondérée dans son admirable polyphonie qu'elle ne domine jamais la voix du chanteur. Je recommande cette observation à ceux qui ont reproché à Richard Wagner, comme à Berlioz, de faire beaucoup trop de bruit.[104]

"La négation de la mélodie"[105]

After Fétis's manifesto of 1852 branded Wagner an enemy of melody, Reyer seized several opportunities to try to vindicate him. The first opportunity presented itself in 1857, when the young critic attended the Wiesbaden production of Tannhäuser. In the following passage from his review, Reyer tried to explain that Wagner had not repudiated melody,

but, rather, that his vocal style naturally hovered between recitative and the kind of melodic line to which French ears were accustomed.

> M. Richard Wagner n'est pas précisément un mélodiste, mais je ne crois pas que ce soient les idées qui lui fassent défaut: seulement son chant, dans les passages même où il faudrait de la douceur et de la grâce, conserve une ampleur déclamatoire qui indique chez le compositeur un parti pris de donner toujours plus d'importance au récit qu'à la mélodie, et de conserver autant que possible à la phrase mélodique la forme du récit. Ainsi le pâtre qui, au premier acte du Tannhäuser, chante sur son chalumeau le mois de mai . . . ne fait pas entendre une de ces cantilènes qui vous ravissent . . . et que M. Gounod, par exemple, a su noter dans Sapho.[106]

Three years later, when Wagner put his music before the Parisian public by repeatedly giving a concert at the Théâtre-Italien, Reyer again tried to defend him against Fétis's charge, this time by reminding readers that

> On a longtemps cherché la mélodie de Beethoven, la mélodie de Weber, la mélodie de Gluck . . . ; on a fini par la découvrir et l'on decouvrira aussi la mélodie de M. Richard Wagner, avec un peu plus d'efforts et un peu plus de peine peut-être, car il faudra aller chercher cette jeune nymphe dans les bois épais au milieu desquels elle s'égare.[107]

Of course, Wagner's melodic line was not always "hiding" in polyphonic textures, as Reyer took care to point out on several occasions. In his review of the thrice-given concert at the Théâtre-Italien, he cited as a prime example one of the excerpts from Tannhäuser: Wolfram's song to the Evening Star, "une ravissante mélodie que les harpes et les violoncelles accompagnent d'une façon charmante."[108] In his feuilleton on the Lyrique's premiere of Rienzi, he expressed mock amazement that such a piece as Rienzi's Prayer came from the pen of "ce farouche ennemi de la mélodie."[109] Reyer's numerous reviews of concert presentations of

excerpts from Lohengrin, as well as his comments about the productions at the Eden and the Opéra, vividly demonstrate his conviction that this work abounds in lovely melodies.[110] He found what he regarded as outstandingly beautiful melodies in Wagner's later works, too,[111] and avowed that both Die Meistersinger and Siegfried were especially rich in melodic appeal.[112]

Reyer's reasons for regarding Wagner as a "grand réformateur"

While insisting that Wagner was not "un révolutionnaire" who had severed all ties with the music of his predecessors, Reyer esteemed him as a "grand réformateur, comme Gluck et après Gluck."[113] Whether Wagner's reforms were described collectively as a "système," a term sometimes used by the composer and popularized by Fétis, or as an "innovation"--another term suggested by Wagner--mattered little to Reyer;[114] he would not indulge in wordy journalistic squabbles over this point. Instead, he concentrated his attention on what he evidently regarded as Wagner's principal reforms: the dissolving of the "set" forms in opera and the consequent merging of recitative and aria; and the development of the leitmotif technique, which went hand-in-hand with the ever-increasing importance of the orchestra as an exponent of the dramatic action.

Reyer remarked that, over the years, Wagner gradually recoiled from "toutes les formes acceptées"[115]--recitatives, arias, and other "set" forms. He agreed with Liszt that this process began in Der fliegende Holländer, and quoted Liszt's statement that "Rienzi rappelle encore les vieilles coutumes dans la coupe des récitatifs, des duos, des morceaux

d'ensemble. Dans le Vaisseau fantôme, cette manière disparaît déjà sensiblement devant la nouvelle."[116] By the time Wagner was writing Lohengrin, said Reyer, he was paying little heed to what Liszt had described as "l'ancienne facture d'opéra, les divisions accoutumées des morceaux de chant, la distribution reçue des airs, romances, solos et tutti."[117] As an example of Wagner's movement toward his goal of "enchaînement de scènes à la place de morceaux étiquetés,"[118] Reyer cited part of Act I of Lohengrin: "L'entrée du chevalier, les adieux à son cygne, le bel ensemble qui suit, la magnifique prière du roi dont le thème est repris par le choeur, tout cela s'enchaîne."[119] Reyer declared that Wagner's later works--with the exception of Die Meistersinger[120]--realize even more fully his objective of continuous music throughout each act, because only broad scene divisions remain in Tristan and in the Ring cycle,[121] while in Parsifal "la division en scènes . . . n'existe plus."[122]

Reyer observed that Wagner's gradual recoil from set numbers produced a new kind of flexible, semideclamatory melodic line, written not to exhibit the beauty and agility of the singers' voices, but rather to serve the text for the expression of the plot.[123] As we have seen, he noted that this expressive musical declamation first began to appear in Tannhäuser; he was especially impressed by "le magnifique récit de Tannhäuser revenant de Rome, qui peut être considéré, à bon droit, comme une des plus belles pages de la partition."[124] He found that the new style of declamatory melody was predominant in Lohengrin, and quoted Wagner's interesting advice to singers apropos of this free declamation:

> Nulle part, dans la partition de Lohengrin, je n'ai écrit dans les parties de chant le mot: "récitatif." Les chanteurs ne doivent pas savoir s'il y a des récitatifs. Je me suis, au contraire, efforcé de mesurer ou de marquer l'expression portée du langage avec tant de sûreté et une telle précision que le chanteur n'a plus qu'à chanter les notes dans le mouvement indiqué pour trouver le ton juste du langage.[125]

In Der fliegende Holländer Reyer discerned the first signs of what would eventually become the leitmotif technique of the music dramas. After explaining that "le leitmotiv est à l'horizon," he described how the device of the reminiscence motif in this work differs from the leitmotif technique.[126] When he heard excerpts from Acts II and III of both Tannhäuser and Lohengrin at Wagner's Parisian concerts, he noted that the reminiscence motifs were characterized by skillful variation, and that the orchestra, by presenting them, had become an exponent of the dramatic action.[127] In the works which succeeded Lohengrin, he observed, the use of "le leitmotiv" was "essentiel à l'unité, au développement et même à la compréhension du drame lyrique."[128] He tried to demonstrate how the leitmotif technique created musical and dramatic continuity both within one work--Die Walküre--and within the Ring tetralogy:

> Parmi les phrases typiques qui suivent et expliquent les différentes péripéties de cette . . . partie du drame, quelques-unes appartiennent au Rheingold, le thême de l'Epée, par exemple, et aussi celle que fait entendre l'orchestre au moment où Siegmund évoque le souvenir de son père, et qui est le thème du Walhalla.
>
> Dans aucun des derniers ouvrages de Richard Wagner, l'emploi du leitmotiv n'a été poussé aussi loin que dans la tétralogie des Niebelungen, dans la seconde partie surtout. Ainsi, il y a, au deuxième acte de la Valkyrie, une scène (la scène IV entre Siegmund et Brunnhild), qui se développe presque tout entière sur le retour obstiné de la même phrase, une phrase de quatre mesures. Je ne prétends pas que cette scène ne soit

> fort intéressante et même fort belle, surtout pour les initiés.
>
> La connexité qui existe entre les différentes parties de la tétralogie wagnérienne ne permet guère de les présenter isolément sans que l'intelligence du spectateur ne soit, en certains passages, quelque peu déroutée. On comprendra mieux Siegfried, après avoir entendu la Valkyrie; mais il est presque indispensable, pour comprendre Siegfried et la Valkyrie, d'avoir entendu l'Or du Rhin.[129]

Reyer pointed out that, because the leitmotifs were usually sounded in the orchestra, the latter assumed the function of maintaining musical and dramatic continuity. The vocal lines were interlaced with the polyphonic orchestral web of leitmotifs, as he explained in the following excerpt from his review of Die Meistersinger:

> Dans cette très complexe partition . . . toute pleine de beautés indiscutables, se déroulent, en effet, de longs récits, monologues et discours à deux personnages . . . La trame instrumentale, qui l'enveloppe d'un bout à l'autre, est d'une habilité consommée et, pour les musiciens, d'un puissant intérêt: les motifs caractéristiques y apparaissent, s'y succèdent, s'y accouplent même, toujours avec des harmonies nouvelles et sous un aspect nouveau.[130]

Reyer admired this new relationship between the instrumental and vocal elements in opera: ". . . c'est sur cette prédominance alternée de la voix et de l'orchestre que repose en grande partie le système wagnérien. Et, croyez-moi, ce système a du bon."[131]

The culmination of Wagner's reform

In 1884, after hearing Lamoureux's concert performances of Act I of Tristan,[132] Reyer pronounced this work "le point culminant" of Wagner's "système ou innovation."[133] He expressed this judgment because he evidently felt that Tristan, more than any other work, exemplified Wagner's

rejection of "set" forms and his consequent merging of recitative and aria into declamatory melody:

> Quant à l'absence de toute forme mélodique qui vous surprend peut-être, c'est précisément là, qu'on me passe cette antithèse, la forme que le compositeur a voulue. Le chant énergique de Kurwenal et les appels joyeux des matelots tranchent cependant sur la teinte un peu uniforme de ces longues mélopées . . .
>
> Vous connaissez mon peu de goût pour les analyses techniques: celle de la partition de Tristan devrait être technique pardessus toutes: les points de repère y sont difficiles, fort difficiles à signaler. Tout s'enchaîne et rien ne peut se séparer: le premier éditeur venu vous dira que la vente des morceaux détachés de l'oeuvre de Richard Wagner en général, de Tristan et Iseult en particulier, est fort improductive.[134]

Like some of his contemporaries, Reyer could not help wondering what frontiers lay beyond Tristan. Yet he affirmed once again his belief that the principles set forth by Gluck had served as the point of departure for Wagner, no matter how great a distance the latter had traversed:

> . . . je sais des musiciens, désignés pourtant comme des disciples de Wagner, qui se demandent avec effroi jusqu'où il serait allé s'il avait voulu innover plus qu'il ne l'a fait dans Tristan, s'il s'était éloigné encore davantage des traditions du drame lyrique, léguées par Gluck à ses successeurs, traditions que[,] déjà dans Lohengrin[,] il avait assez peu respectées. Les principes développés dans la belle préface d'Alceste ont bien pu servir de base aux doctrines, aux théories de Richard Wagner, mais, quand il s'agit d'élever un monument, la distance est grande quelquefois de la base au sommet.[135]

* * *

Realizing that French composers could neither deny nor avoid a phenomenon such as Wagner,[136] Reyer urged them to absorb this phenomenon in a manner that would strengthen--rather than erase--their individuality. He insisted that the only way for them to do so was to adapt

Wagner's innovations to musical ideas which were distinctly their own, and, at the same time, to understand what Wagner had learned from earlier masters.

> En un mot, . . . étudiez les procédés du grand réformateur allemand, pénétrez-vous de son système, analysez ses innovations, ses découvertes, mais remontez à la source afin de bien vous rendre compte comment il est arrivé au but. Sans cela vous montrerez plus encore votre impuissance que votre indépendance, et vous ne serez que de pâles imitateurs d'une forme et de formules dans lesquelles se noiera votre individualité. Le seul musicien qui puisse faire de la musique wagnérienne, c'est Wagner. Ne l'oubliez pas.[137]

Critical Analysis

Since Reyer's death his significance as one of Wagner's earliest and most loyal French champions has received scant recognition, even in his homeland. Yet, as was the case with Berlioz, Reyer's efforts on behalf of Wagner were of vital importance in establishing his music in France.

Reyer's enthusiastic review of the Wiesbaden Tannhäuser in September 1857 must surely have been instrumental in luring Wagner back to Paris the following January. Georges Servières tells us that the director of the Wiesbaden theatre, Leopold Amat, staged Tannhäuser in the hope that it would receive considerable attention from the many French journalists who were vacationing at the popular spa.[138] However, according to both Servières and Wagner's biographer Ernest Newman, the desired publicity came not from the vacationers but rather from Reyer and Gautier, who journeyed from Paris to Wiesbaden expressly to hear Tannhäuser. Newman cites the feuilletons published by these two

critics, then observes: "In December, Amat sounded Wagner on the question of bringing about a performance of the work at the Paris Opéra."[139] Is it not probable that the glowing reviews by Reyer and Gautier had come to Amat's attention and had led him to suppose that the city which knew only the Tannhäuser overture would now be eager to hear the entire work? Newman declares that Amat's project "was the matter which made it imperative [for Wagner] to see without delay to the protection of his copyright in France"[140]--hence his journey to Paris in January 1858.

Reyer's review of the Wiesbaden Tannhäuser may also have helped bring about the second--and long overdue--performance of the Tannhäuser overture in Paris that same January. Considering the fact that nothing from Wagner's works had been presented in the French capital since the premiere of this overture in 1850, it seems highly unlikely that any conductor would have offered a second performance had Reyer and Gautier not brought back favorable reports from Wiesbaden.

Almost as significant as Reyer's feuilleton on the Wiesbaden Tannhäuser was his review of the thrice-given concert which Wagner conducted at Paris in 1860--the concert at which music from Der fliegende Holländer, Tannhäuser, Lohengrin, and Tristan und Isolde was presented to a public which had hitherto heard only the Tannhäuser overture. If Reyer and a handful of other critics had not sprung to Wagner's defence after this concert, the struggling composer might have abandoned all hope of seeing any of his works staged in Paris. Instead, Wagner determined to get Tannhäuser produced at the Opéra, because he knew that the French

public associated his name with that work--a circumstance which was surely due in part to Reyer's review of the Wiesbaden performance.

When the Opéra's Tannhäuser fell with a resounding crash in 1861, Reyer unfortunately had no opportunity to come to the composer's defence in print. However, when he took up his pen in 1864 to write Souvenirs d'Allemagne he repeatedly reminded the French of the shameful reception accorded Wagner's work, and openly urged Carvalho to attempt a second Wagnerian production in Paris.[141] As feuilletoniste for the Débats during the late 1860s, Reyer did everything in his power to advance Wagner's cause: he conscientiously reviewed Pasdeloup's occasional presentations of excerpts from Wagner's works, lashing out at "ceux qui prétendent que M. Wagner est un fou";[142] he encouraged both Carvalho and Perrin to avenge the failure of Tannhäuser by premiering Lohengrin; and he valiantly supported Pasdeloup's effort to gain a foothold for Wagner in the capital with Rienzi.

During the 1870s Reyer remained one of the few staunch admirers of the German composer, imploring readers not to confuse art with politics. The veracity of his conviction that Lohengrin was "l'oeuvre de Richard Wagner la plus sympathique au génie musicale de notre pays"[143] was borne out by the fact that excerpts and complete acts from this opera were favorably received in concert sooner than were samples from Tannhäuser and the music dramas.[144] The importance of Reyer's efforts on behalf of Lohengrin can scarcely be overemphasized, because the acceptance of this work was the key that finally reopened the doors of the Opéra to Wagner.

"La musique de l'avenir" and the music of the past

Reyer's awareness of the musical background of Wagner's art was first manifested in his reaction to the Wiesbaden production of Tannhäuser. He had evidently gone to Wiesbaden out of curiosity, wanting to hear and to judge for himself the controversial "musique de l'avenir." We can imagine how astonished he felt as he listened to a vocal style which--in its simplicity and declamatory amplitude--reminded him of Gluck, and to orchestration in the rich and colorful tradition of Weber and Beethoven. Can we blame him for impulsively suggesting that Wagner's so-called "musique de l'avenir" should instead be termed "la musique du passé"?[145]

When Reyer declared in 1860 that Wagner's "admirations et croyances"[146] were discernible in his writings as well as in his music, the critic was making a point that needed to be called to the attention of mid-century Parisians. He deserves to be applauded not only for making this point, but also for holding fast to it even during the 1890s, when the creator of the music drama was regarded by many Frenchmen as the virtual inventor of music.[147] We shall see that Reyer was remarkably perceptive concerning many of the musical forces that had affected Wagner's art.

Reyer's comparison of the operatic ideals expressed in Wagner's early writings--as summarized in Liszt's excellent pamphlet "Lohengrin" et "Tannhäuser" de R. Wagner--and those embodied in Gluck's dedicatory prefaces, effectively highlights their fundamental kinship: both composers sought to relieve the drama from the "tyranny" of music. Reyer's error lay in regarding this kinship as evidence that Wagner had based

his doctrines on those of Gluck. It is true that both composers "denied the musico-dramatic ideal of their time,"[148] and that their doctrines had in common certain theoretical exigencies, such as the shunning of vocal display for its own sake. However, the consensus among modern authorities is that, of the diverse influences which shaped Wagner's aesthetic, the crucial musical influence was not Gluck but Beethoven--especially the Beethoven of the choral finale to the Ninth Symphony.[149]

Reyer was able to read Wagner's theoretical writings in German, but avowed frankly that he could not follow "ce dédale de théories toujours plus abstraites, résumées dans des oeuvres toujours plus obscures, à mesure qu'elles atteignent aux dernières limites de ce spiritualisme qui échappe à l'appréciation des simples mortels."[150] Reyer therefore treated these theories--as he readily admitted--"d'une façon sommaire,"[151] never discussing the whole concept of the music drama which sought to embrace all the arts in one complete art work (das Gesamtkunstwerk). Without at all excusing him, we may understand how he was left genuinely baffled by Wagner's theoretical writings, which are often so nebulous that the reader must put forth sustained effort to pick out meaning in the cloud of words. We should also bear in mind that, as a critic working for a daily newspaper, Reyer's field of activity was considerably circumscribed both by the limited space available for his feuilleton and by the limited musical knowledge of the vast majority of his readers. He probably thought that these laymen would be no more interested in Wagner's complicated theories than in "les dièzes et les bémols,"[152] which he carefully avoided. In any case, he knew that Wagner often went counter to his theories in the actual composing of his

mature works,[153] and that readers who nevertheless desired to understand these theories could turn to any number of books and articles on "les doctrines si souvent analysés du maître de Bayreuth."[154]

We can surely understand how the style of the vocal writing in Tannhäuser--a style which Reyer described in 1857 as "une réaction contre les ariettes, les fioritures et les agrémens de mauvais goût"[155]--reminded the critic of the ideals preached by his beloved Gluck. However, when he later declared that Wagner had absorbed solely from Gluck "la vérité, l'ampleur de la déclamation lyrique"[156] he overestimated the influence of the eighteenth-century reformer. Wagner was thoroughly familiar with at least two of Gluck's "reform" operas and was an admirer of the style of lyric declamation in these works,[157] but he also appreciated the directness of dramatic speech in works by other composers, notably the bass recitative in Beethoven's Ninth Symphony.[158]

Although Reyer was mistaken in thinking that Gluck was the point of departure for Wagner's ideas on operatic reform in general and lyric declamation in particular, he was remarkably accurate in his assessments of Wagner's purely musical debts to his predecessors. Reyer's descriptions of the similarities between Lohengrin and Weber's Euryanthe are rather superficial, as are his comments on Wagner's musical debt to Berlioz; but, as we shall see, these shortcomings could scarcely have been avoided. The only significant flaws in Reyer's discussions of Wagner's operas from Rienzi to Lohengrin are an overestimation of the influence of Weber on Rienzi and an unawareness of how the three later operas were affected by a few minor works of the basic German operatic repertoire of

the early decades of the century--a repertoire which, as we observed in Chapter VI, was unknown to the critic.

Reyer's assessment of the musical influences on Rienzi is valid in that he recognized Meyerbeer and Spontini as the most important ancestors of this work. The fact that he elaborated more on the influence of the former than the latter indicates that he thought the example of Meyerbeer was the more potent of the two. There is no doubt that Wagner took Meyerbeer's Paris operas as an encouragement to succeed in the same manner, but we now know that he modelled Rienzi more on Spontini than on Meyerbeer.[159] The one glaring error in Reyer's discussion of the musical ancestry of Rienzi is the statement that this work was strongly influenced by Weber.[160] It seems that Reyer, having read in Wagner's "Lettre sur la musique" several avowals of admiration for the music of Weber, was eager to find even in Rienzi evidence of the influence of a composer whom he himself adored.

We may recall that Reyer's comments on the musical ancestry of Der fliegende Holländer were uncharacteristically vague, both when he heard it at Weimar during his voyage musical of 1863-64, and when it was premiered at Paris in 1897. His seeming uncertainty can be attributed partly to ignorance of two works which had served as examples for Wagner--namely, Heinrich Marschner's Der Vampyr (1828) and Hans Heiling (1833)--and partly to the dimness of his memory of Weber's Oberon, the other major influence on Holländer.[161] One wonders what Reyer meant by the "parfum classique"[162] of Daland's second-act aria; perhaps he would have agreed with Carl Dahlhaus that Daland has a "bluff naivety bordering on buffo (like Rocco in Fidelio)."[163] Reyer's opinion of the

Dutchman's aria in Act I is somewhat better, for here he sensed "le souffle de Weber."[164] A leading modern authority on Weber, John Warrack, expresses a similar opinion but is more specific: he finds that the Dutchman's aria--particularly the 6/8 section--is in certain ways anticipated by "Fatal vow" in Oberon.[165] Had Reyer's memory of Oberon been vivid on the two occasions when he reviewed Holländer, he might have noted "le souffle de Weber" in many other parts of this opera, because, as Warrack points out, Wagner had learned much from the rushing sixteenth-notes and furious tremolos of Weber's storm music in Act II.[166] Although Reyer evidently failed to see Holländer in historical perspective as a Romantic opera in the wake of Weber and Marschner, he at least appreciated its significance and position in Wagner's output: when he heard it at Weimar he sensed in it the stirrings of genius, and when this opera was premiered at Paris he quite rightly perceived it as a watershed in Wagner's development.[167]

Like Reyer's assessments of the musical backgrounds of Rienzi and Holländer, his descriptions of the formative influences on Tannhäuser and Lohengrin were not without flaws. Since these two works represented the height of German Romantic opera in the tradition of Weber and Marschner, Reyer's evaluations inevitably suffered from his ignorance of the operas of Marschner--in this case, both Hans Heiling and Der Templer und die Jüdin (1829).[168] However, this lacuna in Reyer's knowledge was not as serious a handicap here as it was in the case of Holländer, because Tannhäuser and especially Lohengrin were affected not so much by Marschner as by Reyer's beloved Weber.

Another flaw in Reyer's descriptions of the musical lineage of Tannhäuser and Lohengrin was that he did not acknowledge the influence of French grand opera. We should not be too critical of such an oversight as regards Lohengrin, because this work--which Wagner subtitled romantische Oper--belongs firmly to the tradition of German Romantic opera. It does have some of the conventional spectacles of grand opera, but these never disappeared entirely from Wagner's music. Tannhäuser, on the other hand, is a synthesis of grand opera and German Romantic opera. Donald Grout aptly characterizes it as "a brilliant adaptation of the substance of the German Romantic libretto to the framework of grand opera,"[169] while other scholars point out that set-pieces like the Pilgrims' Chorus and Elisabeth's Prayer, as well as devices such as the hunt music and the grand march, were almost customary in grand opera.[170] Why, then, did Reyer not call attention to these and other features of Tannhäuser as being strong links to the grand-opera tradition?

Let us consider the Wiesbaden production, which acquainted Reyer with Tannhäuser in 1857. The Wiesbaden theatre was a small ducal theatre in a resort town; to Reyer--accustomed to the vast Opéra in Paris --it would have appeared very small indeed. The Wiesbaden theatre would also have seemed diminutive as regards musical personnel: Reyer remarked that the orchestra was "peu nombreux,"[171] and we can assume that the chorus was proportionately modest in size. As for the music itself, Reyer found the simplicity of most of the vocal lines so different from the operatic opulence to which he was accustomed that, as we have seen, this simplicity alone would have prompted him to applaud "des deux mains."[172] We should note one other very important point: the

Wiesbaden theatre presented the (second) Dresden version of Wagner's opera, in which the "Bacchanale" at the beginning of the Venusberg scene was a pantomime rather than the luxurious large-scale ballet which Wagner later provided for the Paris version. These diverse factors would surely have made the Wiesbaden production of Tannhäuser both look and sound restrained in comparison with the grand operas familiar to Reyer.

While we can understand the absence of any reference to grand opera in Reyer's feuilleton on the Wiesbaden Tannhäuser, we must question the same lacuna in his review of the Paris version, which he finally had the opportunity to discuss when the work was revived at the Opéra in 1895. At the time of the revival he must have known that Tannhäuser was in many ways reminiscent of grand opera, for he had seen the Paris version when it was premiered in 1861 and had since studied the score.[173] However, by 1895 both Lohengrin and Die Walküre had triumphed at the Opéra, and "les wagnériens professionels"[174]--one of Reyer's many expressions for the composer's fanatical admirers--were insisting that Tannhäuser was passé and therefore unworthy of their idol. While Reyer admitted that "ces cadences vieillottes et . . . ces points d'orgue mis précisément où le chanteur aime à se reposer" would be rather surprising to listeners who were still under the spell of Lohengrin and Die Walküre, he maintained that

> s'il [Tannhäuser] nous arrivait aujourd'hui, signé d'un autre nom que celui de Richard Wagner, on crierait au miracle. . . . pour moi comme pour beaucoup d'autres, les oeuvres subséquentes du maître, tout en étant, si l'on veut, des conceptions plus grandioses, dans une forme plus abstraite, ont laissé le chef-d'oeuvre debout

> et n'en ont point fait pâlir ni les grâces exquises ni les sublimes beautés.[175]

All of this suggests that in 1895 Reyer deliberately refrained from pointing out the links between Tannhäuser and the grand-opera tradition, because he did not want to fuel the arguments of Wagner enthusiasts who found this early work an embarrassment.

Reyer's perceptions of "le souvenir de Weber"[176] in Tannhäuser were very astute. We can understand why he sensed Weber in Elisabeth's aria, which, in its joyful anticipation of Tannhäuser's return, is analogous to Agathe's aria of rapturous anticipation at the sight of the returning Max. And, like Reyer, we can scent Weber in the love duet in which Elisabeth and Tannhäuser are fervently reunited: this outpouring is emotionally akin to a duet in which another virtuous heroine and her knight--Euryanthe and Adolar--reaffirm their love. (It is interesting to note that each of these duets and arias occurs in the second act.) We can suggest that the harmonies of the grand march reminded Reyer of Weber because of their diatonicism; indeed, we can apply to many pages of Tannhäuser John Warrack's observation apropos of Weber's diatonicism in much of Euryanthe: "The vividness of his invention even in the simplest, most diatonic music . . . gives all the choruses, dances, and marches . . . a natural color and sharpness."[177]

As Reyer indicated, Weber's orchestration strongly affected that of Wagner. Although the latter gave the Romantic orchestra "a new smoothness and richness of blend," he nevertheless admired and was influenced by Weber's "individualization, even personalization, of the instruments,"[178] as can often be seen in Tannhäuser and Lohengrin, as well as

in the music dramas.[179]

The analogies between Euryanthe and Lohengrin as regards both plot and characters are so obvious that they are routinely cited in modern books on opera--a fact which should only heighten our admiration of Reyer for having noted them decades before Lohengrin became known in Paris. In order to illustrate the musical similarities between the two operas he had to choose an example which could be appreciated by readers who had little or no musical education, and we must say that his choice could not have been better: the grim oath sworn by Ortrud and Frederick reflects "in almost literal detail of invention"[180] the one taken by their counterparts in Weber's opera.

Reyer obviously knew both Euryanthe and Lohengrin extremely well, and we can therefore speculate that he would have elaborated on their musical rapprochement if he had been writing for a music journal or a specialized review rather than a daily newspaper. Such a hypothesis is strengthened by the following passage from the letter-article with which he responded to Judith Mendès's article in La Presse in the autumn of 1868. Here Reyer hinted that he perceived in the music of Euryanthe foreshadowings of Lohengrin which were far more subtle than the one he had cited for readers of his feuilleton in the Débats:

> Lorsque vous avez lu la partition de Lohengrin, madame, n'avez-vous pas songé, comme moi, à Euryanthe? Et dans cette grande oeuvre [de Weber] . . . n'avez-vous pas trouvé, sans parler de quelques réminiscences mélodiques, les premiers essais de ces formes nouvelles qui sont un peu cette absence de forme dont vous faites honneur à Richard Wagner, et ces rappels de phrases caractéristiques dont il s'est servi à son tour, en leur donnant seulement plus de développement et plus d'importance dans l'action dramatique?...[sic][181]

Another highly significant idea which Reyer might have expanded is that Wagner owed much to the concert works of Berlioz. As we observed on page 337, an excerpt from one of Reyer's feuilletons suggests that he deliberately did not discuss Wagner's debt to Berlioz for fear of encouraging fanaticism both pro and con Wagner. The same excerpt also suggests--by the general nature of the parallels drawn between the two composers--that, in Reyer's opinion, Berlioz's influence on Wagner was so pervasive and subtle that it was largely beyond the grasp of his readers. His thorough familiarity with the works of both composers must have made him aware of the paradoxical fact that, apart from a few obvious reminiscences such as the two he often cited,[182] Wagner and Berlioz "do not sound alike, even though Wagner's orchestration, melody, and atmosphere draw heavily on Berlioz'[s]."[183] All in all, we can hardly blame Reyer for being reluctant to pursue the connection between the two composers.

Looking back over Reyer's writings on the musical links to the past that are discernible in Wagner's first four major operas, we can see that the flaws in his assessments are far outweighed by his accurate judgments and remarkable insights. Unlike the many contemporary critics who attacked Rienzi as an embodiment of "les doctrines subversives du musicien allemand,"[184] Reyer correctly perceived this work as belonging essentially to the tradition of the French grand opera of Meyerbeer and Spontini. His ignorance of Marschner and other talented but minor composers of early nineteenth-century German opera was a handicap in his assessing of the musical backgrounds of Holländer, Tannhäuser, and Lohengrin; however, this handicap did not lead to significant oversights

except in the case of Holländer. If we must criticize Reyer for failing to discuss the influence of French grand opera on Tannhäuser, we must applaud his astute judgments concerning the Weberian elements in this work, and especially his realization that there were many similarities between Weber's then scarcely known Euryanthe and Wagner's Lohengrin. Most remarkable of all is his evident awareness of the full extent of Wagner's musical debt to Berlioz--a debt which was not widely recognized for another half-century.[185]

"Le vacarme infernal"

Reyer's feuilleton on the Wiesbaden Tannhäuser was praised by Georges Servières as being superior to any of the reviews of the Parisian premiere, because "l'analyse qu'il donne . . . est plus complète, plus sérieuse et plus exacte, son appréciation est aussi plus sensée et plus judicieuse."[186] Servières was particularly impressed by the "rare bonne foi"[187] of Reyer's denial of the charge that Wagner over-used the brass and percussion in this opera. Like Servières, we can agree with Reyer's comment on Wagner's judicious use of percussion in general and the bass drum in particular. We must however question Reyer's position concerning the brass, because, as Paul Bekker observes, "Tannhäuser, with its dominating horn and trombone sonorities, produces at first hearing the impression of an overwhelming brass group."[188] The probable reason why Reyer did not receive such an impression is that in the 1850s, as noted in Chapter VI, he was accustomed to French operas in which both brass and percussion were so extensively used. In comparison with such works, Wagner's deployment of the brass--even his Meyerbeerian

use of trombones in the Pilgrims' Chorus--would not have seemed objectionable. We must also remember that the Wiesbaden orchestra was, in Reyer's words, "peu nombreux,"[189] and therefore may not have had as large a brass section as the one required by Wagner.

There was no such deficiency in the orchestra of the Théâtre-Lyrique, where Reyer first heard Rienzi when Pasdeloup conducted the Parisian premiere in 1869.[190] Reyer found--not surprisingly--that the brass fanfares and the trombones sounded too prominent, but he speculated that "cet inconvénient disparaîtrait ou passerait inaperçu"[191] in a theatre the size of the Opéra, for which, he pointed out, Wagner had destined Rienzi.[192] Reyer's speculation may have been motivated by an eagerness to defend a work that, in his opinion, was being unfairly criticized in the Parisian press. Time has proved him wrong: even in large opera houses, the brass sounds excessive. Apart from this one miscalculation, however, Reyer's defence is very perceptive. Particularly commendable is his insistence that the luxuriant sonorities of the Wagnerian orchestra in Rienzi and in the later works should not be mistaken for mere noisiness.[193] Wagner's design for the sunken orchestra pit at Bayreuth--with the brass and percussion farthest under the stage--would prove conclusively that this composer was more interested in sonority than in volume.

Reyer's defence of Wagner's large-scale vocal ensembles, like that of his orchestration, vividly demonstrates a determination to shun contemporary prejudice: as Reyer observed, "Richard Wagner excelle à faire mouvoir les masses [chorales]."[194] We may or may not agree with Reyer's statement that, in the choruses of Rienzi, the composer "sait donner un

caractère particulier à chacune des parties qui concourent à l'effet de l'ensemble."[195] We can however share the critic's admiration for the choral writing in Tannhäuser and especially for the superb use of massed voices both in Lohengrin and in the richly contrapuntal Die Meistersinger.[196]

We cannot find fault with Reyer's comments on the balance between the voice and the orchestra in the music dramas. As he indicated, the dynamic weight of the brass is occasionally out of proportion to the importance of the other instrumental colors, but the orchestral sonority never overpowers the voice. The public's complaints were perhaps due not only to what Reyer regarded as their initial inability to appreciate Wagner's orchestral polyphony, but also to the fact that, as Gerald Abraham points out, "music calculated for a sunken orchestral pit was being played in ordinary opera houses . . . The loudest fortissimo at Bayreuth did not drown the voice."[197]

"La négation de la mélodie"

Reyer's attempts to vindicate Wagner of the charge that he was an enemy of melody are distinguished by the same qualities of fairmindedness and perceptiveness that characterize his answers to the complaint: "Trop de bruit." His early review of Tannhäuser shows him struggling to refute Fétis's accusation that Wagner lacked melodic "ideas" by giving his own impression of this composer's vocal writing--an impression which bespeaks instinctive understanding of Wagner's melodic language. In his review of the thrice-given concert at the Théâtre-Italien in 1860, we see Reyer taking a bold step forward: he names Wagner in the same

breath with Beethoven, Weber, and Gluck, three masters whose contemporaries had likewise decried their music as "unmelodic." Reyer's ability to appreciate "la mélodie de M. Richard Wagner"[198] seems all the more remarkable when we remember that the concert program included the Tristan prelude, which Berlioz described as being "sans autre thème qu'une sorte de gémissement chromatique . . . rempli d'accords dissonans dont de longues appoggiatures remplaçant la note réelle de l'harmonie augmentent encore la cruauté."[199]

In the review of the 1860 concert and in later writings, Reyer strengthened his defence of Wagner the melodist by pointing out that the vocal line is not always just another strand in a polyphonic fabric. The examples he chose to cite from Tannhäuser and Rienzi are conventional numbers whose sentimentality would have appealed irresistibly to mid-century Parisians, although to our ears such numbers sound "old fashioned," as Ernest Newman says of Wolfram's song to the Evening Star.[200] Many of the examples Reyer selected from Lohengrin and the music dramas are of greater interest to us, not just for their own sake but because they demonstrate his sensitivity to the lyrical moments in Wagnerian roles--moments which are cemented into a continuous whole by the Sprechgesang and by the symphonic texture of the orchestra.

Of the two late works which Reyer found particularly melodious, one--Die Meistersinger--is often hailed for its delightful arias, ensembles, choruses, and massed finales; it is, in the words of Paul Henry Lang, "full of song."[201] The other work singled out by Reyer--Siegfried--is sometimes criticized because of the length of certain musical dialogues.[202] We should note that Reyer, too, voiced such a

criticism.[203] However, he evidently felt that the long dialogues were more than compensated by the magnificent role of the hero and by "les pages capitales de l'ouvrage,"[204] including the superb nature scenes and the scene of Brünnhilde's awakening. Surely we cannot find fault with such a judgment.

Reyer's reasons for regarding Wagner as a "grand réformateur"

The appraising of Wagner's true significance in the history of opera was a difficult proposition for Reyer, because the German composer was surrounded by legends, misconceptions, propaganda, and counterpropaganda. From our vantage point in the twentieth century we can see that Reyer should not have regarded Wagner as a spiritual descendant of Gluck, for Wagner's reform was incomparably more far-reaching in both aim and effect than was Gluck's.[205] We must remember, however, that the two composers had in common the theory that opera is properly a musical form of drama, and that Wagner was indisputably the greatest reformer in the history of opera since the time of Gluck. Therefore, Reyer's pronouncement that Wagner was "[un] grand réformateur, comme Gluck et après Gluck"[206] is more appropriate than it might seem at first glance.

If we must regret that Reyer never elucidated for his readers the theory of the Gesamtkunstwerk we must applaud him for trying to foster an understanding of Wagner's practice by discussing the innovations which were probably most baffling to his readers: the gradual abandonment of set forms, and the development of the leitmotif technique. We must also admire his very perceptive assessment of the net result in the music dramas. Here we do indeed find a "prédominance alternée de la

voix et de l'orchestre,"[207] inasmuch as the "melody," as Wagner understood the term, is formed by the merging of the vocal declamation with the orchestral writing, so that the melodic interest centers sometimes in the vocal phrases and sometimes in the symphonic web of leitmotifs.[208] The weakening and eventual dissolving of the set forms, together with the development of the leitmotif technique, had transferred more and more of the burden of expression from the voice to the orchestra, until finally the two had become equally important for the realization of the drama.

The culmination of Wagner's reform

Since Wagner himself had described Tristan as the finest exemplification of his theories,[209] it is not surprising that Reyer echoed this pronouncement when Lamoureux introduced Act I to the Parisian public in March 1884. Reyer had long been studying the score,[210] and was therefore able to explain to his readers that Tristan is the supreme example of Wagner's renunciation of the formal conventions of the "number opera." We should add that Reyer was fascinated by the orchestral writing in Tristan;[211] had he been a listener-spectator at a production, he would probably have perceived this work as the consummation of not only Wagner's precepts concerning operatic form, but also his theory that the inner aspect of a drama must be the province of the orchestra. As Ernest Newman points out, the importance of the orchestra in Tristan accounts for the frequent lack of action on the stage.

> The musical texture of Tristan is different from that of any other of Wagner's works in that it is almost purely "symphonic"; often he abandons himself to the sheer intoxication of "developing" the mood symbolised

> by a particular motive for pages at a time, the stage situation meanwhile remaining stabilised. Not only is there hardly any action, but action of any kind would mostly be out of place: the movement of the drama is not realistic but psychological, not external but internal, the music passing through all kinds of metamorphoses to which the words serve only to give us the objective clue.[212]

* * *

Reyer's initiation to Wagner's art occurred over a period of not just years but decades: during the late 1850s and the 1860s he became familiar with Wagner's first four major operas, but he scarcely knew the music dramas until the early 1880s, when substantial excerpts from these works began to appear on the programs of Parisian concert societies. The passage of decades brought changes in his taste for two works--Der fliegende Holländer and Tristan und Isolde[213]--but not in his basic view of Wagner as both a great reformer and one whose art rested firmly "sur les traditions immuables que nous ont léguées les plus pures gloires du passé."[214] His insistence that Wagner was much indebted to the past runs like a leitmotif through all of Reyer's writings on this composer. To us it becomes almost wearisome, but we cannot fault Reyer for stressing it, because he was living in an age that tended too much to emphasize what Wagner rejected of the past and to lose sight of the fact that he was influenced by composers ranging from Gluck to Berlioz.

In Reyer's writings on Wagner dating from the mid-1880s and the 1890s, when Wagnermania was sweeping Paris, we find a second and equally persistent theme: a conviction that the music drama was not the supreme achievement in the history of lyric theatre. Reyer would neither repudiate Holländer, Tannhäuser, and Lohengrin as juvenile or substandard

Wagner, nor condemn all other composers;[215] moreover, he was not uncritical of the music dramas.[216] Such a position gave him the quite undeserved reputation of being a lukewarm Wagnerian, when, in fact, he was one of the most intelligent French admirers of Wagner's music.[217] By refusing to join the Wagnerian cult, Reyer was simply remaining true to one of the articles of faith expressed in his first feuilleton for the Débats: ". . . si j'ai de très vives prédilections, je n'ai pas de parti pris, pas de préventions systématiques, et je sais reconnaître le beau, partout où il est."[218]

Endnotes

[1] Curt von Westernhagen, Wagner: A Biography, trans. Mary Whittall, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 1:49-50.

[2] In 1839 he came for the first time to the French capital, thinking that he was going to take it by storm with Rienzi. After three years of fruitless struggle to gain a hearing for this opera and for several of his shorter works, he left. He returned in 1849 and again in 1850, but neither of these brief stays was successful. When he took his leave of the capital in the spring of 1850, he was evidently convinced that the city where Meyerbeer was celebrating the triumph of Le Prophète was no place for him. See ibid., pp. 51-54, 60-70, 143, and 147-48.

[3] The premiere of Lohengrin was part of the celebrations for the inauguration of the statue of Herder at Weimar in August; see Gérard de Nerval's account of all the festivities in the Presse feuilletons of 18 and 19 September 1850. Liszt's report included a résumé of Wagner's ideas on opera reform. After making a promise--which was never fulfilled--to analyze Lohengrin in "un prochain article," Liszt declared provocatively that this opera must be regarded "comme un événement pour la musique allemande et comme l'expression durable de tout un système nouveau qui sera peut-être une révolution." (JD feuilleton of 22 October 1850.)

The preceding year, Liszt had staged Tannhäuser at Weimar, and had sent a long laudation of this opera to his friend Berlioz. The latter had published it--with a warm introduction about Wagner's first stay in Paris and his subsequent musical activities in Dresden--in the JD feuilleton of 18 May 1849.

[4] According to Georges Servières, Richard Wagner jugé en France (Paris: Librairie illustrée, 1887), p. 24. Berlioz, for example, did not review it for the JD.

[5] The paragraph, which appeared in the Presse feuilleton of 2 December 1850, has been ascribed to Reyer in two articles by Servières: "Les Relations d'Ernest Reyer et de Théophile Gautier," Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France, no. 24 (1917), pp. 72-73; and "Les Visées de Wagner sur Paris," La Revue musicale 4 (1 October 1923):97.

[6] François-Joseph Fétis, "Richard Wagner: sa vie; son système de renovation de l'opéra; ses oeuvres comme poète et comme musicien; son parti en Allemagne; appréciation de la valeur de ses idées," RGMP 19 (6, 13, 20, and 27 June; 11 and 25 July; and 8 August 1852):185-90, 193-95, 201-3, 209-11, 225-27, 242-45, and 257-59.

[7] Although Fétis did not invent the legend of "la musique de l'avenir," he avowed that ambition was motivating Wagner "à travailler

pour l'avenir," and expressed indignation at Wagner's supposed aversion to the heritage of the past. He then tried to demonstrate that

> "les efforts de Wagner tendent à transformer l'art par un système, mais non par l'inspiration. Et pourquoi cela? Parce que l'inspiration lui manque; parce qu'il n'a pas d'idées; parce qu'il a conscience de son infirmité à cet égard, et parce qu'il cherche à la déguiser.
> . . .
> . . . il n'a plus voulu que la poésie chantée fût un opéra, mais un drame. . . . Il ne s'arrête pas là, car il supprime la mélodie."
> (Ibid., pp. 210, 211)

[8] Marvin Carlson, The French Stage in the Nineteenth Century (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, 1972), p. 158.

[9] See Reyer's review in the CP (feuilleton of 30 September 1857) and Gautier's in the Moniteur (feuilleton of 29 September 1857). In his obituary of Gautier, Reyer denied "toute collaboration" on the poet's review of the Wiesbaden production (JD feuilleton of 1 November 1872).

[10] Ernest Newman, The Life of Richard Wagner, 4 vols. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1933-46; reprint ed., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 2:538. Newman explains that the conductor of the Concerts de Paris--Jean-Baptiste Arban, who was also the professor of cornet at the Conservatoire--"had no full score and not much idea of the meaning of the work."

[11] Servières, Wagner jugé, p. 25.

[12] The group that gathered regularly at Wagner's house included: the Olliviers; Frédéric Villot and Paul Armand Challemel-Lacour, who will be identified in n. 76; the barrister Charles Truinet, who--using his nom de plume, Nuitter--would collaborate with Wagner in translating and versifying the libretto of Tannhäuser for the Opéra; the music critics Emile Perrin (who later became director of the Opéra) and Léon Leroy; and other writers, poets, artists, and scholars. See Maxime Leroy, Les Premiers Amis français de Wagner (Paris: A. Michel, 1925), pp. 19-20. Reyer avowed that the only time he ever saw Wagner was in 1861, when the Opéra was rehearsing Tannhäuser: "C'est à ce moment-là que je fis la connaissance de Richard Wagner, présenté à lui dans les coulisses de l'Opéra par M. Nuitter. Et c'est la seule fois de ma vie que je l'ai vu." (JD feuilleton of 23 January 1887.)

[13] Wagner and Berlioz had been in contact ever since the German composer's first visit to the French capital (1839-41). When Wagner had returned to Paris in January 1858, he had called on Berlioz, who had read to him the libretto of Les Troyens. Two of their biographers--Ernest Newman and Adolphe Boschot--suggest that the rift between the composers was probably due in part to Berlioz's displeasure at Wagner's intention of having his works accepted at either the Théâtre-Lyrique or

the Opéra, the only possible outlets for Berlioz's Troyens. See Newman, Wagner, 2:537, and Adolphe Boschot, L'Histoire d'un romantique: Hector Berlioz, vol. 3: Le Crépuscule d'un romantique . . . 1842-1869 (Paris: Plon Nourrit, 1913), pp. 453-54.

[14] See especially the following: comments on "la musique de l'avenir" in general and Tannhäuser in particular, in the CP feuilleton of 22 February 1858 (an excerpt is given on p. 330); and an editorial welcoming Wagner's intention to present at Paris a concert of extracts from his operas, in "Chronique musicale," GN 2 (21 January 1860):6.

[15] The program is given by Servières in Wagner jugé, p. 43. Each concert was conducted by the composer.

[16] "Chronique musicale: M. Richard Wagner," GN 2 (4 February 1860):5-6.

[17] Reyer expressed unqualified admiration for Wagner's music (ibid.; excerpts are given on pp. 330-31). Berlioz was full of praise for all of the items except the Tristan prelude, of which--he readily admitted--he understood nothing. His comments on the concert have been described as "reasoned and quite sympathetic" (Jacques Barzun, Berlioz and the Romantic Century, 3d ed., 2 vols. [New York: Columbia University Press, 1969], 2:180). Berlioz's review is further discussed below in n. 27.

[18] A contemporary observed that four critics were especially hostile toward Wagner: "Azevedo, Fétis, Chadeuil le traitèrent de sauvage et de fou. Chez Scudo, l'hostilité prit les proportions de la rage." (Edouard Drumont, Richard Wagner: l'homme et le musicien [Paris: E. Dentu, 1869], p. 8.)

[19] The critics for the theatrical journals, as well as the influential Jules Janin (drama critic for the JD) and the poet Charles Baudelaire, wrote in Wagner's defense, but almost all of the music critics for the dailies and the major music journals censured the work. Even Berlioz abstained from reviewing it for the JD, leaving the task to his friend Joseph d'Ortigue. See Servières, Wagner jugé, pp. 87-98.

Reyer was not in the employ of any publication when Tannhäuser was premiered, and therefore did not participate in the critics' mêlée. However, many passages of Souvenirs d'Allemagne--such as the one quoted below--demonstrate that, three years after the premiere, he was still mortified by the reception accorded Wagner's opera.

> "Je n'ai pas besoin de rappeler les scènes scandaleuses de la première représentation de Tannhäuser: les uns sifflaient parce qu'ils ne comprenaient pas et que cela les ennuyait de ne pas comprendre; les autres sifflaient l'oeuvre du compositeur en pensant au livre de l'écrivain [i.e., Oper und Drama], à ce fameux livre qui n'est

> cependant que la paraphrase développée de la préface d'Alceste, pour laquelle Gluck n'a jamais été sifflé." (Souvenirs d'Allemagne, reprinted in Notes de musique [Paris: Charpentier, 1875], pp. 30-31)

[20] Discussed on pp. 322-23.

[21] For example, he once declared: "Puisse le succès de Rienzi faire croire aux Parisiens qu'ils doivent à l'auteur de Tannhäuser une éclatante revanche" (JD feuilleton of 16 March 1869).

[22] In the "Faits divers" column of the JD, 7 April 1869, p. 3.

[23] Reyer pointed out that Rienzi had been composed long before Wagner had formulated in his writings the "doctrines" or "système" which for years had been under attack in the French press. "En effet, voici un opéra en tout conforme aux traditions acceptées, et qui, avant d'être connu à Paris, n'avait cependant pas échappé à l'anathème lancé contre les doctrines subversives du musicien allemand, à l'hostilité habilement entretenue contre l'ensemble de son oeuvre." (JD feuilleton of 18 April 1869.)

[24] In the face of noisy condemnation. The anti-German outcries finally became so strong that, in November 1876--after the Funeral March from Götterdämmerung caused an unprecedented uproar--Pasdeloup temporarily suspended his performances of Wagner's music. (See Reyer's untitled article in the JD of 2 and 3 November 1876, p. 3.) It was not until March 1879 that Pasdeloup again presented Wagner (Servières, Wagner jugé, p. 220).

[25] The conductors Colonne and Lamoureux began in 1880 and 1881 respectively to follow Pasdeloup's lead by including Wagner on their programs. A pro-Wagner movement quickly took shape, its organ the Revue wagnérienne (founded in 1885 by Edmond Dujardin).

[26] This date is given by Servières, Wagner jugé, p. 248.

[27] JD feuilleton of 12 November 1882. Reyer did not explain what he meant by Wagner's "ingrate conduite envers Berlioz"; perhaps he assumed that his readers would recall what was probably the worst episode in the long and complex relationship between the two composers.

The seed of this episode was sown when, a few days before Wagner's thrice-given Parisian concert of 1860, the German composer sent Berlioz the first copy of the newly-published Tristan, which bore the dedication: "To the dear and great author of Roméo et Juliette, the grateful author of Tristan und Isolde." Whether this was intended as an adroit pre-concert "bribe," or whether it was simply a gesture of sincere gratitude and respect, we do not know. In any case, Berlioz reviewed the concert very favorably (as indicated above in n. 17). He concluded, however, by discussing "les théories" that were being attributed to Wagner's so-called "école de la musique de l'avenir." If this school

stood for freedom and expressiveness--freedom from the "despotisme" of singers, and a Gluckian determination to sacrifice any rule or convention "en faveur de l'effet"--then, said Berlioz, he was among its adherents. If it meant something else--which Berlioz outlined by means of several ludicrous propositions to the effect that music must be the mere handmaiden of the poet--then, said Berlioz, he dissociated himself from it completely, raising his hand and declaring: "Non credo." (JD feuilleton of 9 February 1860.)

Wagner had received help and encouragement from Berlioz since the 1840s, but he responded to this fanciful Non credo by acting the role of the injured party, sending Berlioz an aggrieved open letter which the latter obligingly published in the JD. One of Berlioz's biographers has described this letter as "a master stroke for putting Berlioz in the wrong. . . . It persuaded the French Wagnerians of Berlioz's mean and ungrateful conduct, so that it seemed right to dismiss and discredit him." (Barzun, Berlioz, 2:173.)

Reyer recalled that the whole episode "avait fait grand bruit dans le public" ("La Critique musicale: Castil-Blaze, H. Berlioz," in Le Livre du centenaire du "Journal des Débats," 1789-1889 [Paris: Librairie Plon, 1889], p. 440n). Wagner's letter had been reprinted as late as 1887, in Servières's Wagner jugé, pp. 309-13.

[28] JD feuilleton of 20 September 1891.

[29] Ibid., 13 May 1893.

[30] See, for example, the following: his review of the premiere of Die Walküre in French translation at the Théâtre de la Monnaie in Brussels (ibid., 20 March 1887); remarks on Tannhäuser (ibid., 12 November 1882); and the review he dispatched from London after hearing Die Meistersinger for the first time. (This review was published as an anonymous letter-article in the JD of 18 June 1882, p. 3. Reyer later acknowledged its authorship in his feuilletons of 14 December 1884 and 21 November 1897; the latter is his review of the Parisian premiere of Die Meistersinger.)

[31] "C'est à Weimar que j'ai entendu pour la première fois le Hollandais volant (der Fliegende Hollaender) . . . On y sent les premières inquiétudes d'un esprit chercheur, les aspirations hardies d'un génie aventureux, mais il n'y a pas là encore ce souffle puissant, cette grandeur épique qui élèvent au niveau des plus belles productions de l'art musical certaines pages de Lohengrin et de Tannhäuser . . .

On dit que M. Carvalho hésite entre le Vaisseau fantôme et Lohengrin. A sa place, je n'hésiterais pas une minute: je jouerais les deux." (Souvenirs, reprinted in Notes, pp. 77-78 and 80.)

[32] JD feuilleton of 30 September 1868. At that time, Carvalho was no longer director of the Théâtre-Lyrique, but was still leader of a venture which he called the Théâtre de la Renaissance. He had begun the latter as a branch of the Lyrique at the elegant Salle Ventadour, which he had sublet from the director of the foundering Théâtre-Italien. The

inaugural performance--a production of Gounod's Faust on 16 March 1868 --had been reviewed by Reyer (JD, 18 March 1868, p. 3). For a history of Carvalho's short-lived Théâtre de la Renaissance, see Servières, Wagner jugé, pp. 134-37; and T. J. Walsh, Second Empire Opera: The Théâtre Lyrique, Paris, 1851-1870 (London: John Calder; New York: Riverrun Press, 1981), pp. 235-38 and 243.

[33] JD feuilleton of 30 September 1868. (See pp. 331-32.)

[34] Ibid., 7 October 1868.

[35] Reyer later recollected that Carvalho and Perrin were disheartened by reports of the cold reception accorded the work when it was performed in German at Baden-Baden, before an audience which he sarcastically described as "une brillante compagnie de sportsmen et de touristes français" (ibid., 20 September 1891).

[36] Ibid., 27 April 1879. Reyer reported that an initial outburst of hostility was energetically silenced by the majority of the audience, and that the performance proceeded without further disturbance. When the finale was over, "on a beaucoup applaudi."

[37] ". . . est-il possible de se faire une idée exacte d'une oeuvre écrite pour le théâtre, d'une oeuvre dont la trame dramatique se déroule au milieu d'une mise en scène qui par instans touche de si près à la féerie, en l'entendant exécuter dans un concert?" (Ibid.)

[38] Ibid., 26 May 1879.

[39] Ibid. Reyer censured the protesters by arguing that "il ne s'agit pas, en cette affaire, . . . du caractère de M. Richard Wagner qui n'est rien moins que sympathique, ni de ses écrits . . . il s'agit de son talent, de son génie . . . d'un ouvrage dont le spectacle est intéressant et dont la musique . . . renferme des beautés de premier ordre." (Similar remarks had been made in his review of the first presentation, ibid., 27 April 1879.)

[40] See Servières, Wagner jugé, pp. 228-32.

[41] JD feuilleton of 25 January 1882.

[42] He avowed, for example, that the duet from Act III was "superbe, en effet, mais un peu long peut-être sans le prestige de la scène et la pantomime des deux amans." (Ibid., 30 April 1882.)

[43] Ibid.

[44] See "Une Lettre de Richard Wagner," La Renaissance musicale 2 (21 May 1882):165. We observed in Chapter I that Reyer was one of the editors of this journal; Edmond Dujardin was its editor-in-chief. As

noted above, Dujardin later founded the Revue wagnérienne. Wagner's letter was eventually reprinted by Servières in Wagner jugé, pp. 314-15.

45 While admitting that "un ouvrage perd toujours à être traduit," he pointed out that translations of many French operas had become very popular in Germany, and, conversely, that French and even Italian translations of--for example--Fidelio had been enthusiastically applauded by Parisians. Moreover, said Reyer, the story of Lohengrin had become thoroughly familiar in the French capital, and he therefore felt confident that "les surprises d'une première audition ne sont plus à redouter. . . . Nous sommes mûrs pour cette oeuvre-ci." The critic then observed that the hostilities of the French public had faded, and that many of Wagner's French converts could, in fact, be counted among the most ardent of his apostles. As proof of this contention, Reyer recalled the favorable reception of Acts I and III of Lohengrin at Lamoureux's concerts. (JD feuilleton of 1 June 1882.)

46 Reviewed by Reyer in ibid., 22 and 29 March 1884.

47 Ibid. Carvalho--evidently grappling with the physical limitations of the Comique, and, eventually, with changes in his roster of principal singers--was in no hurry to present Lohengrin. In the fall of 1885 the premiere was not yet in sight, and he and the conductor of the Comique went to Vienna and Bayreuth in order both to study the mise en scène and the performance practices traditionally associated with this work, and to search for suitable singers (as Reyer reported in ibid., 28 September 1885).

48 Ibid., 13 December 1885.

49 Ibid., 24 January 1886. Reyer was implying that the French would forgive Wagner's conduct, just as they had forgiven two other composers who had by no means admired the French nation.

50 By March 1887 rehearsals were in progress, and Reyer rejoiced that the work would be performed "sans modifications et sans coupures, tel que le maître l'a écrit." (Ibid., 27 March 1887.)

51 Ibid. In his next feuilleton he again expressed these opinions, and confidently predicted that Lohengrin--"l'un des chefs-d'oeuvre de la musique dramatique moderne, cela ne fait plus aujourd'hui doute pour personne"--would be so successful that Lamoureux would have to give twice as many performances as he had announced. (Ibid., 17 April 1887.)

52 At the conclusion of his review of the premiere, Reyer disgustedly noted the government's action, then--evidently remembering Wagner's infamous Eine Kapitulation--remarked acidly: "Voilà donc une belle page à ajouter à nos annales artistiques, page des plus intéressantes et qu'on pourra intituler ainsi: Une capitulation." (Ibid., 8 May 1887.)

53 Ibid., 9 November 1890.

[54] Ibid., 20 September 1891.

[55] "Chronique musicale: M. Richard Wagner," GN p. 5.

[56] Ibid., p. 6. This image had probably been created by a combination of forces: Wagner's involvement in the uprising at Dresden in 1849, which had given him the reputation of being a republican and a dangerous revolutionary; his writings, which, in mid-century France, were much better known than his music; and the "partisan, political reviews" to which his writings had been subjected by Fétis and other critics. (Jane Fair Fulcher, "Musical Aesthetics and Social Philosophy in France: 1848-1870" [Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1977], p. 171.)

[57] We find such an attitude in, for example, Albert Wolff's review of Rienzi. The influential critic of Le Figaro remarked that, if "ce diable de Wagner" had been present "à la curieuse soirée d'hier, il eût compris que ce public si facile à contenter, si amoureux des belles choses, ne se laissera jamais imposer la soi-disant musique de l'avenir, avec ses effets de casseroles et de porcelaine fêlée." (Le Figaro, 8 April 1869.)

[58] The excerpt from Souvenirs quoted in n. 105 of Chapter VII is Reyer's most forthright expression of his conviction that the Parisian public lumped together Wagner and Berlioz as detestable musical revolutionaries.

[59] CP feuilleton of 30 September 1857. Reyer added, characteristically, that he was loathe to express an opinion after hearing the work only once.

[60] Ibid., 22 February 1858. He repeated this idea--but did not develop it--later that year (see ibid., 30 September 1858).

[61] "Chronique musicale: M. Richard Wagner," GN p. 5.

[62] Ibid., p. 6. (The "romance de Tannhäuser" was, of course, Wolfram's song to the Evening Star.) In this review Reyer did not make any other comments about Wagner's harmonic language, and we can therefore assume that he had no objections to the harmonies of the Tristan prelude. Indeed, he cited the preludes to Tristan and Lohengrin as "les échantillons les plus purs" of Wagner's "individualité . . . C'est là, en effet, que vous trouverez M. Richard Wagner dans toute la plénitude de son génie mystique, dans toute la perfectibilité de son système." Cf. Berlioz's reaction to the Tristan prelude (quoted on p. 362).

[63] Ibid. Cf. Reyer's response to the accusation that Berlioz was disdainful of earlier composers (Chapter VII, n. 47).

[64] Reyer had expressed this opinion as early as 1864, in Souvenirs (see the passage quoted above in n. 19).

65 JD feuilleton of 30 September 1868. Liszt's pamphlet, published in French by the Leipzig firm of Brockhaus in 1851, was a reprint of the two feuilletons which he had sent to the JD after producing Tannhäuser and Lohengrin at Weimar in 1849 and 1850 respectively (cited above in n. 3). Reyer preferred Liszt's pamphlet to Wagner's own writings, describing the former as a "brillant corollaire ajouté aux premiers écrits de Wagner," and the latter as "ce dédale de théories toujours plus abstraites" (ibid.).

66 Ibid.

67 Judith Mendès, "Richard Wagner et la critique," La Presse, 17 October 1868, p. 3.

68 Reyer's letter-article, dated "Mardi 20 octobre," was published with the title "Richard Wagner et la critique (Suite)" in ibid., 29 October 1868, p. 3.

69 See, for example, the quotation given on p. 345. We should note that, after publishing Reyer's letter-article, Mme Mendès wrote a second article, "Richard Wagner et la critique (Suite et fin)," which appeared in La Presse of 30 October 1868, p. 3. In this article she did not respond to Reyer's statements; instead--as she had promised in her first article--she analysed Lohengrin, Rienzi, Der fliegende Holländer, Tannhäuser, Tristan and Die Meistersinger. Her analysis has been described as "plutôt poétique que musicale, mais absolument hyperbolique." (Servières, Wagner jugé, p. 139.)

70 From Gluck's dedicatory preface to Alceste; quoted by Reyer in the JD feuilleton of 30 September 1868.

71 CP feuilleton of 30 September 1857. In this review Reyer did not specify which "pages" he admired as being worthy of Gluck. A comment in a much later review of this opera (JD feuilleton of 25 May 1895) suggests theat he probably had been alluding to Tannhäuser's narrative in Act III; see the quotation given on p. 342.

72 JD feuilleton of 10 January 1882. Here Reyer repeated his conviction that "le point de départ de Richard Wagner, c'est la préface d'Alceste, c'est Gluck."

73 "Chronique musicale: M. Richard Wagner," GN p. 6.

74 JD feuilleton of 18 April 1869.

75 Ibid. Reyer did not cite any examples.

76 Ibid. In Wagner's "Lettre sur la musique" there were several passages which testified to the composer's admiration for Weber, "mon premier modèle, mon vénéré maître" (p. 106 in the edition cited below).

Such passages would account for Reyer's statement that Wagner did not hesitate to acknowledge Weber's influence.

Wagner's "Lettre" dated from 1860, when the composer--seeking to promote in Paris a better understanding of his principal ideas--asked his friend Challemel-Lacour to make French prose translations of the librettos of four of his operas, which he wanted to publish with a preface. The latter, which also was translated by Challemel-Lacour, took the form of a "Lettre sur la musique, à M. Frédéric Villot." (Villot, curator of the paintings in the Louvre, was one of the friends who assembled regularly at Wagner's house, as was Challemel-Lacour.) See Quatre poèmes d'opéras: "le Vaisseau fantôme"; "Tannhäuser"; "Lohengrin"; "Tristan et Iseult"; précédés d'une Lettre sur la Musique, trans. Paul Armand Challemel-Lacour (Paris: Bourdilliat, 1861; new ed., Mercure de France, 1941), pp. 13-116. Wagner's "Lettre," dated "Paris, 15 septembre 1860," was also published in Germany as Zukunftsmusik.

77 JD feuilleton of 18 April 1869.

78 "J'en sais les réminiscences et les imitations, les défaillances et les vieilleries de style; mais c'est tout de même le génie de Wagner qu'on voit poindre déjà avec les formules embryonnaires du drame lyrique qui se développeront plus tard. Quel chemin fait en si peu de temps du Rienzi au Vaisseau-Fantôme!" (Ibid., 23 May 1897 [review of the Parisian premiere of Der fliegende Holländer in French translation].)

79 Ibid. Reyer supported his statement by describing the use of the device of reminiscence motifs in this opera (see n. 126).

80 Souvenirs, reprinted in Notes, p. 78.

81 JD feuilleton of 23 May 1897. In this review, Reyer recalled that he had heard Wagner's opera "il y a quelques années, à Bruxelles, et l'interprétation . . . me révéla . . . des détails qu'à Weimar je n'avais pas suffisamment appréciés." The Brussels performance may have been a revival of Nuitter's French translation at the Théâtre de la Monnaie, with François Servais as conductor, because Reyer had once remarked: "J'avais vu M. Servais diriger le Vaisseau Fantôme." (Ibid., 18 January 1891.) In any case, Reyer had not reviewed the Brussels performance; therefore, his feuilleton on the Parisian premiere in 1897 was his second (and last) review of this opera.

82 Quoted by Reyer in ibid., 7 October 1868. (The quotation appears on p. 101 of Wagner's "Lettre" in the new edition of Quatre poèmes.)

83 In his review of Wagner's thrice-given concert of 1860, Reyer asked his readers: "Ne sentez-vous point passer le souffle de Weber, de l'auteur de Freischütz et d'Euryanthe, dans les majestueux accords de cette marche du Tannhäuser: l'entrée solennelle des conviés au Wartburg . . . ?" ("Chronique musicale: M. Richard Wagner," GN p. 6.) Thirty-five years later, when the Opéra revived Tannhäuser, Reyer observed that

the composer had been "hanté" by "le souvenir de Weber . . . et c'est sous l'impression du Freischütz et d'Euryanthe qu'il a écrit l'air d'Elisabeth et le duo suivant avec Tannhäuser" (JD feuilleton of 25 May 1895).

84 CP feuilleton of 30 September 1857 (review of Tannhäuser at Wiesbaden).

85 Ibid.

86 After quoting Wagner's remark concerning "analogies" between Tannhäuser and works by earlier composers (see above, p. 335), Reyer declared: "Ces 'analogies,' très visibles en effet dans Tannhäuser, ne sont pas moins visibles dans Lohengrin" (JD feuilleton of 7 October 1868).

87 Ibid., 20 September 1891.

88 Consider, for example, the following excerpt from the second of the two feuilletons on Lohengrin which Reyer wrote in the autumn of 1868, when he thought that a Parisian premiere of the work was imminent:

> ". . . les deux poëmes, ainsi que j'ai eu l'occasion de le faire remarquer ailleurs, empruntent à des légendes différentes des caractères et des situations dramatiques à peu près semblables. Le comte de Telramund et Ortrude ne sont-ils pas agités par les mêmes passions que Lysiart et Eglantine; Elsa et Lohengrin ne se trouvent-ils pas, comme Euryanthe et Adolar, placés au milieu des mêmes situations poétiques et chevaleresques? Le roi d'Allemagne . . . et le roi de France . . . ces deux grands rois, eux aussi, ne jouent-ils pas dans l'un et l'autre poëme un rôle presque identique?"
> (Ibid., 7 October 1868)

As in most of his other comparisons of the two librettos, Reyer added that Wagner's dramaturgy was superior. See Souvenirs (reprinted in Notes, p. 28), and the following feuilletons in the JD: 26 January 1886; 20 September 1891; and 25 April 1897.

89 Souvenirs, reprinted in Notes, p. 28.

90 JD feuilleton of 8 May 1887. This comment, in Reyer's review of the premiere of Lohengrin at the Eden, was repeated verbatim in his review of its triumph at the Opéra (ibid., 20 September 1891).

91 "Ce duo [entre Ortrude et Frédéric], par les sentimens qui s'y développent autant que par l'expression musicale, a une grande analogie avec celui d'Euryanthe, entre Eglantine et Lysiart, placé au second acte également." (Ibid., 8 May 1887 and 20 September 1891.)

92 "Chronique musicale: M. Richard Wagner," GN p. 6.

[93] Recalling Wagner's thrice-given concert of 1860, Reyer explained that "an air of kinship seemed to be discoverable" between the figure played by the violins in the accompaniment to the theme of the Pilgrims' Chorus in the Tannhäuser overture, and the figure which accompanies the oath of reconciliation in Roméo et Juliette. At the same time, he made it clear that he had never regarded such "involuntary reminiscences" as "plagiarisms." See "Hector Berlioz. Biographical Notes and Personal Reminiscences," The Century Magazine 47 (December 1893):309. (As stated in n. 5 of Chapter VII, this article was probably translated from a French publication.)

[94] JD feuilleton of 8 December 1894.

[95] Ibid., 30 September 1868.

[96] Ibid., 12 November 1882.

[97] Ibid., 30 September 1868.

[98] "Le final [du premier acte] . . . commence le vacarme infernal qui va durer jusqu'à la fin du troisième acte." (Wolff's review of Rienzi in Le Figaro, 8 April 1869.)

[99] CP feuilleton of 30 September 1857.

[100] JD feuilleton of 18 April 1869. (Reyer's statement was quoted above on p. 334.)

[101] "Comme il n'était guère possible, à propos de Rienzi, de parler du défaut de carrure de la phrase mélodique et de reprocher à Richard Wagner d'avoir répudié pour la coupe de ses morceaux toutes les formes acceptées, on a vertement critiqué le luxe de son instrumentation. Beaucoup trop de bruit, a-t-on dit. Il ne faut pas confondre le bruit avec l'excès de sonorité. Ce qui est du bruit, c'est cet éternel final que vous rencontrez dans la plupart des opéras italiens, cette longue suite d'accords de tonique et de dominante, accompagnés par tous les instrumens à percussion de l'orchestre." (Ibid.)

[102] Ibid.

[103] Reyer's position is exemplified by a passage from his review of the Parisian premiere of Die Meistersinger. As he had done when assessing the choruses in Rienzi, the critic contrasted the reactions of musicians and public. "La trame instrumentale" of ever-changing leitmotifs was of great interest "pour les musiciens . . . Mais l'oreille du public, du gros public, est souvent réfractaire à des combinaisons de ce genre: elles le distrayent sans l'émouvoir" (ibid., 21 November 1897).

[104] Ibid., 18 January 1891.

105 "Richard Wagner a été conduit par degrès, mais par une pente irresistible, . . . à la négation de la mélodie" (Fétis, "Richard Wagner," RGMP p. 225).

106 CP feuilleton of 30 September 1857.

107 "Chronique musicale: M. Richard Wagner," GN p. 6.

108 Ibid.

109 JD feuilleton of 18 April 1869.

110 Notably the following: in Act I, "le rêve d'Elsa, d'une expression si tendre, si chaste, si poétique" (ibid., 27 April 1879); in Act II, "la poétique et douce cantilène" sung by Elsa at the beginning of the Balcony Scene (ibid., 8 May 1887, repeated in 20 September 1891); and, in Act III, the Wedding Chorus ("un bijou," ibid., 8 May 1887). Reyer was particularly impressed by the love duet, which "présente une succession de phrases du contour le plus élégant, le plus pur . . . quel charme, quelle suavité et quelle tendresse dans ce dialogue amoureux, tout empreint de poésie mystique, et dont on ne peut dire que la passion soit absente pourtant." (Ibid., 8 May 1887, repeated in 20 September 1891.)

111 Concerning the scene between Siegmund and Sieglinde in Act I of Die Walküre, for example, Reyer avowed: "On n'a jamais rien écrit de plus délicieux, de plus poétique et de plus passionné que cette adorable scène . . . dans laquelle s'enchâsse, comme un pur diamant, le frais et mélodieux lied du Printemps." (Ibid., 13 May 1893.)

112 In the letter-article which Reyer dispatched from London after hearing Die Meistersinger for the first time, there were passages such as the following: "Je vous dirai pour vous affrioler, qu'il y a dans cette partition, essentiellement mélodique, des choeurs d'un brio, d'une fraîcheur incomparable et qui sont à la gaieté allemande ce que les choeurs des opéras d'Auber sont à l'esprit français." (JD, 18 June 1882, p. 2.)

After attending the premiere of Siegfried at Brussels, Reyer enthused: "Dans aucun de ses ouvrages, excepté peut-être dans les Maîtres Chanteurs, Wagner n'a mis plus de gaieté, plus de fraîcheur, plus de jeunesse. . . . jamais héros n'eut plus fière allure, plus d'emportement dans la passion, plus de poésie dans l'âme, plus d'exquise tendresse au coeur." (JD feuilleton of 18 January 1891.)

113 Ibid., 8 May 1887.

114 "Système ou innovation, peu importe" (ibid., 22 March 1884).

115 Ibid., 18 April 1869.

116 Liszt, Lohengrin et Tannhäuser, quoted by Reyer in the JD feuilleton of 30 September 1868.

117 Quoted in ibid.

118 Reyer in ibid., 27 March 1887.

119 Ibid., 8 May 1887.

120 In this opera Reyer discerned many "set" numbers--"des airs, une sérénade, des duos, un quintette et des morceaux d'ensemble"--and he therefore would not describe it as a music drama. "Opéra de genre, opéra semi-seria, comédie musicale, opéra-comique ou opéra-bouffe, on peut choisir. Mais, pour sûr, les Maîtres chanteurs ne sont point un drame lyrique." (Ibid., 21 November 1897.)

121 Of all the large scenes which Reyer admired in these works, the one that received his most ardent praise was the conclusion of Die Walküre:

> ". . . je ne saurais trop insister sur les riches développements et la sublime inspiration de cette émouvante scène qui commence aux adieux de Wotan et s'achève dans un imperceptible murmure d'orchestre berçant le sommeil de Brunnhild après l'incantation du feu. Il suffit à un musicien d'avoir enfanté un tel chef-d'oeuvre pour que son génie ne se discute plus." (Ibid., 13 May 1893)

122 Ibid., 22 March 1884.

123 Reyer's awareness of the novelty of the vocal writing in the music dramas is exemplified by a statement in his review of the Parisian premiere of Die Walküre: even if he had had "la prétention . . . d'analyser la partition" for his readers, he could not have found "la plus petite cavatine, le moindre arioso" which the "lecteur mélomane . . . puisse retenir ou chanter" (ibid., 13 May 1893).

124 Ibid., 25 May 1895 (review of the revival of Tannhäuser at the Opéra).

125 From a letter sent by Wagner to Liszt when the latter was preparing to premiere Lohengrin at Weimar in 1850. Quoted by Reyer in his review of the production of this work at the Opéra (JD feuilleton of 20 September 1891).

126 Reyer sensed the beginnings of leitmotif technique in Wagner's use of two motifs associated with the principal characters in the opera: the "trait caractéristique" of the Dutchman, and the refrain of Senta's ballade. He pointed out, however, that these recurring motifs do not permeate the score--as do the leitmotifs in the music dramas--and that the recurrences "sont tout de même, comme ils sont aussi, ne l'oubliez

pas, dans Robert le Diable, antérieur au Vaisseau-Fantôme d'une dizaine d'années." (Ibid., 23 May 1897.)

127 ". . . chaque instrument a un rôle, une personnification qui commence quand tel personnage est muet ou disparaît. Ces accouplements des flûtes et des bassons, des hautbois et des clarinettes, qui interrompent l'anathème du Saint-Père, c'est la prière d'Elisabeth, arrivant à travers les rayons d'une étoile jusqu'au coeur du chevalier Tannhäuser. Ces traits agiles des premiers violons, c'est le chant des sirènes, qui se mêle peu à peu au cantique des pélerins. Et partout j'ai trouvé . . . un profond sentiment dramatique. Partout j'ai remarqué la puissance avec laquelle M. Richard Wagner développe une idée et la fait circuler à travers toutes les phases du sentiment qu'il veut peindre." ("Chronique musicale: M. Richard Wagner," GN p. 6.)

128 JD feuilleton of 21 June 1885.

129 Ibid., 13 May 1893.

130 Ibid., 21 November 1897.

131 Ibid., 18 January 1891. To support his contention that "cette prédominance alternée" was very effective, Reyer discussed the importance of both the voice and the orchestra in the title role of Siegfried:

> "Sous le rapport mélodique ce rôle est . . . favorisé, soit que la phrase reste purement vocale, soit que, confiée à l'orchestre, elle vienne donner une accentuation plus colorée, plus saisissante au récit du chanteur. Par exemple, celle qui reparaît si souvent et que l'on espère toujours[,] dans l'accompagnement du récit que fait Siegfried de la façon dont les oiseaux dans leur nid, les animaux accouplés deux par deux sous la feuillée[,] lui révélèrent l'amour, phrase d'une suavité pénétrante variée chaque fois par des accouplemens de timbres si ingénieux et si doux. Il en est beaucoup d'autres, sans parler des motifs typiques entendus pour la plupart dans le Rheingold et dans la Walküre, que je pourrais citer."
> (Ibid.)

132 As indicated in n. 62, Wagner's thrice-given concert at Paris in 1860 had acquainted Reyer with the Tristan prelude, which he had praised as being one of the finest examples of Wagner's art. During Reyer's voyage musical through Germany in 1863-64, he had received a very bad impression of Tristan as a whole when he and a friend had tried to sight-read the score (see Souvenirs, reprinted in Notes, pp. 80-83). At a later date, however, Reyer must have taken a second look at Tristan, because in 1882 it was among the Wagner scores that he often read at the piano (JD feuilleton of 12 November 1882; see the excerpt given above on p. 321). Lamoureux's presentation of Act I in 1884 was Reyer's

real initiation to this music drama, because, as he told his readers, "C'était la première fois que j'entendais Tristan et Iseult à l'orchestre." (Ibid., 22 March 1884.) He seized the opportunity to make honorable amends for his rejection of it, two decades earlier, in Souvenirs.

133 JD feuilleton of 22 March 1884.

134 Ibid. Reyer's only attempt to describe the harmonic language of Tristan was an ambiguous metaphor, perhaps intended to suggest that the harmonic relationships which form the basis of tonality had somehow been dissolved: "Ce sont des flots d'harmonie qui vous enveloppent avec des intensités diverses obtenues par des procédés qui, il faut bien le dire, ne varient guère." (Ibid.) It is disappointing--but not surprising, given his attitude toward technical analysis--that Reyer did not elaborate.

135 Ibid.

136 "Atteints de wagnérisme, nous le sommes à peu près tous, à des degrés différens peut-être" (ibid., 27 March 1887).

137 Ibid., 10 January 1882.

138 Servières, Wagner jugé, p. 32.

139 Newman, Wagner, 2:538. Servières, too, cites only the reviews by Reyer and Gautier (Wagner jugé, pp. 32-34).

140 Newman, Wagner, 2:538.

141 See the excerpts given above in nn. 19 and 31.

142 JD feuilleton of 16 December 1866.

143 Ibid., 17 April 1887. Reyer had been making statements to this effect ever since 1879 (see above, p. 324).

144 For example, Act I of Lohengrin was enjoying unqualified success at the Concerts Lamoureux in 1882, four years before the public received Act I of Die Walküre with similar enthusiasm. See ibid., 30 April 1882 and 28 March 1886 respectively.

145 CP feuilleton of 30 September 1857 (see the excerpt given above on pp. 329-30).

146 "Chronique musicale: M. Richard Wagner," GN p. 5 (see above, p. 331).

147 Arthur Pougin disdainfully described these fanatics as "des poseurs et des godelureaux de ce temps-ci, pour lesquels il semble que

l'auteur de Tristan ait inventé la musique." See his obituary "Ernest Reyer," Le Ménestrel 75 (23 January 1909):27.

148 Alfred Einstein, Gluck, trans. Eric Blom, The Master Musicians Series (London: J. M. Dent, 1936; reprint ed., New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1964), p. 192. Einstein explains that Gluck rejected "the operatic type of Metastasio," and Wagner rebelled against "the singer's opera of Rossini and the 'grand opera' of Meyerbeer" (ibid.).

149 Wagner's views on the significance of Beethoven's having resorted to the words of a poet in order to achieve ultimate communication, are made clear by Gerald Abraham in his summary of Oper und Drama in A Hundred Years of Music, 4th ed. (London: Duckworth, 1974), pp. 99-101. See also the following: Ernest Newman, Wagner as Man and Artist, 2d ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1924; reprint ed., New York: Vintage Books, 1960), pp. 256-65; and NG, s.v. "Wagner, (Wilhelm) Richard," by Curt von Westernhagen and Carl Dahlhaus, p. 111.

150 JD feuilleton of 30 September 1868.

151 "Richard Wagner et la critique (Suite) [Reyer's letter-article to Judith Mendès]," La Presse, 29 October 1868, p. 3.

152 JD feuilleton of 19 May 1889.

153 Die Meistersinger, for example, is in many ways a repudiation of Wagner's theories: it is written in rhymed verse; the characters are drawn not from myth or legend but rather from sixteenth-century Nuremberg; and there are numerous set-numbers (including a ballet) embedded in the musical fabric. As indicated above (n. 120), Reyer would not describe this work as a music drama.

154 Ibid., 27 March 1887.

155 CP feuilleton of 30 September 1857 (see the longer excerpt given above, p. 333).

156 JD feuilleton of 10 January 1882.

157 As Kapellmeister to the King of Saxony, Wagner directed the first Dresden performances of Armide (5 March 1843) and Iphigenia in Aulis (24 February 1847). Westernhagen observes that the presentation of the latter was an act of considerable audacity on Wagner's part, because "Iphigenia in Aulis was decried at that time as Gluck's most dated work." (Wagner, 1:107.) Paul Bekker offers the following speculation concerning Wagner's attitude toward Gluck's lyric declamation: ". . . he could forget Gluck's formal aria melodies in the grand sweep of his recitatives. Here he found an intimation of something he himself had envisaged; here was free outlet for the emotional will to expression." (Richard Wagner: His Life in His Work, trans. M. M. Bozman [New York: W. W. Norton, 1931], p. 143.)

158 According to Bekker, Wagner was particularly interested in this recitative because "there he found the same problems of interpretation and performance which had interested him so deeply in Gluck's recitative, a free-flowing melody emancipated from the period, 'Melos' based on the significant declamatory phrase." (Ibid., p. 144.)

Wagner may also have been influenced by the striving for expressively accurate textual declamation in passages of Weber's Euryanthe. As noted in Chapter VI (p. 242), Donald Grout and John Warrack find in Weber's opera suggestions of Wagner's Sprechgesang. We know that Wagner readily admitted to having been profoundly affected by Weber's music in general and Euryanthe in particular: he signalled Weber as "mon premier modèle, mon vénéré maître"; declared that "analogies très visibles" connected Tannhäuser to earlier works, especially those of Weber; and acknowledged the existence of obvious similarities between the libretto of Lohengrin and that of Euryanthe (see above, n. 76 and p. 336). There is other evidence attesting specifically to Wagner's admiration for Euryanthe: the second-act duet between the villain and villainess in Lohengrin strongly resembles the analogous duet in Euryanthe, as Reyer observed; and--unbeknown to the French critic--Wagner had written a funeral march based entirely on motifs from Euryanthe on the occasion of the reburial of Weber's mortal remains at Dresden in 1844.

159 Reyer's likening of the triumphal march in Rienzi to the one in Spontini's Olimpie (JD feuilleton of 18 April 1869) may have been inspired by a remark made a few years earlier by Berlioz in his Mémoires. (As noted on p. 267 of this dissertation, Reyer had received one of the five copies of the Mémoires that had been printed during Berlioz's lifetime.) Recalling a Dresden performance of the last three acts of Rienzi, Berlioz had written: "I remember . . . a triumphal march modelled, though in no spirit of slavish imitation, on the superb march in Spontini's Olimpie." (The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz, trans. and ed. David Cairns [London: Victor Gollancz, 1969; reprint ed., 1977], p. 303.)

The Spontinian element in Rienzi is more pervasive than is suggested either by the one example cited above, or by Reyer's general remark that "la muse de Spontini" had exercised "quelque influence sur le style de Richard Wagner à son début." (JD feuilleton of 18 April 1867; see the excerpt given above on p. 334.) Wagner himself declared eventually that the principal influence on Rienzi had been Spontini's Fernand Cortez, which he had heard--conducted by the composer--during a short stay in Berlin in June 1836: "The most important artistic experience I had came to me through the performance of Fernand Cortez . . . This extraordinarily distinct impression took a drastic hold of me, and above all served to guide me in my conception of Rienzi." (From the English translation [1911] of Mein Leben, quoted by John Warrack in "The Musical Background," in The Wagner Companion, ed. Peter Burbidge and Richard Sutton [New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979], p. 102.)

160 The atmosphere of Rienzi does not seem touched by what Reyer described as "le souffle héroïque et chevaleresque d'Euryanthe" (JD

feuilleton of 18 April 1869). Rienzi is set in the Middle Ages, but there is nothing very chivalric about this grand historical opera: the heroism displayed by the Roman tribunal and his devoted sister can scarcely be likened to the behavior of the mediaeval knights and nobles in Weber's opera. One of Reyer's comments however does contain a grain of truth: like Weber, Wagner keeps the ear interested without constantly modulating, and he does not resort to cymbals and bass drum in the tuttis.

161 Both Donald Jay Grout and John Warrack designate Marschner's two operas as having been models for Holländer. (See Grout, A Short History of Opera, 2d ed., 2 vols. [New York: Columbia University Press, 1965], 2:389 and 395; and Warrack in The Wagner Companion, pp. 109-10.) It is Warrack who names Oberon as a third vital influence on Wagner's opera (ibid., p. 94, and idem, Carl Maria von Weber, 2d ed. [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976], pp. 336-38).

When Reyer heard Holländer at Weimar, five years had elapsed since he had seen Oberon (Théâtre-Lyrique, 1858; revival of the 1857 production). When he reviewed the Parisian premiere of Wagner's opera in 1897, Reyer's memory of Oberon would again have been dim, because more than twenty years had passed since he had last seen it (Salle Ventadour, 1876).

162 JD feuilleton of 23 May 1897.

163 Carl Dahlhaus, Richard Wagner's Music Dramas, trans. Mary Whittall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 14.

164 JD feuilleton of 23 May 1897.

165 Oberon's aria "is Wagnerian not only in its restless urgency of movement but in the manner in which the vocal line seems to grow out of the orchestra rather than impose a certain kind of accompaniment on it: this might almost be the Flying Dutchman himself, in the 6/8 section of 'Die Frist ist um'." (Warrack, Weber, p. 338.)

166 Ibid., p. 336.

167 See the excerpts from Souvenirs and from the JD feuilleton of 23 May 1897, given above in nn. 31 and 78 respectively.

168 Warrack suggests that Wagner was influenced by certain aspects of the last scene in Act II of Hans Heiling, and that this opera as a whole treats "the theme of the split between the spirit and human worlds . . . in a manner well on the way to all Wagner was to discover in the idea for Holländer, Tannhäuser, and Lohengrin." (The Wagner Companion, p. 110.) Both Warrack and Grout observe that the central situation of Lohengrin is similar to that of Marschner's Der Templer und die Jüdin, and that there is much of Wagner's Elsa in the scene of Templer in which Rebecca waits hopefully for her champion. (Ibid., p. 109; and Grout, Opera, 2:389.)

169 Donald Jay Grout, A History of Western Music, 3d rev. ed., with Claude V. Palisca (New York: W. W. Norton, 1980), p. 629.

170 Rey M. Longyear, Nineteenth-Century Romanticism in Music, 2d ed., Prentice-Hall History of Music Series (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973), p. 172; and Paul Henry Lang, Critic at the Opera (New York: W. W. Norton, 1971), p. 230.

171 CP feuilleton of 30 September 1857.

172 Ibid. (A longer excerpt was given above on p. 333.)

173 In Reyer's review of the 1895 revival, there is one statement in particular which indicates that the score of the Paris version had become familiar to him: "La 'Bacchanale' et le duo qui suit n'avaient pas à l'origine les dimensions qu'ils ont aujourd'hui. Wagner les a développés en vue des représentations de l'Opéra, et c'est cette version qui a été conservée." (JD feuilleton of 25 May 1895.)

174 Ibid.

175 Ibid.

176 Ibid.

177 Warrack, Weber, p. 297.

178 Ibid., p. 367.

179 After Wagner's thrice-given concert at the Théâtre-Italien--a concert of music from Holländer, Tannhäuser, Lohengrin, and Tristan--Reyer remarked that "chaque instrument a un rôle, une personnification," and illustrated his point by discussing the Tannhäuser overture. ("Chronique musicale: M. Richard Wagner," GN p. 6; see the excerpt given above in n. 127.)

180 Warrack in The Wagner Companion, p. 94.

181 La Presse, 29 October 1868, p. 3. ". . . ces formes nouvelles qui sont un peu cette absence de forme dont vous faites honneur à Richard Wagner" was probably an allusion to Mme Mendès's contention that Wagner was the first composer to change the "forme" of opera as it had existed since the time of Gluck:

> "En réalité, l'admirable auteur d'Iphigénie en Aulide n'a fait que des tentatives d'améliorations; il ne s'est pas violemment délivré des préjugés italiens. . . . La forme de l'opéra est restée la même.
>
> Ouvrez une partition de Wagner, vous y chercherez vainement cette forme. Il a définitivement aboli les divisions conventionelles qui brisent l'unité de l'oeuvre et en font un amas de pièces et de morceaux.

> . . . Là est la véritable innovation qui appartient absolument à Wagner."
> (Judith Mendès, "Richard Wagner et la critique," ibid., 17 October 1868, p. 3)

The fact that Reyer found in Euryanthe "ces formes nouvelles qui sont un peu cette absence de forme" suggests an awareness that, as Warrack observed a century later, "the domination of closed forms" is "gone, or at any rate weakened" in Weber's opera, and that it therefore "makes an important move in the direction of Wagnerian music drama." (Weber, p. 289.)

182 Namely, a passage in the prelude to Act III of Lohengrin, and the reiterated figure with which the violins accompany the theme of the Pilgrims' Chorus in the Tannhäuser overture (see above, pp. 336-37).

183 Barzun, Berlioz, 2:193.

184 From Reyer's protest that Wagner's detractors had prejudiced the Parisian public against Rienzi before its premiere in the capital (JD feuilleton of 18 April 1869; see the longer excerpt given above in n. 23).

185 See Barzun, Berlioz, 2:183-86 and 192-93; and Warrack in The Wagner Companion, pp. 111-12. Gerald Abraham is one of the very few twentieth-century scholars who--decades before the appearance of the first edition of Barzun's book (1950)--took important notice of Wagner's musical debt to Berlioz. In 1924 Abraham declared that "without Berlioz there would have been no Wagner," and then supported his point by tracing in detail the connections between Roméo et Juliette and Tristan und Isolde. See "The Influence of Berlioz on Richard Wagner," Music and Letters 5 (July 1924):239-46.

186 Servières, Wagner jugé, p. 34 (see ibid., pp. 84-94 for excerpts from a sampling of reviews of the Parisian premiere).

187 Ibid., p. 34.

188 Paul Bekker, The Orchestra (New York: W. W. Norton, 1936; reprint ed., The Norton Library, 1963), p. 186.

189 CP feuilleton of 30 September 1857.

190 Servières tells us that "une semaine avant la première représentation, M. Pasdeloup était allé à Zurich prendre les instructions définitives du compositeur, afin de se conformer à ses intentions musicales." (Wagner jugé, p. 143n.) Georges Bizet, who attended the dress-rehearsal, described the small army of performers: "Qautre-vingts musiciens à l'orchestre, -- trente sur la scène, -- cent trente choristes, -- cent cinquante figurants." (Letter to Edmond Galabert, quoted in ibid., p. 142.)

191 JD feuilleton of 18 April 1869.

192 Ibid. As Reyer's readers would have known, the Opéra's building on the rue Le Peletier (cap. 1,954) was much larger than that of the Lyrique on the Place du Châtelet (cap. 1,243).

193 Reyer's insistence that there is a difference between sonority and noise may seem familiar to us, for we observed in Chapter VI (p. 237) that he had often made this point in writings on French opera in the 1850s. His description of the stereotypical Italian finale (quoted above in n. 101) was not a ludicrous exaggeration: Edward Dent described it in almost identical terms in The Rise of Romantic Opera, ed. Winton Dean (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 98.

194 JD feuilleton of 18 April 1869 (review of Rienzi; a longer excerpt was given above on p. 339). Compare Reyer's comments on Wagner's orchestration and treatment of the chorus in this opera with the excerpts which Servières quotes from reviews by other critics (Wagner jugé, pp. 144-46 and 148-50).

195 JD feuilleton of 18 April 1869.

196 See ibid., 27 April 1879 and 13 May 1893, for Reyer's remarks concerning the choral writing in Tannhäuser and Lohengrin. When Die Meistersinger was premiered at Paris, he delightedly called his readers' attention to an outstanding example of contrapuntal writing: the tumultuous finale of Act I, "écrit ça et là à seize parties réelles." (Ibid., 21 November 1897.)

197 Abraham, A Hundred Years, p. 119.

198 "Chronique musicale: M. Richard Wagner," GN p. 6. (A longer excerpt was given above, p. 340.)

199 JD feuilleton of 9 February 1860 (Berlioz's review of Wagner's concert).

200 Ernest Newman, The Wagner Operas (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), p. 96. In fairness to Wagner, Newman adds that Wolfram's song "in its own day was rich in new harmonic suggestions."

201 Lang, Critic, p. 239. See also Dahlhaus, Music Dramas, pp. 75 and 78; and Grout, Opera, 2:418-19.

202 Longyear claims that, in both Siegfried and Das Rheingold, "the composer's theories interfere with his instinctive musical and theatrical sense." (Nineteenth-Century Romanticism, p. 172.) Lang, too, is critical of Siegfried. "This is the talkiest opera in the tetralogy, forcing Wagner to a rather fretful play with the leitmotifs through a series of developments." (Critic, p. 234.) Lang objects particularly to two dialogues in Act I: that of Mime and Siegfried ("interminable"),

and the question-and-answer game between Mime and the Wanderer. (Ibid., pp. 234-35.)

203 When reviewing the premiere of Siegfried in French translation at Brussels, Reyer ventured the opinion that the "intensité d'émotion" of each opera in the tetralogy slackened "en certains momens où les longs développemens donnés à la forme dialoguée font que toute l'attention va peu à peu se fixer sur la complexité du travail instrumental. C'est alors peut-être que la connaissance des phrases typiques devient indispensable." Near the end of the review Reyer remarked that the question-and-answer game was one of the dialogues which might be more effective if shortened. He also observed that the encounter between Alberich and the Wanderer slowed the movement of the drama "sans être au point de vue musical d'un intérêt bien puissant" (JD feuilleton of 18 January 1891).

204 Ibid.

205 In the words of Joseph Kerman, "Wagner's operas and his writings forced the nineteenth century, and the twentieth, to approach opera with a new high-mindedness, which is waning only today." (Opera as Drama [New York: Vintage Books, 1956], pp. 3-4.) Grout suggests that the most profoundly influential of "the Wagnerian ideas and methods" was "the principle that lay at the basis of the Gesamtkunstwerk idea, namely, that every detail of a work must be connected with the dramatic purpose and serve to further that purpose." (Opera, 2:422.)

206 JD feuilleton of 8 May 1887.

207 Ibid., 18 January 1891.

208 Dahlhaus maintains that this relationship between the vocal line and the orchestra can be found also in passages of Lohengrin. He cites as an example the Ortrud-Frederick scene at the beginning of Act II: "The dialogue . . . is supported almost throughout by orchestral motives which, together and in conjunction with the vocal phrases, form the 'melody'" (Music Dramas, p. 47).

209 Even though--he claimed--he completely forgot his theories when he was composing this work (see his "Lettre," p. 74 in the new edition of Quatre poèmes).

210 As indicated above, n. 132.

211 After stating that he had never before heard Tristan with the orchestra, Reyer marvelled at the beauty of the orchestral writing:

> "Ce travail instrumental, pourtant si compliqué, est d'une beauté réelle. N'y cherchez point les piquantes sonorités, les ingénieuses oppositions de timbres que vous aimeriez peut-être à y rencontrer et auxquelles d'autres oeuvres[,] qui certainement ne valent pas

> celle-là et ne sont pas conçues dans le même esprit[,] vous ont habitués."
> (JD feuilleton of 22 March 1884)

212 Newman, The Wagner Operas, pp. 202-3.

213 Discussed in Chapter III, pp. 131-32.

214 CP feuilleton of 22 February 1858. (A longer excerpt was given on p. 330.)

215 Reyer initially voiced this position in his review of the premiere of La Valkyrie at Brussels in 1887. On this occasion--the first production of any part of the Ring in French translation--he dissociated himself from the "wagnériens" who embraced only the music dramas:

> ". . . que nous parlez-vous de Tannhäuser, du Vaisseau-Fantôme et de Lohengrin, ouvrages que Richard Wagner lui-même a répudiés! Le vrai 'art allemand' et le vrai wagnérisme sont, je le sais, de date plus récente. Mais, si la religion nouvelle me commande de n'adorer le dieu que dans son incarnation dernière, de n'adorer que lui seul, de mépriser tout le reste et moi-même, alors non, mille fois non, je ne suis pas un vrai wagnérien."
> (JD feuilleton of 20 March 1887)

216 We have seen that, in the review of Lamoureux's premiere of Act I of Tristan in concert, Reyer referred to "la teinte un peu uniforme de ces longues mélopées, de ces longs récits." (Ibid., 22 March 1884; excerpted above on p. 345.) We have also noted that, in his opinion, the emotional intensity of each opera in the Ring cycle lagged during "les longs développemens donnés à la forme dialoguée" (ibid., 18 January 1891; see the excerpt in n. 203). In his review of the Brussels premiere of La Valkyrie a few years earlier, he expressed similar reservations about the prevalence of dialogue in the Ring: "Il n'y a que de très rares ensembles vocaux dans la tétralogie . . . Le dialogue, plus ou moins serré, plus ou moins rapide, est-il donc la seule forme musicale rationnelle dans laquelle doive se dérouler le drame lyrique?" (Ibid., 20 March 1887.)

217 During an informal conversation with Arthur Pougin in 1891, Reyer defended his attitude toward Wagner, focusing on his refusal to condemn other composers:

> "Les wagnériens, si maladroits, si intransigeants, et qui ont fait en France tant de tort à Wagner par leur exclusivisme inepte et leur enthousiasme de commande, ne sauraient me reprocher ma tiédeur à l'égard de Wagner, car je l'admire autant qu'eux, et peut-être plus intelligemment qu'eux. Mais je ne me crois pas, comme eux, obligé de condamner tout ce qui s'est fait avant lui et en dehors de lui. Je crois que Grétry, en dépit de sa faible instruction musicale, était cependant ce qu'on

peut appeler un grand musicien. Je crois que Bellini, parfois si ignorant et si maladroit, était un grand poète en musique . . . Je crois que l'artiste qui a écrit la touchante et palpitante romance de Nina [Dalayrac] était, lui aussi, un grand artiste, et mon admiration pour Wagner ne m'empêche pas d'admirer ceux-là, parce qu'en art il faut être éclectique, et savoir comprendre et apprécier le beau partout où il se trouve."
(Quoted by Pougin in "Ernest Reyer," p. 27)

218 JD feuilleton of 2 December 1866.

CHAPTER IX

REYER AND CONTEMPORARY FRENCH COMPOSERS

Overview

Jacques Barzun has written: "One test of a critic's powers is of course his capacity to discover new talents, and this duty becomes even more exacting when the critic is himself a creator."[1] The preference of Reyer the composer for the works of Gluck, Spontini, Weber, and Berlioz by no means prejudiced Reyer the critic against other composers, for he campaigned with vigour on behalf of many contemporary compatriots who proved to be among the leaders of French music during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Both Gounod and Saint-Saëns were warmly greeted by Reyer when they began their careers in the 1850s, and throughout his own long career he expressed respect for their gifts, even if he did not profess ardent admiration for each one of their works. The 1860s brought to his attention Massenet and Bizet--two other young composers destined for great acclaim--as well as Alexis de Castillon. Reyer was a staunch champion of Bizet, and mourned his early death as a great loss to French music. Massenet, too, was enthusiastically encouraged by Reyer, who remained appreciative of this composer's sense of instrumental color but sometimes objected to both his eclecticism and the facile charm of his melodies.[2] Reyer could do little more than salute the appearance of the young Castillon on the French musical horizon in 1869; four years later

his life came to a tragically premature end.[3]

During the 1870s and 1880s Reyer's fraternal support helped launch and sustain the careers of several important newcomers to the French musical scene. In 1871, after hearing fragments of Franck's _églogue biblique Ruth_, he began persistently calling attention to this unrecognized composer, who at that time was known only as the organist of Sainte-Clotilde.[4] The following year, when Lalo published his unperformed opera _Fiesque_, Reyer started to encourage this musician who, like Franck, had made a name for himself as a performer rather than a composer. The premiere of the glittering orchestral rhapsody _España_ in 1883 brought sudden acclaim to a third musician who had reached middle age before devoting himself to composition: Chabrier, whose brief career Reyer followed with great interest.[5]

The 1870s and 1880s also acquainted Reyer with a younger generation of composers, including Godard, d'Indy, and Bruneau. Reyer first noticed Godard in 1870--eight years before the _symphonie dramatique Le Tasse_ made him an overnight celebrity--and remained one of his most consistent admirers.[6] In 1874 Reyer praised the overture _Les Piccolomini_ by the twenty-three-year-old d'Indy, a student at the Conservatoire; a dozen years later, after hearing the dramatic legend _La Cloche_, he pronounced d'Indy "un maître."[7] Reyer was impressed by the young Bruneau's choral symphony _Leda_ (1884) and warmly defended Bruneau when, three years later, the public hissed his first opera, _Kérim_.[8]

Reyer's activity as _feuilletoniste_ for the _Débats_ declined steadily after 1888,[9] but he kept abreast of contemporary currents in French

lyric theatre. His reviews of Bruneau's Le Rêve and L'Attaque du moulin manifest great understanding of the ideals of this composer.[10] At the opposite end of the French operatic spectrum stood Messager, whose La Basoche and Madame Chrysanthème were heartily applauded by Reyer.[11]

A few of Reyer's compatriots acknowledged his encouragement with acts of hommage. For example, shortly after Reyer had devoted two articles to the young Gounod's choruses for Ponsard's drama Ulysse (1852), the grateful composer presented Reyer with the score, inscribed with a "flatteuse dédicace."[12] Fifty-five years later, Bruneau published a tribute to the composer-critic whom he described as "un des rares hommes illustres de notre époque dont on puisse admirer également l'oeuvre et le caractère."[13] One of the strongest indications of how highly Reyer was regarded by some of his contemporaries is the fact that in 1876, when he was nominated for the third time to the Institut de France, Saint-Saëns and Massenet--two of the younger composers who were nominated with Reyer--withdrew in deference to him.[14]

Critical analysis

In the 1850s and 1860s Reyer, as we have seen, hailed with prophetic enthusiasm three young composers whose early efforts either attracted little public attention or were outright failures: Gounod, Massenet, and Bizet. During these years, too, he insistently applauded Saint-Saëns, the prodigy who--as late as 1860--was making most critics shudder at "des dissonances, des retards, et des recherches de toutes sortes."[15] Concerning the thirty-year-old Castillon, Reyer was again virtually clairvoyant, divining the young man's extraordinary promise after merely

examining some of his works for piano.

Since Reyer was so obviously interested in young French composers, it may seem puzzling that he never discussed the Société nationale de musique, founded in 1871 by Saint-Saëns and other musicians determined to encourage their colleagues by giving performances of their instrumental works.[16] Reyer's silence should surely not be attributed to lack of interest in the society, whose adherents included three of his closest friends: Bizet, Lalo, and Ernest Guiraud. A more plausible explanation is that Reyer chose, or was required by his contract with the Débats, to focus his attention on music that was of topical interest to his readers, such as the operas heard at the lyric theatres and the works presented by the great Parisian concert societies. The Société nationale, although of vital importance to musicians, did not admit the public, and, during the early years of its existence, was so small that it could only present performances of chamber music and piano reductions of new orchestral scores. Its nickname of "la petite chapelle" stuck as late as 1894.[17]

It is a great loss to music historians that Reyer did not give space to the concerts of the Société nationale, for the reactions of so astute a critic to the wealth of music introduced by this organization --which stood godfather to a rebirth of French instrumental composition --would be of unquestionable interest. We can be thankful, however, that at least some of the names which were associated with the society also figured on the programs which had wider exposure and therefore were reviewed by Reyer.

The oeuvre of Franck is a case in point, for at various Parisian concerts Reyer heard Ruth, Rédemption, excerpts from Les Béatitudes, and some of the organ music. While we may dispute his preference for Ruth[18] over both Rédemption and Les Béatitudes, we should realize that he had good reason to remember Ruth with special fondness: this was the work which had revealed to him the unrecognized genius of the obscure organist of Sainte-Clotilde; and, when he first heard it, oratorio--a genre dear to his heart--was still a rarity in France. His overestimation of Ruth is counterbalanced by his astute criticism of Franck's tendency in Rédemption to "montre un peu trop le bout de l'oreille d'organiste,"[19] and by his praise of the organ music as deserving of a place beside the masterpieces of Bach, Handel, Mendelssohn, and Schumann.[20]

We should not underestimate the significance of Lalo and Chabrier, the other two "mature" composers--and members of the Société nationale --whose careers Reyer helped launch in the 1870s and 1880s. Lalo will later be discussed at length, and we shall see that Reyer's love of this composer's two outstanding works for the stage did not blind him to the importance of the orchestral music. Chabrier has been praised as one of the most inventive French composers of the late nineteenth century by such diverse figures as Ravel, Poulenc, the modern critic Harold C. Schonberg, and the musicologist Donald Jay Grout;[21] yet his oeuvre is now almost entirely forgotten. Reyer particularly admired Chabrier's "très réelle et très vivante personnalité"[22] in the harmonic language of Le Roi malgré lui (1887)--a work which is, in Grout's opinion, "harmonically one of the most original opéras comiques of this period."[23]

A large and gifted younger generation of composers was growing up in France during the 1870s: Fauré, Duparc, Chausson, d'Indy, Messager, Bruneau, Debussy, and a host of others would become largely responsible for an amazing flowering that would last well into the new century. Since most of the efforts of the post-1870 generation were heard at programs of the Société nationale, few of these new talents came to public attention before the 1890s, by which time Reyer was drastically curtailing his activities as a critic. The sad consequence of this situation is that he had very few opportunities to write about any of the members of this extraordinary generation.

One of Reyer's major lapses apropos of the young generation was his overestimation of Benjamin Godard. This precocious and prolific musician, who was scarcely sixteen when he began publishing sonatas, quartets, piano pieces, and mélodies, acquired an enviable reputation as a composer of salon music before winning the Prix de la ville de Paris with his symphonie dramatique Le Tasse (1878). This work--an example of the hybrid genre that had been initiated by Berlioz's Roméo et Juliette and continued by Félicien David, Reyer, and Bizet--raised high hopes in the hearts of many, including Pasdeloup, who conducted several of Godard's later works. However, the promise shown by Le Tasse, which remained Reyer's favorite of all Godard's efforts, was never fulfilled.

D'Indy, Reyer's other young "discovery" of the 1870s, did fulfil the promise of both Les Piccolomini and La Cloche, which won the Prix de la ville de Paris for 1885. It is puzzling that Reyer, after writing so perceptively about these works, ranked the composer's next effort--the Symphonie cévenole--below La Cloche.[24] How could he have made such an

error concerning a symphony which is now regarded as one of d'Indy's finest compositions, and, indeed, is praised by the musicologist and critic Paul Landormy as "une des plus belles oeuvres qu'ait produites l'école des symphonistes français"?[25] The probable answer is that, for once, Reyer allowed his personal preference for opera to influence his critical judgment. The Wagnerian imprint on Les Piccolomini had prompted him to remark that "c'est un tempérament dramatique, fortifié par de sérieuses qualités de symphoniste,"[26] and the choral work La Cloche--in which he again discerned the strong influence of Wagner[27]--had led Reyer to hope that d'Indy's next step would be to attempt a work for lyric theatre. When the composer instead turned away from Wagner and wrote a symphony based on a French folk tune, Reyer's disappointment evidently got the better of him. Ironically, d'Indy did eventually realize Reyer's hopes: his Fervaal (1897) and L'Etranger (1903) brought about "the most thorough and at the same time the most personal adaptation of Wagner's methods to French opera."[28]

Reyer's ability at times to discern outstanding talent in youthful works is demonstrated not only by his assessment of the twenty-three-year-old d'Indy's Les Piccolomini, but also by his review of Bruneau's choral symphony Léda, composed at the age of twenty-five. We should note, too, the astuteness of his judgment concerning Bruneau's next work, the oriental opera Kérim. In this operatic debut Reyer found a somewhat incongruous mixture of Wagnerian harmonic experiments and "couleur orientale"; nevertheless, he pronounced the score "pleine de talent," and was outraged that it was hissed because of what the public perceived as "des tendances subversives, wagnériennes."[29] The boldness

of the harmonic language of Kérim was exceeded by that of Bruneau's next opera, Le Rêve (1891). In the latter--composed before Debussy had written the first works of his maturity--Bruneau utilized sequences of block triads and whole-tone harmonies. Such features must surely have sounded strange to Parisian ears, and we therefore cannot wonder that Reyer preferred the less audacious harmonic language of L'Attaque du moulin (1893).

Le Rêve, L'Attaque du moulin, and subsequent attempts by Bruneau to transport to the stage the starkly realistic writings of Emile Zola excited more discussion than did the operas of any other living French composer during the last decade of the century. Some critics hailed him as the rightful French successor of Wagner, while others stigmatized him as a wearisome impostor. Reyer avoided both extremes, avowing that he did not regard Bruneau's works as Wagnerian "bien que certains procédés particuliers à Richard Wagner y soient employés."[30] Reyer's principal reasons for taking this position were that the realistic dramas were "loin de la légende, de sa poésie et des ses héros,"[31] and that the style of lyric declamation was unlike anything found in Wagner. Thus, Reyer put his finger on the fact that Bruneau was not championing the cause of French Wagnerian opera, but was instead reacting against it by bringing to lyric theatre an authentic picture of ordinary human beings enmeshed in current economic and social problems, without the trappings of melodic appeal and eye-catching historical or mythological settings. As Bruneau said, "Je veux faire du théâtre vivant, humain et bref."[32]

Reyer concluded his review of L'Attaque du moulin by predicting that "M. Alfred Bruneau, disciple lui-même, aura des disciples à son

tour."[33] Clearly, the critic hoped that Bruneau--by absorbing the phenomenon of Wagner in a manner which strengthened his individuality--was blazing a trail which some of his compatriots would follow. In this Reyer was sadly mistaken, for the only other French composer who would pursue the ideal of operatic realism was Charpentier, whose Louise (1900) would enjoy more success than any of Bruneau's austere works.

One name is conspicuously absent from among the handful of young composers singled out by Reyer during the 1880s and 1890s: Claude Debussy. The latter came to Reyer's attention in 1883, when, as a member of the Académie des Beaux-Arts, he took part in the judging of the cantatas submitted for the Prix de Rome. The twenty-year-old Debussy's setting of the poem chosen for the competition, Emile Moreau's "Le Gladiateur," was awarded second place. In a feuilleton about the competition, Reyer admitted that both Debussy and Charles René--who had placed third--had closely rivalled the winner, Paul Vidal. However, Reyer expressed more enthusiasm for René than for Debussy, whom he described as possessing "un véritable tempérament de musicien"[34] but lacking Vidal's expertise in the technique of his art. Many other critics were more sympathetic toward Debussy's score, observing that, despite its very evident technical deficiencies, it showed more originality than did that of Vidal.[35]

We might be able to understand Reyer's initial misjudgment of a clumsily written score by an inexperienced pupil if, the next year, he had expressed a sound opinion of the far superior L'Enfant prodigue, with which Debussy won the Prix de Rome. Instead, Reyer gave no report on the competition. Another eminent critic, Arthur Pougin, declared in

the Belgian review Le Guide musical that the prize should have been awarded to Charles René, and added: "C'est l'avis d'un membre de l'Académie, bien connu à Bruxelles."[36] That academician could only have been Reyer, whose Sigurd had triumphed at the Belgian capital in January, and who had been impressed by René's submission in the Prix de Rome competition of 1883.

If Reyer was unenthusiastic about L'Enfant prodigue--a work which, for the competition, had been deliberately produced in the style of the recognized masters of the day[37]--he must have been bewildered by the four compositions which Debussy, as winner of the Prix de Rome, submitted to the Académie: Zuleïma; the piano score of Le Printemps; La Damoiselle élue; and Fantaisie.[38] Of these four, only the latter two were cautiously accepted by the jury, which consisted of Reyer and the other five holders of musicians' chairs in the Académie des Beaux-Arts.[39] We cannot but regret that Debussy's break with the Académie in 1890 prevented the public presentation of the two accepted envois at an official concert--an event which Reyer, as was his custom, would have reviewed for the Débats. Such a concert would have enabled him to hear Debussy's music with the orchestra for the first time, and, while the experience might not have entirely won him over--as the orchestral performance of Act I of Tristan had done in 1884--it might at least have made him more favorable toward the young Frenchman.

It is very possible that, because of Reyer's frequent absences from Paris during his last decade with the Débats, he heard little or nothing of Debussy's music. The Société nationale's premieres of La Damoiselle élue (1893), the String Quartet (1893), and the Prélude à l'après-midi

d'un faune (1894)--the three performances that introduced Debussy to a broad spectrum of Parisian musicians--were all missed by the vacationing Reyer.[40] The Prélude was presented by Colonne in 1895, and within a few years had become part of the repertoires of all the Parisian concert societies, but we cannot say whether or not Reyer happened to hear it during one of his brief stays in the capital.

Even if Reyer was unable to attend performances of Debussy's music, he must have heard talk of the young composer from their mutual friend Ernest Guiraud, Debussy's former teacher of composition. Why, then, did Reyer keep silent about Debussy? We can only conclude that he was unable to comprehend this extraordinary figure, just as Berlioz thirty years earlier had found that Wagner taxed his musical beliefs beyond the boundaries of acceptance.

* * *

Since a detailed discussion of Reyer's writings on each of the French composers whom he faithfully encouraged and supported would extend beyond the scope of this dissertation, we shall examine only a representative sampling: his articles and feuilletons on Gounod, Saint-Saëns, Bizet, and Lalo. These four composers have been selected because they were important forces in French musical life, and because their musical activities represent interesting similarities and contrasts. Both Gounod and Saint-Saëns began their careers in the 1850s, and by 1871 they were widely recognized as the pillars of French music.[41] Their musical productivity continued for decades. Both men composed in a variety of genres, but Gounod excelled in works for the lyric theatre, while Saint-Saëns was more at home with instrumental music. The much

shorter careers of Bizet and Lalo began in the 1860s and the 1870s respectively.[42] Neither composer was as prolific as Gounod or Saint-Saëns, and neither enjoyed great acclaim during his lifetime. Like Gounod, Bizet was at heart a man of the theatre, whereas Lalo, like Saint-Saëns, was inclined toward the concert hall, although he periodically strove for--and ultimately achieved--success in the theatre. Reyer's writings on these four composers span his entire career,[43] and reveal his views on a wide variety of significant works: several of the principal French operas of the second half of the nineteenth century; a wealth of instrumental music; and a ballet.

Gounod

Reyer's assessment

When the seventy-five-year-old Gounod died in 1893, Reyer mourned the loss of "une des gloires de la France."[44] He had recognized Gounod as one of the rising stars of French music more than forty years previously, devoting two of his earliest articles to the young composer's opera *Sapho* (1851) and the choruses for François Ponsard's tragedy *Ulysse* (1852).[45] *Sapho* and *Ulysse* were failures in the eyes of the public, and Gounod's future must therefore have seemed dubious to the uninitiated. However, it did not seem so to such perceptive critics as Adolphe Adam, Berlioz, and Reyer. While finding that "le talent de M. Gounod . . . ne s'est pas encore assez débarrassé de l'austerité inséparable de la forme religieuse"[46]--not surprising, in view of the fact that Gounod had initially been oriented toward *a cappella* sacred music--

Reyer applauded him for having resisted the influence of the titanic works of Meyerbeer, whose reputation in Paris was then at its height.

> Il est . . . urgent que le grand drame lyrique soit ramené à des proportions plus rationnelles, et nous croyons qu'une réaction qui s'opérera dans ce but constituera un progrès évident et nécessaire.
> . . . M. Charles Gounod . . . ne nous avait pas laissé de doute sur ses tendances musicales. Nous n'acceptons pas sans certaines réserves le style de M. Gounod, mais . . . nous devons louer amplement tout ce que son talent renferme de distinction, d'élégance, d'élévation et de simplicité, et tout ce qu'il peut y avoir dans la nature de ce talent d'utile à l'enseignement des jeunes musiciens de notre époque.[47]

Throughout his career Reyer regarded Sapho and the choruses for Ulysse as masterpieces, and deplored their neglect.[48]

During the 1850s and 1860s, the Théâtre-Lyrique premiered three small-scale works which Reyer ranked among the best of Gounod's operas: Le Médecin malgré lui (1858), Philémon et Baucis (1860), and Mireille (1864). He hailed Le Médecin malgré lui as a great artistic success--a wonderfully light-handed musical rendering of Molière's famous comedy, combining delightfully retrospective touches with Gounod's inimitable lyrical gift and his delicate craftsmanship.[49] Philémon et Baucis, another lighthearted work based on a familiar story, was for Reyer "[un] petit chef-d'oeuvre, . . . ni un drame, ni un vaudeville, ni une comédie et moins encore un opéra-comique. C'est une oeuvre où la fantaisie remplace la tradition et se joue de la règle."[50] Reyer was unable to attend the premiere of the opéra dialogué Mireille in March 1864 because he was then on his official mission to Germany; however, he saw the Lyrique's production before it closed in 1865, and reviewed the revivals at the Opéra-Comique in 1874 and 1889. He expressed delight at the

Provençal touches which scent "cette oeuvre tout inondée de poésie et de lumière, tout étincelante de verve et de gaieté."[51]

While Reyer was enchanted by all three of these finely wrought works, he also admired the longer ones composed for the Lyrique: Faust (1859) and Roméo et Juliette (1867). Faust, "très contesté à l'origine,"[52] was enthusiastically defended by Reyer and a few other critics --notably Berlioz--and soon achieved great popularity. Unlike Faust, Roméo was an overnight sensation which the critics praised en masse. Reyer, for one, was particularly impressed by the flair for musical characterization which Gounod demonstrated in this "oeuvre poétique et charmante."[53] Comparisons between Roméo and Faust were inevitable, and many critics professed a decided preference for the new work. Reyer, however, demonstrated his usual wariness of making a premature judgment: "On m'a déjà demandé si mes préférences étaient pour Roméo et Juliette ou pour Faust. C'est là une question fort embarrassante, à laquelle je ne puis guère répondre encore catégoriquement."[54] He later left no doubt as to which work he regarded as Gounod's masterpiece:

> . . . bien que pas mal de gens soient d'un avis contraire au mien, je ne place pas cette partition [de Roméo et Juliette] sur le même plan que celle de Faust, et je doute que son succès atteigne jamais à des proportions aussi considérables. Le chant de l'alouette a bien son charme; mais on se lassera de l'entendre quand on tressaillira encore au rire strident de Méphisto.[55]

In his obituary of Gounod, Reyer recalled that Faust, when it was premiered, "dérouta quelque peu la critique et le public," because "la forme en était neuve alors."[56] Reyer himself, however, had not been "dérouta," as is proved by the stout defense he published after attending the premiere. He began by adroitly quoting and replying to

contemporary gossip about the work. To those who complained that it was too symphonic, that there were too many choruses, and that the traditional ritornellos and rousing ensembles were missing,[57] he responded with wisdom and insight.

> Si ceux qui raisonnent de la sorte, qui s'adressent ces questions ou qui nous les adressent[,] exprimaient nettement leur façon de penser, ils avoueraient que ce qui les choque, ce qui leur déplaît, ce qui les déroute dans une oeuvre nouvelle, c'est la nouveauté de l'oeuvre. Tout ce que les intelligences médiocres ne saisissent pas de prime abord, elles le condamnent.[58]

By then giving voice to still more complaints made by listeners, he demonstrated his awareness that the popular stock figures of opéra comique had been replaced by recognizable human beings, and that the musical style was therefore more serious and expressive. Gone were the gay ariettes, refrains, and cavatinas; gone, too, were the vocal fireworks of the première chanteuse.[59] All of this was replaced by what the public perceived as "un quatuor à peine indiqué, un trio, un duo, une sérénade, une chanson, une valse, des choeurs et d'interminables récits."[60] Reyer lamented that any composer who, like Gounod, broke with musical routine in order to "traiter poétiquement un sujet poétique" was invariably regarded by the public as "un rêveur . . . tout à fait inhabile à traduire les différentes péripéties d'un drame ou d'une comédie."[61]

Reyer tried to refute this notion by drawing attention to the many parts of the score which, in his opinion, were outstandingly effective realizations of the implications of the text. One of the examples he cited was the passage where Faust and Marguerite meet for the first time:

> "Ma belle demoiselle, oserais-je vous offrir mon bras et une conduite? -- Je ne suis ni demoiselle ni belle et je n'ai besoin de personne pour rentrer à la maison." M. Gounod a traduit très poétiquement, par une phrase suave, cette conversation qui, n'était le caractère des personnages, n'aurait par elle-même rien de bien poétique.[62]

Reyer also thought very highly of the Kermesse, the Chorus of the Swords, the third-act quartet and love duet, the cathedral scene, and the prison scene.[63] His only major criticisms concerned two changes made in the Auerbach's cellar scene--the interruption of Brander's Song of the Rat and the omission of Mephistopheles's satire on the flea--and the adaptation of the Walpurgis Night scene.[64] He concluded by pronouncing Faust "une oeuvre que je n'hésite pas à classer parmi les plus belles de ce temps-ci: une oeuvre dans laquelle de très légères imperfections sont effacées par des inspirations et des beautés de premier ordre."[65]

Reyer declared that Gounod's command of compositional technique had never been surpassed, but that, for all his consummate craftsmanship, he was not at home in every genre.[66] Of his four grand operas--ranging from La Nonne sanglante (1854) to his last work for the stage, Le Tribut de Zamora (1881)--only one, Polyeucte (1878), found favor with Reyer, who felt that here Gounod had recaptured something of the noble simplicity which had distinguished Sapho and the choruses for Ulysse.[67] Unlike the many contemporary critics who believed that Gounod's religious music would survive for all eternity,[68] Reyer thought that only the Messe de Sainte-Cécile and the oratorio Gallia were truly distinguished, and he did not predict immortality for either one.[69] The only instrumental compositions which he particularly admired were the early symphonies in

D and E-flat.[70]

As indicated in the preceding paragraphs, Reyer had reservations about most of Gounod's large-scale works--both secular and sacred--and felt that his best works were Sapho, the choruses for Ulysse, and the five operas premiered at the Théâtre-Lyrique. In these compositions "on le retrouve . . . avec ses formules et ses cadences si particulières, sa phrase correcte, élégante, ses fines ciselures et ses pures harmonies, avec sa science aimable et son charme pénétrant."[71] Since he was of the opinion that Gounod's talent was essentially lyric rather than epic, Reyer applauded him for not adopting any Wagnerian pretensions during the last dozen years of his life: "Gounod . . . renonça au théâtre [après le Tribut de Zamora], ne voulant ou ne pouvant pas, comme il le disait lui-même, changer de Dieux, c'est-à-dire se résigner à subir les lois par lesquelles le drame lyrique venait de se régénérer."[72] Palestrina, Bach, and Mozart--these, said Reyer, were Gounod's musical gods, and he admired the composer for continuing to draw inspiration from them while cultivating "son style . . . très personnel."[73]

Critical analysis

We have observed that Reyer was by no means alone in regarding Sapho and Ulysse as masterpieces.[74] Two modern authorities--Martin Cooper and James Harding--also find much to praise in both works, but Cooper remarks that the characters in Sapho "were rather sentimentally conceived,"[75] and Harding points out several shortcomings in this opera as well as in the music for Ulysse.[76] The key to understanding the mid-century succès d'estime of these two works is to realize that, as Reyer

observed, they contain no hint of Meyerbeer, who was then the monarch of French lyric theatre. To Reyer, the simple, elegant vocal writing and the modest proportions of both Sapho and Ulysse represented a new spirit in music for the stage--a spirit unencumbered by the conventions of Meyerbeer's grand pageants, and therefore closer to an ideal union of "la musique à la tragédie."[77] This new spirit seemed to Reyer to be much more significant than what he perceived as the flaws in both works. James Harding would agree, for he makes similar remarks concerning Sapho and Ulysse.[78]

Like Reyer, we again sense this new spirit in each of the five works which Gounod wrote for the Théâtre-Lyrique. In Le Medecin malgré lui and Philémon et Baucis the composer unmistakably shed the Meyerbeerian ambitions of his earlier grand opera La Nonne sanglante, and, to Reyer's delight, cultivated instead his natural gifts for charming good humor, well-balanced and discreet orchestration, and tender lyricism. In Faust, Mireille, and Roméo et Juliette he applied this new musico-dramatic language to plots dealing almost exclusively with love, and became one of the principal creators of the genre which we now designate as opéra lyrique.

It speaks well for Reyer's judgment that, even after Roméo had become established in the repertoire, he would not rank this opera with Faust. While he was quite right in observing that certain numbers in Roméo show a flair for musical delineation of character,[79] he was also justified in finding a surfeit of love-music. As he predicted, "le chant de l'alouette"[80] has not won for Roméo the vast popularity of Faust, in which a greater variety of emotion is combined with what

Martin Cooper describes as Gounod's "fine sense of character."[81]

We might wonder why Reyer and other contemporary listeners found the form of Faust "nouvelle," for this work--like traditional opéra comique--is a number opera. However, as Reyer's review indicates, the novelty which "dérouta quelque peu la critique et le public"[82] lay not in a fundamental structural change, but rather in a combination of technical and expressive qualities not usually found in opéra comique.[83] This review vividly demonstrates Reyer's realization that Faust had brought to the genre a melodic and harmonic warmth and a humanity of which it was badly in need. We should note that he applauded the passage where Faust first meets Marguerite and she answers his greeting. Paul Landormy suggests that this style of flexible melody--free in rhythm, informal in tone--"prépare le chemin à nos Duparc et à nos Fauré, sous certains rapports même à nos Debussy."[84]

Reyer's criticisms of Faust are as perceptive as his words of praise. We can certainly share his regret that the Song of the Rat is scarcely begun before it is interrupted by Mephistopheles's "Veau d'or," and that the political satire on the flea is omitted. Geothe's verses on the rat and the flea might have inspired some piquant music, just as they had done in Berlioz's La Damnation de Faust. We can also agree with Reyer that the Walpurgis Night scene is not particularly effective. In the words of James Harding, "Gounod was not a very convincing dealer in horror, and the music he provides for this episode is altogether too neat and tidy."[85]

Like Reyer, we put aside these observations when we consider the abundant beauties of the work. Martin Cooper avows that Act III alone

offers a variety unprecedented in French opera,[86] and we cannot but concur when we consider the principal numbers: Faust's beautiful cantabile "Salut, demeure chaste et pure"; Marguerite's ballad; her brilliant aria (the Jewel Song); and the quartet and love duet, both of which were among Reyer's favorite parts of the opera. Small wonder, then, that he appreciated Act III as "certainement un des meilleurs de l'ouvrage."[87]

To opera-goers accustomed to Wagner, Verdi, the Italian verists, and Puccini, Faust may seem to be lacking in dramatic force, and, therefore, Reyer's defence of Gounod's ability to "traduire les différentes péripéties d'un drame"[88] may seem unconvincing. The resemblances between Gounod's Faust and Goethe's superman, Gounod's theatrical devil and the Mephistopheles of Goethe, or Mademoiselle Marguerite and Gretchen, are in fact very superficial. However, as Reyer wisely observed, the intent of the librettists had not been to create an operatic poem based on the entire drama. They had instead selected and developed "telles situations qui devaient séduire plus particulièrement l'imagination du compositeur,"[89] namely, those relating to the love-story of Faust and Gretchen. Within this limited context, the scenes and numbers which Reyer found "très dramatique"[90]--such as the trio in the prison scene--are completely successful. Indeed, most of the pages which Reyer singled out are regarded by modern critics and scholars as being among the finest in this opera--ample proof of the astuteness of his perceptions.

The one point about Gounod which we might wish Reyer had expanded is this composer's indebtedness to his three musical gods. Gounod's early passion for Bach and Palestrina instilled in him ideals that found

expression in the austerely polyphonic and often a cappella style of the Masses written during his youth. Although his naturally lyrical gifts soon led him away from such works, his first ideals were never quite obscured or forgotten, as Reyer observed in his obituary of the composer.[91] He might have illustrated his statement by demonstrating that the influence of Bach is apparent even in parts of Faust,[92] or by discussing the four Masses dating from the 1890s, one of which--the Messe dite de Clovis--is based on Gregorian chants. During Gounod's lifetime Reyer noted the influence of Mozart in a few works,[93] but this influence was much more pervasive than he indicated. For example, Arthur Hutchings discerns in Gounod's music "a Mozartean vein . . . [of] extreme chromatic sweetness,"[94] and James Harding maintains--apropos of the operas--that Gounod "could not write a bass part without subconsciously invoking Sarastro and die Zauberflöte."[95]

Reyer's general remarks concerning Gounod's art show that he perceived this composer's strengths and weaknesses more clearly than did many of his contemporaries. Gounod was indeed a masterful craftsman; his impeccable workmanship is exemplified by the fine details of orchestration which charmed Reyer in each of the five operas written for the Lyrique. Yet Gounod's technical mastery did not enable him to handle every genre "avec le même bonheur,"[96] because, as Reyer pointed out, his talent was essentially lyric rather than epic. The proof of the latter judgment is that Gounod is remembered neither for his oratorios--those grandiose objets de piété which once were very popular in both France and England--nor for his grand operas, his quantity of sacred music, and his instrumental music, but rather for Faust and Roméo et Juliette.

Here, as in the other three works written for the Lyrique, we find an elegant composer, possessing a fine ear for effects of harmony and orchestration, a gift for graceful and charming melody, and a genuine instinct for what may be called drame intime.

We have seen that two of Reyer's favorite works by Gounod--Sapho and the choruses from Ulysse--are, strictly speaking, not among the composer's best, but that their modest proportions and simple vocal lines were a radical departure from contemporary fashion in music for the stage. For this reason we can understand why Reyer ranked them alongside the works that are undoubtedly Gounod's finest: the now-forgotten Médecin malgré lui and Philémon et Baucis--each of which has a lightness of touch that the composer too often suppressed later--and the more serious Faust, Mireille, and Roméo et Juliette. Most remarkable of all Reyer's writings on these and other works by Gounod is the review of the premiere of Faust, which demonstrates an immediate appreciation for the many features that set this work apart from contemporary opéras comiques and made it the paradigm of a new genre.

Saint-Saëns

Reyer's assessment

As we have observed, Saint-Saëns was another young musician whose talents attracted Reyer's attention during the 1850s. There was a twelve-year difference in their ages, but the durations of their careers coincided almost exactly: Saint-Saëns started to make a name for himself during the mid-1850s, just a few years after Reyer had begun his career as a composer-critic; by the time the latter retired from the

Débats more than forty years later, Saint-Saëns had almost reached the end of his own creative life, having completed all the works upon which his reputation now rests.

During Reyer's long career as a critic, he managed to review all of the operas and many of the other major secular and sacred works by Saint-Saëns that were heard in Paris--quite an accomplishment, considering the fact that this composer was "the most prolific . . . among his contemporaries."[97] The only part of Saint-Saëns's voluminous oeuvre which Reyer did not discuss was the chamber music, almost all of which was presented not at public concerts but rather at performances sponsored by the Société nationale.

In addition to encouraging and defending Saint-Saëns in the pages of some of Paris's most respected journals and newspapers, Reyer worked on his behalf as a member of the Institut, putting forth every effort to gain support for Saint-Saëns when both he and Massenet were nominated in 1878. Neither Saint-Saëns's ungrateful conduct,[98] nor the brutal remark he made about Sigurd many years later,[99] soured Reyer's judgments of his music. Indeed, a few months after the gibe at Sigurd had made the rounds of Parisian salons, Reyer attended the premiere of Samson et Dalila at the Eden-Théâtre, and was among the first to pronounce this work a masterpiece.[100]

As early as 1854 Reyer was applauding the young Saint-Saëns as both a brilliant pianist and the composer of "une symphonie remarquable à plus d'un titre"[101]: the Symphony in E-flat, written during his mid-teens. Within the next dozen years Reyer heard a few other works by this prodigy, and in 1867--after attending two concerts of his music--

hailed him as "un des plus jeunes et des plus grands musiciens de ce temps-ci."[102] He had already begun calling for the presentation of Saint-Saëns's first opera, Le Timbre d'argent, "qui attend son tour dans les cartons de M. le directeur du Théâtre-Lyrique."[103] Reyer's eagerness to hear this opera was probably heightened by his appreciation of Saint-Saëns's versatility, which he saw exemplified in works as diverse as the Symphony in E-flat, the Oratorio de Noël, a Tarentelle for flute and clarinet with orchestral accompaniment, the Introduction et rondo capriccioso for violin and orchestra, and the G minor Piano Concerto.[104]

It would be a decade before Reyer would hear the ill-fated Timbre d'argent. In the meantime, Saint-Saëns's associations with Wagner and his circle during the late 1860s and early 1870s gave rise to the idea that he was a disciple of the controversial German composer. Reyer objected that this idea, which he had "entendu dire et répéter de droite et de gauche,"[105] prejudiced the public against Saint-Saëns's one-act comic opera La Princesse jaune, premiered at the Opéra-Comique in 1872. Such prejudice might account for the fact that, despite its fashionably oriental subject, the work was a failure. It was dropped from the repertoire after only five performances, and the Comique closed its doors to the composer. In 1877 Le Timbre d'argent was finally premiered at one of the short-lived theatres which attempted to replace the old Lyrique, but this small work, too, was indifferently received, perhaps because the composer was still reputed to be "entaché de wagnérisme."[106] When the Opéra rejected Samson et Dalila and Liszt sponsored the premiere at Weimar in December 1877, Reyer was outraged "qu'un théâtre étranger, un théâtre allemand . . . enlève à Paris la primeur d'une

oeuvre écrite par un maître français de très grand renom."[107] By the early 1880s the French public's attitude toward both Wagner and Saint-Saëns had finally begun to soften,[108] and the director of the Opéra therefore commissioned a work by Saint-Saëns: Henry VIII. Its premiere in 1883 marked the end of the composer's ostracism from the lyric theatres of the capital.

Parisian premieres of operas by Saint-Saëns in the 1870s, 1880s, and early 1890s afforded Reyer many opportunities to combat the notion that this composer was a Wagnerian. How, he wondered, could Parisians find Wagner lurking in La Princesse jaune and in the small opéra fantastique Le Timbre d'argent?[109] In his reviews of Saint-Saëns's large-scale operas Henry VIII, Etienne Marcel, Proserpine, Ascanio, and Samson et Dalila, Reyer readily acknowledged the influence of "des procédés wagnériens,"[110] but insisted that it was superficial. In the first place, said Reyer, arias and "set-numbers" were evident despite the continuous texture; and in the second, the recurring motifs did not constitute the essential musical substance and "n'ont pas même le caractère propre du leitmotiv."[111] Reyer's position is well summarized in the following excerpt from his review of Ascanio:

> Des morceaux qui s'enchaînent sans interruption, mais des morceaux qui ont un caractère déterminé, qui sont bien des cavatines, des duos et des ariettes faciles à détacher et pouvant se supprimer au besoin sans nuire le moins du monde à la marche de l'action dramatique; des rappels de phrases déjà entendues et ne reparaissant guère que dans l'accompagnement chaque fois que les péripéties du drame, l'entrée en scène d'un personnage nouveau, peuvent l'exiger ou le motiver, ce n'est là que la monnaie courante, assez courante aujourd'hui, du système wagnérien.[112]

A major point which Reyer advanced against the accusation of Wagnerism was that Saint-Saëns's works--including his operas--showed him to be an eclectic who had learned not only from Wagner but also from a host of other composers, ranging from Bach to Berlioz.[113] He repeatedly pronounced Saint-Saëns a master of "tous les artifices du contre-point et de la fugue classique";[114] indeed, he found contrapuntal craft pervading most of Saint-Saëns's music.[115] Some of the ingenious instrumental effects in Samson et Dalila made him think of Weber and Berlioz, and he heard in the love duet "un écho de la phrase amoureuse par excellence . . . que chantent Raoul et Valentine au quatrième acte des Huguenots."[116] Certain passages in Saint-Saëns's other operas, too, called to Reyer's mind Weber, Berlioz, Wagner, and Gounod.[117] He would neither condemn nor condone such reminiscences: "Des compositeurs vous diront que l'idée est peu de chose; que tout est dans la manière de s'en servir; d'autres, que toute idée qui vient au bout de la plume étant bonne à prendre est bonne à garder. Ainsi soit-il!"[118]

Reyer admired the music of Saint-Saëns's operas as being "très française" by virtue of "la simplicité de la ligne mélodique et l'élégante clarté de la facture."[119] However, he felt that these works--with the exception of Samson et Dalila--were rarely effective, because they contained few moments of genuine dramatic feeling. Consider the following ironic exclamations from the review of Henry VIII, in which Saint-Saëns is compared with two composers whom Reyer esteemed as being among the greatest masters of lyric theatre.

> Quel admirable musicien que M. Camille Saint-Saëns! Il sait la musique autant qu'on la peut savoir, tandis qu'on disait de Gluck et de Spontini, ces deux musiciens

> de génie, du premier qu'il ne la savait guère, du second qu'il ne la savait pas![120]

In Reyer's opinion, Samson et Dalila stood alone among Saint-Saëns's operas because it combined inspiration with consummate craftsmanship.

> Tous les morceaux de la partition ne sont peut-être pas d'égale valeur; mais tous portent la griffe . . . d'un maître, pour qui la science musicale n'a plus de secrets. Le travail en est serré, et les idées s'y développent avec une habileté qui ne faiblit pas. . . .
>
> Aucun maître, -- et vous remonterez aussi loin et aussi haut que vous le voudrez, -- n'a écrit avec plus de correction, avec une plus surprenante habileté que l'auteur de Samson et Dalila. Vienne alors l'inspiration, l'idée fécondante, et le chef-d'oeuvre est fait.[121]

Several features of this opéra biblique--the nature of the subject, the important role of the chorus, and the considerable use of counterpoint and fugue--prompted Reyer to declare that "cet ouvrage tient le milieu entre l'opéra et l'oratorio, se rapprochant beaucoup plus de celui-ci que du premier."[122]

As indicated above, Reyer pronounced Samson et Dalila Saint-Saëns's greatest work but did not wholeheartedly applaud any other opera by this composer. Among Saint-Saëns's instrumental compositions, however, were many which Reyer highly esteemed; indeed, he once declared that Saint-Saëns's "oeuvres de piano, ses concertos et ses compositions symphoniques suffiraient à la réputation d'un maître."[123] Of Saint-Saëns's works for piano or pianos, Reyer particularly admired the Variations sur un thème de Beethoven, and he hinted that he knew and relished the unpublished Carnaval des animaux.[124] His reviews of Saint-Saëns's many concertos and symphonic works suggest that Reyer was much more impressed by the A minor Cello Concerto, the C minor Piano Concerto, and the Suite

algérienne than by the symphonic poems.[125] However, there was one opus which he placed above the concertos and the Suite: the Third Symphony. He maintained that, of all Saint-Saëns's works, this alone might rival Samson et Dalila for "la première place."[126]

Critical analysis

If ever there was a native French composer who gave his fellow-musicians cause for resentment, it was Saint-Saëns. By the mid-1860s Reyer and a few other Parisian critics had hailed this prodigy as a masterful composer, a fine conductor, a brilliant score reader, and one of the most important pianists and organists of his day. Saint-Saëns, however, was hostile to most contemporary French composers, and his sarcastic tongue--together with his astonishing musical abilities and his material success--made him many enemies. It is a great tribute to Reyer that, even though he had ample cause to reciprocate Saint-Saëns's hostility, he never did so in his critical writings. We can therefore state that these writings--like those on Berlioz, but for a very different reason--comprise an outstanding demonstration of his refusal to entertain any personal bias.

Reyer's defence of Saint-Saëns's operas against the charge of Wagnerism compels admiration. In the case of both La Princesse jaune and Le Timbre d'argent, his defence is so rational that it amply demonstrates the irrationality of the charge. Equally convincing are his arguments that the resemblances between Saint-Saëns's large-scale operas and the works of Wagner are superficial. He was quite right in pointing out that, although the music is continuous, the identity of aria and

ensemble is retained; it was for this reason that Saint-Saëns's operas were later damned by Wagner's fanatical followers. Reyer's comments concerning Saint-Saëns's recurring motifs reveal his awareness that this composer--like so many others, including Reyer himself--used the reminiscence motif merely as an exceptional device, a musical "tag" which does not have the structural role of the Wagnerian leitmotif. Reyer might have added that Henry VIII, Etienne Marcel, Proserpine, and Ascanio are akin to the historical pageants of Meyerbeer rather than the legendary or mythological dramas of Wagner, and that even the oratorio-like Samson et Dalila manifests vestiges of French grand opera.[127]

Reyer's discussion of Saint-Saëns's eclecticism effectively demonstrates that the latter was familiar with many composers besides Wagner. Bach and Handel were among the "classics" upon whose works the young Saint-Saëns had been nurtured, and we therefore cannot be surprised that--as Reyer indicated--he was a master of counterpoint. Reyer was also justified in finding echoes of various composers in Samson et Dalila.[128] We should note that such authorities as Jean Bonnerot, Arthur Hervey, and James Harding support Reyer's view that Saint-Saëns's other operas, too, reveal traces of many influences.[129]

Reyer's observation that Samson et Dalila leans toward oratorio is very perceptive; unbeknown to him, this work had twice been performed as an oratorio at Brussels, with Saint-Saëns as conductor.[130] The use of "la fugue et autres artifices scolastiques"[131] is indeed masterful, particularly in the first-act choruses and the final priestly scene, all of which were among Reyer's favorite parts of the opera. The instrumentation, which he also singled out for special praise, is highly colored

and very descriptive.[132] In short, Reyer's appraisal of Samson et Dalila was quite astute.

He again demonstrated fine critical judgment with regard to many--although not all--of Saint-Saëns's non-theatrical works. Among Reyer's favorites were no fewer than nine of the instrumental compositions that are most often performed today: the Variations sur un thème de Beethoven, the Carnaval des animaux, the piano concertos in G minor and C minor, the cello concerto in A minor, the Introduction et rondo capriccioso, the symphonic poems Le Rouet d'Omphale and Danse macabre, and the Third Symphony. On the other hand, a few of Saint-Saëns's instrumental works were overestimated by Reyer. We cannot, for example, share his preference for the Suite algérienne over the best of the symphonic poems.[133] Even more untenable is his position that the Third Symphony is Saint-Saëns's greatest instrumental composition. To be sure, it is expertly crafted and is one of the composer's finest efforts, but the grand late-Romantic manner which Reyer found so impressive in this symphony was not really Saint-Saëns's forte.[134] According to Georges Servières,[135] the unpretentiousness, elegance, and skillful craftsmanship that distinguish Saint-Saëns's best writing are exemplified by his finest concertos: the B minor Violin Concerto, which Reyer never heard; and the A minor Cello Concerto as well as the C minor Piano Concerto, both of which Reyer justifiably ranked above the symphonic poems.

Although the critic was overly impressed by the Third Symphony, his perception of Saint-Saëns's musical personality was in many ways excellent. He clearly saw how little Saint-Saëns's large-scale operas owed to Wagner, and realized that none of the smaller ones strayed far from

the traditions of opéra comique and opérette.[136] He also understood that, paradoxically, Saint-Saëns was both an eclectic and a thoroughly French composer. Paul Henry Lang has described him as "the perfect type of the eclectic musician of talent. . . . he knew everything and used everything"[137]--a statement which we would qualify by adding that whatever he used was first passed through a filter of very Gallic concern for clarity and order. As for Reyer's conviction that Saint-Saëns's technique had never been surpassed, this, too, is well founded. According to Martin Cooper, no contemporary French composer except Gounod possessed a technical mastery comparable with that of Saint-Saëns,[138] and musicologists often exclaim over--to quote William S. Newman's felicitous phrase--"that prevailing sense in his music of objectivity and abstract perfection."[139] We must also applaud Reyer for having realized that, as was the case with Gounod, technical mastery did not enable Saint-Saëns to excel in every genre: despite his conviction that Samson et Dalila was Saint-Saëns's masterpiece, he appreciated the fact that this composer was oriented more toward the concert hall than the theatre.

Reyer's writings on Saint-Saëns, like those on Gounod, demonstrate that he was at his most perceptive when judging music for the theatre. Vivid proof of this is afforded by comparing his reviews of Saint-Saëns's operas with his evaluations of the Third Symphony and the concertos. When reviewing the four historical operas Reyer found that Saint-Saëns's attempts at the grand manner were unconvincing, whereas he was so impressed by the grandiose Third Symphony that he judged it worthy of rivalling the biblical opera Samson et Dalila for first place

in Saint-Saëns's oeuvre. Furthermore, Reyer's argument that the music of this composer was "très française"[140] was presented only in writings on the operas, even though some of the concertos would have better illustrated the point. Thus it seems that, although his judgments of the concert works were usually good and sometimes excellent, it was when evaluating the operas that Reyer perceived Saint-Saëns as he really was: a composer who was at his best when answering to "the qualities for which French art is famous--logic, clarity, moderation, and balance."[141]

Bizet

Reyer's assessment

Early in 1862, after the young Georges Bizet had helped Gounod with the rehearsals for La Reine de Saba, he was engaged by Reyer to assist in preparing Erostrate for its premiere at Baden-Baden. Thus began an enduring friendship between the former winner of the Prix de Rome and the composer-critic who, as musical feuilletoniste of the influential Débats, would provide invaluable support for Bizet, encouraging him during years of failure and then defending the controversial Carmen.

Reyer's first opportunity to call his readers' attention to his young friend came in late December 1867, when La Jolie Fille de Perth--the second opera by Bizet to receive a hearing in Paris[142]--was premiered at the Théâtre-Lyrique. After deftly pointing out the ineptitude of the libretto, Reyer admired the many merits of the composer who had tried to cope with such material.[143] He then brought up the question of Bizet's eclecticism and his concessions to convention:

> . . . il est à un âge où les hésitations sont permises, et si sa position ne l'autorise pas encore à être extrêmement sobre de toutes concessions faites au goût du public et à la virtuosité de certains artistes, ce ne sont là, à mes yeux, que des défauts de jeunesse dont le temps le corrigera, et dont lui-même, si on lui demandait sa profession de foi sur l'art musical, serait le premier à s'accuser.[144]

In the discussion of individual numbers of the score he singled out two for special praise: the Gypsy Dance--"ce petit bijou symphonique"[145]--and Ralph's drinking-song. Unfortunately, the favourable reactions of Reyer and several other members of the Parisian press did not bring success to La Jolie Fille de Perth, which was withdrawn after only eighteen performances.

Bizet's next work for the stage, the one-act Djamileh (1872), fared no better than its predecessor. After only eleven performances at the Opéra-Comique this oriental fantasy succumbed to a combination of factors, principally the undramatic libretto, the mediocre cast, and the charges of Wagnerism that were being aimed at virtually every new work.[146] However, there were several approving reviews, of which Bizet's favorite was the one by Reyer. The latter devoted most of a feuilleton to this small opéra comique, praising Bizet for conveying the exotic flavor of oriental music without making the crass error of trying to imitate native instruments and scales.[147] He hailed Bizet as the foremost composer of "la jeune école" and Djamileh as the first work of his artistic maturity: "Il y a dans cet ouvrage plus que la manifestation d'un talent, il y a l'expression d'une volonté."[148]

Djamileh was followed a few months later by the ill-fated production of Alphonse Daudet's pastoral tragedy L'Arlésienne, for which Bizet

had written incidental music. He had done so at the invitation of Carvalho, who was trying to revive mélodrame--an old and discredited form--at the Théâtre du Vaudeville. Owing to the low repute of the genre, only two music critics of the daily press bothered to attend the production: Johannès Weber of Le Temps, and Reyer, Bizet's faithful friend. Reyer proclaimed the score a masterpiece, marvelling both at the composer's ingenious treatment of the twenty-six-piece orchestra at his disposal, and at the skill with which he had woven traditional Provençal tunes into the score. Young musicians, Reyer urged, should go to hear L'Arlésienne and take heart from the achievement of a composer "qui, il y a quelques années à peine, était comme vous sur les bancs d'école."[149] Johannès Weber, too, praised Bizet's music, but the drama critics and the audiences resented it as an interference in the domain of literature. The play closed after only twenty-one performances.

"I was happy with . . . [the] score of L'Arlésienne, as several musicians whose approval I seek have seriously encouraged me,"[150] wrote Bizet after the failure of Daudet's play. This group of admirers--which included Reyer--may well have been responsible for the survival of the music for L'Arlésienne. Instead of allowing his score to disappear, the composer reorchestrated four of the principal pieces and joined them together to form a suite, which was destined to become so popular that it would spark both the making of a second suite after his death and the revival of Daudet's play. When the suite fashioned by Bizet was successfully premiered by Pasdeloup on 10 November 1872, the exultant Reyer affirmed his faith in the original score and its composer:

> Je ne sais ce qu'il adviendra dans l'avenir du drame de M. Daudet, . . . mais je sais bien que la partition de M. Georges Bizet restera comme une des oeuvres les plus exquises et les plus finement travaillées de ce jeune compositeur . . .
>
> Assurément je ne veux point me faire passer pour prophète; mais je n'hésite pas à prédire que celui qu'on appelait il y a quelques années à peine le petit Bizet . . . sera dans un avenir prochain un des maîtres de l'école française.[151]

The public's indifference to Bizet's next work for the stage, Carmen (1875), seemed to belie Reyer's hopes for his friend. Although it had forty-eight performances in its first year at the Opéra-Comique, it played to smaller and smaller houses, and the members of the Parisian press--with only three or four exceptions[152]--violently condemned both libretto and music. Reyer rallied to his friend's support, concluding his 2500-word review with the following prophetic utterance: ". . . Carmen n'est pas morte, et à l'Opéra-Comique on en a vu bien d'autres qui sont revenues d'aussi loin."[153]

Reyer allotted to Bizet's score only a few paragraphs--less than one-third of the review. The reasons for such brevity can readily be deduced: he evidently felt that he had to do his utmost to try to win acceptance for the libretto, because the reputation of Mérimée's story was frightening off the public;[154] and he was somewhat disappointed that Bizet had not continued developing his gift for delicately oriental exoticism.[155] However, Reyer quickly put aside this disappointment in order first to defend the composer against the accusation that he had plagiarized some of the music, then to express enthusiasm for the orchestration, and finally to admire a few of the vocal numbers as well as the final scene.

The charge that Bizet had plagiarized material from popular Spanish songs and from French opéras comiques on Spanish subjects was indignantly dismissed by Reyer. He maintained that it was "absolument déplacé d'appliquer" such a charge

> à un compositeur qui a autant de talent et autant d'imagination que M. Bizet. . . . les castagnettes de Carmen doivent nécessairement faire penser à d'autres castagnettes, parce qu'il n'y a pas beaucoup de nouvelles ressources ni de nouveaux effets à attendre d'un tel instrument.[156]

Reyer acknowledged that the melody of Carmen's habanera "vient en droite ligne de l'Amérique du Sud,"[157] but insisted that Bizet had made it his own by means of the ingenious orchestral accompaniment. Apropos of the orchestration of the work as a whole, Reyer declared: "M. Bizet est passé maître dans l'art de l'instrumentation, et nul n'a plus que lui le secret des fines harmonies et des jolis accouplemens de timbres."[158] He also singled out for special praise a handful of vocal numbers--the "fort joli" chorus of the cigarette girls, the "petit quintette admirablement écrit," and the first- and second-act duets of Carmen and Don José--and "la grande scène finale dans laquelle les éclatantes fanfares du cirque forment un contraste si saisissant et dramatique avec la mort de Carmen."[159]

The October 1875 production of Carmen in Vienna led to a succession of triumphs in Europe and America, but Carvalho--who had become director of the Opéra-Comique in late 1875--had no interest in reviving a work which he himself found distasteful. It was not until 1883 that he finally bowed to the demand for Carmen among the patrons of his theatre and various members of the French government as well as the press.[160]

Carvalho's revival of Carmen in April 1883 was so poorly rehearsed, shabbily staged, badly cut, and unsuitably cast that it aroused the wrath of the public and strong personal attacks on the director by a number of critics, including Reyer.[161] Despite the defects in the production Bizet's music was victorious, conquering the public and very nearly conquering Reyer. He first confessed that the staunch support he had given Carmen in 1875 had not meant that he had been completely won over by Bizet's score.

> Tout en rendant justice au mérite incontestable de l'oeuvre, je regrettais de n'y point trouver à un assez haut degré l'affirmation des doctrines que le jeune musicien professait. . . . Il se mit à jouer des castagnettes et à surveiller ses rythmes. Il écrivait pour Carmen des chansons et des séguidilles et pour Escamillo l'air du Toréador.
>
> Toréador, en garde!
>
> Enfin, lui, l'auteur de Djamileh et de l'Arlésienne, il devint l'auteur d'un opéra comique espagnol.[162]

Reyer then insisted that he no longer thought the score was seriously marred by these popular-sounding songs, and he warmly praised the work as a whole.

> Malgré un certain choix d'idées mélodiques que j'estime toute juste pour ce qu'elles me semblent valoir, Carmen est évidemment l'oeuvre d'un maître habile parmi les plus habiles. . . .
>
> . . . il y a une telle verve, une telle abondance mélodique, tant de jeunesse, tant de grâce, tant de fraîcheur et tant de talent aussi dans cette partition de Carmen, il y a une si parfaite affinité entre le poème et la partition qu'il est hors de doute pour moi que Carmen ne compte un jour parmi les plus grands succès de l'Opéra-Comique, les plus grands et les plus mérités.
>
> Mais l'Arlésienne restera toujours, pour quelques musiciens, le chef-d'oeuvre de Bizet.[163]

Thanks to Carmen's success at the box-office in April, Carvalho revived it the following October, and gave it the production it deserved. This time, Reyer fell completely under the spell of Bizet's music. He now regarded the popular element as being a dramatic necessity rather than an obeisance to the public, and added that this element was balanced by innumerable pages which would satisfy the most exacting musical connoisseur.

> Plus on entend cette jolie partition de Carmen, plus on l'apprécie, plus on l'aime. . . . Je veux bien qu'il y ait abondance de rythmes espagnols dans Carmen; ne fallait-il pas donner des séguidilles, des boléros et des habaneras à cette manola qui chante le poing sur la hanche, les doigts armés de castagnettes, et lançant des bouffées de tabac au nez de ses amoureux? Mais, à côté de ces habaneras, de ces séguidilles et ces boléros . . . combien de pages exquises et d'une haute valeur musicale que les vrais connaisseurs ne se lassent pas d'admirer![164]

Finally, he pronounced Carmen "un chef-d'oeuvre" and predicted that it "vivra longtemps et aura gardé toute sa fraîcheur, toute son originalité même quand nous ne serons plus là pour l'entendre, même quand Mme Galli-Marié ne sera plus là pour la chanter."[165]

Having finally become captivated by the beauty of Carmen, Reyer never again indicated that he would rank this score below L'Arlésienne. Had he wanted to affirm his old preference, he had a golden opportunity to do so in 1885, when Daudet's play was very successfully revived at the Odéon with none other than the revered Colonne conducting Bizet's music. However, Reyer simply voiced delight that this "vrai régal pour les gourmets"[166] had finally become popular, and added that it could not be fully appreciated apart from the drama it was intended to illustrate.

After Bizet's death Reyer often lamented that this young master had not been accorded during his lifetime the recognition he had deserved.[167] Reyer himself was proud to be able to declare in his obituary of the composer that "je n'ai pas attendu que Georges Bizet fût mort pour le louer,"[168] and he applauded the handful of other musicians who had tried to advance Bizet's career.[169] He concluded with some harsh words for the administration of France's premiere lyric theatre:

> . . . l'Opéra, encombré de richesses, n'a jamais daigné jeter les yeux sur ce grand et solide musicien . . . L'histoire jugera plus sévèrement qu'on ne pense cette indifférence avec laquelle une administration omnipotente et orgueilleuse de ses profits regarde se morfondre tout autour d'elle des talens qu'un peu de sollicitude eût promptement développés, et auxquels elle ne laisse d'autre consolation que le dédain de la spéculation triomphante et l'amour de cet art qui l'intéresse si peu.[170]

Critical analysis

Reyer's writings on Bizet demonstrate once again the acute perceptiveness with which he evaluated works for the stage. His review of La Jolie Fille de Perth is a prime example, for here he showed great sensitivity to libretto and music alike. The libretto is generally considered one of the worst Bizet ever set, and such authorities as Winton Dean and Mina Curtiss find the score marred by obvious eclecticism, copious vocal ornamentation, and other concessions to the public taste. However, like Reyer, both authorities excuse these musical defects on grounds of the composer's youth and unestablished position. We should note that the two numbers which Reyer most admired--the Gypsy Dance and Ralph's drinking-song--are also singled out by Dean and Curtiss as being among the best in the opera.[171]

As previously indicated, Bizet preferred Reyer's feuilleton on Djamileh to all other contemporary reviews of the work. This should not lead us to suppose either that Reyer's review was too laudatory or that it was devoid of criticism. His praise of the score was well deserved, for, in Winton Dean's words, "Djamileh contains some of Bizet's most striking music."[172] While applauding the composer's new-found "volonté,"[173] Reyer observed that the work was rendered slightly uneven by occasional lapses which called to mind music by other composers. Nevertheless, he defended Bizet with the sensible remark that "le musicien qui trébuche en faisant un pas en avant est plus digne d'intérêt que celui qui nous montre avec quelle aisance il sait faire un pas en arrière."[174] We can certainly agree with Reyer that Djamileh is the first fruit of Bizet's artistic maturity, because the same opinion was expressed by the composer himself and has since been endorsed by modern authorities.[175]

Reyer's comments on the exotic coloring of Djamileh were so insightful that they have been quoted by Mina Curtiss as the best explanation of "the nature of exoticism in Bizet's music."[176] Reyer understood that this composer--like so many of his French contemporaries--was content to create an exoticism that was not authentic but instead purely subjective and evocative. As far as Reyer was concerned, such exoticism was the only kind that would have been accepted by Parisian opera-goers; authentic exoticism would have grated upon their ears because they were unaccustomed to it. He himself, we should note, was speaking as someone who had come to know and love authentic Arab music during sojourns in Algeria and Egypt.[177] We can hardly argue with his judgment that such

music would have been unappreciated by contemporary Parisian audiences, for even musical scholars had scarcely begun to realize that music outside the European art tradition merited serious study.

We owe a debt of gratitude to Reyer and to the handful of other critics and composers who praised the music for L'Arlésienne, because they helped insure the survival of a score which is generally regarded as one of Bizet's finest. Reyer should perhaps have explained that the Provençal color is by no means dependent on the traditional melodies used by Bizet, for the score is so permeated with the spirit of Provençal folk music that the three genuine folk melodies are indistinguishable to listeners unfamiliar with them. In the words of Winton Dean, "There is nothing synthetic about his local colour; it is the Provence of Daudet's play."[178]

Of all Reyer's writings on Bizet's music, the reviews of first the premiere of Carmen in March 1875 and then the two revivals in April and October 1883 are the most interesting, inasmuch as they chronicle his changing perception of the work which he finally recognized as Bizet's masterpiece. We might wonder why Reyer--who had been so alive to the beauties of Faust in 1859--was not immediately won over by Carmen, which, no less than Gounod's work, was a landmark in the history of opéra comique. The probable explanation is that when he heard Faust he had never before encountered an opéra comique[179] based on such a poetic subject and infused with music of such a serious and emotionally lyric style, whereas when he attended the premiere of Carmen he had already been benumbed by opéras comiques set in Spain and filled with the rhythms of Spanish dances and the clicking of castanets ad nauseam.

Ever since the triumph of Auber's delightful Le Domino noir at the Opéra-Comique in 1837, the Parisian public had been infatuated with a romantic image of Spain, and many a French composer had therefore sought to make a name for himself by writing an opéra comique on a Spanish subject.[180]

It was in April 1883--when Carmen was revived for the first time at Paris--that Reyer finally confessed to having always had the feeling that Bizet, disheartened by the failures of such original works as Djamileh and L'Arlésienne, had resorted to the old tactic of courting the public with "un opéra comique espagnol."[181] At the same time, the critic verbalized his distaste for the popular element in Carmen: the habanera, seguidillas, and boleros. Before we pass judgment on this admission of disappointment, we should be aware not only of the Parisian public's love of opéras comiques set in Spain, but also of another aspect of the contemporary infatuation with Spanish "local color": the rage for songs by such composers as Yradier and Gastambide. These tunes were heard constantly at Parisian cafés-chantants during the 1860s and 1870s, and became so ubiquitous that a contemporary critic exclaimed disdainfully at "the thousand Spanish melodies everybody is singing and playing on guitars."[182] For Reyer, Carmen's habanera, her seguidilla, and the many other obviously appealing vocal melodies in Bizet's opera probably sounded too much like the familiar café music.[183] His distaste for this element in Carmen--a distaste which he had evidently felt in 1875 but did not express in writing until April 1883--is therefore understandable.

Despite his admitted disappointment concerning the popular-sounding "Spanish" songs in Carmen, Reyer's review of the April 1883 revival was, as we have seen, much warmer than that of the 1875 premiere. Moreover, the April review included the significant statement that "il y a une si parfaite affinité entre le poème et la partition."[184] When the work was revived for the second time--just six months later--Reyer's sense of an affinity between libretto and score crystallized into a realization that the blatantly appealing songs were a dramatic necessity, because they matched the hard realism of this tragic story of gypsy life.

By revealing an ever-increasing appreciation for Carmen, Reyer's reviews of this work demonstrate the intellectual integrity with which he approached critical writing. In March 1875, when both the music and the libretto were being attacked by all but a few members of the Parisian press, Reyer gave Carmen as much strong support as his artistic conscience would allow: he defended a libretto which most critics found "obscene" and a heroine who was revolutionary for the time; he argued effectively against the charge of plagiarism; he expressed unqualified admiration for the orchestration; and he praised some of the best ensembles and duets. We should take particular note of his immediate and discerning appreciation of both the libretto and the instrumentation, for the libretto has long been recognized as an expert dramatic reworking of Mérimée's story, while the score--to quote Winton Dean--"sets the crown on Bizet's claim as one of the supreme masters of the orchestra."[185] Reyer's reviews of the two revivals show how quickly he reached an understanding of the significance of the Spanish idioms in Carmen: in April 1883 he declared that Bizet's opera was a great work

despite its many popular-sounding melodies, and in October he at last realized that such melodies were necessary to the drama. His reviews of Carmen thus demonstrate as vividly as do his writings on Faust and Tristan that, instead of resenting the idea of change or innovation, Reyer was both willing and able to fathom a work that required new eyes and ears in the theatre.

Lalo

Reyer's assessment

Edouard Lalo was another musician who, in Reyer's opinion, "n'a pas eu de son vivant la place que lui assignait son talent si complet, si personnel et si élevé."[186] Reyer had become a personal friend of Lalo's in the early 1870s, and, as had been the case with Bizet, the friendship lasted until the composer's death.

In 1872, when Lalo published at his own expense the vocal score of his first opera, Fiesque, Reyer immediately began taking a hand in the career of "[cet] artiste qui a beaucoup plus de notoriété comme virtuose que comme compositeur."[187] Reyer's interest in Lalo's work did not open the doors of the Opéra, but it at least brought Fiesque to the attention of Pasdeloup, who presented two excerpts at his concerts later that year. The mixed reactions from Pasdeloup's audiences did not shake Reyer's faith in the composer: ". . . M. Lalo reste à nos yeux un musicien convaincu, habile au maniement de l'orchestre, et doué de qualités sérieuses qui nous semblent dignes d'être encouragées."[188]

Unable to gain acceptance for Fiesque at either the Paris Opéra or the Théâtre de la Monnaie in Brussels, the discouraged Lalo began

devoting himself to instrumental music. Thanks in part to continued support from both Reyer and Pasdeloup--who were soon joined by Lamoureux, Colonne, the violin virtuoso Sarasate, and others--Lalo made a name for himself during the 1870s and the early 1880s with a series of symphonic concert works. The F major Violin Concerto, premiered by Sarasate in 1874, was Lalo's first signal success, and Reyer generously gave several columns of a feuilleton to an evaluation of this "oeuvre distinguée qui témoigne des aspirations élevées du compositeur."[189] He applauded the concerto and some of the later works as being of high quality and sound technique,[190] but his favorite was the Symphonie espagnole for violin and orchestra, "une composition fort originale, instrumentée avec goût et très habilement conduite d'un boût à l'autre."[191] He included it in his list of the best symphonic works introduced in Paris in 1875.[192]

It was in the midst of this highly productive period that Lalo began working on his second opera, Le Roi d'Ys. The overture was premiered by Pasdeloup on 14 November 1876, and eventually found its way into the repertoires of all the major Parisian concert societies. Reyer repeatedly admired it and called for the staging of the opera "qui, non plus heureux que Fiesque, n'est pas encore sorti du portefeuille de M. Lalo."[193] Whereas Fiesque had been rejected because the composer had been unknown, Le Roi d'Ys now suffered the same fate because of his notoriety as a symphonist. Directors were unwilling to risk premiering an opera by a composer whose reputation, as Paul Landormy later wrote, "se limitait strictement aux auditeurs, alors bien peu nombreux, des concerts."[194] Lalo's new opera would not be heard until 1888.[195]

In the meantime, the director of the Opéra--apprehensive about accepting Le Roi d'Ys but unwilling to turn his back on a composer whose concert works were very successful--asked Lalo to write the music for a ballet, Namouna. Rehearsals began in September 1881, but from the outset were plagued by the dancers' dislike of Lalo's score. When the Parisian press got wind of the ballet master's complaint that the music was too symphonic to be suitable for dance, Reyer--remembering his own ballet, Sacountalâ--wryly observed: "Je sais ce que c'est; j'ai passé par là."[196] He leaped to Lalo's defence by wittily reminiscing about the frustrations of trying to satisfy "les exigences du maître de ballet . . . de la première danseuse et même de la seconde, et même de la troisième," and he concluded by avowing that "on dansera sur la musique de M. Lalo, et les amateurs de chorégraphie ne seront pas les seuls à applaudir et à être satisfaits."[197]

After many intrigues and postponements, all of which were eagerly chronicled by gossipy journalists, Namouna was finally premiered on 6 March 1882. However, the bulk of the public--prejudiced, perhaps, by the stories they had read about the work--greeted it with such indifference that it was dropped from the repertoire after only fifteen performances. Reyer was one of the connoisseurs who proclaimed the musical value of Lalo's score, praising the composer for following "son instinct de musicien délicat, d'harmoniste ingénieux, épris des rythmes nouveaux, des combinaisons les plus osées" instead of catering to "les amateurs de musique gaie, de musique dansante, de musique facile à retenir." He also lashed out at the charge that Lalo's score was too symphonic. True, "ceux qui aiment la musique rythmée" would not find in Namouna

stereotypical quadrilles, waltzes, and mazurkas. "Mais vous y trouverez, sans trop chercher, des motifs exquis sur lesquels, je vous assure, l'habitude en étant prise, il n'est pas plus difficile de danser que sur des motifs vulgaires." He illustrated his point with no fewer than seven examples from Lalo's score, and predicted that it would be appreciated by concert-goers if not by the habitués of the theatre.[198]

Reyer's prophecy was quickly fulfilled, for two orchestral suites which the composer made from the ballet became very popular soon after Lalo's friend Lamoureux began including them on his programs. Their success may have been the factor which prompted a Parisian firm to publish the score of Namouna five years after this ballet had disappeared from the stage of the Opéra. Reyer delightedly called attention to the publication, and seized the opportunity to insist that the forsaken ballet should be revived because the popularity of the suites was "la preuve de la valeur musicale et de l'intérêt symphonique qui distinguent l'oeuvre."[199] This plea--like earlier ones which he and other musicians had made on behalf of Namouna[200]--fell on deaf ears, but Reyer did not abandon the cause. When he reviewed the long-awaited premiere of Le Roi d'Ys he included a paragraph about "ce délicieux ballet";[201] and four years later, in his obituary of the composer, he wondered if Namouna would someday be brought back to life by either "l'initiative de quelque directeur intelligent et hardi ou la protection de quelque ballerina influente."[202]

Unlike Namouna, Lalo's opera Le Roi d'Ys--reluctantly accepted by the Opéra-Comique and premiered on 7 May 1888--proved to be an immediate success, bringing le grand public to Lalo a mere four years before his

death. Reyer warmly saluted it as "une oeuvre distingué, une oeuvre de maître," and rejoiced that it had shattered the long-standing prejudice "que M. Lalo, dont la valeur de symphoniste est indiscutable, n'avait pas les qualités nécessaires au compositeur dramatique."[203] He expanded this idea by declaring that Lalo was a master of the art of orchestrally supporting the voice without sacrificing either richness of scoring or ingeniousness and elegance of harmony. This fine balance between voice and orchestra, said Reyer, could be appreciated particularly in portions of the opera which exemplify "le côté poétique"[204] of the sombre Breton legend. He then tried to demonstrate that the composer was equally at home with the "épisodes dramatiques," which were rendered with "une puissance d'inspiration" such as could be expected from the composer of the well-known overture to this opera.[205] Reyer finished his analysis of the score by briefly answering the inevitable question: "Et le wagnérisme de M. Lalo, que devient-il dans tout cela? Ma foi, je n'en ai trouvé trace nulle part."[206]

Just as Reyer had concluded his obituary of Bizet with a scathing indictment of the Opéra, so he ended Lalo's by sadly observing that this composer had never received appropriate recognition. "L'habit à palmes vertes [de l'Institut de France] n'a pas été étendu sur le cercueil du pauvre grand artiste. Nous irons quelque jour déposer sur sa tombe une couronne de laurier."[207]

Critical analysis

The music of Lalo, like that of so many other French composers between Berlioz and Debussy, lies largely neglected. His name is kept

alive by two works: the Symphonie espagnole, which assures him an enduring niche in the Romantic repertoire, and Le Roi d'Ys, which can still be heard in Paris. Yet Lalo's French contemporaries held him in high regard, and, as indicated above, Reyer thought that the late composer had deserved even greater renown. Was such an opinion justified? In the pages that follow we shall endeavour to answer this question.

When Lalo published the vocal score of his unfortunate Fiesque in 1872, Reyer observed that it "renferme des pages fort belles"[208] and that the work as a whole revealed a composer of some stature. This is quite true, according to Georges Servières and, most recently, Hugh Macdonald. Although Servières finds some of the music less than inspired, he pronounces Fiesque a work of "haute valeur."[209] Macdonald is even warmer in his praise: ". . . for a first opera, the music is extraordinarily deft and varied, occasionally pompous but never dull, and full of brilliantly successful numbers."[210] If Fiesque were not encumbered with a libretto which--as Servières and Macdonald agree--is deeply flawed, we could endorse Reyer's initial recommendation that this opera be staged. The fact that he never again urged its production suggests that he came to the realization that the high amount of strong, melodious music in Lalo's score could not compensate for the mediocrity of the libretto.

Reyer's admiration for the craftsmanship of Lalo's orchestral works should come as no surprise to those familiar with his oeuvre. By steeping himself in instrumental music by German composers ranging from Haydn to Schumann and Brahms, Lalo acquired what has been described as "a

symphonist's concern for structure and form,"[211] as well as great skill in the handling of the orchestra. These qualities were combined with an abundance of melodic invention, such as we find in the Symphonie espagnole. As previously noted, this was Reyer's favorite among Lalo's orchestral compositions, and it has remained the most popular. Reyer was nevertheless correct in maintaining that several other orchestral works by Lalo deserved to be remembered. He applauded three in particular: the F major Violin Concerto, which for many years ranked with the Symphonie espagnole as one of the classics of violin concerto literature; the D minor Cello Concerto, praised by Servières as "une des meilleures compositions qui aient été écrites pour cet instrument";[212] and the Rapsodie norvégienne, which--like Saint-Saëns's Suite algérienne--is an attractively exotic "period piece," and should not be compared with genuinely national music.

After enduring the vicissitudes of Fiesque, Lalo was able to take comfort in the triumph of the Symphonie espagnole and the limited successes of most of his other orchestral works. However, his fortunes soon took a turn for the worse: the martyrdom of his score for the ballet Namouna--a tale of slaves and pirates in ancient Corfu--was, in the words of his friend Reyer, "Le plus poignant chagrin de sa vie."[213]

When we examine the score and listen to the two suites, we can agree with Michael Williamson that the style of this ballet music was, for its time, "unusually sophisticated and symphonic."[214] We can also understand why such a skillful score was highly regarded by Reyer, Saint-Saëns, Massenet, and other contemporary musicians, including the seventeen-year-old Debussy, who expressed such vociferous enthusiasm at

one of the performances that he had to be turned out of the theatre. He remained an ardent admirer of this work, recalling in 1901 that "parmi trop de stupides ballets, il y eut une manière de chef-d'oeuvre: la Namouna d'Ed. Lalo. On ne sait quelle sourde férocité l'a enterrée si profondément que personne n'en parle plus...[sic] c'est triste pour la musique."[215]

When we investigate contemporary reviews,[216] we find that the "sourde férocité" was due both to resentment at the idea of a symphoniste writing music for the stage, and to indignation at the tumult of a number known as the "Fête foraine." This depiction of a native festival was a fiery dance of great length and brilliance, accompanied on the stage by an allegorical chariot filled with musicians playing a fanfare and themes evocative of Greek folk music. To the Opéra's patrons and to many critics, the naturalistic color of this music--which Reyer defended from the first[217]--seemed utterly incompatible with and even dangerous to the dignity of France's premiere lyric theatre, and the resultant scandal contributed much to Namouna's early demise. The following excerpt from Gaston Serpette's review in Le Presse is typical of the harsh criticisms aimed at Lalo's score:

> Les tendances symphoniques du compositeur l'absorbent au point qu'il semble avoir oublié qu'on doit danser sur sa musique. Ce ne sont que formules bizarres, étrangetés harmoniques ou fragments répétés à satiété. . . .
>
> Dans le deuxième tableau, une fanfare placée sur un char fait entendre une figure . . . d'une platitude désespérante; . . . tout ce morceau a fait sur le public de la première représentation une fâcheuse impression.[218]

Reyer showed remarkable prescience in insisting that Lalo's "motifs exquises"[219] would eventually be found no more difficult to dance to than the stereotypical waltzes and mazurkas of other nineteenth-century ballets. He could not know that more than fifty years would elapse before he would be proved right. It was in 1943 that Serge Lifar, ballet master at the Opéra and the last of Diaghilev's choreographic discoveries,[220] found in Lalo's score "a glorious excuse for a prodigious technical display--of the richness of the Opéra schooling, and the ingenuities of his own neoclassical style."[221] Taking certain numbers from Lalo's score, he created an abstract ballet entitled Suite en blanc, which still receives exultant performances at the Opéra and was for many years a staple of the repertoires of other French ballet companies.[222] The solo dances have long been treasured by ballerinas.

While we should be thankful that some of the music from Namouna was effectively used by Lifar, we should take note of Michael Williamson's avowal: ". . . the inspiration of the music is so closely linked with the original book [i.e., scenario] that it cannot make its full effect until some company has the courage to revive it in its entirety."[223] The scenario by Charles Nuitter may have its weaknesses, but the same can be said of the scenarios of Delibes's Coppélia and Sylvia, two other late Romantic ballets which--according to Arnold Haskell--owe their survival to their charming music.[224] In any case, Nuitter's scenario had an important point in its favor: it enabled Lalo to exploit to the full his natural tendency to the exotic. If the choreography by Lucien Petipa were superseded by a new choreographic version of the original scenario, Namouna might find an enduring place in the ballet repertoire.

When Lalo turned his hand to opera for the first time since the completion of Fiesque, he chose a subject which, although national, must have held for him an exotic appeal: the Breton legend was almost as far beyond the cultural experience of a nineteenth-century Frenchman reared at Lille and residing in Paris as was the tale of remote Corfu. As had been the case with Namouna, such a stimulus inspired him to create an outstanding work--in the words of Paul Landormy, "un chef-d'oeuvre."[225]

What emerges clearly from Reyer's discussion of the lyric and dramatic aspects of Le Roi d'Ys is that Lalo was well able to depict contrasting situations. Such an ability is, needless to say, a prerequisite for a musical dramatist, and we should give Reyer credit for demonstrating that Lalo possessed it. What does not emerge--or, rather, emerges only obliquely--is that the composer was endowed with another essential quality, namely, the ability to delineate the characters. Reyer's insistence that Lalo knew how to write for the lyric theatre would have been more convincing if he had discussed in less detail the rendering of contrasting situations and had saved some space for a consideration of how Lalo's music interprets and clarifies the personalities of the characters as the drama unfolds. For example, a discussion of the musical delineation of the two sisters--Margared and Rozenn--would have proved useful to demonstrate Lalo's abilities as a musical dramatist. Georges Servières finds that the sisters' Act II confrontation scene "à elle seule suffirait à prouver la valeur de Lalo comme compositeur dramatique."[226]

We can agree with Reyer that this score is not Wagnerian, but we must fault him for making no attempt to prove the validity of his

opinion. Le Roi d'Ys is frequently labeled Wagnerian because of the harmonic richness, the occasional use of reminiscence motifs, and the legendary subject-matter. However, these reasons seem insufficient to justify the Wagnerian tag.[227] The many limpid orchestral textures and the abundance of easily-grasped melodic ideas, which are often of Breton origin, are far removed from the polyphonic complexity of Wagnerian music drama. Moreover, set-numbers are still discernible, even if they are not common entities within the continuous musical fabric. As for the libretto, it is dominated by the sentimental love interest, and only faintly suggests a symbolically significant national legend. Stuart Sharp points out that two of the aforementioned features--the melodic appeal of the score and the domination of the libretto by the love interest--are among the opéra lyrique traits which prevail in this work.[228] There are also many vestiges of French grand opera, such as the frequent massive choral scenes and "the éclatant merveilleux ending"[229] in which Ys is engulfed by the sea. In short, both the libretto and the score display features which firmly link this work to the mainstream of nineteenth-century French opera.

We can unhesitatingly concur with Reyer that Lalo was not fully appreciated during his lifetime. Fiesque--which, despite its flaws, deserved to have won the competition for which it was written[230]--was never produced, and only the ballet music (Divertissement) became popular on concert programs. Although the Violin Concerto, the Rapsodie norvégienne, and especially the Symphonie espagnole were very well received by Parisian audiences, the excellent Cello Concerto had only a succès d'estime. As we have seen, the remarkable score of Namouna was

unfairly criticized by those who could not conceive of a symphoniste writing music for the stage. This same prejudice almost kept Le Roi d'Ys from ever seeing the light of day, and the triumph of this work came too late for the ailing composer.[231]

Throughout Lalo's career, Reyer expressed more enthusiasm for Namouna and Le Roi d'Ys than for the Symphonie espagnole or any of the other orchestral works. Yet in his obituary of this composer, Reyer stated: "L'oeuvre de Lalo lui survivra; son oeuvre symphonique d'abord, qui pourrait suffire à la renommée d'un grand musicien; son oeuvre de théâtre aussi."[232] The probable reason for Reyer's according precedence to the orchestral music is that he thought it was of greater historical importance than the two outstanding works for the stage. If this was indeed his reason, it was a valid one, because Namouna and Le Roi d'Ys were isolated phenomena which had very little demonstrable influence on the development of French music, whereas Lalo's orchestral works contributed to the revitalization of French instrumental composition during the decades following the Franco-Prussian War. In the words of Landormy, "Il faut joindre le nom de Lalo à celui de Saint-Saëns parce que ces deux musiciens contribuèrent les premiers à donner à la musique symphonique en France la place qu'elle n'avait jamais possédée."[233]

Summary

As Reyer the composer devoted himself almost exclusively to opera, we might suspect that he had a greater understanding of and sympathy for this genre than for any other, and, consequently, that his writings about opera would be the best indication of his critical judgment. This

chapter has demonstrated that his opinions concerning diverse operas were remarkably astute, and that throughout his career he both welcomed and understood innovations in this sphere. Consider his appreciations of the following: Gounod's Sapho, a revolt against the hegemony of Meyerbeerian grand opera; Faust, the paradigm of what has become known as opéra lyrique; Bizet's Carmen, which infused opéra comique with a quality of realism that, in the words of Winton Dean, "was implicit in the form but usually evaded";[234] Saint-Saëns's Samson et Dalila, a hybrid of opera and oratorio; Lalo's Le Roi d'Ys, a synthesis of grand opera and opéra lyrique; and Bruneau's Le Rêve and L'Attaque du moulin, each of which displays a blend of realism and Wagnerism.

Apropos of opera, then, Reyer's judgment was almost infallible. Was it equally good as regards other types of music for the stage? We have seen that his assessments of incidental music by Gounod and Bizet as well as a ballet by Lalo were remarkably prescient. The fact that we find among his writings excellent reviews of scores for other plays and ballets leads us to conclude that he spoke with as much expertise in these areas as he did in his reviews of operas.[235]

Compared with his judgments of music for the stage, Reyer's pronouncements on non-theatrical genres were not as consistently perceptive. As we have observed, he either over- or underestimated certain works by Franck, Saint-Saëns, Godard, and d'Indy, and he failed to acknowledge Debussy as a powerful new voice. His evident inability to understand Debussy strikingly demonstrates that Reyer was less progressive in his attitude toward concert music than in his approach to opera. Whereas throughout his life he was receptive to innovations in

opera, his taste in concert music was always for composers whose styles were derivative, such as the eclectic Saint-Saëns, or Franck and Lalo, both of whom wrote orchestral music in an essentially German tradition.

We have seen that Reyer's assessments of contemporaries ranging from Gounod to Chabrier were usually more accurate than his pronouncements concerning composers of the post-1870 generation. The probable reason for this disparity is that most of the young generation stood outside "the prevailing musical 'Establishment,' which stressed opera as the highest form of musical expression."[236] As we might expect, the young French composers whose music Reyer found particularly attractive were--with one exception--the most derivative figures, such as Godard, d'Indy, and Messager. We cannot be surprised that the exception, Alfred Bruneau, was the one who devoted himself primarily to the genre which Reyer best knew and understood: opera.

* * *

After Reyer's death, several French writers on music paid tribute to him for having selflessly encouraged and defended his fellow-composers. In the words of Adolphe Boschot, "quant à ses propre concurrents . . . qui étaient souvent plus heureux et plus jeunes que lui, Reyer leur rendit toujours justice avec bonne grâce et même avec un sincère enthousiasme."[237] His willingness to lend a helping hand to gifted colleagues was evidently motivated by a desire to spare them from the fate of having to endure years of neglect in their own country, watching "leur cheveux blanchir, leur manuscrit jaunir."[238] The acuteness of his empathy for composers who, like himself, suffered such neglect can be sensed in innumerable passages in his writings.[239] One

of the most poignant of all is the following, which was written in 1872 after the _églogue biblique_ _Ruth_--by a then-unknown fifty-year-old organist--had been presented in its entirety for the first time since 1846.

> Si M. César Franck eût obtenu il y a vingt-cinq ans le succès qu'il obtient aujourd'hui, combien d'oeuvres n'aurait-il pas produites qui peut-être ont été étouffées par le découragement, le doute de soi-même et la triste nécessité de pourvoir aux besoins de chaque jour! Et n'allez pas croire que les applaudissemens qui lui ont été prodigués, l'émotion de quelques uns, et toutes ces mains qui ont tenu à honneur de serrer la sienne après le concert, l'ont dédommagé en une soirée de longues années de solitude, de silence, d'oubli.[240]

Endnotes

[1] Jacques Barzun, Berlioz and the Romantic Century, 3d ed., 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), 2:261.

[2] Reyer admired Massenet's instrumentation in works as diverse as the early Suite d'orchestre, the incidental music for Leconte de Lisle's Les Erinnyes, the drame sacré Marie-Magdeleine, and the opera Esclarmonde (JD feuilletons of 18 April 1867, 10 November 1883, 23 April 1873, and 19 May 1889 respectively). However, he was most impressed by the treatment of the orchestra in the opera Manon (ibid., 26 January 1884, and see the quotation cited in Chapter IV, p. 150).

One of the few works in which Reyer found Massenet's eclecticism objectionable was the opera Le Roi de Lahore. Here, Reyer first noted reminiscences of French, Italian, and German operas, and then observed ironically: "L'influence wagnérienne se fait-elle sentir autant qu'on l'a dit . . . ? Je ne le pense pas. . . . Je trouve, au contraire, que le jeune maître, caressant tour à tour les styles des trois écoles, a fait une part égale à chacune." (Ibid., 10 May 1877.)

Reyer was delighted by the touching naïveté of several melodies in Massenet's early works--such as Marie-Magdeleine--and admired many of the melodies in Manon. However, when he reviewed some of the other operas, he could not refrain from gently mocking the facile melodic charm which conquered the public (see, e.g., the quotation apropos of Hérodiade in Chapter III, p. 126).

[3] Castillon's Suite and his eight Fugues for piano, all of which were published when the composer was barely thirty, were described by Reyer as "écrites de main de maître . . . on y trouve assez de science et assez d'originalité pour établir la bonne renommée d'un artiste." (Ibid., 15 January 1869.)

[4] Reyer's first notice concerning Ruth was quoted in Chapter II, p. 95. His repeated avowals of enthusiasm for this work may have been partly responsible for the fact that, in 1872, it was performed in its entirety for the first time since January 1846 (see the JD feuilletons of 24 October and 16 November 1871, as well as 18 May 1872). The triumph of Ruth must have caused quite a stir in Paris, because two performances of Franck's hitherto-unheard oratorio Rédemption and another performance of Ruth were given in the years 1873-75; see Reyer's reviews in ibid., 23 April 1873 (premiere of Rédemption), 13 December 1873 (Ruth), and 27 March 1875 (Rédemption).

Reyer preferred Ruth to Franck's larger oratorios (Rédemption, Les Béatitudes) and his operas. For example, when reviewing the posthumously published score of the opera Ghiselle, Reyer remembered Ruth as being "un vrai petit chef-d'oeuvre" and observed wistfully that, "depuis Ruth et Rébecca," the composer's aspirations "n'allaient plus aux délicatesses attendries de l'églogue ou de l'idylle." (Ibid., 12 April 1896.)

[5] Reyer was not present at the premiere of España, but the next year he studied the score, heard the work, and hailed it with superlatives: "Il ne s'est rien fait dans ce genre de plus original, de plus hardi, de plus pittoresquement instrumenté." (Ibid., 20 April 1884; see also ibid., 21 December 1884.) That same year, after hearing excerpts from Chabrier's opera Gwendoline, Reyer exclaimed that "le compositeur . . . est des mieux doués, [et] fera parler de lui un jour sur quelque grande scène." (Ibid., 16 November 1884.) Unfortunately, this broad hint was not heeded by the Opéra, and Chabrier eventually took his score to Brussels. Reyer gladly went there for the premiere, and expressed great admiration for this "oeuvre extrêmement intéressante, renfermant des pages superbes" (ibid., 18 April 1886). His praise of Gwendoline may have helped pave the way for the acceptance of Chabrier's comic opera Le Roi malgré lui at the Opéra-Comique the following year (see Reyer's review of the premiere, ibid., 22 May 1887).

[6] The first composition by Godard which attracted Reyer's attention was a sonata for violin and piano (ibid., 27 February 1870). Eight years later, after hearing Le Tasse twice, Reyer remarked that it alone would be sufficient to place Godard "parmi les compositeurs les plus vaillans, les mieux doués de notre époque." (Ibid., 1 January 1879.)

Reyer strove to gain hearings for three of Godard's operas: Les Guelphes, Jocelyn, and Dante. After enjoying fragments of Les Guelphes in concert, he began to urge--in vain--that this work be staged at the Opéra-Comique (ibid., 30 March and 19 April 1885). Unable to go to Brussels for the premiere of Jocelyn, he nevertheless analyzed both the libretto and the score in detail (ibid., 4 March 1888). His attention to this work may have been one of the factors which prompted the director of Paris's short-lived Théâtre-Lyrique National to present it later that year (see Reyer's review in ibid., 21 October 1888). This production, in turn, may have helped to open the way for the acceptance of Godard's next opera, Dante, at the Opéra-Comique (ibid., 20 May 1890).

Reyer much preferred Jocelyn to Dante, but Le Tasse remained his favorite of all Godard's works (ibid., 20 May 1890). See his article "Benjamin Godard," Le Figaro, 22 November 1904, p. 1; reprinted as "Pour Benjamin Godard," Le Monde musical 17 (30 January 1905):14.

[7] JD feuilleton of 28 March 1886. The review of Les Piccolomini appeared in ibid., 8 February 1874.

[8] Léda was composed in 1882 but not premiered until 1884 (ibid., 20 April 1884). Reyer reviewed the premiere of Kérim in ibid., 12 June 1887.

[9] We may recollect that Reyer turned sixty-five in December 1888 and from then on took long holidays annually in both winter and summer. During his last six years with the JD (1893-98) he was, in effect, semi-retired, sharing his duties with Adolphe Jullien and writing fewer and fewer feuilletons (see Chapter I, p. 36).

[10] Le Rêve and L'Attaque du moulin were reviewed by Reyer in the JD feuilletons of 21 June 1891 and 25 November 1893 respectively.

[11] See ibid., 8 June 1890 (La Basoche) and 5 February 1893 (Madame Chrysanthème). Reyer also admired Le Chevalier d'Harmental (ibid., 10 May 1896).

[12] As Reyer recalled in his obituary of Gounod (ibid., 28 October 1893). The articles on Ulysse are cited below, n. 45.

[13] Alfred Bruneau, "Ernest Reyer," Musica 5, Reyer number (February 1907):19.

[14] Adolphe Jullien, Ernest Reyer, Les musiciens célèbres (Paris: H. Laurens [1909]), p. 95.

[15] From an unspecified issue of the RGMP, quoted by Paul Landormy in La Musique française de Franck à Debussy, 10th ed. (Paris: Gallimard, 1943), p. 10.

[16] The idea of such a society had been conceived and discussed at the Monday evening gatherings which Saint-Saëns had hosted at his home during the 1860s. Saint-Saëns's principal assistant in realizing the project was Romaine Bussine--a music teacher who later became a professor of singing at the Conservatoire--and together they co-founded the Société nationale on 25 February 1871. Bussine served as president, Saint-Saëns as vice-president, and the young composer Alexis de Castillon was appointed secretary. The other founder-members included Guiraud, Franck, Fauré, and Lalo. Among the first to join the society --which began giving concerts in November 1871--were Duparc and Bizet. See ibid., pp. 7-9, and James Harding, Saint-Saëns and His Circle (London: Chapman & Hall, 1965), pp. 109-11 and 113-14.

[17] Léon Vallas, Claude Debussy et son temps (Paris: Editions Albin Michel, 1958), p. 179. Only once during the period of Reyer's activity as a critic did the "petite chapelle" transform itself into a vast temple by opening its doors to the public: the occasion was the eagerly awaited premiere of Debussy's first orchestral work, the Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune, on 22 December 1894 (repeated the next day).

[18] Vallas has suggested that the "ingénuité mélodique" and other features which now make Ruth sound "enfantine" were once the sources of its appeal: "Tout cela, ne fut-ce pas la cause, chez les auditeurs de l'autre siècle, de l'impression d'ineffable candeur, qui semble les avoir enchantés . . . ?" (La Véritable Histoire de César Franck (1822-1890) [Paris: Flammarion, 1955], pp. 95-96). Laurence Davies agrees that "looked at through modern eyes, . . . Ruth lacks color and movement," but he finds some of it "immediately appealing," and, like Vallas, he notes a Schubertian "artlessness" (César Franck and His Circle [London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1970], pp. 61-62).

19 JD feuilleton of 27 March 1875.

20 Ibid., 2 June 1889.

21 For the comments of Ravel and Poulenc, see NG, s.v. "Chabrier, (Alexis-)Emmanuel," by Myriam Soumagnac, p. 97. Harold C. Schonberg, senior music critic for the New York Times since 1960, has described Chabrier as "within his restricted frame . . . one of the most remarkable composers of the period" (The Lives of the Great Composers [New York: W. W. Norton, 1970], p. 328). See also Donald Jay Grout, A Short History of Opera, 2d ed., 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), 2:429-30.

22 JD feuilleton of 22 May 1887.

23 Grout, Opera, 2:430.

24 Although Reyer admired in the Symphonie cévenole "une sûreté de main et un habileté de facture extrêmement remarquables," he felt that, in comparison with La Cloche, "la symphonie nouvelle n'a ni la même importance, ni les mêmes développemens" (JD feuilleton of 27 March 1887).

25 Landormy, De Franck à Debussy, pp. 180-81.

26 JD feuilleton of 8 February 1874.

27 Reyer declared that La Cloche was "inspiré de Wagner et de Berlioz, cela n'est pas douteux" (ibid., 28 March 1886). Davies finds that d'Indy's work bears a "too frequent resemblance" to Wagner's Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg (Circle, p. 150). Martin Cooper goes so far as to describe La Cloche as "a French model of Die Meistersinger" (French Music: From the Death of Berlioz to the Death of Fauré [London: Oxford University Press, 1951], p. 72).

28 Grout, Opera, 2:430. Both Fervaal and L'Etranger were premiered at the Théâtre de la Monnaie in Brussels. Two years before the premiere of Fervaal, however, an excerpt was presented in Paris at one of the Concerts de l'Opéra. Reyer warmly praised this "avant-goût de l'oeuvre inédite" (JD feuilleton of 23 November 1895).

29 Ibid., 12 June 1887.

30 Ibid., 21 June 1891.

31 Ibid.

32 Quoted in Cooper, French Music, p. 103.

33 JD feuilleton of 25 November 1893.

[34] Ibid., 28 October 1883.

[35] See Vallas (Debussy, pp. 52-53) for some contemporary judgments of Debussy's cantata.

[36] Pougin's remark is quoted in ibid., p. 56.

[37] Namely, Massenet, Lalo, Guiraud, and Delibes, according to Edward Lockspeiser, Debussy: His Life and Mind, 2d ed., 2 vols. (London: Cassell and Co., 1966; reprint ed. with corrections, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 1:62.

[38] The full score of Le Printemps, the envoi for 1887, was destroyed in a fire at the binders--or so the Académie was told (ibid., 1:75). Both La Damoiselle élue and Fantaisie were written at Paris, but were submitted as the envois for the years 1889 and 1890 respectively.

[39] The other five members of the jury were Ambroise Thomas, Gounod, Delibes, Massenet, and Saint-Saëns. We can obtain an idea of how this august group reacted to the music of the young Debussy by reading "Claude Debussy jugé par l'Académie," Le Monde musical 16 (15 November 1904):298. This article consists of excerpts reprinted from the official reports on Le Printemps and La Damoiselle élue.

[40] La Damoiselle élue and the String Quartet were premiered on 8 April and 29 December 1893 respectively. On both occasions Reyer was taking holidays: he published no feuilletons between 5 February and 13 May, and none during December. (Adolphe Jullien substituted for Reyer throughout the months of March, April, and December, as well as at other times during the year.) As indicated above (n. 17), the Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune was premiered in December 1894. Again Reyer was on his annual winter holiday: his last feuilleton of 1894 appeared on 8 December, and Jullien then substituted for him until mid-May 1895.

[41] Martin Cooper points out that in 1871 Saint-Saëns found himself virtually the dean of French composers: Berlioz had died in 1869; Gounod had fled to England in September 1870, shortly after the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War; and Auber--head of the Conservatoire since 1842--was dying. It was Saint-Saëns who both conceived and was the principal founder of the Société nationale de musique, and, therefore, "it was inevitable that . . . the men whom he collected round him . . . looked to the new gods--to Liszt among foreigners and to Gounod and Saint-Saëns himself in France--for encouragement and leadership."

Although Gounod had taken refuge in England, he was highly esteemed in official circles. On 10 June 1871--shortly after the war's tragic aftermath, the Commune, had ended--he received at London a letter informing him that he was expected to propose himself as director of the Conservatoire. (After considering the matter for a few days, he replied that he would not seek this position.) See Jacques-Gabriel Prod'homme and Arthur Dandelot, Gounod (1818-1893): sa vie et ses oeuvres, d'après

des documents inédits, with a preface by Camille Saint-Saëns, 2 vols. (Paris: Ch. Delagrave, 1911), 2:127.

[42] Bizet's career culminated in Carmen, premiered just a few months before his death in 1875. Lalo's productive life was essentially over when he completed Le Roi d'Ys, premiered in 1888. He worked on two more stage compositions--the pantomime Néron (1891) and the opera La Jacquerie, which was left unfinished at his death in 1894--but both works drew on earlier compositions.

[43] The writings reach as far back as 1852, and as far forward as 1897. In 1852, the year in which Reyer began publishing music criticism under his own name, he devoted two of his articles to Gounod (see below, n. 45). In 1897, the year before Reyer retired, he reviewed Saint-Saëns's incidental music for a contemporary French adaptation of Sophocles's Antigone (JD feuilleton of 8 August 1897).

[44] Ibid., 28 October 1893.

[45] In 1852 Reyer became music critic of both the Revue de Paris and L'Athenaeum français, and he reviewed Gounod's choruses for Ulysse in each publication. See "Les Choeurs d'Ulysse, par M. Charles Gounod," RP 10 (July 1852):145-48; and "Chronique musicale: Les Choeurs d'Ulysse, par M. Gounod," AthF 1 (10 and 17 July 1852):31-32. The latter article includes reflections on Sapho, and will hereafter be cited as "[Sapho and] Les Choeurs d'Ulysse." Gounod's three-act opera had left the stage of the Opéra after only seven performances in 1851.

[46] "[Sapho and] Les Choeurs d'Ulysse," AthF p. 31.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Fifteen years after the premiere of Ulysse, some of the choruses were presented at one of the concerts of the short-lived Société de l'Athénée (see Reyer's review in the JD feuilleton of 16 February 1867). Sapho was revived twice, but at neither time in its original form. For the first revival it was reduced from three acts to two (CP feuilleton of 7 August 1858); for the second revival, the work was "remaniée de fond en comble" (JD feuilleton of 6 April 1884).

As late as 1893, when Reyer wrote Gounod's obituary, he declared that the premieres of the original Sapho and Ulysse were, for him, "deux dates inoubliables." After remembering that he had tried in vain to persuade Colonne to present all of the choruses for Ulysse at the Concerts du Châtelet, Reyer called for a revival of Ponsard's tragedy "pour entendre les choeurs." Apropos of Sapho, Reyer reiterated his conviction that the title role--written for the great mezzo-soprano Pauline Viardot-Garcia--was "un de ses plus beaux rôles entre Fidès [de Meyerbeer] et Orphée [de Gluck]." (JD feuilleton of 28 October 1893.)

[49] In Reyer's opinion, "la couleur rétrospective était à peu près indispensable" for the musical rendering of Molière's classic. He

therefore admired Gounod for having imitated Rameau, Lully, Haydn, and Mozart, "mais non pas servilement, non pas en plagiaire" ("Chronique musicale," RF Année 4, Tome 12 [10 February 1858]:125). See also Reyer's earlier review of the same production (CP feuilleton of 24 January 1858), and his review of a revival at the Opéra-Comique (JD feuilleton of 31 May 1872). As we observed in Chapter IV (pp. 150-51), Reyer was impressed by the ways in which Gounod used certain instruments to contribute to the humor of Molière's work.

50 "Chronique musicale," GN 2 (3 March 1860):5. The public, which had made Gounod's Faust the greatest success of the preceding year, received Philémon et Baucis with such indifference that it was dropped after only thirteen performances. Much to Reyer's delight, it was revived many years later at the Opéra-Comique (JD feuilletons of 28 May 1876 and 27 February 1877). Shortened from three acts to two, it became a great success.

51 JD feuilleton of 28 October 1893 (obituary of Gounod). In his review of the 1874 revival, Reyer cited as examples of Provençal color the pastoral chorus at the opening of the work, the farandole in Act II, and, in both the vision scene and the final number, the theme Sainte ivresse, divine extase, "qui exhale comme un parfum des anciens Noëls de la Provence." (Ibid., 15 November 1874.)

Gounod's opera--which was based on Frédéric Mistral's Provençal poem Mirèio--passed through a number of different arrangements, first at the Théâtre-Lyrique and then at the Opéra-Comique. The work finally achieved success at the Comique after the Rhône scene and the Crau scene were deleted, and a happy ending substituted for the original tragic dénouement. (See the review of this "version nouvelle" in ibid., 3 December 1889.) Reyer disapproved of the changes: ". . . les tableaux du Rhône et de la Crau . . . sont peut-être les deux plus belles pages de la partition. Quant au dénouement . . . je ne l'approuve pas davantage. . . . Elles sont quelquefois terribles les exigences du succès." (Ibid., 28 October 1893.)

52 As Reyer recalled in ibid., 16 March 1869.

53 Ibid., 5 May 1867. Reyer was prepared to overlook Juliette's waltz-song ("Je veux vivre dans le rêve") in his praise of Gounod's sense of character:

> "Il a donné et su conserver à chacun de ses personnages cette physionomie particulière dont tout musicien dramatique doit se préoccuper s'il veut arriver à composer des types et non point à écrire des rôles; la valse que chante Juliette au premier acte est un incident musical d'une portée trop minime pour que les plus délicats puissent l'opposer à M. Gounod comme une sérieuse contradiction."
> (Ibid.)

54 Ibid.

[55] Ibid., 28 October 1893. "Le chant de l'alouette" probably refers both to the song of the lark at the end of the love duet in Act IV, and--in a more general sense--to the abundant love-music in this opera.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Reyer began his paraphrase of the public's complaints by observing that

> "Pour bien des gens M. Gounod est un symphoniste: Sapho et la Nonne sanglante révèlent un talent de symphoniste qui exclut naturellement, chez l'auteur de ces deux belles partitions, toute espèce d'aptitude dramatique. Faust est aussi une symphonie...[sic] une symphonie avec choeurs, car les choeurs de Faust ont été remarqués par tout le monde. . . . [Gounod] met trop souvent la statue dans l'orchestre, et par moments telle partie d'altos ou de clarinettes chante d'un façon bien plus mélodique, bien plus importante que le baryton ou le soprano qui est en scène. . . . où commence la cavatine? Et pourquoi, contrairement à ce qui a lieu, cette romance, ce duo, ne sont-ils pas précédés d'une ritournelle? . . . Où est le quintette de Moïse, où est le finale de Don Juan, où est le septuor de Lucie?" (CP feuilleton of 29 March 1859)

[58] Ibid.

[59] Reyer continued his paraphrase of the public's complaints:

> "Nous sommes des Parisiens de la vieille roche et nous aimons les gais flons-flons, les joyeux refrains et les cavatines qui ne sont pas dépourvues de ritournelles: Ah! qu'il fait donc bon, qu'il fait donc bon... entendre un joli ténor à la voix pointue et nasillarde nous chanter: Je pars, je pars, je pars, je pars, en vidant sa coupe et son sac. Pauvre Fanchon, pauvre Margot, vous voilà devenue la Marguerite du diable: vous ne roucoulerez plus comme autrefois; votre jupon s'est allongé d'une aune, vous êtes triste et rêveuse, et cela ne nous amuse guère de vous entendre confier votre amour aux étoiles et vos douleurs au bon Dieu." (Ibid.)

The allusion to "Fanchon" and "Margot" requires explanation: these were the heroines of Clapisson's opéras comiques La Fanchonnette and Margot, which had been premiered at the Théâtre-Lyrique in 1856 and 1857 respectively. Both roles had been created by the soprano Caroline Miolan-Carvalho, who, in 1859, was Gounod's first Marguerite. During that year, the very successful La Fanchonnette was still drawing crowds to the Lyrique.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid.

[63] The pages which received Reyer's highest praise were the love duet and the prison scene. Apropos of the duet, he exclaimed: "N'est-il pas vrai . . . que le musicien a surpassé le poète?" When describing the "excellentes choses" in the prison scene, Reyer noted "le rappel de cette phrase suave que ces deux amants ont chantée à leur première rencontre." He was also impressed by the "trio très dramatique" and by Marguerite's apotheosis, "traitée avec beaucoup de grandeur et d'élévation." (Ibid.)

[64] "L'épisode d'Hélène"--the conjuring of Helen of Troy and the orgy over which she presides--struck Reyer as being merely a pretext for "un décor d'une richesse éblouissante." He added: "Le récit de Méphistophélès et les couplets bachiques de Faust ont été beaucoup mieux appréciés que les glapissements des diablesses chevauchant sur leurs manches à balais fourchus, et poussant des hou! hou! avec accompagnement de cymbales et de petite flûte." (Ibid.)

[65] Ibid.

[66] "Gounod a touché à tous les genres sinon toujours avec le même bonheur, du moins avec une supériorité incontestable," wrote Reyer in his obituary of the composer. The critic continued: "Je ne crois pas qu'il s'en trouve un seul, parmi les musiciens contemporains, qui sont ou qui ait été plus instruit que lui dans son art et plus familiarisé avec toutes les ressources du métier." (JD feuilleton of 28 October 1893.)

[67] As examples of this simplicity, Reyer cited "l'invocation à Vesta, d'une ligne si classique, si pure jusqu'à la modulation en ré bémol, et la marche religieuse du dieu Pan," which "font songer à Mozart et à Glück." He added that the heroine--Pauline--was "un caractère simple et grand" (ibid., 15 October 1878).

Reyer did his best to cushion the fall of the young Gounod's first grand opera, La Nonne sanglante, by calling attention to the ineptitude of Scribe's libretto; see "Chronique musicale," AthF 3 (28 October 1854):1012-14. As we observed in Chapter I (p. 29), during the early 1860s there was a hiatus in Reyer's career as a critc. He therefore did not review Gounod's second grand opera, La Reine de Saba (1862). Decades later, in his obituary of the composer, Reyer indicated that he admired only a few "pages" of this work (JD feuilleton of 28 October 1893). In Reyer's review of Gounod's fourth and last grand opera, Le Tribut de Zamora, there is an undercurrent of irony which suggests that the critic found this work long-winded and frequently banal (ibid., 7 April 1881). For comments on Reyer's assessment of the libretto, see Chapter II (n. 57).

[68] Saint-Saëns, for example, wrote: "Pour sa musique religieuse, . . . je la crois, plus que toute autre, destinée à soutenir la gloire de son nom, quand le temps . . . lui aura élevé le trône d'or sur lequel il recevra l'encens des générations futures." (Portraits et souvenirs [Paris: Société d'Edition artistique, 1900], p. 96.)

[69] See Reyer's obituary of Gounod (JD feuilleton of 28 October 1893) and the following reviews: "Chronique musicale," AthF 4 (15 December 1855):1082 (Messe de Sainte-Cécile); JD feuilleton of 16 November 1871 (Gallia); and ibid., 27 April 1879 ("Festival Gounod," which included both the Messe and Gallia).

[70] Reyer was very complimentary concerning the Symphony in D when he heard it at various concerts in 1855 and 1856; see "Chronique musicale," AthF 4 (10 February 1855):124; ibid. (29 December 1855):1129; and "Chronique musicale," RF Année 1, Tome 3 (20 January 1856):514.

After first hearing the Symphony in E-flat, Reyer was unwilling to say whether he preferred this work to the earlier symphony; see "Chronique musicale," AthF 5 (16 February 1856):133. However, when he wrote Gounod's obituary nearly forty years later, the Symphony in E-flat was the one which he deemed worthy "d'être mentionnée avec éloges" (JD feuilleton of 28 October 1893).

[71] Ibid., 15 October 1878.

[72] Ibid., 28 October 1893.

[73] Ibid.

[74] As mentioned on p. 403, Adolphe Adam and Berlioz were among the admirers of both works. To these names we may add another: Bizet. He became acquainted with Sapho and Ulysse during his early teens, and "retained a lifelong enthusiasm" for them, according to Mina Curtiss, Bizet and His World (London: Secker & Warburg, 1959), p. 34.

[75] Cooper, French Music, p. 12.

[76] See James Harding, Gounod (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1973), pp. 70 and 79.

[77] "[Sapho and] Les Choeurs d'Ulysse," AthF p. 31.

[78] Compare Harding's remarks (Gounod, pp. 69 and 83) with those of Reyer (quoted above, p. 404).

[79] Reyer's praise of Gounod's delineation of character (see above, n. 53) is echoed by Harding: "Romeo and Juliet, Friar Laurence and Tybalt, were people of flesh and blood to him." (Gounod, p. 145.) Harding describes Juliet's waltz-song as Gounod's "ritual sacrifice at the altar of Madame Carvalho [the prima donna who created the role]" (ibid., p. 142).

[80] JD feuilleton of 28 October 1893; see the longer quotation given above, p. 405.

[81] NG, s.v. "Gounod, Charles (François)," by Martin Cooper, p. 582.

[82] JD feuilleton of 28 October 1893; see above, p. 405.

[83] My comments on Gounod's work are based on Paul Landormy's "Faust," de Gounod: Etude et analyse (Paris: Mellottée, 1944).

[84] Ibid., p. 96.

[85] Harding, Gounod, p. 111.

[86] Cooper, "Gounod" in NG, p. 582.

[87] CP feuilleton of 29 March 1859.

[88] Ibid.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Ibid.; see above, pp. 406-7 and n. 63.

[91] JD feuilleton of 28 October 1893; see above, p. 408.

[92] Cooper cites the following as examples of the influence of Bach: "the solemn chromatic style of the introduction, which appears again in the church scene"; the "long pedal" that introduces the character Faust; and the "contrapuntal writing" for the triple chorus which begins the Kermesse scene. ("Gounod" in NG, p. 582.)

[93] Including Le Médecin malgré lui and Polyeucte (see above, nn. 49 and 67), as well as the andante of the Symphony in D (see "Chronique musicale," AthF 4 [10 February 1855]:124).

[94] Arthur Hutchings, "The Keyboard Music," in The Mozart Companion, ed. H. C. Robbins Landon and Donald Mitchell (London: Rockliff, 1956; reprint ed., with corrections, New York: W. W. Norton, 1969), p. 63.

[95] Harding, Gounod, p. 88.

[96] JD feuilleton of 28 October 1893.

[97] Rey M. Longyear, Nineteenth-Century Romanticism in Music, 2d ed., Prentice-Hall History of Music Series (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973), p. 211.

[98] Described by Adolphe Jullien in "Reyer intime d'après des lettres inédites," La Revue musicale 5 (1 January 1924):17.

99 "C'est plein d'idées, mais c'est f..tu comme quat' sous." Quoted by Reyer in the JD feuilleton of 30 March 1890.

100 According to Henry Roujon, Institut de France. Académie des Beaux-Arts. Notice sur la vie et les travaux de M. Ernest Reyer (1823-1909), membre de l'Académie (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1911), p. 19. The Parisian premiere of Samson et Dalila (Eden-Théâtre, 31 October 1890) was reviewed by Reyer in the JD feuilleton of 9 November 1890.

101 "Revue musicale," RP 21 (1 May 1854):474. Reyer had heard the symphony in March, and had taken important notice of it in ibid., 20 (15 March 1854):1016.

102 JD feuilleton of 14 May 1867.

103 Ibid., 3 January 1867.

104 Reviewed in the following: "Chronique de la quinzaine: Revue musicale," RP 20 (15 March 1854):1016 (the Symphony in E-flat); JD feuilleton of 3 January 1867 (a concert spirituel); ibid., 14 May 1867 (two orchestral concerts); and ibid., 28 December 1868 (the G minor Piano Concerto).

105 JD feuilleton of 19 June 1872.

106 Ibid., 27 February 1877.

107 Ibid., 19 December 1877. According to a contemporary writer on music, the success of Samson at Weimar was scarcely mentioned by French critics, with the exception of Reyer (ibid.), Dalloz of the Journal de musique, and L. de Fourcaud of the Gaulois. See Georges Servières, La Musique française moderne: César Franck; Edouard Lalo; Jules Massenet; Ernest Reyer; Camille Saint-Saëns (Paris: G. Havard fils, 1897), p. 341n.

108 Saint-Saëns's Etienne Marcel was premiered at Lyons on 8 February 1879, and was so well received that it held the stage for thirty successive performances. Excerpts from this opera were applauded in Paris at concerts of Pasdeloup and Colonne in 1879 and 1880. (For example, the Introduction, the ballet, and the finale of Act I were presented at two successive Concerts du Châtelet; see Reyer's review in the JD feuilleton of 30 November 1879.)

As we observed in Chapter VIII, a pro-Wagner movement began to develop in Paris during the early 1880s. Indeed, Reyer once remarked that Wagner and Berlioz "tiennent l'affiche avec le plus de succès au Cirque-d'Hiver [Concerts Pasdeloup] comme au Châtelet [Concerts Colonne]." (Ibid., 29 January 1882.)

109 Reyer characterized La Princesse jaune as "une oeuvre fine, élégante, colorée," in which the composer "passe du style japonais au style habituel de l'Opéra-Comique." He observed sensibly: "M. Camille

Saint-Saëns n'aurait pas choisi . . . un aussi petit cadre que celui de la Princesse jaune . . . pour se montrer le partisan zélé d'un système nouveau et provoquer une discussion sérieuse. Il est plus habile que cela et bien mieux avisé." (Ibid., 19 June 1872.)

After hearing Le Timbre d'argent, Reyer pointed out that Saint-Saëns had made some "concessions au goût parisien." The rumor that the composer nevertheless remained "entaché de wagnérisme," Reyer observed sardonically, "se répétait dans les couloirs, tout en fredonnant quelques unes des plus faciles mélodies du jeune maître: le choeur carnavalesque et la chanson napolitaine de Spiridion, par exemple." (Ibid., 27 February 1877.)

110 Ibid., 30 March 1890 (review of Ascanio). See also the following reviews in ibid.: 11 March 1883 (Henry VIII); 25 October 1884 (Etienne Marcel); 27 March 1887 (Proserpine); 9 November 1890 and 27 November 1892 (Samson et Dalila at the Eden-Théâtre and the Opéra respectively).

111 Ibid., 27 November 1892.

112 Ibid., 30 March 1890. Of all the operas by Saint-Saëns that were staged at Paris during the period of Reyer's activity as critic, only one escaped the public's charge of Wagnerism: Phryné, a two-act opéra comique. See Reyer's review of the premiere of "cette jolie petite partition" (ibid., 27 May 1893).

113 "Nourri de fortes études, secondé par une intelligence hors ligne et par des aptitudes merveilleuses, il a pu tout apprendre et tout s'assimiler. Sa mémoire défie toutes les surprises: . . . il n'est pas un prélude, pas une fugue de Bach qu'il n'ait retenus et qu'il ne puisse exécuter; il connaît Richard Wagner comme Beethoven; Mozart et Berlioz n'ont plus rien à lui révéler." (Ibid., 27 February 1877.)

114 Ibid., 8 September 1867.

115 He admired the Tarentelle as one of Saint-Saëns's most astonishing demonstrations of his mastery of counterpoint--"un de ces tours de force auxquels les savans musiciens se plaîsent quelquefois, et qui sont doublement réussis lorsqu'ils plaîsent à tout le monde." (Ibid., 14 May 1867.) See also the following sampling of reviews in ibid.: 8 September 1867 (the cantata Les Noces de Prométhée); 19 June 1872 (La Princesse jaune); 27 January 1880 (the choral work La Lyre et la Harpe); and 30 March 1890 (Ascanio).

116 Ibid., 9 November 1890 (repeated verbatim in his review of the Opéra's production, ibid., 27 November 1892). Apropos of the instrumentation of the work as a whole, Reyer wrote:

> "Il m'arrive, en écoutant ce que la flûte et le cor anglais murmurent, d'oublier les jeux de scène et le dialogue des voix. Tel trait de violon en sourdines me ravit, et je me pâme au soupir prolongé d'une note de

clarinette ou de cor. Je dois bien des jouissances de ce genre à Berlioz et à Weber; j'en dois bien quelques-unes aussi à M. Camille Saint-Saëns."
(Ibid., 9 November 1890 and 27 November 1892)

[117] For example, in Act IV of Henry VIII Reyer discerned the influence of first Gounod and then Wagner: the king's cantabile amoroso "Anne, ma bien aimée!" reminded him of Hermosa's romanza "Tu trouves donc que ce n'est pas assez" in Gounod's Le Tribut de Zamora; and, in the quartet which follows the cantabile amoroso, the passage from E minor to E major recalled for Reyer "une progression admirable" in the "marche religieuse" in Act II of Lohengrin. (Ibid., 11 March 1883.) Reyer again heard Wagner in a recurring phrase of Ascanio, and Gounod in an accompaniment for bassoon in Phryné. (Ibid., 30 March 1890 and 27 May 1893 respectively.)

Passages in Phryné and in two other operas reminded Reyer of Berlioz and Weber: the unusual pedal in the second-act trio of Phryné recalled for him the pedal in the septet of Berlioz's Les Troyens (ibid.); he sensed "un souffle de Weber" in the duet of Conrad and Hélène in Act III of Le Timbre d'argent (ibid., 27 February 1877); and whenever he heard the motif of the "Entrée des Bohémiens" in the ballet of Etienne Marcel he recollected the pseudo-Turkish theme which begins the finale of Act III of Oberon (ibid., 30 November 1879 and 25 October 1884).

[118] Ibid., 30 March 1890.

[119] Ibid., 11 March 1883 and 25 October 1884.

[120] Ibid., 11 March 1883.

[121] Ibid., 9 November 1890 and 27 November 1892. Much of the music which Reyer found most effective in this opera belongs to Dalila: the seductive melodies in Act I; her aria--"devenu classique aujourd'hui"--at the beginning of Act II; the love duet which she initiates with "Mon coeur s'oeuvre à ta voix"; and her canonic duet with the High Priest in Act III. Reyer was also impressed by some of the choral numbers, especially the Hebrews' opening chorus of lamentation, their reply to Samson's assurances of deliverance, the chorus sung by the maidens to the victorious Samson, and--in Act III--the Philistines' triumphant "Dagon se révèle."

[122] Ibid., 9 November 1890 and 27 November 1892.

[123] Ibid., 30 March 1890.

[124] Apropos of the Variations sur un thème de Beethoven, see ibid., 29 July 1875. Reyer's hint that he knew the Carnaval des animaux appears in his review of Phryné: the critic insisted that, in this opéra comique, Saint-Saëns did not attempt to be "drôle comme il l'a été dans certaines plaisanteries musicales que ses intimes connaissent bien" (ibid., 27 May 1893).

125 The A minor Cello Concerto struck Reyer as being superbly suited to the solo instrument: " . . . n'ayant pas été écrit pour faire briller la virtuosité de l'exécutant, on n'y trouve rien de ce qui altère, de ce qui défigure le caractère du plus noble et du plus poétique des instrumens." (Ibid., 28 January 1878.) He praised the C minor Piano Concerto as "[une] oeuvre magistrale, savamment traitée, . . . oeuvre personnelle aussi, dégagée de toute formule scolastique" (ibid., 9 November 1875).

In his review of the Suite algérienne Reyer applauded Saint-Saëns for capturing the cachet of Arab music without borrowing authentic motifs (cf. his comments on the nature of the exoticism in Bizet's Djamileh, p. 424 and n. 147). Reyer described two pieces in the Suite algérienne--"Rhapsodie mauresque" and "Rêverie du soir"--as "véritables chefs-d'oeuvre de couleur et de poésie." (Ibid., 15 January 1881.)

The premieres of Saint-Saëns's first three symphonic poems were reviewed by Reyer in ibid.: 1 November 1872 (Le Rouet d'Omphale); 13 December 1873 (Phaéton); and 29 January 1875 (Danse macabre). Saint-Saëns's fourth and last symphonic poem, La Jeunesse d'Hercule (1877), is not mentioned in Reyer's critical writings.

126 Ibid., 9 November 1890 and 27 November 1892.

127 The influence of Meyerbeer is strong in Henry VIII, according to Harding (Saint-Saëns, p. 163) and Cooper (French Music, p. 44). Both Henry VIII and Etienne Marcel deal with historical subjects. The plots of Proserpine and Ascanio are fictional, but, as Cooper points out, the historical backgrounds are "amply detailed" (ibid.). In Samson et Dalila, as in grand opera, we find spectacular crowd scenes, processions, and dances.

128 As Alfred Einstein observed, "Beneath the . . . surface of the work, there flow hundreds of currents." Gluck, Handel, Meyerbeer, and Massenet were among the composers whose influence Einstein discerned in this opera. See Music in the Romantic Era (New York: W. W. Norton, 1947), p. 260.

129 See Jean Bonnerot, C. Saint-Saëns: sa vie et son oeuvre (Paris: A. Durand et fils, 1914), pp. 108, 124, and 136 (apropos of Henry VIII, Proserpine, and Ascanio respectively); Arthur Hervey, Saint-Saëns (New York: Dodd Mead & Co., 1922; reprint ed., Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1970), pp. 55 and 67 (Etienne Marcel and Ascanio); and Harding, Saint-Saëns, pp. 162-63 and 176 (Henry VIII and Ascanio).

130 On 5 and 6 May 1878, Saint-Saëns conducted Samson et Dalila "comme un oratorio" at concerts of the Grande-Harmonie of Brussels. (See Servières, Musique française, p. 346.) Reyer outlined the long history of Samson when the work was staged at the Eden-Théâtre and again when it was produced at the Opéra, but on neither occasion did he mention the performances at Brussels. (See the JD feuilletons of 9 November 1890 and 27 November 1892.)

131 Ibid., 9 November 1890 and 27 November 1892.

132 We should take note of the large orchestral force marshalled for Samson: in addition to the strings and the usual woodwinds, the composer utilized a third flute, a cor anglais, a bass clarinet, a double bassoon, four horns, two trumpets, two cornets, three trombones, a bass tuba, two ophicleides, two harps, three kettledrums, a bass drum, cymbals, a triangle, a glockenspiel, crotales, castanets made of wood and iron, a tambour de basque, and a tam-tam.

133 Several authorities on Saint-Saëns's music regard Le Rouet d'Omphale, Danse macabre, and the little-known Phaéton as being the composer's best symphonic poems and among his finest orchestral works. (See Harding, Saint-Saëns, pp. 121-24; Cooper, French Music, p. 20; and Servières, Musique française, pp. 304-5, 307-9.) The Suite algérienne, on the other hand, is one of the composer's "oeuvres d'orchestre d'une valeur secondaire" (Servières, Saint-Saëns, Les Maîtres de la musique [Paris: Félix Alcan, 1923], p. 128). Reyer's preference for the Suite may have been due largely to his fondness for Algeria, where he had spent several years of his youth.

134 Harding succinctly characterizes the Third as "this monumental attempt at grandiose utterance by a man whose natural bent was for wit rather than passion." (Saint-Saëns, p. 172.)

135 Servières, Saint-Saëns, p. 135.

136 See especially the reviews of La Princesse jaune and Phryné (JD feuilletons of 19 June 1872 and 27 May 1893). Harding begins his discussion of La Princesse jaune by speculating that "had Saint-Saëns chosen to cultivate his undoubted gift for operetta it is probable that his stage works, instead of languishing on dusty shelves as they do now, would continue to entertain appreciative audiences." (Saint-Saëns, p. 119.)

137 Paul Henry Lang, Music in Western Civilization (New York: W. W. Norton, 1941), p. 928.

138 NG, s.v. "Gounod," p. 585.

139 William S. Newman, The Sonata Since Beethoven, 2d ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1972), p. 528.

140 JD feuilleton of 11 March 1883; see above, p. 417.

141 Cooper, French Music, p. 2.

142 The first was Les Pêcheurs de perles, which was premiered on 20 September 1863 and ran for only eighteen performances, closing on 23 November. During the early 1860s, as we may recall, there was a hiatus

in Reyer's career as critic; he therefore did not review Bizet's opera. Berlioz, then critic of the JD, reviewed Les Pêcheurs de perles in his last feuilleton (8 October 1863). Reyer's opportunity to discuss Bizet's opera came twenty-six years later, when the work was staged at Monte Carlo (ibid., 3 March 1889).

143 Among the "mérites" which Reyer praised was Bizet's knowledge of his art: "Quand la science musicale n'a plus eu de secrets pour lui, il a demandé à l'étude des grands maîtres cette nourriture forte et vivifiante sans laquelle les intelligences, même les plus supérieures, finissent par s'étioler et s'éteindre." (Ibid., 6 January 1868.)

144 Ibid.

145 Ibid.

146 See Curtiss, Bizet, pp. 322-23 and 325. As we have noted, Saint-Saëns's La Princesse jaune--premiered at the Opéra-Comique a month after Djamileh--was also assailed by rumors that the composer had been influenced by the music of Wagner.

147 Reyer explained that the score was "la vraie musique orientale" in the sense that it was native music

> "telle que l'ont comprise . . . ceux qui, étant allés dans le pays même, en ont rapporté des souvenirs. Elle est vraie non par l'imitation de certains effets d'instrumens sui generis, non par l'emploi d'une gamme toute différente de la notre, mais bien par l'accompagnement qu'elle fait au paysage que notre imagination évoque ou au tableau qui passe sous nos yeux. C'est une vérité un peu de convention, un peu habillée si l'on veut, mais une vérité qui tient compte de la délicatesse de nos oreilles et de la nature des sensations musicales auxquelles nous sommes habitués."
> (JD feuilleton of 31 May 1872)

148 Ibid. In Reyer's opinion, this "volonté" was manifested by a refusal to make concessions to the public taste: "Non vraiment vous ne trouverez dans la partition de Djamileh ni vieilles formules fort goûtées ni banalités toujours très applaudies." He supported his assertion by pointing out that the music for Splendiano, the comical servant, was free of the buffo element which the public loved.

149 Ibid., 10 October 1872.

150 Translated by Curtiss, Bizet, p. 339.

151 JD feuilleton of 17 November 1872.

152 Namely, Victorin de Joncières in La Liberté, the poet Théodore de Banville in Le National, Reyer in the JD, and Johannès Weber in

Le Temps, according to Winton Dean, Bizet, 3d rev. ed., The Master Musicians Series (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1975), pp. 119-20.

153 JD feuilleton of 14 March 1875.

154 Most critics were pronouncing the libretto too immoral and brutal for the stage. Reyer countered by declaring that the librettists had "tempéré" Mérimée's supposedly obscene story to such a degree that he felt free to retell it "même dans les colonnes de ce journal," and he proceeded to do so at length. He also admired the librettists for having "bien tempéré" the character of the heroine without destroying "ce piquant relief qu'elle a dans le roman, et qui explique suffisamment au lecteur intelligent la passion de don José."

To critics and other listeners who had been scandalized by the murder of the heroine--after all, murder had never before been seen on the stage of "un asile sûr pour les familles les plus puritaines"--Reyer replied that "il fallait bien punir le vice, ne pouvant pas récompenser la vertu." Equally perceptive was his explanation of why the librettists had altered the locale of this dénouement: the audience had to be assured that justice would quickly be done to Carmen's murderer; therefore the curtain rose not on Mérimée's "gorge solitaire" but rather on "le voisinage du cirque," so that the audience could see "une honorable compagnie d'alcades et de corrégidors." (Ibid.)

155 Such an impression is given by the following paragraph in Reyer's review:

> "M. Bizet, après Djamileh, s'est mis à réfléchir sur la difficulté de faire apprécier par le public les délicatesses d'une oeuvre fine, distinguée et ayant une certaine saveur poétique. Et à la suite de ces réflexions il a écrit la partition de Carmen. Ce préambule, d'ailleurs très court, nous dispense d'établir la moindre comparaison entre Carmen et Djamileh." (Ibid.)

156 Ibid.

157 Ibid. The habanera was based on "El Arreglito ou la Promesse de mariage" by the Spanish-American composer Sebastián Yradier. Bizet had apparently mistaken it for a folksong; when its authorship was pointed out he mentioned the derivation in a note to the first edition of the vocal score, which appeared a week after the premiere (Dean, Bizet, pp. 229 and 120).

Reyer evidently knew about the derivation of the habanera either from the note on the vocal score, or from Yradier's collection Fleurs d'Espagne (published by Heugel in 1864), or from the original publication of this song, which was advertised as early as 1863 on the last page of Le Ménestrel 30 (4 January 1863). Subscribers to the "musique de chant" offered by this periodical received "El Arreglito" with the next issue (11 January 1863).

158 JD feuilleton of 14 March 1875. Reyer particularly liked "ce délicieux dialogue de clarinette et de basson" in the entr'acte preceding Act II. This entr'acte, the smugglers' march in Act III, and the procession which begins Act IV--all were included in Reyer's enumeration of "les morceaux . . . les mieux réussis."

159 Ibid. Du Locle revived Carmen in November 1875, just six months after Bizet's death. The atmosphere in the theatre was heavy with mourning--as is evident in Reyer's review (ibid., 21 November 1875)--and the work was performed only thirteen times.

160 One such demand from Reyer began: "Carmen se joue partout à l'étranger, et partout cette charmante partition obtient le plus grand succès. Il n'y a pas qu'à Paris qu'on ne la joue pas, qu'on ne la joue plus." (Ibid., 12 November 1882.)

161 See ibid., 29 April 1883.

162 Ibid.

163 Ibid. Reyer was not yet captivated by the score of Carmen, but he pronounced the libretto "un des plus amusans, des mieux construits et des plus intéressans qui soient au répertoire de la salle Favart [i.e., Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique]."

164 Ibid., 10 November 1883.

165 Ibid. Reyer compared the interpretations of the two singers who had appeared in the title role in productions of Carmen at the Comique: the mezzo-soprano Galli-Marié, who had created the role in 1875 and was singing it in the current revival; and the soprano Adèle Isaac, the Carmen of the April 1883 revival. He left no doubt that he regarded Galli-Marié as "la vraie Carmen."

166 Ibid., 24 May 1885.

167 See the following JD feuilletons: 13 June 1875 (obituary of Bizet); 29 April 1883 (review of Carvalho's first revival of Carmen); and 15 November 1885 (review of the revival of L'Arlésienne at the Odéon).

168 Ibid., 13 June 1875.

169 Reyer singled out the following persons: Carvalho, who had encouraged Bizet's "débuts" by commissioning and premiering three works (Les Pêcheurs de perles, La Jolie Fille de Perth, and L'Arlésienne); Pasdeloup, who had given Bizet's music a place on his concert programs; and du Locle, who had premiered Djamileh and had both commissioned and premiered Carmen. (Ibid.)

[170] Ibid.

[171] See the discussions of La Jolie Fille de Perth in Curtiss, Bizet (pp. 175 and 211-14), and in Dean, Bizet (pp. 177-85).

[172] Dean, Bizet, p. 199.

[173] JD feuilleton of 31 May 1872; see the longer quotation given above, p. 424.

[174] Ibid.

[175] In a letter to his friend Edmond Galabert, Bizet noted that several members of the press had been "very warm" toward Djamileh. He added: "What pleases me more than the opinions of all these gentlemen is the absolute certainty of having found my way. I know what I am doing." (Translated by Curtiss, Bizet, p. 325.) Dean agrees that "musically Djamileh is his first really mature work" (Bizet, p. 198), and Martin Cooper describes it as "his first completely original work, his own in its failings as well as in its felicities." (Georges Bizet [London: Oxford University Press, 1938], p. 87.)

[176] Curtiss, Bizet, p. 402.

[177] As a youth, Reyer lived for several years in Algeria; as music critic of the JD, he went to Cairo for the world premiere of Aïda in 1871, and was so fascinated by Egypt that he spent months travelling around the country (see the JD feuilletons of 16 January and 17 February 1872). Reyer returned to Paris a few weeks before the premiere of Djamileh. In his review of this work he fondly recalled that he had often sat for hours "dans un café turc," spellbound by native musicians playing Arab music (ibid., 31 May 1872).

[178] Dean, Bizet, p. 202.

[179] Faust is always performed with the recitatives provided by Gounod in 1860, and modern scholars usually classify this work as an opéra lyrique. We should however remember that the original version--which Reyer reviewed--contained spoken dialogue, and was therefore an opéra comique.

[180] A recent effort in this vein was Massenet's Don César de Bazan, which was praised by many critics but not by Reyer. He felt that it had been written solely "pour flatter le goût du public," and he chided the composer for having relied on "des réminiscences empruntées au répertoire national d'Yradier et de Gastambide." (JD feuilleton of 13 December 1872.)

[181] Ibid., 29 April 1883; see the longer excerpt given above, p. 428.

[182] Translated by Curtiss, Bizet, p. 401. The excerpt is from the review of the premiere of Carmen by the music critic of La Patrie, M. de Thémines (pseudonym of Achille de Lauzières, Marquis de Thémines).

[183] We may recall that the vocal numbers admired by Reyer in 1875 were not the solos, but rather the chorus of the cigarette girls, the quintet, the duets between Carmen and Don José in Acts I and II, and their confrontation at the end of the opera (see above, p. 427).

[184] JD feuilleton of 29 April 1883; see the longer excerpt given above, p. 428.

[185] Dean, Bizet, p. 235.

[186] JD feuilleton of 15 May 1892 (obituary of Lalo).

[187] Ibid., 19 June 1872. Lalo was a founder-member of the Armingaud-Jacquard quartet, one of the chamber music ensembles active in mid-century Paris. In 1866-67 he composed Fiesque in response to a competition opened by the Théâtre-Lyrique. Lalo's three-act grand opera did not win the competition (see below, n. 230), and was never performed.

[188] Ibid., 29 December 1872. The first excerpt--the ballet music (Divertissement)--"a provoqué . . . des manifestations contradictoires," although the second, which Reyer did not name, "a trouvé grâce devant les classiques les plus renfrognés."

[189] Ibid., 8 February 1874.

[190] He was particularly impressed by the D minor Cello Concerto, "un morceau très savamment écrit et très finement instrumenté, mettant en relief avec un art et une sobriété du meilleur goût le talent du virtuose." (Ibid., 19 December 1877.) See also his comments concerning the Rhapsodie norvégienne for orchestra (ibid., 6 November 1887).

[191] Ibid., 27 February 1875.

[192] The other works listed by Reyer were: Saint-Saëns's Danse macabre and his C minor Piano Concerto; Massenet's Scènes dramatiques; and an anonymous Lamento dedicated to the memory of Bizet (ibid., 26 December 1875).

[193] Ibid., 16 January 1877. More than a year later, the overture to Le Roi d'Ys was performed at an official concert given during the Paris Exposition, and Reyer again called for the staging of Lalo's new opera (ibid., 5 July 1878).

[194] Landormy, De Franck à Debussy, p. 24.

[195] By which time Lalo had completely revised it, setting it in three acts instead of five, as he explained in a letter written to Reyer at the time of the premiere. Excerpts from this letter are quoted in Reyer's review of the premiere of Le Roi d'Ys (JD feuilleton of 13 May 1888).

[196] Ibid., 10 September 1881. Like Namouna, Reyer's Sacountalâ (1858) was choreographed by Lucien Petipa, who for many years was active as both choreographer and ballet master at the Opéra. Reyer could well imagine what the current ballet master, Mérante, was saying to Lalo: "Comment régler sur ces complications d'orchestre, sur ces dessins qui se heurtent, qui se contrarient, nos pirouettes et nos entre-chats? Et comment voulez-vous que la première danseuse bondisse si la grosse caisse ne marque pas le rythme au cornet à pistons?"

[197] Ibid.

[198] Ibid., 12 March 1882. The seven dances singled out by Reyer were: "Pas de la Charmeuse," "Valse de la Cigarette," "Danse des Forbans," "Danse roumaine," "Pas de la bouquetière," "Sieste des esclaves," and "Divertissement des fleurs."

[199] Ibid., 9 October 1887. Reyer added: "Peut-être si on la réentendait aujourd'hui, plus attentivement, sans prévention et sans parti pris, trouverait-on qu'après tout elle est digne de figurer à côté de certains ouvrages du même genre qui ne quittent pas l'affiche de l'Opéra."

[200] In 1882, three admirers of Namouna--Reyer, Saint-Saëns, and Massenet, all of whom were then members of the Académie des Beaux-Arts of the Institut--sought to console Lalo for the demise of this ballet by proposing that it be awarded the Prix Monbine. The Académie rejected the proposal, on grounds that the prize was "destiné, en principe, à récompenser tous les deux ans le meilleur opéra-comique récemment représenté" (Landormy, De Franck à Debussy, pp. 31-32). At some point, Reyer himself went to see Vaucorbeil--director of the Opéra until 1884--and tried to persuade him to revive Namouna. This incident was recalled by the critic in his obituary of Lalo (JD feuilleton of 15 May 1892).

[201] Ibid., 13 May 1888. He ended the paragraph by declaring tersely that the sets of Namouna "n'existent plus." From a contemporary source we learn that Ritt and Gailhard, who had succeeded Vaucorbeil as co-directors of the Opéra in 1884, had converted the sets "pour servir de cadre au ballet des Deux pigeons [d'André Messager]." Servières, Musique française, p. 94.)

[202] JD feuilleton of 15 May 1892.

[203] Ibid., 13 May 1888.

204 Ibid. His favorite example was the "tableau des fiançailles," in which Lalo depicted Breton marriage customs and utilized the well-known folksong Nous sommes venus vous voir, Madame la mariée. Reyer praised the entire scene as being "d'une couleur délicieuse, d'une exquise fraîcheur." Among the other examples he cited were two passages sung by Rozenn during scenes with her sister, Margared: the "délicieuse mélodie" which begins with the words "En silence pourquoi souffrir?" (Act I); and the cantilena "Que ta justice fasse taire" (Act II, confrontation scene).

205 Ibid. One of the examples which Reyer cited to support his statement concerning Lalo's rendering of the "épisodes dramatiques" was the sisters' confrontation scene: "Je n'ai loué que le côté poétique du duo des deux femmes; je dois en signaler aussi les passages où s'exhale la fureur jalouse de Margared accusant sa soeur et maudissant Mylio." Reyer was also impressed by the conspiracy scene which concludes Act II, and by the striking contrast of the "terribles imprécations de Karnak et de Margared" and the "chants religieux entendus dans la chapelle pendant le mariage de Rozenn et de Mylio" in Act III.

206 Ibid.

207 Ibid., 15 May 1892.

208 Ibid., 19 June 1872.

209 Servières, Musique française, p. 68.

210 NG, s.v. "Lalo, Edouard(-Victoire-Antoine)," by Hugh Macdonald, p. 388.

211 Stuart Walter Sharp, Jr., "The Twilight of French Opéra Lyrique, 1880-1900" (D.M.A. dissertation, University of Kentucky, 1975), p. 51.

212 Servières, Musique française, p. 81.

213 JD feuilleton of 15 May 1892.

214 Michael E. Williamson, "Edouard Lalo: 1823-1892," in The Decca Book of Ballet, ed. David Drew, with an Introduction by Ernest Ansermet and a Short History of Ballet by Arnold L. Haskell (London: Frederick Muller, 1958), p. 178.

215 From Debussy's article "Opéras," La Revue blanche, 15 May 1901; reprinted in Claude Debussy: "Monsieur Croche" et autres écrits, Edition complète de son oeuvre critique avec une introduction et des notes par François Lesure (Paris: Gallimard, 1971), p. 39.

216 Such as the following: H. Moreno's "Semaine théâtrale: Namouna," Le Ménestrel 48 (12 March 1882):115; Auguste Vitu's "Premières

représentations. Opéra. -- Namouna, ballet en deux actes et trois tableaux, par MM. Nuitter et Petipa, musique de M. Edouard Lalo," Le Figaro, 7 March 1882, p. 3; and Gaston Serpette's feuilleton in La Presse, 14 March 1882.

217 After describing a fellow-listener's outraged reaction to the fanfare motif, Reyer wrote:

> "A ce voisin-là j'avais bien envie de répondre: . . . ce motif hellénique ou ionien, si pont-neuf, si vulgaire qu'il vous paraisse, en son expression naturaliste, est d'une couleur locale excellente, très en situation et travaillé de main de maître, avec ses contre-sujets si heureusement trouvés, sa cadence finale si inattendue." (JD feuilleton of 12 March 1882)

218 Serpette, La Presse feuilleton of 14 March 1882. Vitu and Moreno were not so rasping in their criticisms, but both were scandalized by the fanfare, which Moreno dismissed as being "d'un style inadmissible sur la scêne de l'Opéra." ("Namouna," p. 115; see also Vitu, "Premières représentations," p. 3).

Years later, when the popularity of the two orchestral suites drawn from Namouna prompted the publication of the original score, Reyer pointed out that the supposedly shocking "Fête foraine" had always been enthusiastically applauded as the concluding number in Suite No. 1. He added tartly: "Il paraît même que plusieurs abonnées de l'Opéra ne le reconnurent pas et furent des plus zélés à l'applaudir." (JD feuilleton of 9 October 1887.)

219 Ibid., 12 March 1882; see the longer quotation given above, p. 438.

220 See "Serge Lifar" in Cyril William Beaumont's Complete Book of Ballets, rev. ed. (London: Putnam, 1949), pp. 982-84.

221 Mary Clarke and Clement Crisp, The Ballet Goer's Guide (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981), p. 270.

222 Namely, the touring Grand Ballet du Marquis de Cuevas (which presented it under the title Noir et blanc) and the Nouveau Ballet de Monte Carlo. It entered the repertoire of the London Festival Ballet in 1966. At the Paris Opéra, it "remains a heady and thrilling experience." (Ibid.)

223 Williamson, "Lalo," in Decca, p. 179.

224 Arnold Haskell, "A Short History of Ballet," in ibid., p. 8.

225 Landormy, De Franck à Debussy, p. 34.

226 Servières, Musique française, p. 105. As we observed in nn. 204 and 205, Reyer's comments on this scene were very brief.

227 To my knowledge, the best analysis of this opera is the chapter "Lalo's Le Roi d'Ys" in Sharp's dissertation "Opéra Lyrique, 1880-1900," pp. 223-73. My comments are based largely on this source.

228 Ibid., p. 354.

229 Patrick J. Smith, The Tenth Muse: A Historical Study of the Opera Libretto (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), p. 313.

230 As previously noted, the competition was opened by the Théâtre-Lyrique. The judging took place in 1869, and the work selected by the jury was Le Magnifique, a one-act opera by the pianist-composer Jules Philippot. Seven years after the demise of the Lyrique, Philippot's work was premiered at the Opéra-National-Lyrique. Reyer bluntly pronounced the prize-winning opera "un ouvrage sans aucune valeur" (JD feuilleton of 18 June 1876). Reyer was not the only critic who was disappointed by Philippot's work: Georges Servières recalled that Le Magnifique "eut pour résultat de déjuger piteusement le jury de 1869, tant le livret parut banal et la musique médiocre." (Musique française, p. 68.)

231 In Lalo's obituary, Reyer recalled that "c'est presque par ordre ministériel que fut imposé le Roi d'Ys au théâtre pour lequel cette oeuvre exquise devait être à la fois un très grand honneur et un si grand succès." (JD feuilleton of 15 May 1892.) Although Lalo's work was not an opéra comique, it was awarded the Prix Monbine (identified above, n. 200).

232 Ibid.

233 Landormy, De Franck à Debussy, p. 19.

234 NG, s.v. "Opera, France: opéra comique," by Winton Dean, p. 579.

235 See, for example, his comments on the strengths and weaknesses of the young Massenet's incidental music for Leconte de Lisle's Les Erinnyes (JD feuilleton of 28 May 1876), and his review of the first revival of Delibes's Sylvia (ibid., 26 June 1892). When this ballet was premiered in 1876, Reyer was unable to review it, because--as he recalled in 1892--"il n'entrait point dans la fonction que je remplis au rez-de-chaussée de ce journal de rendre compte des ballets." (Ibid.) The privilege of reviewing ballets for the JD had traditionally belonged to the drama critic. In 1880, however, this privilege was seemingly transferred to Reyer, who devoted his feuilleton of 12 December to Widor's ballet La Korrigane. Lalo's Namouna, the next ballet premiered at the Opéra, was also reviewed by Reyer. A few months after this premiere, Reyer explained to his readers that he had requested and been granted the privilege of reviewing "des événemens chorégraphiques" because "l'importance de la musique dansante augmentait . . . et tendait à devenir symphonique." (Ibid., 2 July 1882.)

236 Longyear, Nineteenth-Century Romanticism, p. 262.

237 Adolphe Boschot, Chez les musiciens (du xviii^{e} siècle à nos jours), 3 vols. (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, [1922-26]), 2:106. Reyer's support of contemporary French composers was applauded also by his biographers: see Jullien (Reyer, p. 94), and Henri di Curzon, Ernest Reyer, sa vie et ses oeuvres (1823-1909) (Paris: Perrin, 1924), pp. 210-22.

238 JD feuilleton of 14 May 1881.

239 Such as his frequent expressions of distress over the ignoring of winners of the Prix de Rome after their return to Paris. See the following JD feuilletons: 16 November 1867; 16 March 1869 (concerning Ernest Guiraud); 29 July 1871; 17 May 1873; 13 February 1878; 6 November 1887 (regarding Gustave Charpentier); 8 April 1888; 6 November 1894; and 12 June 1898.

240 Ibid., 18 May 1872.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

For nearly forty years--from 1852, when his first signed article appeared in the Revue de Paris, until the late 1880s, when he began to curtail his activities as feuilletoniste of the Journal des Débats--Ernest Reyer was one of the most progressive music critics in France. With wit and insight he defended the innovators, called attention to the young and the unknown, and proclaimed the musical value of countless old and new works which suffered neglect, indifference, misunderstanding, or hostility. Of course, like any critic, he had his limitations: he was not as perceptive a judge of concert music as of opera and other theatrical genres; and--perhaps because he was employed by French publications--he was preoccupied with contemporary French composers, to the virtual exclusion of all foreigners except Wagner. Yet if there was much music which Reyer either did not know or deliberately refrained from discussing, at least he focused his critical attentions on the genres which he best knew and understood. The theatre was Reyer's world; but within it he was a great man, and sometimes he saw beyond it. His writings on theatrical and non-theatrical genres alike show him to be a cultured individual who thought seriously and honestly about the music he reviewed, and who knew his business well, since he himself was a composer.

In music one must be able to "reconnaître le beau, partout où il est"--this is perhaps the central article of Reyer's "profession de

foi,"[1] for it recurs again and again in his writings. When we consider his literary oeuvre as a whole, we find revealed with stunning clarity not only this tenet but also the many other facets of his critical personality: his fondness for the poetic and the picturesque; his use of imaginative and fictional devices as an aid to critical argument, as in the writings of Weber, Schumann, and Berlioz; his irrepressible wit and his Berliozian irony; his capacity for both enthusiasm and indignation; his disdain for mediocrity, whether it be in composition or performance; his intense dissatisfaction with the commercial and official aspects of musical life, especially as regards Parisian lyric theatres; his contempt for academic dogma; and his respect for new music as well as old. Above all, we find his technical competence--or, rather, his professional understanding of music--and his intellectual integrity, which motivated him to "reconnaître le beau" without hypocrisy and without parti pris.

The many facets of this extraordinary critical personality are reflected in prose which, for facility and neatness, for elegance and unforced grace, approaches that of Berlioz and other French critics appreciated for their writing style, such as Jules Janin and Théophile Gautier. If Reyer ranked some of Berlioz's essays on the art of Gluck, Spontini, and Beethoven as being among the masterpieces of French music criticism, we can say the same of many of Reyer's writings on Weber, Berlioz, and Wagner, as well as his poignant fantasy "Histoire d'un musicien" and review of the premiere of Gounod's Faust. We might add that Reyer's Souvenirs d'Allemagne is a worthy complement to Berlioz's earlier Voyage musical en Allemagne et en Italie.

William Apthorp, a nineteenth-century American critic, admired what he characterized as "the French style of so-called personal criticism; where the critic . . . gives his own opinions for what they are worth, and fights for his own ideas." This manner is exemplified not only by the writings of Berlioz, Janin, and Gautier, but also by those of Reyer. He spoke not as an infallible judge deciding ex cathedra whether a work was good or bad, but rather as someone who might be discussing a favorite subject, frequently leavening musical instruction with anecdotes and witticisms. By speaking for no one but himself, Reyer was able to place his ideas in the strongest possible light, and this helps make his writing truly alive and suggestive. It obviously made people think--especially about Gluck, Berlioz, Wagner, and many an obscure contemporary French composer. And making people think is, to quote Apthorp, "perhaps the very best thing that any criticism can do."[2]

The influence of Berlioz is again apparent in Reyer's critical thought and practice. He founded his approach to critical writing on three fundamental principles of criticism which we find exemplified in the writings of Berlioz: professional understanding of music, intellectual integrity, and the consistent application of an aesthetic. With regard to opera--the genre upon which Reyer, like Berlioz, focused most of his attention--his aesthetic is strikingly similar to that of the older critic, for each man viewed drama as the essence of opera, and each consequently made the implications of the drama his overriding concern when assessing any aspect of operatic composition or performance.[3] Finally, Reyer championed many of Berlioz's causes. Since he shared with his distinguished colleague the conviction that a score should be

performed as written, he attacked the tamperings of conductors, singers, and other artists, as well as such travesties as Castil-Blaze's Robin des bois. He struggled to persuade his readers to recognize the good and the beautiful in Gluck, Spontini, and "authentic" Weber; and he sought attention also for promising French composers of his generation.

Apropos of one of the nineteenth-century pioneers of musicology and music journalism, Peter Bloom has written: "In some ways I believe it is fair to say that François-Joseph Fétis lived too long."[4] The same may be true of Reyer, for, as we shall see in the pages that follow, his major battles as a critic were largely over by the late 1880s.

In 1858, when there were rumors that the Opéra might revive a work by Gluck for the first time in ten years, Reyer spoke out vigorously in favor of such a revival. His words were lost on the conservative administration of the Opéra, but probably helped decide the more adventurous Carvalho to mount Orphée at the Théâtre-Lyrique the very next year. This, we may recall, sparked the brief Gluckian renaissance in mid-century Paris. The Gluck Centenary in 1887 afforded Reyer another opportunity to try to rekindle interest in the neglected composer, and he seized it with both hands, avowing that Gluck was one of the three or four musicians who "pouvaient regarder Mozart en face."[5] This plea for a Gluck revival was foredoomed to failure, because it came on the eve of Wagner's final triumph: he had already emerged victorious on the programs of Parisian concert societies, and, as Reyer surely sensed, would soon take the capital's lyric theatres by storm.

The credit for inspiring the undertaking of a critical edition of Gluck's principal operas belongs to Berlioz, but Reyer conscientiously

followed the progress of the edition until he became semiretired in 1893. As we have seen, he did more than just praise the efforts of the editors: through his feuilleton he appealed on their behalf for assistance in locating two fragments that were missing from the manuscript of Alceste. Such support from the music critic of the Débats must surely have contributed to the success of the series, for this newspaper was one of the most respected and widely read in nineteenth-century France.

Reyer's efforts on behalf of the music of Spontini and Weber were not as successful as his crusade for Gluck. Neither his persistent demanding of a revival of La Vestale, nor his conducting of excerpts from this work at the two "festivals" which he organized to honor the memory of Berlioz, brought Spontini's masterpiece back to the stage of the Opéra. During the 1850s and 1860s Reyer's enthusiasm for the Lyrique's productions of Weber's Oberon, Euryanthe, Abou Hassan, and Der Freischütz did not foster a vogue for "authentic" Weber; indeed, after Freischütz was withdrawn from the Lyrique's repertoire in 1868, only two years elapsed before the Opéra revived a truncated version for use as a curtain-raiser. Reyer's writings on Weber, ranging from reviews of productions at the Lyrique to critiques of the Opéra's use of Freischütz during the 1870s and 1880s, emphatically remind us that he shared with Berlioz a critical position which his illustrious colleague had been among the first to enunciate: music should be performed as written. For Reyer, as for Berlioz, the composer's utterance was above the tampering of arrangers and performers.

We can readily see that Reyer's essential achievements as a champion of the music of Berlioz were accomplished before the dawning of the

1880s. By then the pro-Berlioz movement, for which Reyer was largely responsible, had become well established: the two commemorative "festivals" had won laurels for the deceased composer; La Damnation de Faust had been launched on its spectacular career; Berlioz's other large concert works had been successfully brought before the public by Colonne and Pasdeloup; and these conductors had given La Prise de Troie in concert. It is probable that, with or without Reyer's efforts, the pro-Berlioz movement would eventually have led to the staging of this composer's operas. However, Reyer's continual lobbying for such productions during the 1880s and 1890s surely helped bring about both the revival of Les Troyens à Carthage and the premiere of La Prise de Troie sooner than might have been expected.

Reyer's struggle to gain a hearing for Wagner's music continued longer than did his fight for Berlioz, because the Franco-Prussian War and Wagner's Eine Kapitulation were serious setbacks to the acceptance of his music in France. We cannot but wonder how much longer this acceptance would have been delayed if such men as Reyer and Pasdeloup--two of Wagner's earliest French champions before the war--had not remained loyal to his cause during the 1870s. Although excerpts and entire acts from Wagner's works began to achieve success on the programs of Parisian concert societies during the early 1880s, the battle to establish his music in France was not finally won until 1887, when Lamoureux premiered Lohengrin at the Eden-Théâtre. As we observed in Chapter VIII, much of the credit for this premiere belongs to Reyer, because he had insisted for decades that, of all Wagner's works, Lohengrin was the one most likely to be well received by the French

public. The almost unqualified success of this premiere was indeed the breakthrough which opened to Wagner the long-closed doors of the Opéra.

Most of Reyer's efforts on behalf of contemporary French composers were likewise over by the late 1880s. Gounod and Saint-Saëns, both of whom owed much to Reyer's encouragement, were acknowledged as the greatest living French composers at the time of the Franco-Prussian War. During the years preceding and following the war, Bizet--sustained largely by Reyer and a handful of other musicians who had faith in the young composer's talent--persevered through repeated failures and produced the two works with which he triumphed posthumously: L'Arlésienne and Carmen. Lalo, who might have renounced his scarcely begun career had Reyer not turned the light on the unperformed Fiesque in 1872, went on to enrich French music with several fine orchestral compositions and two outstanding works for the stage. To this list of four important composers who benefited immeasurably from the support of one of Paris's most influential critics we must add the names of several others who were much indebted to him, particularly at the beginnings of their careers: Massenet, Chabrier, d'Indy, Bruneau, and--above all--Franck, whom Reyer helped rescue from what might have been tragic oblivion.

As we have observed in the preceding pages, Reyer demonstrated keen appreciation for a wide variety of Romantic and post-Romantic composers, ranging from Weber to Bruneau. During the 1890s, however, the aged critic seems to have become somewhat set in his musical ways, inasmuch as he was unable to comprehend the radical trends in French music. For example, he often expressed the fear that many young composers were in danger of losing their individuality by blindly embracing the Wagnerian

faith; he did not realize that they were trying to discover new paths by taking to unprecedented extremes Wagner's harmonic experiments, richness of instrumentation, and declamatory style of vocal writing.[6] At the opposite end of the French musical spectrum there was the very un-Wagnerian Debussy, about whom Reyer maintained a prudent silence which can be attributed to sheer bewilderment at the composer who was straying the farthest from the musical language of German Romanticism. Reyer was, in fact, quite baffled by the tendencies manifested by most young French composers during the closing years of the century. Consider the following outburst dating from 1894:

> . . . je vous assure que l'idée mélodique est de plus en plus bannie des compositions de l'Ecole moderne; elle en est bannie avec le même dédain que l'accord parfait . . . Mais, ainsi que vous peut-être, je me perds dans ce chaos de dissonances et d'enchevêtrements de rythmes, dans ce déchaînement d'extravagantes sonorités auxquels je sens bien que mon oreille ne s'habituera jamais. Que deviennent donc les saines et bienfaisantes doctrines que l'on enseigne au Conservatoire? Autant de vieilles guenilles que la plupart des élèves n'aspirent qu'à secouer. . . . Mais ils ont du talent, n'est-ce pas? Oui, ils en ont, et beaucoup.[7]

Thus we find the seventy-year-old Reyer--who had long defended transgressions of the rules for the sake of dramatic effect--nostalgically wondering what was happening to these rules.

Reyer may have been a conservative in his later years, but he never became a reactionary, for, as he stated in the excerpt cited above, he respected the talents growing up around him. One of the most striking proofs of his respect is the fact that, whenever he was in Paris during the musical season of 1895-96, he made a point of attending a series of concerts which the co-directors of the Opéra organized "en grande partie

pour faire connaître les jeunes, les audacieux."[8] He had reservations about many of the works he encountered at these concerts, but he was not hostile toward any of them--not even toward Bruneau's early Requiem, in which we find the harsh dissonances and other bold effects which characterize also his contemporaneous opera Le Rêve.[9]

Reyer's reviews of both Le Rêve and L'Attaque du moulin demonstrate that, in the realm of opera, his critical judgment retained during the 1890s something of its former keenness, for these reviews bespeak great interest in what would prove to be the most significant operatic movement of the decade--the movement now known as realism or naturalism.[10] Considering the fact that Reyer was then rejoicing in Wagner's triumphs at Parisian lyric theatres, we cannot but applaud his ability to appreciate simultaneously a new movement which was, in many ways, a reaction to Wagnerian music drama. Surely this is the most vivid illustration of his lifelong fidelity to his principle that one must always be ready to "reconnaître le beau."

* * *

Reyer's enormous critical oeuvre is comparable to that of Berlioz in size, and--according to two of his countrymen--it "contribua pour sa part au relèvement du goût musical en France dans le dernier tiers du XIX^{e} siècle."[11] However, as we observed at the beginning of this study, less than ten percent of this highly significant corpus of literature has been made available in collected volumes. These two collections--Reyer's Notes de musique and the posthumously prepared Quarante ans de musique--include some of his finest writings,[12] but many other important texts remain unsalvaged. The two collections together offer nothing on

Spontini, only one feuilleton on Gluck, and one on Weber;[13] and how can we be content to read about Gounod's Faust and Lalo's Le Roi d'Ys but not their Roméo et Juliette and Namouna? Clearly, it would be of interest to know Reyer's opinions on such momentous occasions as the premiere of L'Enfance du Christ conducted by its composer, or the Parisian premieres of such distinguished foreign works as Verdi's Aïda and Falstaff, Wagner's Lohengrin, and Puccini's La Bohème, or the first performance of Die Walküre in French at Brussels. Would we not value Reyer's writings on many other significant works, such as Berlioz's Roméo et Juliette and Requiem, or Bruneau's Le Rêve and L'Attaque du moulin?

Paul Henry Lang has prefaced a selection of his own writings from the defunct New York Herald Tribune with the observation that "ideas not collected into a book are like the unburied; they can neither live nor die."[14] The ideas of Reyer have long been forgotten because the vast majority remain in literary limbo, scattered through the yellowing pages of more than a dozen periodicals and newspapers. The essential purpose of this dissertation has been to bring back to life the most significant of these ideas while laying the foundation for the resurrecting of the others by locating his writings in the diverse publications of the nineteenth-century French press--a documentary source of monumental proportions which music historians are only now making a concerted effort to explore. But the work of resurrection will not be complete until, as is being done for Berlioz, Reyer's vast critical oeuvre is collected and reprinted, and thus made readily accessible. Only then shall we be able to appreciate fully the extraordinary man who, for nearly forty years,

surveyed the French musical landscape and described it with wisdom, integrity, and literary virtuosity.

Endnotes

[1] JD feuilleton of 2 December 1866. Reyer's "profession de foi" was discussed in Chapter III, pp. 118-20 and 129-30.

[2] Quoted in Max Graf, Composer and Critic: Two Hundred Years of Music Criticism (New York: W. W. Norton, 1946; The Norton Library, 1971), p. 309.

[3] The principles of Berlioz's aesthetic and the consistency of their application are brought out with great clarity by H. Robert Cohen in "Berlioz on the Opéra (1829-1849): A Study in Music Criticism" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1973).

[4] Peter Anthony Bloom, "François-Joseph Fétis and the Revue Musicale (1827-1835)" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1972), p. 417.

[5] JD feuilleton of 4 December 1887. As explained in Chapter VI (n. 39), Reyer was alluding to a statement he had written on the occasion of the centenary of Mozart's Don Giovanni earlier that year.

[6] In 1891 he made the following observation concerning recent winners of the Prix de Rome:

> "Ces jeunes gens suivent le courant: laissons-les faire, donnons-leur le temps de se calmer, et ne nous voilons pas la face. Le péril, d'ailleurs, n'est pas dans la tentative elle-même, mais dans l'emploi plus ou moins habile des moyens que sa réalisation exige. Supposez un jeune musicien dont les connaissances techniques sont insuffisantes . . . ; supposez que son instrumentation ne soit pas toujours à la hauteur de son inspiration . . . ; supposez enfin que sa personnalité . . . se noie dans des combinaisons, dans des chinoiseries auxquelles la préoccupation d'écrire 'selon la formule' doit fatalement l'entraîner, alors . . . vous ne serez pas éloigné de conclure que tous les efforts du jeune compositeur n'ont abouti, en somme, qu'à une tentative très honorable, je le veux bien, mais parfaitement stérile."
> (Ibid, 21 June 1891)

[7] Ibid., 5 May 1894.

[8] Ibid., 23 November 1895 (review of the first concert). Reyer missed the second concert, which was a repetition of the first, but attended the third concert as well as the final one (see ibid., 21 December 1895 and 12 April 1896). At these performances he heard a

variety of music by young composers: an excerpt from d'Indy's then-unknown opera Fervaal (mentioned in n. 28 of Chapter IX); the "Chasse fantastique" from Camille Erlanger's dramatic legend Saint Julien l'Hospitalier; Bruneau's Requiem; Paul Vidal's dramatic legend Saint Georges; and an unpublished overture by one Eugène Mestres.

[9] The Requiem had been completed in 1888--just two years before Le Rêve--and had been premiered at London by the Bach Choir. Reyer heard the work for the first time at the Concert spirituel which concluded the series of Concerts de l'Opéra (ibid., 12 April 1896).

[10] The long vacations taken by Reyer during his last decade with the JD (see Chapter I, p. 36) prevented him from hearing more than a handful of the works which exemplify operatic realism or naturalism: apart from Le Rêve and L'Attaque du moulin, he knew only Mascagni's Cavalleria rusticana and Puccini's La Bohème (reviewed in ibid., 23 November 1895 and 26 June 1898 respectively).

[11] Paul Landormy and Joseph Loisel, "L'Institut de France et le Prix de Rome: Ernest Reyer," in EMDC, II, 6:3553.

[12] Notably Souvenirs d'Allemagne, the fictional article "Histoire d'un musicien," the 1868 study of Lohengrin, the obituary "Hector Berlioz," and reviews of the following: Tannhäuser at Wiesbaden (1857); the premiere of Faust (Théâtre-Lyrique, 1859); a revival of Fidelio (Théâtre-Italien, 1869); Colonne's revival of La Damnation de Faust (1877); and Pasdeloup's premiere of La Prise de Troie in concert (1879). See pp. 729-32 in Appendix A for a complete itemization of the contents of both Notes de musique (Paris: Charpentier, 1875) and Quarante ans de musique (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1909). As previously indicated, Quarante was compiled by Emile Henriot.

[13] Reyer's review of the production of Euryanthe at the Théâtre-Lyrique (1858) and his feuilleton on the Gluck Centenary (1887) were reprinted in Quarante. We cannot but regret that so many of his writings about those two composers were overlooked, and that Spontini was not represented in either collection. Among the most regrettable omissions are reviews of the following: the last nineteenth-century revival of La Vestale (Opéra, 1854); the premiere of Oberon in French translation (Théâtre-Lyrique, 1857); the Lyrique's productions of Robin des bois and a translation of Freischütz (1855 and 1866 respectively); the Opéra's productions of two very different truncated versions of the 1841 translation of Freischütz (with recitatives by Berlioz) as curtain-raisers in 1870 and 1876; the revival of Iphigénie en Tauride (Théâtre-Lyrique, 1868); and the revival of Orfeo ed Euridice (Salle de la Gaîté, 1889).

[14] Paul Henry Lang, Critic at the Opera (New York: W. W. Norton, 1971), p. 12.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abraham, Gerald. A Hundred Years of Music. 4th ed. London: Duckworth, 1974.

_____. "The Influence of Berlioz on Richard Wagner." Music and Letters 5 (July 1924):239-46.

Achter, Morton Jay. "Félicien David, Ambroise Thomas, and French Opéra Lyrique, 1850-1870." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1972.

"Un Autographe de E. Reyer." Le Monde musical 21 (30 January 1909): [three unnumbered pages].

A facsimile of the MS of "Berlioz. -- Souvenirs intimes," an article published in 1903 in Le Monde musical. (For a bibliography of Reyer's critical writings in periodicals and newspapers, see Appendix A.)

Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians. 7th ed., completely revised by Nicolas Slonimsky. New York: Schirmer Books; London: Collier Macmillan, 1984.

Barzun, Jacques. Berlioz and the Romantic Century. 3d ed. 2 vols. New York: Columbia University Press, 1969.

Beaumont, Cyril William. Complete Book of Ballets. Rev. ed. London: Putnam, 1949.

Beaunier, André. "Au jour le jour: Ernest Reyer." Journal des Débats, 12 November 1901.

_____. "Une Visite à M. Reyer." Le Figaro, 9 March 1903.

Bekker, Paul. The Orchestra. New York: W. W. Norton, 1936; reprint ed., The Norton Library, 1963.

_____. Richard Wagner: His Life in His Work. Translated by M. M. Bozman. New York: W. W. Norton, 1931.

Bellaigue, Camille. "Pour le centenaire de Reyer." Le Figaro, 30 November 1923.

_____. "Revue musicale . . . Ernest Reyer." Revue des Deux Mondes 49 (15 February 1909):931-33.

Benoist, René. "Le Centenaire de Reyer." La Grande Revue 27 (November 1923):33-62.

Berlioz, Hector. ". . . Concerts, concerts et concerts." Review of the premiere of Le Sélam, by Ernest Reyer. Journal des Débats, feuilleton of 13 April 1850.

_____. Grand traité d'instrumentation et d'orchestration modernes. Paris: Schonenberger, 1844.

_____. Les Grotesques de la musique. Paris: Bourdilliat, 1854.

_____. The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz. Translated and edited by David Cairns. London: Victor Gollancz, 1969; reprint ed., 1977.

_____. "Revue musicale . . . [Théâtre de l'Opéra:] Sacountala; M. Reyer . . . ." Journal des Débats, feuilleton of 31 August 1858.

_____. Les Soirées de l'orchestre. Texte établi, avec introduction, notes et choix de variantes, par Léon Guichard. Préface de Henry Barraud. Paris: Gründ, 1968. (A volume in the proposed first complete edition of Berlioz's Oeuvres littéraires. Prepared in collaboration with le Centre national de la recherche scientifique [France].)

_____. "Théâtre-Italien. Concerts de Richard Wagner. La Musique de l'avenir." Journal des Débats, feuilleton of 9 February 1860.

_____. ". . . Théâtre-Lyrique. Première représentation de Maître Wolfram, opéra en un acte de M. Méry, musique de M. Reyer . . . ." Journal des Débats, feuilleton of 10 June 1854.

_____. "Théatre-Lyrique. Première représentation de la Statue, opéra en trois actes, de MM. Jules Barbier et Carré, musique de M. Reyer . . . ." Journal des Débats, feuilleton of 24 April 1861.

_____. ". . . [Théâtre de l'Opéra:] dernières représentations de Sacountala, la musique de M. Reyer . . . ." Journal des Débats, feuilleton of 15 September 1858.

_____. A travers chants. Texte établi, avec notes et choix de variantes, par Léon Guichard. Préface de Jacques Chailley. Paris: Gründ, 1971. (A volume in the proposed first complete edition of Berlioz's Oeuvres littéraires. Prepared in collaboration with le Centre national de la recherche scientifique [France].)

_____. Voyage musical en Allemagne et en Italie. Etudes sur Beethoven, Gluck, et Weber. Mélanges et nouvelles. 2 vols. Paris: Jules Labitte, 1844; reprint ed., Westmead, Farnborough: Gregg International, 1970.

Bloom, Peter Anthony. "François-Joseph Fétis and the Revue Musicale (1827-1835)." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1972.

Boisard, Auguste. "Ernest Reyer." Le Monde illustré 53 (23 January 1909):51.

Bonnerot, Jean. C. Saint-Saëns: sa vie et son oeuvre. Paris: A. Durand et fils, 1914.

Boschot, Adolphe. Chez les musiciens (du XVIII^{e} siècle à nos jours). 3 vols. Paris: Plon-Nourrit, [1922-26].

_____. "Ernest Reyer et H. Berlioz." Musica 8 (March 1909):37.

_____. Le Faust de Berlioz: étude sur la "Damnation de Faust" et sur l'âme romantique. Collection des grandes oeuvres musicales, publiée sous la direction de René Dumesnil. Paris: Editions musicales de la Librairie de France, 1927.

_____. L'Histoire d'un romantique: Hector Berlioz. Vol. 3: Le Crépuscule d'un romantique . . . 1842-1869. Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1913.

_____. Institut de France. Académie des Beaux-Arts. Inauguration du monument d'Ernest Reyer à Marseille, le 16 décembre 1934. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1934.

_____. Maîtres d'hier et de jadis. Paris: Librairie Plon, 1944.

_____. "Un Musicien de théâtre: Reyer." L'Echo de Paris, 7 January 1910.

_____. Portraits de musiciens. 3 vols. Paris: Librairie Plon, 1946-50.

_____. "La Vie de Paris: la Bibliothèque de l'Opéra." Le Figaro, 20 January 1909.

Bouyer, Raymond. "La Musique: Ernest Reyer. L'inspiration défunte d'Ernest Reyer et sa place dans les métamorphoses récentes de la musique française germanisée. -- L'art personnel et le caractère original d'un romantique marseillais. -- Unique audition de la Vestale et d'Euryanthe, ses initiatrices. -- Reyer critique et prophète." La Revue bleue; revue politique et littéraire 47 (6 February 1909):187-90.

Brenet, Michel [Marie Bobillier]. "Les Feuilletons d'Ernest Reyer." Le Courrier musical 13 (15 January 1910):54-57.

Brévannes, Raoul. "Sigurd." Musica 5, Reyer number (February 1907):22.

Brogan, Denis W. The French Nation: From Napoléon to Pétain, 1814-1940. London: Hamilton, 1957.

Bruneau, Alfred. "Ernest Reyer." Musica 5, Reyer number (February 1907):19-21.

_____. Musiques de Russie et musiciens de France. Paris: Bibliothèque-Charpentier, 1903.

Büsser, Henri. "Ernest Reyer: souvenirs." Le Ménestrel 85 (30 November 1923):501.

Cairns, David. "Hector Berlioz (1803-69)." In The Symphony, edited by Robert Simpson, vol. 1: Haydn to Dvořák. Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1966.

Carlson, Marvin. The French Stage in the Nineteenth Century. Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, 1972.

Carraud, Gaston. "Reyer." La Liberté, 17 January 1909.

Chantavoine, Jean. "Le Centenaire d'Ernest Reyer." Le Ménestrel 85 (30 November 1923):497-501.

Chinn, Genevieve Lomax. "The Académie Impériale de Musique: A Study of Its Administration and Repertory from 1862 to 1870." Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1969.

"Chronique." Review of Notes de musique, by Ernest Reyer. Le Temps, 21 April 1875.

Claretie, Jules. "La Vie à Paris: Ernest Reyer épistolier." Le Temps, 22 January 1909.

Clarke, Mary, and Clement Crisp. The Ballet Goer's Guide. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981.

"Claude Debussy jugé par l'Académie." Le Monde musical 16 (15 November 1904):298.

Cohen, H. Robert. "Berlioz on the Opéra (1829-1849): A Study in Music Criticism." Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1973.

_____. "Musical Iconography in the Nineteenth-Century French Illustrated Press: A Method for Cataloguing and Indexing." In Report of the Twelfth Congress of the International Musicological Society, edited by Daniel Heartz and Bonnie Wade. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1981.

_____. "The Nineteenth-Century French Press and the Music Historian: Archival Sources and Bibliographical Resources." 19th-Century Music 7 (Fall 1983):136-42.

_____. "RIPM: An Overview. A Paper presented at the Conference of the Music Library Association, 6 March 1985." Periodica Musica 3 (Spring 1985):31-32.

Cooper, Jeffrey. The Rise of Instrumental Music and Concert Series in Paris, 1828-1871. Studies in Musicology, no. 65. Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1973.

Cooper, Martin. French Music: From the Death of Berlioz to the Death of Fauré. London: Oxford University Press, 1951.

_____. Georges Bizet. London: Oxford University Press, 1938.

_____. Gluck. Preface by Edward J. Dent. New York: Oxford University Press, 1935; reprint ed., St. Clair Shores, Michigan: Scholarly Press, 1978.

Corneau, André. "Ernest Reyer. Les noces d'argent d'un artiste. -- A l'Institut depuis vingt-cinq ans. -- L'oeuvre du compositeur. -- Le repos du sage." La Presse, 11 November 1901.

Cornurert, Pierre. "Souvenirs sur E. Reyer." Musica 10 (November 1911):216.

Curtiss, Mina. Bizet and His World. London: Secker & Warburg, 1959.

Curzon, Henri de. "Le Centenaire d'Ernest Reyer." Le Monde musical 34 (November, December 1923):349-51, 392-93; and 35 (January 1924):7.

_____. "Ernest Reyer." Le Guide musical 55 (17 January 1909):43-46.

_____. "Ernest Reyer." Le Monde musical 21 (30 January 1909):19-21. (Editors' note: "Cette étude vient de paraître en sa majeure partie, dans le Guide musical.")

_____. "Ernest Reyer (1823-1909)." Bulletin français de la S. I. M. 5 (15 February 1909):164-73.

_____. "Ernest Reyer: sa vie, ses oeuvres." La Nouvelle Revue 45 (July-August 1923):97-112, 241-58, 339-52; (September-October 1923):61-70, 159-72, 250-59, 343-56; and 46 (November-December 1923):38-48 and 130-42.

_____. Ernest Reyer, sa vie et ses oeuvres (1823-1909). Paris: Perrin, 1924.

_____. La Légende de Sigurd dans l'Edda: l'opéra d'E. Reyer. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1890.

_____. Review of Quarante ans de musique, by Ernest Reyer. Le Guide musical 56 (2 January 1910):18-19.

_____. "Salammbô": le poème et l'opéra. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1890. (First published in Revue de la France Moderne, March 1890.)

_____. "La Semaine d'Ernest Reyer: les interprètes de ses oeuvres." Le Guide musical 49 (8 March 1903):205-8.

Dahlhaus, Carl. Richard Wagner's Music Dramas. Translated by Mary Whittall. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Davies, Laurence. César Franck and His Circle. London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1970.

Dean, Winton. Bizet. 3d rev. ed. The Master Musicians Series. London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1975.

Debay, Victor. "Reyer." Le Courrier musical 6 (15 March 1903):81.

Debussy, Claude. Claude Debussy: "Monsieur Croche" et autres écrits. Edition complète de son oeuvre critique avec une introduction et des notes par François Lesure. Paris: Gallimard, 1971.

Dent, Edward J. The Rise of Romantic Opera. Edited by Winton Dean. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

Drew, David, ed. The Decca Book of Ballet. With an Introduction by Ernest Ansermet and a Short History of Ballet by Arnold L. Haskell. London: Frederick Muller, 1958.

Dreyfous, Maurice. Ce que je tiens à dire: un demi-siècle de choses vues et entendues, 1862-1872. 5th ed. Paris: Librairie Paul Ollendorff, n.d. (First published in 1912.)

Drumont, Edouard. Richard Wagner: l'homme et le musicien. Paris: E. Dentu, 1869.

Dukas, Paul. Les Ecrits de Paul Dukas sur la musique. Compiled, with a preface, by G. Samazeuilh. Paris: Société d'éditions françaises et internationales, 1948.

Einstein, Alfred. Gluck. Translated by Eric Blom. The Master Musicians Series. London: J. M. Dent, 1936; reprint ed., New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1964.

_____. Music in the Romantic Era. New York: W. W. Norton, 1947.

"Ernest Reyer." Le Courrier musical 12 (1 February 1909):74-78.

"Ernest Reyer." L'Illustration 67 (23 January 1909):70.

Escudier, Léon, and Marie Escudier. Dictionnaire de musique d'après les théoriciens, historiens et critiques les plus célèbres. 2 vols. in 1. Paris: Bureau Central de Musique, 1844.

Fauré, Gabriel. "Ernest Reyer." Le Figaro, 16 January 1909.

_____. Opinions musicales. Compiled, with a preface, by P. G. Gheusi. Paris: Les Editions Rieder, 1930.

Fétis, François-Joseph. Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique. 2d rev. ed. 8 vols. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1866-68. Supplément et complément. Edited by Arthur Pougin. 2 vols. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1881.

_____. La Musique mise à la portée de tout le monde. Exposé succinct de tout ce qui est nécessaire pour juger de cet art, et pour en parler sans l'avoir étudié. 2d ed. Paris: E. Duverger, 1834.

_____. "Richard Wagner: sa vie; son système de renovation de l'opéra; ses oeuvres comme poète et comme musicien; son parti en Allemagne; appréciation de la valeur de ses idées." Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris 19 (6, 13, 20, 27 June; 11, 25 July; and 8 August 1852):185-90, 193-95, 201-3, 209-11, 225-27, 242-45, and 257-59.

_____. "De l'utilité d'un journal de musique." Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris 6 (4 September 1839):345-48.

Fontaine, Michel. "Théo et Goulatromba [Reyer]." Bulletin de la Société Théophile Gautier, no. 8 (1986), pp. 125-37.

Fonteyne, Edouard. "Le Centenaire de Reyer. Pourquoi?" Bonsoir, 26 November 1923.

Franck-Marie. "Revue musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique: 1re représentation de la Statue, opéra comique en trois actes et cinq tableaux, paroles de MM. Michel Carré et Jules Barbier, musique de M. Ernest Reyer . . . ." La Patrie, feuilleton of 16 April 1861.

Frédérix, Gustave. "Revue musicale. Salammbô [de M. Ernest Reyer] à Bruxelles." Journal des Débats, feuilleton of 18 February 1890.

_____. "Une Première Représentation à Bruxelles." Review of Sigurd, by Ernest Reyer. Journal des Débats, 16 January 1884.

Friedland, Bea. Louise Farrenc, 1804-1875: Composer, Performer, Scholar. Studies in Musicology, no. 32. Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1980.

Fulcher, Jane Fair. "Musical Aesthetics and Social Philosophy in France: 1848-1870." Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1977.

Gautier, Théophile. "Revue dramatique. Théâtre ducal de Wiesbaden. Tannhauser [sic], grand opéra romantique en trois actes, de M. Richard Wagner." Le Moniteur universel, feuilleton of 29 September 1857.

Genest, Emile. L'Opéra-Comique, connu et inconnu; son histoire depuis l'origine jusqu'à nos jours. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1925.

Georges-Michel, Michel. "Une Visite à Reyer." La Vie illustrée 12 (22 January 1909):266.

Germain, André. Les Clés de Proust. Paris: Editions Sun, 1953.

Graf, Max. Composer and Critic: Two Hundred Years of Music Criticism. New York: W. W. Norton, 1946; The Norton Library, 1971.

Grand Dictionnaire universel du XIX^{e} siècle. Edited by Pierre Larousse. 17 vols. Paris: Administration du Grand dictionnaire universel, 1866-79; reprint ed. (17 vols. in 34), Geneva: Slatkine, 1982.

La Grande Encyclopédie: inventaire raisonné des sciences, des lettres et des arts . . . . Directed by André Berthelot, Hartwig Derenbourg, et al. 31 vols. Paris: H. Lamirault et Cie, [1886-1902].

Grétry, Félicien. "Salammbô." Musica 5, Reyer number (February 1907):23.

Grout, Donald Jay. A History of Western Music. 3d rev. ed., with Claude V. Palisca. New York: W. W. Norton, 1980.

_____. A Short History of Opera. 2d ed. 2 vols. New York: Columbia University Press, 1965.

Guest, Ivor. The Ballet of the Second Empire, 1852-1870. Preface by Serge Lifar. London: A. & C. Black, 1953.

Hagan, Dorothy Veinus. "French Musical Criticism Between the Revolutions (1830-1848)." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1965.

Hallays, André. "Hector Berlioz, critique musical." Revue de Paris 10 (1 April 1903):560-95.

Hammond, Tom. "A note on 'L'espoir renaît dans mon âme.'" In C. W. von Gluck: "Orfeo", compiled by Patricia Howard. Cambridge Opera Handbooks. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Harding, James. Gounod. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1973.

_____. Saint-Saëns and His Circle. London: Chapman & Hall, 1965.

Henriot, Emile. "Ernest Reyer intime." Musica 5, Reyer number (February 1907):24-26.

_____. "Reyer et les Vosges après la guerre." Marches de l'Est, no. 2 (1910), pp. 8-20.

_____. "Souvenirs sur Reyer." L'Illustration 81 (24 November 1923): 516.

_____, comp. Preface and "Table chronologique des feuilletons d'Ernest Reyer parus dans le Courrier de Paris et le Journal des Débats (1857-1899)." In Quarante ans de musique, by Ernest Reyer. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1909.

Hervey, Arthur. Masters of French Music. Masters of Contemporary Music. London: Osgood, McIlvaine, & Co., 1894.

_____. Saint-Saëns. New York: Dodd Mead & Co., 1922; reprint ed., Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1970.

Howard, Patricia. Gluck and the Birth of Modern Opera. London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1963.

Huneker, James. Overtones, a Book of Temperaments: Richard Strauss; Parsifal; Verdi; Balzac; Flaubert; Nietzsche; and Turgénieff. New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1912.

Hutchings, Arthur. "The Keyboard Music." In The Mozart Companion, edited by H. C. Robbins Landon and Donald Mitchell. London: Rockliff, 1956; reprint ed., with corrections, New York: W. W. Norton, 1969.

Imbert, Hugues. "Ernest Reyer." Le Guide musical 49 (22 February 1903):159-61.

_____. Nouveaux Profils de musiciens. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1892.

Joncières, Victorin. "La Semaine Reyer à l'Opéra." Le Gaulois, 1 March 1903.

Jouvin, Benoît. "Un Feuilletoniste étant de loisir." Le Figaro, 16 April 1863.

Jullien, Adolphe. Airs variés. Paris: G. Charpentier, 1877.

_____. "Le Centenaire de Reyer." Journal des Débats, feuilleton of 2 December 1923.

_____. Ernest Reyer. Paris: H. Laurens, [1909].

Two editions are extant: the "Edition du Journal des Débats" (a limited edition in 8°, with sixteen plates and one heliogravure); and the edition in the series "Les Musiciens célèbres" (in 12°, with twelve plates). The latter edition was used for the present study.

_____. "Ernest Reyer." Le Courrier musical 12 (1 February 1909):74-78.

_____. "Ernest Reyer." Journal des Débats, 17 January 1909.

_____. "Ernest Reyer (1823-1909). A l'occasion de son centenaire. -- Le musicien et l'homme." Le Correspondant 95 (25 November 1923):671-90.

_____. Musiciens d'aujourd'hui. 2 vols. Paris: Librairie de l'art, 1892, 1894.

_____. Review of Notes de musique, by Ernest Reyer. Le Français, 5 July 1875.

_____. "Revue musicale. Le Centenaire d'Hector Berlioz." Journal des Débats, feuilleton of 16 August 1903.

_____. "Revue musicale. Ernest Reyer . . . ." Journal des Débats, feuilleton of 24 January 1909.

_____. "Revue musicale . . . Livres: Quarante ans de musique, par Ernest Reyer, avec préface et notes de M. Emile Henriot (chez Calmann-Lévy)." Journal des Débats, feuilleton of 14 November 1909.

_____. "Reyer intime d'après des lettres inédites." La Revue musicale 5 (1 January 1924):12-21.

Kerman, Joseph. Opera as Drama. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Vintage Books, 1956.

Kühner, Hans. Hector Berlioz: Charakter und Schöpfertum. Olten: Otto Walter, 1952.

Lalo, Pierre. "Ernest Reyer." Le Temps, 17 January 1909.

_____. De Rameau à Ravel: portraits et souvenirs. Compiled, with a preface, by Gustave Samazeuilh. Paris: Editions Albin Michel, 1947.

Landormy, Paul. "Faust," de Gounod: Etude et analyse. Paris: Mellottée, 1944.

_____. La Musique française de Franck à Debussy. 10th ed. Paris: Gallimard, 1943.

Landormy, Paul, and Joseph Loisel. "L'Institut de France et le Prix de Rome: Ernest Reyer." In Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du Conservatoire, founded by Albert Lavignac and directed by Lionel de la Laurencie. Part II, vol. 6, pp. 3552-53. Paris: Librairie Delagrave, 1931.

Lang, Paul Henry. Critic at the Opera. New York: W. W. Norton, 1971.

_____. Music in Western Civilization. New York: W. W. Norton, 1941.

Lasalle, Albert de. Mémorial du Théâtre-Lyrique. Paris: Librairie Moderne, J. Lecuir, 1877.

_____. Les Treize Salles de l'Opéra. Paris: Sartorius, 1875.

Lasalle, Albert de, and Ernest Thoinan [Antoine-Ernest Roquet]. La Musique à Paris pendant l'année 1862. Paris: Morizot, Libraire-Editeur, 1863.

Legouvé, Ernest. Review of Notes de musique, by Ernest Reyer. Journal des Débats, 4 May 1875.

Leroy, Maxime. Les Premiers Amis français de Wagner. Paris: A. Michel, 1925.

Le Senne, Camille. "Période contemporaine: Ernest Reyer (1823-1909)." In Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du Conservatoire, founded by Albert Lavignac and directed by Lionel de la Laurencie. Part I, vol. 3, pp. 1723-28. Paris: Librairie Delagrave, 1925.

"Une Lettre de Reyer." Revue musicale de Lyon 6 (15 July 1909):849-51.

Liszt, Franz. "Lohengrin" et "Tannhäuser" de R. Wagner. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1851.

Locard, Edmond. "Y a-t-il des leitmotiven dans Sigurd?" Revue musicale de Lyon 3 (22 October 1905):45-52.

Lockspeiser, Edward. Debussy: His Life and Mind. 2d ed. 2 vols. London: Cassell and Co., 1966; reprint ed. with corrections, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978.

Loewenberg, Alfred, comp. Annals of Opera: 1597-1940. Introduction by Edward J. Dent. 3d rev. ed. London: John Calder, 1978.

Longyear, Rey M. Nineteenth-Century Romanticism in Music. 2d ed. Prentice-Hall History of Music Series. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973.

Loppert, Max. "On Radio: Armide (Gluck), Radio 3, December 29; Sigurd (Reyer), Radio 3, January 2." Opera 26 (April 1975):406-8.

M., A. [probably A. Mangeot]. "Notre portrait: Ernest Reyer." Le Monde musical 21 (30 January 1909):18.

Mackerras, Sir Charles. "Berlioz: the best of both worlds." In C. W. von Gluck: "Orfeo", compiled by Patricia Howard. Cambridge Opera Handbooks. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Malherbe, Henry. "Chronique musicale. Le centenaire de Reyer." Le Temps, feuilleton of 5 December 1923.

Man and His Music: The Story of Musical Experience in the West. 4 vols. New York: Schocken Books, 1969. Vol. 3: The Sonata Principle, by Wilfrid Mellers. (Originally published as Part III in a one-volume edition containing all four volumes. London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1962.)

Mangeot, A. "Notre portrait: Ernest Reyer." Le Monde musical 15 (15 March 1903):69.

Maréchal, Henri. Paris, souvenirs d'un musicien: 185 .-1870. Avec une lettre-préface de E. Reyer. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1907.

Marmontel. "Etudes musicales: Ernest Reyer." L'Artiste 55 (May 1885): 355-63.

Mendès, Judith Gautier. "Richard Wagner et la critique." La Presse, 17 and 30 October 1868.

"Un Monument à Ernest Reyer." L'Illustration 71 (8 February 1913):120.

Moreno, H. "Semaine théâtrale: Namouna. Ballet en deux actes et trois tableaux de M. Charles Nuitter, chorégraphie de M. Lucien Petipa, musique de M. Edouard Lalo." Le Ménestrel 48 (12 March 1882):115.

Moulenq, Jean. "Pierre Dupont et Ernest Reyer." Revue française de musique 12 (10 December 1913):132-37.

The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians. Edited by Stanley Sadie. 20 vols. London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 1980.

Newman, Ernest. The Life of Richard Wagner. 4 vols. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1933-46; reprint ed., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

_____. Wagner as Man and Artist. 2d ed. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1924; reprint ed., New York: Vintage Books, 1960.

_____. The Wagner Operas. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949.

Newman, William S. The Sonata Since Beethoven. 2d ed. New York: W. W. Norton, 1972.

Le Nouvel Opéra: monument; artistes. Paris: Michel Lévy frères, 1875.

"Obituary [of Ernest Reyer]." The Musical Times 50 (1 February 1909): 104.

P. "Au jour le jour: Reyer chez lui." Journal des Débats, 29 January 1909.

Peytel, A. "Les Théâtres Musicaux subventionnés." In Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du Conservatoire, founded by Albert Lavignac and directed by Lionel de la Laurencie. Part II, vol. 6, pp. 3748-3833. Paris: Librairie Delagrave, 1931.

Pioch, Georges. "Ernest Reyer campagnard." Musica 5, Reyer number (February 1907):27-30.

Pougin, Arthur. "Ernest Reyer." Le Ménestrel 75 (23 January 1909): 25-27.

_____. Les Musiciens du XIX^{e} siècle. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1911.

_____. "Notes sur la presse musicale en France." In Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du Conservatoire, founded by Albert Lavignac and directed by Lionel de la Laurencie. Part II, vol. 6, pp. 3841-59. Paris: Librairie Delagrave, 1931.

_____. Review of Notes de musique, by Ernest Reyer. Le Guide musical 21 (29 April 1875):7.

_____. "Semaine théâtrale: Opéra. Salammbô, opéra en cinq actes et huit tableaux, paroles de M. Camille du Locle, d'après le roman de Gustave Flaubert, musique de M. Ernest Reyer." Le Ménestrel 58 (22 May 1892):163-65.

Prod'homme, Jacques-Gabriel. "Bibliographie berliozienne." La Revue musicale, no. 233 (1956), pp. 97-147.

_____. L'Opéra. Paris: Librairie Delagrave, 1925.

_____. "Robin des bois et Le Freyschütz [sic] à Paris (1824-1926)." Le Ménestrel 88 (22 and 29 October 1926):437-40 and 449-51.

Prod'homme, Jacques-Gabriel, and Arthur Dandelot. Gounod (1818-1893): sa vie et ses oeuvres, d'après des documents inédits. Preface by Camille Saint-Saëns. 2 vols. Paris: Ch. Delagrave, 1911.

Prout, Ebenezer. Fugue. London: Augener Ltd., 1891; reprint ed., New York: Greenwood Press, 1969.

"Reyer critique." Review of Quarante ans de musique, by Ernest Reyer. Le Monde musical 21 (30 December 1909):352-53.

"M. Reyer, écrivain." Le Gaulois, 4 March 1903.

Reyer, Ernest. Dossier d'artiste. Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Paris.

A collection of published articles and notices on Reyer's life and works, his death, his centenary (1923), and the twenty-fifth anniversary of his death (1934), as well as miscellaneous unpublished documents ranging in date from 1864 to 1934. Most of the published materials have been used in the preparation of this dissertation, and are cited in the bibliography under the names of the authors. Other published and unpublished materials which I have utilized but have been unable to locate in any source except the Dossier, are listed below:

Arrêté Ministériel naming Reyer bibliothécaire of the Opéra. The document is dated 20 June 1866, and stipulates that Reyer will receive "un traitement annuel de deux mille francs."

Jullien, Adolphe. "Ernest Reyer." Published article from an unidentified periodical, pp. 28-51.

Reyer, Ernest. MS entitled "Souvenirs d'Allemagne." This 233-page report on musical life in Germany is dedicated to Count Walewski, the French Minister of State who commissioned the work in 1863. "Souvenirs d'Allemagne" was serialized in the newspaper Le Moniteur universel during the winter of 1864-65, and was later published in Reyer's compilation Notes de musique. (Complete citations of these and other published writings by Reyer are given in Appendix B of this dissertation.)

_____. L. A. S. [Lettres autographes signées.] Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Paris.

A collection of 269 letters, 6 cartes de visite, and 4 telegrams, as well as MSS of 3 articles. Inasmuch as the present study is primarily concerned with Reyer's critical writings, I have not felt it necessary to include here a catalog of his private communica-

tions, but have confined myself to items cited in this dissertation:

no. 235. Letter to a "cher ami" (Camille du Locle), dated "Florence, 18 mai 65."

no. 236. Letter to a "cher ami" (Camille du Locle), written at "Hôtel Diomède à l'entrée de Pompeï," [1865].

no. 281. MS article dated "Monaco 5 mars 1894," and entitled "Théâtre de Monte Carlo: première représentation d'Hulda, opéra en quatre actes et un Epilogue, (légende Scandinave) d'après Bjoernstjerne Bjoernson, poëme de M. Charles Grandmougin, musique de César Franck." (This article was published as the feuilleton of the Journal des Débats, 8 March 1894.)

no. 282. MS article, undated, entitled "Théâtre d'Orange. Première Soirée: les Erinnyes[.] Tragédie antique de Leconte de Lisle, musique de M. Jules Massenet. -- Le Triomphe d'Apollon par M. Louis Gallet. -- Deuxième Soirée: Antigone, tragédie de Sophocle traduit par MM. Paul Meurice et Auguste Vacquerie, musique de M. Camille Saint-Saëns." (This article was published as the feuilleton of the Journal des Débats, 8 August 1897.)

no. 283. MS article, undated, entitled "Lettre du Midi." (This article was published as the feuilleton of the Journal des Débats, 16 March 1895.)

Roujon, Henry. Artistes et amis des arts. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1912.

_____. Institut de France. Académie des Beaux-Arts. Notice sur la vie et les travaux de M. Ernest Reyer (1823-1909), membre de l'Académie. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1911. (First published in the Journal des Débats, 12 November 1911, supplement.)

Rouvière, Balsan de la. "Ernest Reyer (1823-1909)." Musica 8 (March 1909):35-36.

Saint-Saëns, Camille. Ecole buissonnière: notes et souvenirs. Paris: Pierre Lafitte, 1913.

_____. Harmonie et mélodie. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1885.

_____. Portraits et souvenirs. Paris: Société d'Edition artistique, 1900.

Schonberg, Harold C. The Lives of the Great Composers. New York: W. W. Norton, 1970.

Schwab, Fr. "Courrier des Eaux: Bade." La France musicale 29 (13 August 1865):256.

Scudo, Paul. L'Année musicale. 3 vols. Paris: L. Hachette, 1860-1862.

_____. De l'influence du mouvement romantique sur l'art musical et du rôle qu'a voulu jouer M. H. Berlioz. 1846. Reprinted in Scudo's collection Critique et littérature musicales: première série. 3d ed. Paris: L. Hachette, 1856.

_____. "Revue musicale . . . La Statue, de M. Reyer." Revue des Deux Mondes 33 (1 May 1861):223-29.

Serpette, Gaston. "Chronique musicale. Théâtre national de l'Opéra. -- Première représentation de Namouna, ballet en deux actes et trois tableaux, de MM. Nuitter et Petipa, musique de M. Ed. Lalo . . . ." La Presse, feuilleton of 14 March 1882.

Servières, Georges. La Musique française moderne: César Franck; Edouard Lalo; Jules Massenet; Ernest Reyer; Camille Saint-Saëns. Paris: G. Havard fils, 1897.

_____. "Les Relations d'Ernest Reyer et de Théophile Gautier." Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France, no. 24 (1917), pp. 65-79.

_____. Review of Quarante ans de musique, by Ernest Reyer. Bulletin français de la S. I. M. 5 (15 December 1909):1052-53.

_____. Richard Wagner jugé en France. Paris: Libriarie illustrée, 1887.

_____. Saint-Saëns. Les Maîtres de la musique. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1923.

_____. "Les Visées de Wagner sur Paris." La Revue musicale 4, special number (1 October 1923):88-110.

Sharp, Stewart Walter, Jr. "The Twilight of French Opéra Lyrique, 1880-1900." D.M.A. dissertation, University of Kentucky, 1975.

Smith, Patrick J. "The musical underground: a comparison of pirate recordings. Ernest Reyer: Sigurd (1884)." Musical Newsletter 5 (Summer 1975):19-21.

_____. The Tenth Muse: A Historical Study of the Opera Libretto. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970.

Solenière, Eugène de. "Ernest Reyer." Le Monde musical 15 (15 March 1903):69-70.

Soubies, Albert. Histoire du Théâtre-Lyrique: 1851-1870. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1899.

Soubies, Albert, and Charles Malherbe. Histoire de l'Opéra-Comique: la seconde Salle Favart. 2 vols. Paris: Librairie Marpon et Flammarion, 1892, 1893; reprint ed. in 1 vol., Geneva: Minkoff, 1978.

Spencer, Michael. "Théophile Gautier, music critic." Music and Letters 49 (January 1968):4-17.

Spoëlberch de Lovenjoul, Charles Victor Maximilien Albert, Vicomte de. Lundis d'un chercheur. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1894.

Teneo, Martial. "Lettres inédites d'Ernest Reyer." La Revue bleue; revue politique et littéraire 60 (21 January and 4 February 1922): 33-36 and 69-73.

Tiersot, Julien. Un Demisiècle de musique française: entre les deux guerres, 1870-1917. Les Maîtres de la musique. Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1918.

Ulrich, Homer. Symphonic Music: Its Evolution Since the Renaissance. New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1952.

Vallas, Léon. Claude Debussy et son temps. Paris: Editions Albin Michel, 1958.

_____. La Véritable Histoire de César Franck (1822-1890). Paris: Flammarion, 1955.

Vapereau, Gustave. Dictionnaire universel des contemporains. 6th ed. 2 vols. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1892.

Viel, Edmond. "Opéra National. Ouverture. Mosquita la sorcière, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. Scribe et G. Vaez, musique de M. Xavier Boisselot." Le Ménestrel 18 (5 October 1851):[1-2].

Vincens, Charles. Eloge d'Ernest Reyer, de l'Institut, Associé de l'Académie des Sciences, Lettres et Beaux-Arts de Marseille. Prononcé en Séance publique de l'Académie, le 6 Juin 1909. Marseille: Barlatier, 1909.

Vitu, Auguste. "Premières représentations. Opéra. -- Namouna, ballet en deux actes et trois tableaux, par MM. Nuitter et Petipa, musique de M. Edouard Lalo." Le Figaro, 7 March 1882.

Vogel, Charles. "Le Centenaire de Reyer." Le Journal, 1 December 1923.

Vuillemin, Louis. "Ernest Reyer, 1823-1909. Conférence lue aux Concerts-Pasdeloup (Opéra, 25 novembre)." Le Ménestrel 82 (3 and 10 December 1920):469-72 and 481-83.

Vuillermoz, Emile. "Le Rescapé." Review of Quarante ans de musique, by Ernest Reyer. Les Marges, no. 5 (January-June 1910), pp. 60-66.

Wagner, Richard. "Une Lettre de Richard Wagner." La Renaissance musicale 2 (21 May 1882):165.

_____. Quatre poèmes d'opéras: "le Vaisseau fantôme"; "Tannhäuser"; "Lohengrin"; "Tristan et Iseult"; précédés d'une Lettre sur la Musique. Translated by Paul Armand Challemel-Lacour. Paris: Mercure de France, 1941. (First published as Quatre poèmes d'opéras traduits en prose française, précédés d'une lettre sur la musique. Paris: Bourdilliat, 1861.)

Walsh, T. J. Second Empire Opera: The Théâtre Lyrique, Paris, 1851-1870. London: John Calder, 1981; New York: Riverrun Press, 1981.

Warrack, John. Carl Maria von Weber. 2d ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

_____. "The Musical Background." In The Wagner Companion, edited by Peter Burbidge and Richard Sutton. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Westernhagen, Curt von. Wagner: A Biography. Translated by Mary Whittall. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978.

[Widor, Charles-Marie.] "Reyer intime." Le Figaro, 19 January 1909.

Wolff, Albert. "Gazette de Paris. Théâtre-Lyrique: Rienzi, paroles et musique de M. Richard Wagner." Le Figaro, 8 April 1869.

Wolff, Stéphane. L'Opéra au Palais Garnier (1875-1962). Discographie d'André Lejeune. Paris: déposé au journal l'Entr'acte, 1962.

Wotton, Tom S. Hector Berlioz. London: Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1935.

Zafran, Eric. Libretto translation, notes, and story synopsis for Ernest Reyer's Sigurd. Performed by Guy Chauvet, Andréa Guiot, et al., conducted by Manuel Rosenthal. Private recording. BJRS 1411, 1974; translation, notes, and synopsis copyright 1977 by BJR Enterprises Inc.

APPENDIX A

REYER'S CRITICAL WRITINGS IN NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

General Remarks

The fundamental obstacle to the locating of Reyer's critical writings is our lack of bibliographic control over nineteenth- and early twentieth-century French newspapers and periodicals. As H. Robert Cohen has pointed out, detailed indexing of such publications "is the exception rather than the rule," and, therefore, the scholar wishing to retrieve specific information from a given source "must simply resign himself to turning literally hundreds if not thousands of pages in order to locate the relevant documents."[1] We might add that the scholar seeking Reyer's writings could not be certain of finding all of them unless he examined in this laborious manner every newspaper, music review, and literary journal published in Paris during the more than fifty years that Reyer was active as a writer on music.

Since it was apparent that the compiling of a complete bibliography of Reyer's critical writings in periodical sources alone would require years--or decades--of work, I was obliged to limit my bibliographic research to a goal feasible within the context of the preparation of this dissertation. My bibliography therefore includes the following: all of Reyer's feuilletons; all of the articles he published in journals to which he was a regular contributor; and a representative sampling of his other writings, such as isolated titled articles, letter-articles,

untitled items, and materials which can be attributed to him. With this goal in mind, I examined two groups of sources: (1) the six newspapers and nine journals with which, I had discovered, Reyer had been associated as editor and/or writer;[2] and (2) six other sources--two newspapers, one literary journal, and three music reviews--which were among the foremost publications of the French periodical press in Reyer's time, and to which he might therefore have contributed.

The manner in which I dealt with each source was determined partly by the nature of the source, and partly by its importance--either known or possible--in Reyer's career. For the reader's convenience, I show in tabular form the methods of examination and the chronological period (or periods) surveyed for each source, and thus keep to a minimum my descriptions. Two tables are presented for each of the two groups: the first table cites all sources comprising the group, and outlines the methods of investigation; the second table explains more fully my approach to each indexed source within the group.

In order to impart some degree of consistency to my bibliographic survey, I established a terminus a quo and a terminus ad quem for my examination of each source. The former, January 1850, was chosen for two reasons: (1) it antedated by a wide margin--two years--the earliest signed article known to me when I started my search for Reyer's writings;[3] and (2) 1850 was the year during which he began ghostwriting for his friend Gautier, an activity which must surely be construed as the first phase in the literary career of the young musician. The terminus ad quem, December 1908, was also selected for two reasons: (1) it postdated by two years the item which I understood to be Reyer's final

effort as a writer on music;[4] and (2) 1908 was the last year during which he could have been active in this capacity, for on 1 January 1909 he suffered the first attacks of the illness to which he succumbed a fortnight later.

Group 1: Publications Which Reyer Served as Editor and/or Writer

The methods devised for the examining of each of the sources comprising Group 1 depended upon two factors: (1) the length of the source's existence; and (2) the presence or absence of bibliographic aids, such as tables of contents, sommaires of individual issues, or indexes. Because of the relative shortness of their lifespans and/or the presence of bibliographic aids, I was able to conduct comprehensive examinations of the following publications: Le Courrier de Paris, Revue de Paris, L'Athenaeum français, Revue française, La Gazette du Nord, and La Renaissance musicale, each of which was checked in its entirety; and Le Moniteur universel, La France musicale, and Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris, each of which was examined from the terminus a quo until the cessation of publication.

It was unfeasible to search so thoroughly the six other sources in Group 1: the long-lived newspapers La Presse (1836-1935), L'Indépendance belge (1848-1940), Journal des Débats (1789-1944), and Le Figaro (1826-), and the journals L'Artiste (1831-1904) and Le Monde musical (1889-1940). I therefore devised two rules of thumb which, together with the use of the terminus a quo and the terminus ad quem, would bring some degree of consistency to my searches. One rule was that I would

begin an examination of a given source with either Reyer's first known article or feuilleton in that source, or--if I lacked this information --the terminus a quo. The second rule was tailored for Le Figaro, L'Artiste, and Le Monde musical--sources to which Reyer had contributed an article(s) but with which he had not, to my knowledge, been associated on a regular basis. According to this rule, which can be called the "four-year rule," I would investigate a minimum of four consecutive years both preceding and following the year in which the article appeared (unless such an investigation would lead beyond either the terminus a quo or the terminus ad quem). The newspapers La Presse and L'Indépendance belge were the only sources to which I did not apply these rules, because, for reasons that shall be explained below, neither publication needed to be examined as thoroughly as did the others comprising Group 1.

"La Presse" and "L'Indépendance belge"

As we observed in Chapter I, Reyer evidently collaborated with or ghostwrote for his friend Gautier on the feuilleton in La Presse from 1850 until April 1855, when Gautier left this publication to become feuilletoniste of Le Moniteur universel. Georges Servières, one of the scholars who has studied the Reyer-Gautier collaboration, states uncategorically that "Reyer n'a jamais écrit à la Presse sous son nom; je l'ai contrôlé."[5] Given the context of my bibliographic search, it seemed pointless to duplicate Servières's examination of all the feuilletons dating from 1850 to April 1855, so I selected at random two six-month periods--July through December for the years 1852 and 1854--and checked

each feuilleton for either Reyer's signature or his initials. Finding neither, I accepted Servières's statement. I also accepted his contention that Reyer had not contributed music criticism--either signed or anonymous--to La Presse after Gautier's departure, because the latter's successor, Paul de Saint-Victor, prided himself on his knowledge of music and therefore "se passa de conseiller."[6] Moreover, I knew that Reyer was by then absorbed with his dual career as a rising young composer and as critic for both L'Athenaeum français and the Revue française, and that in April 1857 he became a feuilletoniste in his own right for Le Courrier de Paris. In view of all these circumstances, it seemed reasonable to confine further examination of La Presse to the activities indicated below in Table I.[7]

The circumstances of Reyer's affiliation with L'Indépendance belge were as unusual as those surrounding his association with La Presse. The evidence linking Reyer to the Belgian newspaper occurs first in his obituary of Gautier, and is later repeated in his review of the premiere of Die Walküre in French at Brussels. On both occasions Reyer avowed that he had had no part in Gautier's review of the Wiesbaden production of Tannhäuser but admitted that he had anonymously sent to L'Indépendance belge "une courte correspondance que m'avait prié de faire en son absence mon ami Paul d'Ivoy."[8] One can readily imagine that d'Ivoy was eager to have a review of a work by a composer who, in Brussels as in Paris, was then highly controversial. However, it is unlikely that Reyer, who was trying to make a name for himself in Paris, sent any other material to the Belgian newspaper.[9] I therefore confined my

examination of this source to the verification of a modern scholar's citation of the anonymous review.[10]

"Journal des Débats"

General remarks

The examination of one other source in Group 1--the Débats--also requires some explanation. This newspaper, which was of paramount importance in Reyer's career, posed two unique problems: (1) Reyer's affiliation with it spanned literally decades, inasmuch as he contributed writings both during his tenure as feuilletoniste and after his retirement; and (2) before his retirement the Débats did not regularly include even the most rudimentary bibliographic aid, namely, a sommaire of the major features in an issue. Obviously, the only way to uncover all of the items published by Reyer in this newspaper during and after his tenure as feuilletoniste, as well as any that he might have contributed before he became feuilletoniste, would be by scrutinizing each page of every issue from the terminus a quo until the terminus ad quem (1 January 1850-31 December 1908).

Such an enormous task would have been impossible within the context of the present undertaking. I therefore attempted only to achieve the following goals: (1) the locating of all of Reyer's feuilletons, which constituted his major contribution to the Débats; (2) the verifying of Emile Henriot's bibliography of Reyer's writings for this newspaper--a bibliography which includes a few miscellaneous items as well as, supposedly, all of his feuilletons;[11] and (3) the locating of some, if not all, of the miscellaneous writings not listed by Henriot. In order to

achieve these goals I devised and applied a combination of three methods: (1) the page-by-page scrutinizing of every issue published during one year selected at random from each decade of Reyer's tenure as feuilletoniste; (2) the scanning of all other issues published between 2 December 1866--when Reyer announced himself as the new feuilletoniste--and 31 December 1901, the latter date having been chosen because it was the last day of the only year during which, according to Henriot, the retired Reyer wrote anything for the Débats; and (3) the spot-checking of each scanned year and of the succeeding years, up to and including the terminus ad quem (1908). The methods of scanning and spot-checking are explained below.

The scanning of the Débats (1866-1901)

The method which I describe as "scanning" consisted of specific processes for a given issue: (1) reading the sommaire, if one was provided; (2) glancing at each page to locate the feuilleton or feuilletons, and simultaneously checking this text for Reyer's signature; and (3) verifying any item which, according to Henriot's bibliography, appeared in that issue. The scanning revealed that Henriot had overlooked one of Reyer's feuilletons, and that his bibliography was seriously flawed by innumerable typographical errors and by the omitting or the shortening of numerous subtitles of feuilletons. The scanning also brought to light a fact not mentioned either by Henriot or by Reyer's biographers, Adolphe Jullien and Henri de Curzon: in 1893 Reyer became semiretired, passing his feuilletoniste's pen to Jullien during winter and summer holidays. In later years he alternated with Jullien,

contributing fewer and fewer feuilletons until his retirement at the end of June 1898.

The spot-checking of the Débats (1866-1901; 1902-1908)

In order both to supplement the method of scanning described above and to determine whether or not Henriot was correct in designating 1901 as the only year during which the retired Reyer published material in this newspaper, I made spot-checks by scrutinizing each page of a certain number of issues per year. As we shall see, the years 1866-1901 were subjected to more spot-checks than were the later years.

With the exception of the four years which I had already examined in their entirety (see Table I), each year from the period 1866-1901 was spot-checked by means of a page-by-page study of a minimum of six issues. If my reading of the literature about Reyer had informed me that a given year of the Débats would yield an item(s) overlooked by Henriot, I chose for each item a block of days or weeks from which I examined consecutive issues until I found the item in question.[12] If, on the other hand, the Reyer literature had not indicated that a given year would yield an item(s) omitted by Henriot, I chose non-consecutive issues, none of which contained a feuilleton by Reyer.

As the possibility that the retired Reyer had contributed to the Débats became increasingly remote with his advancing age, I decided that the years following 1901 did not need as many spot-checks as the preceding years. Therefore, in each of the years 1902-1908 I scrutinized only four issues instead of a minimum of six.

Other Sources in Group 1

The source whose importance in Reyer's career was second only to that of the Débats was, of course, Le Courrier de Paris, which he served as feuilletoniste for nearly three years. This newspaper was relatively short-lived, lasting from 12 April 1857 until the end of June 1860, and I was therefore able to examine each page of every issue. My goals were similar to those which had determined my methods for examining the Débats: (1) the locating of all of Reyer's feuilletons; (2) the verifying of Henriot's bibliography; and (3) the uncovering of any miscellaneous writings not listed by Henriot. My examination revealed that, for the Courrier as for the Débats, Henriot's citations were often flawed, and his bibliography was incomplete.

As previously indicated, my examinations of many other sources in Group 1 were facilitated by the presence of bibliographic aids, such as sommaires, tables of contents, or cumulations of such tables. These aids enabled me to examine comprehensively five short-lived journals: Revue de Paris, La France musicale, Revue française, La Gazette du Nord, and La Renaissance musicale. The method applied to these five can be summarized as follows: in addition to reading all sommaires or tables for issues that appeared between 1850 and 1908, I examined each page of any feature whose generic title suggested that it might include a section on music.[13]

My comprehensive examinations of three other sources in Group 1--the journals L'Athenaeum français and Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris, and the newspaper Le Moniteur universel--were made possible by the presence of an index(es) for each source. However, no single

approach would have been adequate for checking the indexes of all three sources, because each was indexed according to a different set of norms, and the formats of the indexes underwent changes. The approaches I devised for culling Reyer's writings from these sources are described in Table II.

Of the fifteen sources comprising Group 1, three remain to be considered here: the journals L'Artiste and Le Monde musical, and the newspaper Le Figaro. The examinations of these publications were undertaken because I had encountered incomplete bibliographic citations of three articles--citations which had directed me to these sources. In compliance with the two rules described on pages 509-10, I first located each article,[14] then examined the source for four consecutive years both preceding and following the year of the article's appearance. In addition, I made systematic spot-checks in each source. For example, my spot-checks in Le Figaro were designed to supplement the other methods applied to it so that, for each decade of Reyer's tenure as feuilletoniste of the Débats, and for each year after his retirement from that post, I examined a minimum of four issues from Le Figaro.[15]

Tables I and II

The methods devised for the examining of the publications comprising Group 1, and the dates to which one or more of these methods was applied in a given publication, are presented in two tables. In both, the publications are listed chronologically according to the date of Reyer's earliest known affiliation with them.

TABLE I

GROUP 1: PUBLICATIONS EXAMINED AND METHODS OF EXAMINATION

Page-by-Page Scrutiny	Examination of *Sommaires*, Tables of Contents, and Other Lists	Other Procedures	Additional Spot-Checks
La Presse (July 1836-July 1935; daily)			
18-29 Oct. 1868		1850-54: Verifying of Servières's citations of 10 *feuilletons* 1851-55: Searching of groups of consecutive *feuilletons* to locate items for which Servières gave incomplete citations	Examining of all *feuilletons* for two six-month periods: July-Dec. 1852 and July-Dec. 1854
Revue de Paris (Oct. 1851-Jan. 1858; monthly, then bimonthly)			
15 Sept. 1853-1 Jan. 1858: "Chronique de la quinzaine"	All tables of contents		

TABLE I--continued

Page-by-Page Scrutiny	Examination of Sommaires, Tables of Contents, and Other Lists	Other Procedures	Additional Spot-Checks
L'Athenaeum français (July 1852-July 1856; weekly; in Aug. 1856 absorbed by the Revue contemporaine; supplement to the Revue, 1858-1866 and Apr. 1867-May 1870)			
	Annual list of principal collaborators of AthF All extant indexes of both AthF and Revue (see Table II) Tables of contents of available issues of Revue for the unindexed years (1858 and 1859), and for the final months (Jan.-May 1870)		AthF: sommaire of each issue of 1856 (the year for which only one index was extant) Revue: some or all tables of contents for the following indexed years: 1860 (all) 1862 (July-Dec.) 1863 (all) 1864 (July-Dec.) 1865 (July-Dec.) 1866 (Jan.-June) 1869 (July-Dec.)
La France musicale (1837-1870; weekly)			
	1850-70: sommaire of each issue		

TABLE I--continued

Page-by-Page Scrutiny	Examination of Sommaires, Tables of Contents, and Other Lists	Other Procedures	Additional Spot-Checks
	Revue française (Feb. 1855-July 1859; trimonthly)		
	All tables of contents		
	Le Courrier de Paris (Apr. 1857-June 1860; daily)		
All issues			
	L'Indépendance belge (Feb. 1848-Apr. 1858, Jan. 1859-May 1940; daily)		
		Verification of Spencer's citation of Reyer's anonymous review of the Wiesbaden Tannhäuser	
	L'Artiste (1831-Dec. 1904; frequency varied)		
	1857: cumulative table of contents (search for article about Berlioz)	Application of "4-year rule" by examining tables of contents for 1853-56 and 1858-61	Tables of contents for the rest of the 1850s and for most of the 1860s-90s (i.e., 1850-52; 1863, 1865, 1867-68; 1870-73, 1875, 1878-79; 1881,

TABLE I--continued

Page-by-Page Scrutiny	Examination of Sommaires, Tables of Contents, and Other Lists	Other Procedures	Additional Spot-Checks
			1884-85, 1888-89; 1890, 1892, 1894, 1896, and 1898-99). All extant issues from 1900-04: examination of sommaire or page-by-page scrutiny
	Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris (1834-1880; weekly)		
	All extant lists of collaborators (i.e., 1868-80) 1850-80: all indexes of authors and names (see Table II)		
	La Gazette du Nord (Oct. 1859-June 1860; weekly)		
	Sommaire of each issue		

TABLE I--continued

Page-by-Page Scrutiny	Examination of Sommaires, Tables of Contents, and Other Lists	Other Procedures	Additional Spot-Checks
	Le Moniteur universel (1789-1871; daily)		
	1850-71: annual index (see Table II)		
	Journal des Débats (Aug. 1789-Aug. 1944; daily)		
All issues from 1 year selected at random from each decade of Reyer's tenure (i.e., 1867, 1871, 1884, and 1892)		2 Dec. 1866-31 Dec. 1901: scan of all issues	1866-1901: page-by-page scrutiny of a minimum of 6 issues per year 1902-08: page-by-page scrutiny of 4 issues per year
	La Renaissance musicale (Mar. 1881-Oct. 1883; weekly)		
	All tables of contents		1881: page-by-page scrutiny of all issues
	Le Monde musical (1889-1940; bimonthly, later monthly)		
30 Sept.-30 Oct. 1890 (search for	Cumulative table of contents for 1903	Application of the "4-year rule" by examining either	1889-99: page-by-page scrutiny of 1 issue chosen

TABLE I--continued

Page-by-Page Scrutiny	Examination of Sommaires, Tables of Contents, and Other Lists	Other Procedures	Additional Spot-Checks
speech honoring Berlioz)	(search for article and/or speech commemorating the Berlioz Centenary)	the cumulative table of contents or the sommaire of every issue, for each of the years 1899-1902 and 1904-08	at random from every third year (i.e., 1889, 1892, 1895, and 1898)
		Le Figaro (Jan. 1826- ; daily)	
1-22 Nov. 1904 (search for article about Benjamin Godard)		Application of the "4-year rule" by examining all issues in 1 month chosen at random from each of the following years: 1900-03 (Sept., June, May, and Mar.) and 1905-08 (Jan., July, Apr., and Feb.) Verification of 2 letters (issues of 23 and 27 Nov. 1899)	Examination of sommaire or page-by-page scrutiny of each of the following issues: 14-17 Mar. 1869 Nov. 1876 (all issues) 17-20 Oct. 1886 16-26 Sept. 1895 7-13 Mar. 1896 13-20 July and 17-20 Oct. 1899

TABLE II

EXAMINATION OF INDEXES OF PUBLICATIONS IN GROUP 1

Description of Indexes	Methods of Examination
	L'Athenaeum français
1852-55: all 3 annual indexes (index of authors; alphabetical index of subjects; analytical index of subjects)	For each of the years 1852-55: 1. Collated all page references from the following: (a) the entry "Reyer" in the index of authors (b) the entry "Musicale (Chronique)" in the alphabetical index of subjects (c) the subdivision "Musique: chronique musicale" under the entry "Théâtres" in the analytical index of subjects. 2. Examined each page to cull out the "Chroniques" by Reyer.
1856: alphabetical index of subjects (the only index extant)	For the year 1856: 1. Noted all page references from the entry "Musicale (Chronique)." 2. Examined each page to cull out the "Chroniques" by Reyer.
	L'Athenaeum as supplement to the Revue contemporaine
1860-69: both of the annual indexes to the Revue and its supplement (index of authors; analytical index of subjects)	For each pair of indexes: 1. Scanned the index of authors for "Reyer," but found no such entry. 2. Verified the accuracy of the index of authors by searching for Reyer's name in the subject index, in which the descriptive sub-entries always included authors' names. My method consisted of two steps: (a) Scan of the general alphabetical order of subject entries, to choose the ones which might pertain to music and/or musicians. (For each year, the subject entries selected were: "Archéologie et Beaux-Arts," "Biographie et Portraits," and "Mélanges.") (b) Scan of descriptive sub-entries to see if Reyer's name appeared. (The "Revue musicale" and its author[s] were always listed as a sub-entry under "Archéologie et Beaux-Arts.")

TABLE II--continued

Description of Indexes	Methods of Examination
	Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris
1850-73: annual indexes of names and authors	For each pair of indexes of names and authors (1850-73): 1. Collated all page references s.v. "Reyer," in case a reference(s) belonging in the index of authors had been printed by mistake in the index of names. 2. Examined each page to cull out writings by Reyer.
1874-80: annual index of names (the separate index of authors had been discontinued)	For each index of names (1874-80): 1. Noted all page references s.v. "Reyer." 2. Examined each page to cull out writings by Reyer.
	Le Moniteur universel
1850-71: annual Table alphabétique	For each Table: 1. Scanned the general alphabetical order for "Reyer," but found no such entry. 2. Searched for Reyer's name in the descriptive sub-entries of selected subject entries. My method consisted of two steps: (a) Scan of the general alphabetical order, to choose subject entries which might pertain to music and/or musicians. (In the indexes for the years 1850-52, the subject entries selected were: "Musique," "Nécrologie," and "Voyages." In the fuller indexes for the years 1853-71, an additional five entries were selected: "Bibliographie," "Biographie," "Feuilletons," "Théâtres," and "Variétés.") (b) Scan of descriptive sub-entries. (Reyer was cited as author only twice: in the sub-entry "Souvenirs d'Allemagne," under "Musique" in the indexes for 1864 and 1865.)

TABLE II--continued

Description of Indexes	Methods of Examination
	3. Verified each page reference by locating Souvenirs in the Moniteur itself.

Group 2: Other Major Publications

My methods of examining the six sources comprising this group require relatively few words of explanation to supplement the information that will be given in the pair of tables. For the three indexed sources--the Revue des Deux Mondes and the newspapers L'Illustration and Le Temps--I examined all appropriate indexes available at the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), and thus checked Le Temps to 1894 and both the Revue and L'Illustration to 1908. Two of the other sources--Le Ménestrel and the Belgian journal Le Guide musical--were not indexed, but each was supplemented annually by a cumulative table of contents, and the Guide also published a yearly list of principaux collaborateurs. By utilizing these tools I examined both journals to 1908, starting in the Ménestrel with 1850 (the terminus a quo) and in the Guide with 1889 (when publication began at Paris).

The sixth source in Group 2 was the journal L'Art musical, which was neither indexed nor supplemented by cumulative tables and/or lists. Indeed, during the first phase of its existence (1860-70) it was published without even a sommaire of each issue, and this feature was not always included during the second phase (1872-94). To examine this source comprehensively by turning pages and reading sommaires would have taken a prohibitive amount of time, and seemed unnecessary because I had never encountered any evidence linking Reyer's name with this journal. I therefore examined only a sampling of years, as indicated in Table III. The Répertoire International de la Presse Musicale (RIPM) has scheduled for publication in 1988 a catalog and index of L'Art musical.

Diana Snigurowicz, a graduate fellow of the RIPM research center at the University of Maryland, College Park, has kindly informed me that nothing bearing Reyer's signature was written expressly for this journal, although it yields reprints of a few of his writings.[16]

Tables III and IV

The tables which summarize my searches of the publications comprising Group 2 utilize essentially the same formats as their counterparts for Group 1. The only changes are the following: (1) the publications are listed in order of date of founding, because Reyer apparently did not serve any of them as writer and/or editor; and (2) the category "Other Procedures" is deleted because his evident lack of affiliation with these publications meant that they did not need to be examined as thoroughly as were those in Group 1.

TABLE III

GROUP 2: PUBLICATIONS EXAMINED AND METHODS OF EXAMINATION

Page-by-Page Scrutiny	Examination of Sommaires, Tables of Contents, and Other Lists	Additional Spot-Checks
Revue des Deux Mondes (1831-1971; semimonthly)		
	Index of authors (see Table IV)	
Le Ménestrel (1833-1914, 1919-1940; weekly)		
	1850-1908: annual cumulative table of contents	
L'Illustration (1843- ; weekly)		
	Index des noms de personnes. . . . 1843-1932 (see Table IV)	
Le Guide musical (Mar. 1855-1914, 1917-1918; from 1889 published at Paris and Brussels; weekly)		
1903: the Berlioz number (search for speech and/or article commemorating the Berlioz Centenary)	1889-1908: annual cumulative table of contents and annual list of principaux collaborateurs	

TABLE III--continued

Page-by-Page Scrutiny	Examination of Sommaires, Tables of Contents, and Other Lists	Additional Spot-Checks
L'Art musical (1860-1870, 1872-1894; weekly or semimonthly; incorporated by the Guide musical on 1 Oct. 1894)		
First phase (1860-70): 1 or 2 months from a sampling of years (i.e., July and Nov. 1863; Mar. 1865; Sept. 1868; and Mar. 1870) Second phase (1872-94): Oct. 1892 (from the 11-month period when no sommaires were provided)	Second phase (1872-94): all sommaires for a sampling of years (i.e., 1873, 1875, 1879, 1884, 1885, 1889, 1890, and 1894)	All sommaires for Jan.-Feb. 1876 and for Jan.-June 1892
Le Temps (Apr. 1861-Nov. 1942; daily)		
	Index of names (to 1894; see Table IV)	

TABLE IV

EXAMINATION OF INDEXES OF PUBLICATIONS IN GROUP 2

Description of Indexes	Methods of Examination
	Revue des Deux Mondes
Index of authors in each of the first 5 volumes of *Tables* (1831-1911)	Checked for "Reyer," but found no such entry.
	L'Illustration
Index des noms de personnes. Index des noms géographiques. 1843-1932	1. Noted the page references s.v. "Reyer." 2. Located each in *L'Illustration*. (The references designated materials of iconographical interest, an excerpt from the vocal score of *Salammbô*, and writings about Reyer, but nothing written by him.)
	Le Temps
Index des noms de personnes figurant dans les tables et dans la liste des rédacteurs. 8 vols. (1861-94)	For each volume: 1. Noted the page reference(s) s.v. "Reyer" in the index of names. 2. Since all page references in that index designated locations in the subject index and the index of collaborators, I looked for each "Reyer" page reference in both indexes. I found the references in the subject index; Reyer was not cited in the index of collaborators.

Bibliography of Reyer's Critical Writings

As the preceding pages have shown, the bibliography is comprehensive as regards most of the publications examined: in Group 1, the Courrier de Paris, Revue de Paris, L'Athenaeum français, Revue française, La Gazette du Nord, La Renaissance musicale, Le Moniteur universel, La France musicale, and Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris; and, in Group 2, the Revue des Deux Mondes, L'Illustration, Le Ménestrel, Le Guide musical, and L'Art musical. The seven sources which were too extensive to be searched comprehensively--the newspapers La Presse, L'Indépendance belge, Journal des Débats, Le Figaro, and Le Temps, and the journals L'Artiste and Le Monde musical--might, of course, yield more miscellaneous writings than I uncovered. Such writings might also appear in some of the literally hundreds of other nineteeth-century French periodical publications.

In short, I do not claim to have found all of Reyer's critical writings. However, by locating his feuilletons and the articles he published in journals to which he contributed regularly, as well as a representative sampling of his miscellaneous writings, I have achieved the bibliographic goals set forth at the beginning of this Appendix.

The bibliography is in several ways modeled on Jacques-Gabriel Prod'homme's "Bibliographie berliozienne."[17] Like Prod'homme, I have organized the citations in chronological order: for a given year, Reyer's writings are listed chronologically beneath the title of each publication. Also like Prod'homme, I have reproduced any subtitle(s), have added explanatory information whenever it seemed necessary, and

have indicated which writings were reprinted or excerpted in the collected volumes of Reyer's criticism. However, as will be shown below, this bibliography differs from that of Prod'homme in three respects: (1) upper- and lower-case letters symbolize various categories of writings; (2) unsigned writings which can be identified as being by Reyer are included in the chronological list; and (3) for all writings--signed or unsigned--days and months of publication are expressed in arabic numerals.

Categories of signed or unsigned writings

I have classified Reyer's journalistic output according to the following categories, each of which is symbolized by a letter(s):

F feuilleton

f part of a feuilleton

A article (titled or untitled)

LA letter-article (titled or untitled)

U untitled item (such as a notice, announcement, obituary, or a letter to an editor or journalist[18])

R reprint from an unknown source[19]

In conjunction with the symbolic letters, I have used three other symbols:

* unsigned

† reprinted or excerpted in Notes de musique

†† reprinted or excerpted in Quarante ans de musique

If an item is both unsigned and reprinted in one of the compilations, then the asterisk is used in combination with either the dagger or the

double dagger. For example, two unsigned feuilletons which are reprinted in Notes are each indicated by *F† in the bibliography. (For the reader's convenience, the contents of Notes and Quarante are presented at the end of the bibliography.)

Further information concerning unsigned writings

An explanation is obviously necessary in the case of any writing which, although neither signed nor reprinted in one of Reyer's compilations, is nevertheless included in the bibliography. If Reyer acknowledged himself as author of the unsigned writing by mentioning it in something that he signed, I cite the latter in square brackets beside the letter(s) symbolizing the unsigned writing. For example, *LA[JD F-21/11/1897] designates an unsigned letter-article whose authorship Reyer acknowledged in his JD feuilleton of 21 November 1897. If someone other than Reyer identified this critic as the author of the unsigned writing, then an appropriate abbreviation(s) and a page number(s) are enclosed in the square brackets. As indicated below, each abbreviation stands for both the person who made the attribution and the source in which it was made:

CurR - Henri de Curzon. Ernest Reyer, sa vie et ses oeuvres (1823-1909). Paris: Perrin, 1924.

HenT - Emile Henriot. "Table chronologique des feuilletons d'Ernest Reyer parus dans le Courrier de Paris et le Journal des Débats (1857-1899)." In Quarante ans de musique, by Ernest Reyer. Compiled, with a preface and notes, by Emile Henriot. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1909.

JulR - Adolphe Jullien. Ernest Reyer. Les Musiciens célèbres. Paris: Henri Laurens, [1909].

LamR - [this dissertation]

SerG - Georges Servières. "Les relations d'Ernest Reyer et de Théophile Gautier." Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France, no. 24 (1917), pp. 65-79.

Thus, a citation such as *LA[CurR 191] designates an unsigned letter-article attributed to Reyer on page 191 of Curzon's monograph. If an attribution occurs in more than one of these five sources, all appropriate abbreviations and page numbers are enclosed within the square brackets. For example, *LA[CurR 190, HenT 415] designates an unsigned letter-article attributed to Reyer both on page 190 of Curzon's monograph and on page 415 of Henriot's bibliography.

Publication data

For each entry, the bibliographic information discussed above is hyphenated to the publication data. If the publication is a periodical, then the data consists of the volume number, the day and month of issue, and the page number(s) pertinent for the entry. If the publication is a newspaper, then the data consists of the day and month of issue, and the page number(s)--unless the writing is part or all of a feuilleton, which can readily be located without the aid of a page reference. All publication data is expressed in arabic numerals.

Thus, for the year 1852, the first writing by Reyer in the then-monthly Revue de Paris is identified in the bibliography as A-8(00/05): 150-61, which designates a signed article published in Tome 8 (May) on pages 150-61. Similarly, for the year 1855, Reyer's first writing in the trimonthly Revue française is identified as A-1(10/02):70-77, which means a signed article in Tome 1 (issue of 10 February) on pages 70-77. One more example will suffice: for the year 1850, the first writing

listed under La Presse is *f[SerG 72]-2/12, which indicates that the writing in question constitutes part of a feuilleton, is attributed to Reyer on page 72 of Servières's article, and appears in La Presse of 2 December.

1850

La Presse

[Review of the Parisian premiere of the overture to Tannhäuser.]
*f[SerG 72]-02/12

1851

La Presse

"Opéra-National [later Théâtre-Lyrique]. Ouverture. Mosquita la Sorcière, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. Scribe et Vaëz, musique de M. Xavier Boisselot."
*f[SerG 72 n. 4]-29/09

1852

La Presse

"Théâtres: Grand Opéra. Le Juif-Errant, opéra en cinq actes; paroles de MM. Scribe et Saint-Georges; musique de M. Halévy."
*F[SerG 74]-26/04

"Chronique musicale. Les choeurs d'Ulysse, par M. Gounod. -- F. Chopin, par Franz Liszt."
*f[SerG 74]-29/06

"Chronique musicale. Fêtes de Lille. [Report on a competition of German, French, and Belgian choral societies, hosted by the Société chorale de Lille. -- Opéra-Comique: Mlle Miolan (later Mme Carvalho) in a revival of Auber's Actéon.]"
*f[LamR 105 n. 5]-06/07

"Opéra-Comique. La Croix de Marie, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. Lockroy et Dennery, musique de M. Aimé Maillart."
*f[SerG 74]-26/07

[Recommendation that the twenty-fifth anniversary of Lesueur's death be commemorated by the staging of his Alexandre à Babylone at the Opéra.]
*f[SerG 74]-30/08

"Opéra. Reprise de Jérusalem, opéra en quatre actes, poème de MM. Alphonse Royer et Gustave Vaëz, musique de M. Verdi."
*f[SerG 74]-06/09

"Théâtre-Lyrique. Flore et Zéphyr, un acte, par MM. Ch[arles] Deslys, de Leuven et Eugène Gautier."
*f[SerG 74]-18/10

"Théâtre-Lyrique. La Ferme de Kilmoor, opéra comique en deux actes, paroles de MM. Charles Deslys et Woestyn, musique de M. Varney."
*f[SerG 74]-01/11

[Brief review of a performance of Reyer's Le Sélam by the Société Sainte-Cécile.]
*f[SerG 74]-08/11

"Chronique musicale. [M. Faure, baritone. -- M. Léopold Cariol, cellist. -- M. Auguste Morel, the new director of the Conservatoire at Marseille.]"
*f[LamR 105 n. 5]-15/11

"Théâtre-Italien. Luisa Miller, opera-seria en trois actes, poème de Salvador Cammarano, musique de Giuseppe Verdi."
*f[SerG 74]-13/12

"Opéra-Comique. Marco Spada, paroles de M. Scribe, musique de M. Auber. Début de Mlle Caroline Duprez."[20]
*f[SerG 72]-27/12

Revue de Paris

"Musique. Opéra: Le Juif Errant, opéra en cinq actes, paroles de MM. Scribe et de Saint-Georges, musique de M. Halévy."
A-8(00/05):150-61

"Les Choeurs d'Ulysse, par M. Charles Gounod."
A-10(00/07):145-48

"Critique musicale. Opéra: Robert le Diable; continuation des débuts de Mlle Emmy Lagrua; M. Mathieu; M. Bauche. Giselle; continuation des débuts de Mlle Régina Forli. -- Opéra-Comique: Les deux Jaket, un acte de M. Planard, musique de M. Justin Cadaux. -- Réouverture du troisième théâtre lyrique. -- Les fêtes d'Abbeville [inauguration of a statue of Lesueur; commemorative concert]."
A-12(00/09):144-48

"Critique musicale. Opéra-Comique: Le Père Gaillard, trois actes, par MM. T. Sauvage et H. Reber. -- Théâtre-Lyrique: Si j'étais roi, trois actes, par MM. Dennery, Brésil et Adolphe Adam."
A-13(00/10):142-46

L'Athenaeum français

"Chronique musicale. [Sapho and] Les Choeurs d'Ulysse, par M. Gounod."
A-1(10 and 17/07):31-32

"Chronique musicale. [Further remarks on Gounod's choruses for Ulysse. --] Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: La Croix de Marie, trois actes, par MM. Lockroy et Dennery, musique de M. Aimé Maillart."
A-1(24/07):60-61

"Chronique musicale. [Opéra: Debut of M. Mathieu in Lucie de Lammermoor. -- Opéra-Comique: Mlle Miolan in a revival of Adolphe Adam's Giralda. -- Forthcoming reopening of the Opéra-National (later Théâtre-Lyrique).]"
A-1(07/08):90-91

"Chronique musicale. Pierre Dupont musicien."
A-1(21/08):123-24

"Chronique musicale. Les poèmes lyriques [editorial on a contemporary situation in which most French librettos are by "des paroliers" instead of "des poètes"]. -- [Opéra-Comique:] Les deux Jaket, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de M. de Planard, musique de M. Justin Cadaux. -- [Opéra:] Robert le Diable, débuts de Mlle Emmy Lagrua. Reprise de Giselle, débuts de Mlle Régina Forli. -- Réouverture du troisième théâtre lyrique."
A-1(28/08):139-40

"Chronique musicale. Opéra: Reprise de Jérusalem, poème de MM. Alphonse Royer et Gustave Vaëz, musique de M. Verdi. -- Théâtre-Lyrique: Si j'étais roi, opéra comique en trois actes et quatre tableaux, paroles de MM. Dennery et Brésil, musique de M. Adolphe Adam."
A-1(11/09):168-69

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Le père Gaillard, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de M. T. Sauvage, musique de M. Henri Reber. -- Théâtre-Lyrique [editorial objecting to the performing of Si j'étais roi by a dual cast of principals on successive evenings]."
A-1(18/09):184-85

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique: Flore et Zéphyr, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de MM. de Leuven et Charles Deslys, musique de M. Eugène Gautier."
A-1(16/10):252

"Chronique musicale. Les Soirées de Vienne, valses-caprices d'après Schubert, par Franz Liszt. -- Théâtre-Lyrique: Choisy-le-Roi, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de MM. Michel Carré et de Leuven, musique de M. Eugène Gautier. [Revival of Rossini's La Pie voleuse at the Lyrique.]"
A-1(23/10):263-64

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique: La Ferme de Kilmoor, opéra comique en deux actes, paroles de MM. Charles Deslys et Woestyne, musique de M. Varney."
A-1(06/11):296-97

"Chronique musicale. Opéra: Moïse [by Rossini]. -- Opéra-Comique: Les Mystères d'Udolphe, opéra comique en trois actes par MM. Scribe et Germain Delavigne, musique de M. Clapisson. -- Théâtre-Lyrique: Reprise du Postillon de Longjumeau [by Adolphe Adam]."
A-1(13/11):315-16

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Début de M. Faure dans le Caïd [by Ambroise Thomas]."
A-1(20/11):331

"Chronique musicale. Réouverture du Théâtre-Italien: Otello [by Rossini]. -- La Fête des Arts, cantate exécutée au théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique, poésie de M. Méry, musique de M. Adolphe Adam. -- Théâtre-Lyrique: La Perle du Brésil [by Félicien David] (reprise). -- Nouvelles des théâtres lyriques. -- Sonnets de M. Evariste Boulay-Paty, mis en musique par M. Charles Manry. -- Concerts de la Société symphonique [newly founded by Aristide Farrenc]."
A-1(27/11):347-48

La France musicale

"Pierre Dupont, musicien. [The same article as AthF A-1(21/08):123-24, but several serious typographical errors in the latter are here corrected.]"[21]
A-16(29/08):284-86

1853

La Presse

"Théâtres: Opéra. La Fronde, opéra en cinq actes, poème de MM. Auguste Maquet et Jules Lacroix, musique de M. Niedermeyer."
*F[SerG 74]-10/05

"Opéra-Comique. L'Epreuve villageoise [by Grétry]."
*f[SerG 72]-30/05

Revue de Paris

"Critique musicale. [Revival of the Théâtre-Italien under a new director, Alexandre Corti. Remarks on Corti's first two productions: Rossini's Otello and Donizetti's La Sonnambula. Review of his current production: the Parisian premiere of Verdi's Luisa Miller. -- Théâtre-Lyrique: Guillery le trompette, ou les Charlatans, libretto by Beauplan and de Leuven, music by Sarmiento. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Marco Spada, libretto by Scribe, music by Auber. -- Concerts. -- Brief review of Berlioz's Les Soirées de l'orchestre.]"
A-16(00/01):157-62

"Critique musicale. [Théâtre-Italien: Don Giovanni. Mlle Beltramelli in I Puritani and in Norma. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: Revival of Rossini's Le Comte Ory. Verdi's Louise Miller. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Le Miroir, libretto by Bayard, music by Gastinel. Le Sourd, ou l'Auberge pleine, libretto by de Leuven and Langlé (after Desforges), music by Adolphe Adam. Les Noces de Jeannette, libretto by Carré and Barbier, music by Massé. -- Théâtre-Lyrique: Le Lutin de la vallée, opera-ballet, scenario by Alboize and Carré, music by Eugène Gautier. -- Concerts.]"

A-16(00/03):493-99

"Critique musicale. [Théâtre-Lyrique: Les Amours du diable, a pastiche by Saint-Georges and Grisar. Le Roi des halles, libretto by de Leuven and Brunswick, music by Adolphe Adam. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: La Tonelli, libretto by Sauvage, music by Ambroise Thomas.]"

A-17(00/05):306-08

"Critique musicale. [Théâtre de l'Opéra: La Fronde, libretto by Jules Lacroix and Auguste Maquet, music by Niedermeyer. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Editorial on Gilbert Duprez's withdrawal of La Lettre au bon Dieu. Review of L'Ombre argentine, libretto by de Bieville and the late Bayard, music by Monfort. -- Théâtre-Lyrique: Colin-Maillard, libretto by Carré and Verne, music by Hignard. L'Organiste dans l'embarras, libretto by Alboize, music by Wekerlin. -- Théâtre-Italien: Parisian premiere of Mercadante's Il Bravo. -- Concerts.]"

A-17(00/06):476-81

"Chronique de la quinzaine: Revue musicale. [Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique:] Le Nabab, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. Scribe et Saint-Georges, musique de M. F. Halévy. -- [Théâtre-Lyrique:] La Moissonneuse, drame-lyrique en quatre actes et cinq tableaux, paroles de MM. Anicet Bourgeois et Michel Masson, musique de M. A. Vogel. La Princesse de Trébizonde, prologue en deux tableaux, [libretto by de Leuven,] musique de MM. Wekerlin, N. Louis, etc., etc. [i.e., Thierry, Rossini, Adolphe Adam, and Eugène Gautier] -- Les Soirées d'automne, douze mélodies, par M. Alfred Dufresne. -- Le Théâtre-Italien [announcement that Corti has been succeeded by Colonel Ragani, who promises to reengage 'des célébrités']."

A-18(15/09):976-81

"Chronique de la quinzaine: Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Aelia et Mysis, ballet-pantomime en deux actes, de M. Mazilier, musique de M. Henri Potier. -- Théâtre-Lyrique: Bonsoir, voisin, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de MM. Brunswick et Arthur de Beauplan, musique de M. Ferdinand Poize. Le Bijou perdu, opéra comique en trois actes, par M. de Leuven, musique de M. Adolphe Adam. Début de Mme Marie Cabel [for whom Le Bijou perdu was written]."

A-19(15/10):324-32

"Chronique de la quinzaine: Revue musicale. Opéra: Le Maître-chanteur, opéra en deux actes, paroles de M. Henri Trianon, musique de

M. Limnander. -- Opéra-Comique: Colette, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de M. Planard, musique de M. Justin Cadaux. -- Théâtre-Lyrique: Le Diable-à-quatre, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de Sedaine, musique de Solié [score revised and corrected by Adolphe Adam]. Le Danseur du roi, opéra-ballet de M. Saint-Léon [music by Eugène Gautier]."

A-19(01/11):491-96

"Chronique de la quinzaine: Revue musicale. Opéra: Jovita, ou les Boucaniers, ballet-pantomime en trois tableaux, par M. Mazilier, musique de M. Théodore Labarre. Début de Mme Rosati. -- Théâtre-Lyrique: Reprise des Amours du diable. -- Salle Herz: Les Aigles, héroïde lyrique, paroles de M. Hermann Du Casse, musique de M. Chelard. -- Théâtre des Variétés: Pépito, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de M. Léon Battu, musique de M. Offenbach. -- Nouvelles musicales."

A-19(01/12):838-43

"Chronique de la quinzaine: Revue musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique: Georgette, ou le Moulin de Fontenoy, opéra-bouffe en un acte, paroles de M. Gustave Vaëz, musique de M. Gevaert. Si j'étais roi, opéra comique en trois actes, de M. Adolphe Adam (Reprise). -- La Danse aux flambeaux, de Meyerbeer [performed at a benefit concert at the Salle Sainte-Cécile]. -- Théâtre-Italien: Lucrezia Borgia, I Puritani, etc. [Tamburini, Alboni, and the other 'merveilleux talents' who have performed at this theatre since its reopening under Colonel Ragani have temporarily recaptured its audience.]"

A-19(15/12):1018-21

L'Athenaeum français

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique: Les Amours du diable, opéra en quatre actes et huit tableaux, paroles de Saint-Georges, musique de M. Albert Grisar. [Editorial on the need for a subsidy for the Théâtre-Lyrique.]"

A-2(19/03):271-72

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: La Tonelli, opéra comique en deux actes, paroles de M. T. Sauvage, musique de M. Ambroise Thomas."[22]

A-2(09/04):347-48

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Le Nabab, opéra comique en trois actes, par MM. Scribe et Saint-Georges, musique de M. F. Halévy."

A-2(10/09):872-73

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique: La Princesse de Trébizonde, prologue en deux tableaux, paroles de M. [de Leuven], musique de MM. Wekerlin, M. Louis, Thierry, etc. etc. La Moissonneuse, opéra en quatre actes et cinq tableaux, paroles de MM. Anicet Bourgeois [and Michel

Masson], musique de M. Vogel."

A-2(24/09):917-18

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique: Bonsoir, voisin, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de MM. Brunswick et Arthur de Beauplan, musique de M. Ferdinand Poize. Le Bijou perdu, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. de Leuven et Desforges, musique de M. Adolphe Adam. Début de Mme Marie Cabel. -- Opéra: Le Maître-chanteur, opéra en deux actes, paroles de M. Henri Trianon, musique de M. Limnander."

A-2(22/10):1017-18

1854

La Presse

[Review of a concert given by the Société des derniers quatuors de Beethoven (Quatuor Maurin-Sabattier-Mas-Chevillard) on 13 January 1854.]

*f[SerG 73]-24/01

"Théâtres: Opéra. La Nonne sanglante, opéra en cinq actes, paroles de MM. Scribe et Germain Delavigne, musique de M. Gounod."[23]

*F[SerG 75]-24/10

"Opéra. La Nonne sanglante (suite)."

*f[SerG 75]-31/10

"Chronique musicale. [Review of the first concert given by the Société Sainte-Cécile under the baton of its new conductor, A.-M.-B. Barbereau. -- Announcement of the forthcoming premiere of Berlioz's L'Enfance du Christ. -- Review of a concert given by the young pianist Théodore Ritter.]"

*f[LamR 105 n. 5]-05/12

"L'Enfance du Christ, trilogie sacrée, paroles et musique d'Hector Berlioz."

*f[SerG 74]-28/12

Revue de Paris

"Chronique de la quinzaine: Revue musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique: Elisabeth, opéra en trois actes, paroles de MM. de Leuven et Brunswick, musique de Donizetti, mise en ordre pr M. Fontana, son élève. Rentrée de Mlle Duez dans le Barbier de Séville. -- Opéra-Comique: Les Papillotes de M. Benoist, un acte, par MM. Michel Carré et Jules Barbier, musique de M. Henri Reber. Débuts de Mlle Boulart dans les Noces de Jeannette. -- Première séance de la Société des concerts du Conservatoire. -- Salle Herz: Concert de Mlle Clauss [pianist]. -- Nouvelles diverses."

A-20(15/01):329-36

"Chronique de la quinzaine: Revue musicale. Opéra: Débuts de Mlle Sophie Cruvelli dans les Huguenots. -- Théâtre-Lyrique: Les Etoiles, opéra-ballet en deux actes, paroles de M. Clairville, musique de M. Pilati. Débuts de M. Lagrave dans Elisabeth. -- Théâtre-Italien: La Gazza Ladra. Débuts de Mme Ernesta Grisi. -- Société Sainte-Cécile. -- Salle Herz: Audition de l'album d'Etienne Arnaud [songs]. -- Salle Pleyel: Les derniers quatuors de Beethoven [at the fortnightly concerts of the Maurin Quartet]. -- [Album of songs by] M. Léopold Amat. -- Dictionnaire de musique de MM. Escudier frêres. -- Nouvelles."
A-20(15/02):666-72

"Chronique de la quinzaine: Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: L'Etoile du Nord, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de M. Eugène Scribe, musique de M. Meyerbeer."
A-20(01/03):837-44

"Chronique de la quinzaine: Revue musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique: La Fille invisible, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. Dupin et de Saint-Georges, musique de M. Adrien Boïeldieu [review includes an editorial on the contemporary practice of relying on a handful of popular librettists]. -- Opéra-Comique: La 765^{e} représentation de la Dame blanche. Débuts de M. Puget. -- Société Sainte-Cécile: Preciosa, drame-lyrique de Weber. -- Salle Herz: Concert de M. Théodore Ritter [debut of the thirteen-year-old pianist]. -- Nouvelles."
A-20(15/03):1010-16

"Chronique de la quinzaine: Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: La Vestale, de Spontini. (Reprise.) -- Théâtre-Lyrique: La Promise, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. de Leuven et Brunswick, musique de M. L. Clapisson. -- Messe de M. Camille Schubert. -- Salle Herz: Concert de la France musicale: Mme Ugalde, M. Ritter, etc. [Concert was sponsored by this publication for its subscribers. -- Brief review of a sextet for piano and strings by Mme Farrenc.]"
A-21(01/04):154-60

"Chronique de la quinzaine: Revue musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique: Une Rencontre dans le Danube, opéra comique en deux actes, paroles de MM. J. de Wailly et Germain Delavigne, musique de M. Paul Henrion. La Reine d'un jour (reprise), opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. Scribe et Saint-Georges, musique de M. Adolphe Adam. Continuation des débuts du ténor Lagrave. Rentrée de Mme Meillet. -- Opéra-Comique: Le Songe d'une nuit d'été (reprise), opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de M. de Leuven, musique de M. Ambroise Thomas. -- Concerts. -- Nouvelles."
A-21(01/05):470-76

"Chronique de la quinzaine: Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Gemma, ballet en deux actes et cinq tableaux, par M. Théophile Gautier et Mme Cerrito, musique de M. le comte Gabrielli. [Debut of Mlle Cruvelli as Alice in a revival of Robert le diable.] --Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: La Fiancée du diable, opéra comique en trois actes, par MM. Scribe et Romand, musique de M. Victor Massé. -- Nécrologie:

M. Georges Bousquet [conductor and music critic]."
A-22(01/07):154-60

"Chronique de la quinzaine: Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Les Trovatelles, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de MM. Michel Carré et Jules Lorin, musique de M. Duprato. -- Nécrologie: M. Jules Séveste [director of the Théâtre-Lyrique, 1852-54]. -- Nouvelles."
A-22(15/07):311-15

"Chronique de la quinzaine: Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: L'Opéra au camp, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de M. Paul Foucher, musique de M. Varney. -- Nouvelles [including an editorial on the 'star system' at the Théâtre-Lyrique]."
A-22(01/09):793-800

"Chronique de la quinzaine: Revue musicale. Théâtre-Italien: Réouverture. La Semiramide. Débuts de Mmes Bosio, Borghi-Mamo, et de M. Gassier. -- Opéra-Comique: Reprise du Pré aux Clercs. Débuts de Mme Colson. Les Sabots de la marquise, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de MM. Michel Carré et Jules Barbier, musique de M. Ernest Boulanger. -- Théâtre-Lyrique: Réouverture. La Promise. Le Billet de Marguerite, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. de Leuven et Brunswick, musique de M. Gevaert [an apology that there is no space left for a review of this work]."
A-23(15/10):312-16

"Chronique de la quinzaine: Revue musicale. Théâtre-Italien: Mathilde de Shabran, opéra semi-seria, de Rossini. [Review begins with an editorial to the effect that this theatre, instead of concentrating on Rossini, should give 'une part égale à tous les compositeurs italiens, passés, présents et futurs,' including Verdi.] -- Théâtre-Lyrique: Schahabaham II, opéra-bouffe en un acte, paroles de MM. de Leuven et Michel Carré, musique de M. Eugène Gautier. [Notices of revivals of Poise's Bonsoir, voisin, Wekerlin's L'Organiste, and Adolphe Adam's Le Bijou perdu at the Lyrique.]"
A-23(15/11):650-52

L'Athenaeum français

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique: Elisabeth, ou la Fille du proscrit, opéra en trois actes, paroles de MM. de Leuven et Brunswick, musique de Donizetti. -- Opéra-Comique: Les Papillotes de M. Benoist, opéra comique en un acte, par MM. Michel Carré et Jules Barbier, musique de M. Henri Reber."
A-3(28/01):81-82

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: L'Etoile du Nord, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de M. Scribe, musique de M. Meyerbeer. -- [Notice:] Théâtre-Lyrique: Les Etoiles, [opera-ballet, words by M. Clairville, music] par M. Pilati."
A-3(25/02):173-75

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique: La Fille invisible, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. de Saint-Georges et Dupin, musique de M. Adrien Boïeldieu. -- Salle Sainte-Cécile: Preciosa, drame lyrique de Weber [performed by the Société Sainte-Cécile under the direction of F.-J.-B. Seghers]."

A-3(11/03):223-25

"Chronique musicale. Opéra: Reprise de la Vestale, opéra en trois actes, de Spontini. -- Théâtre-Lyrique: La Promise, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. Leuven et Brunswick, musique de M. Clapisson."

A-3(25/03):268-70

"Chronique musicale. Opéra: Gemma, ballet en deux actes et cinq tableaux, livret de M. Théophile Gautier, musique de M. le comte Gabrielli, chorégraphie de Mme Cerrito. [Debut of Mlle Sophie Cruvelli as Alice in Meyerbeer's Robert le diable.] -- Opéra-Comique: La Fiancée du diable, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. Scribe et Romand, musique de M. Victor Massé. -- Nécrologie: M. Georges Bousquet [conductor and music critic]."

A-3(24/06):583-84

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Les Trovatelles, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de M. Michel Carré et de feu Jules Lorin, musique de M. Duprato. -- [Obituary:] M. Séveste [director of the Théâtre-Lyrique, 1852-54]. -- Réorganisation de l'Opéra [announcement that it has been placed under the surveillance of a governmental council, although Nestor Roqueplan retains the functions of director]."

A-3(15/07):654-55

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: L'Opéra au camp, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de M. Paul Foucher, musique de M. Varney. -- Représentations gratuites [Meyerbeer's Robert le diable and Haydée at the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique respectively]. -- Théâtre-Lyrique [editorial on the entrusting of the privilège of the Lyrique to the current director of the Comique, Emile Perrin]. -- [Obituary:] Pierre Laurent [a young singer who had joined the Lyrique in 1853]. -- M. Clapisson [announcement that both he and Berlioz have been nominated for election to the Institut de France]."

A-3(02/09):822-23

"Chronique musicale. Opéra-Comique: Les Sabots de la Marquise, paroles de MM. Carré et Barbier, musique de M. E. Boulanger. [-- Reopening of the Théâtre-Lyrique: Notices of revivals of Clapisson's La Promise and Adolphe Adam's La Reine d'un jour.] -- Théâtre-Lyrique: Le Billet de Marguerite, paroles de MM. de Leuven et Brunswick, musique de M. Gevaërt. -- Réouverture des Italiens [principal singers in the company assembled by Colonel Ragani]."

A-3(21/10):989-91

"Chronique musicale. Opéra: La Nonne sanglante, opéra en cinq actes, paroles de MM. Scribe et Germain Delavigne, musique de M. Charles Gounod."

A-3(28/10):1012-14

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique: Schahabaham II, opéra-bouffe en un acte, paroles de MM. Leuven et Michel Carré, musique de M. Eugène Gautier. -- Théâtre-Italien: Matilde di Shabran, opéra semi-seria de Rossini."

A-3(18/11):1088-89

"Chronique musicale. L'Enfance du Christ, trilogie sacrée, paroles et musique de M. Berlioz. [Conducted by the composer. Review is preceded by a sketch of Berlioz's twenty-five-year career as composer, conductor, and critic.] -- Etudes de Mme Farrenc [for piano]."

A-3(30/12):1228-31

1855

L'Athenaeum français

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique: Le Muletier de Tolède, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. Dennery et Clairville, musique de M. Adolphe Adam. -- Théâtre-Italien: Il Trovatore, drame lyrique en quatre actes, poème de feu Cammarano, musique de M. Verdi. -- Nouvelles [notably an announcement that Berlioz will conduct L'Enfance du Christ three times at the Théâtre-Italien]."

A-4(13/01):37-38

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Le Chien du jardinier, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de MM. Lockroy et Cormon, musique de M. Albert Grisar. [-- Théâtre-Italien: Return of Mlle Ernesta Grisi in Donizetti's Linda di Chamounix.] -- Premier concert du [Société des concerts du] Conservatoire. -- Salle Sainte-Cécile: premier concert. -- Concert de la France musicale [the first of three concerts which this journal sponsored annually for its subscribers]."

A-4(03/02):105-06

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique: Robin des bois, opéra fantastique en trois actes et quatre tableaux, imité du Freyschütz [sic], par MM. Castil-Blaze et Sauvage, musique de Weber. [Review is preceded by an editorial deploring the French public's acceptance of such arrangements and its indifference to 'la bonne musique.'] -- Théâtre-Italien: Gli arabi nelle Gallie, drame lyrique en quatre parties, musique de M. Giovanni Pacini. -- Concerts [second concert of the season of Pasdeloup's Société des jeunes artistes du Conservatoire]."

A-4(10/02):122-24

"Chronique musicale. Opéra-Comique: Miss Fauvette, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de MM. Michel Carré et Jules Barbier, musique de Victor Massé. -- Théâtre-Italien: I Puritani (reprise). -- Concerts [Société Sainte-Cécile; Société des concerts du Conservatoire; the Maurin Quartet; Mme Amédée Tardieu (Charlotte de Malleville, pianist)]."

A-4(03/03):170-71

"Chronique musicale. Opéra-Comique: Yvonne, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de M. de Leuven, musique de M. le prince de la Moskowa. [Review begins with remarks concerning another composer who, like the prince, has been waiting for years to obtain a hearing in Paris: A.-A.-E. Elwart.] Reprise du Caïd [by Ambroise Thomas]. -- Théâtre-Lyrique: Les Charmeurs, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de M. de Leuven, musique de M. Ferdinand Poise. -- Concerts [Société des concerts du Conservatoire]."

A-4(31/03):263-65

"Chronique musicale. [Editorial on the need to build a concert hall in time for the Exposition at Paris. -- The lyric theatres prepare for the Exposition: the Opéra rehearses Verdi's Les Vêpres siciliennes; Perrin, as director of both the Opéra-Comique and the Théâtre-Lyrique, rehearses and commissions works from 'les compositeurs les plus favorisés,' including Auber, Halévy, Félicien David, and Massé. --] Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: La Cour de Célimène, opéra comique en deux actes, paroles de M. Rosier, musique de M. Ambroise Thomas. -- Théâtre-Lyrique: Lisette, opéra comique en deux actes, paroles de M. Sauvage, musique de M. Ortolan. -- Concert historique donné par M. Fétis. [Review begins with a summary of Fétis's lecture on fifteenth- and sixteenth-century music.]"

A-4(28/04):351-53

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique: Jaguarita l'indienne, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. de Leuven et Saint-Georges, musique de M. Halévy. [Review includes a brief editorial on Perrin's perpetuation of the 'star system' at the Lyrique.] -- Société Sainte-Cécile [notice that Muratet has succeeded Barbereau as conductor]."

A-4(26/05):440-42

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Jenny Bell, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de M. Scribe, musique de M. Auber. [Opening paragraph calls attention to Scribe's admission that he 'ne connaît que cinq sujets de pièces.'] -- Théâtre-Lyrique: Les Compagnons de la marjolaine, paroles de MM. Michel Carré et Jules Verne, musique de M. Aristide Hignard."

A-4(23/06):532-33

"Chronique musicale. Opéra: Les Vêpres siciliennes, opéra en cinq actes, paroles de MM. Scribe et Duveyrier, musique de M. Verdi."

A-4(30/06):550-52

"Chronique musicale. Fêtes de Blois. [Review of the concert given at the annual two-day celebration.] -- Réouverture du Théâtre-Lyrique. [Editorial on Perrin's continuing neglect of young composers: the new season has opened with Auber's La Sirène and Halévy's Jaguarita l'indienne, just as the old season closed with those two works.]"
A-4(22/09):816-18

"Chronique musicale. [Long editorial on Perrin's tenure as director of the Théâtre-Lyrique. -- Notices:] Théâtre-Lyrique: Marie, opéra comique d'Hérold (reprise). Une Nuit à Seville, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de MM. Nuitter et Beaumont, musique de M. Frédéric Barbier."
A-4(29/09):839-41

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Sainte-Claire, drame lyrique en trois actes, imité de l'allemand de Mme Birch-Pfeiffer, par M. Gustave Oppelt, musique de M. le duc Ernest de Saxe-Cobourg-Gotha. -- Union chorale de Cologne. [Review of a series of concerts given at Paris by this foreign group; editorial on both the Parisian public's lack of interest in choral music, and the consequently low standard of musicianship which characterizes the choruses of the capital's lyric theatres and concert societies.] -- Théâtre-Italien [announcement of Salvi's resignation as principal tenor and director. -- Announcements concerning the Théâtre-Lyrique (notably the appointment of Perrin's successor, Pellegrin)]."
A-4(20/10):905-07

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Le Housard de Berchini, opéra comique en deux actes, paroles de M. Rozier, musique de M. Adam. Deucalion et Pyrrha, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de MM. Michel Carré et Jules Barbier, musique de M. Montfort. -- Concerts: Mlle Valentine Bianchi [soprano], Mme Farrenc [whose nonetto and fantasy on a theme by Count Gallenberg had been included on the program of Mlle Bianchi's concert], M. Théodore Ritter [pianist]."
A-4(10/11):974-75

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique: Les Lavandières de Santarem, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. Dennery et Grangé, musique de M. Gevaërt. [Review begins with an editorial protesting both the poor quality of the librettos of 'MM. les fournisseurs ordinaires de nos théâtres lyriques' and the virtual monopoly imposed by these librettists 'à l'aide de leur prétendue réputation.']"
A-4(17/11):993

"Chronique musicale. Eglise Saint-Eustache: Messe de Sainte-Cécile composée par M. Charles Gounod. [Review is prefaced by an editorial to the effect that 'les compositeurs que le public n'acclame pas parce qu'ils ne flattent pas ses manies . . . tendent-ils à se réfugier de plus en plus dans le domaine de la symphonie et de la musique religieuse.'] -- Théâtre-Lyrique: Le Secret de l'oncle Vincent, opéra comique

en un acte, paroles de M. Henri Boisseaux, musique de M. Théodore Lajarte."

A-4(15/12):1082-83

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique: Le Solitaire, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de M. de Planard, musique de M. Carafa (reprise). -- Salle Herz: premier concert de la Société des jeunes élèves du Conservatoire. [Comments on the performance of two excerpts from Gluck's Armide lead into a brief editorial on the neglect of this composer at the Conservatoire and at the lyric theatres of Paris.]"

A-4(29/12):1129

La France musicale

"Matinée musicale de Mme Pierson-Bodin. [-- Soirée musicale at the home of M. Letellier.]"

*A[LamR 106 n. 6]-19(22/04):125

Revue française

"Chronique musicale. L'Enfance du Christ, trilogie sacrée, paroles et musique de M. Hector Berlioz. [Review includes a description of the genesis of each part of the trilogy.] -- Théâtre-Italien: Il Trovatore, opéra en quatre actes, musique de M. Verdi. Linda di Chamouni; rentrée de Mlle E. Grisi. [This subtitle is erroneous, because Reyer does not mention either Linda or Mlle Grisi.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Le Chien du jardinier, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de MM. Lockroy et Cormon, musique de M. Albert Grisar. -- Albums [list of 'les albums les plus en vogue cette année,' namely, those of Pierre Dupont (in collaboration with Reyer), Etienne Arnaud, and Léopold Amat]."

A-1(10/02):70-77

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique: Jaguarita l'indienne. [Libretto by Saint-Georges and de Leuven, music by Halévy. Review begins with an editorial on the demands of the Lyrique's 'star,' Mme Cabel, for whom Jaguarita was written.]"

A-1(01/06):529-36

"Chronique musicale. [Théâtre de l'Opéra:] Les Vêpres siciliennes. [Libretto by Scribe and Duveyrier, music by Verdi. -- Brief review of the Théâtre-Lyrique's premiere of the one-act opéra comique Les Compagnons de la marjolaine, libretto by Carré and Verne, music by Hignard.]"

A-1(20/07):186-92

"Chronique musicale. [Théâtre de l'Opéra: Sainte-Claire, drame lyrique in three acts, libretto by Mme Birch-Pfeiffer, translated into French by M. Gustave Oppelt, music by Duke Ernst of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. -- Théâtre-Lyrique: Une Nuit à Séville, opéra comique in one act,

libretto by Nuitter and Beaumont, music by Barbier. -- Concerts: Mme Pleyel (pianist). Société des concerts du Conservatoire. Union choral de Cologne.]"

A-1(10/10):613-20

"Chronique musicale. [Théâtre-Lyrique: Les Lavandières de Santarem, opéra comique in three acts, libretto by Dennery and Grangé, music by Gevaërt. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Le Housard de Berchini, opéra comique in two acts, libretto by Rozier, music by Adolphe Adam. Deucalion et Pyrrha, opéra comique in one act, libretto by Carré and Barbier, music by Montfort.]"

A-1(01/11):107-12

"Chronique musicale. [Reviews of concerts conducted alternately by Berlioz and Félicien David at the Palais de l'Industrie of the Paris Exposition; remarks on the need for 'une véritable salle de concerts.' -- Théâtre-Lyrique: Rose et Narcisse, opéra comique in one act, libretto by Nuitter and Beaumont, music by Barbier (curtain-raiser for Halévy's Jaguarita). Le Secret de l'oncle Vincent, opéra comique in one act, libretto by Boisseaux, music by de Lajarte. -- Concerts: Mme Ronconi (singer). Théodore Ritter and the Maurin Quartet.]"

A-1(01/12):251-56

1856

L'Athenaeum français

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Les Saisons, opéra comique en trois actes et quatre tableaux, paroles de MM. Michel Carré et Jules Barbier, musique de M. Victor Massé. -- Théâtre-Lyrique: L'Habit de noce, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de MM. Dennery et Bignon, musique de M. Paul Cuzent. Début de Mlle Pouilley dans Jaguarita."

A-5(13/01):33-34

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique: Falstaff, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de MM. de Leuven et Saint-Georges, musique de M. Adam. Le Sourd ou l'Auberge pleine, opéra comique en trois actes arrangé par M. de Leuven, d'après Desforges, musique de M. Adam. Un prochain opéra de M. Clapisson. Un prochain opéra de M. Adam. [The comments concerning Clapisson and Adam are part of an editorial on their domination of the repertoire of the Lyrique.] -- Premier concert du Conservatoire [Société des concerts du Conservatoire]."

A-5(26/01):78-79

"Chronique musicale. [News of the lyric theatres: Forthcoming return of Mme Cabel (formerly the 'star' of the Théâtre-Lyrique) to the Opéra-Comique; the Lyrique's postponement of the eagerly-awaited debut of Cabel's replacement, Mme Miolan-Carvalho (formerly of the Comique). -- Editorial on the need to subsidize the Lyrique. -- Review of the last

performance of L'Enfance du Christ conducted by Berlioz before his departure (with Théodore Ritter) for a concert tour of Germany. -- Concert of Mlle Darjou (pianist). -- Théâtre-Italien: Revival of Don Giovanni. -- Concerts: Société des concerts du Conservatoire. Société des jeunes artistes du Conservatoire. Mme Amédée Tardieu (pianist).]"

A-5(16/02):132-33

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre-Italien: L'Assedio di Firenze, opéra en trois actes, musique de M. Bottesini. -- La nouvelle direction du Théâtre-Lyrique. [Notice that Pellegrin has been succeeded by Carvalho, husband of Mme Miolan-Carvalho. Reyer's advice to the new director.] -- Concert de M. Lemmens [one of Belgium's finest organists and pianists, performing on the piano and the pedal-piano]."

A-5(01/03):170-71

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Manon Lescaut, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de M. Eugène Scribe, musique de M. Auber. -- Concerts du Conservatoire et des Jeunes-Artistes [Société des concerts du Conservatoire; Société des jeunes artistes du Conservatoire]."

A-5(08/03):189-91

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique: La Fanchonnette, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. Leuven et Saint-Georges, musique de M. Clapisson. [Review concludes with a paragraph recognizing Mme Miolan-Carvalho as 'une de nos grandes cantatrices.']"

A-5(15/03):213-14

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique: Mam'zelle Geneviève, opéra comique en deux actes, paroles de MM. Brunswick et de Beauplan, musique de M. Adolphe Adam. -- Concerts. [Emile Prudent, composer-pianist. Société des jeunes artistes du Conservatoire. Annual concert spirituel of the Société des concerts du Conservatoire. Concert sponsored annually by La France musicale for its subscribers.]"

A-5(29/03):270-71

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Le Chercheur d'esprit, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de M. Edouard Foussier, musique de M. Besanzoni. -- Concerts. [Editorial lamenting that so many concerts are given by publicity-seeking 'nullités artistiques,' and so few by 'les véritables artistes,' such as Paulin (singer), Lebouc (cellist), and Delsarte (singer). Review of series of concerts given by Paulin and Lebouc. Review of concerts given by Delsarte (including a concert historique, which involved the participation of Mme Pauline Viardot-Garcia and other noted singers and instrumentalists, as well as a chorus). -- Delsarte's Archives de chant. -- Soirée given by Louis Lacombe (pianist). -- Review of Lacombe's arrangement of Weber's Invitation à la walse [sic]: Reyer objects to arrangements of piano music by Weber, because the composer 'était un très habile pianiste' and wrote well for piano.]"

A-5(26/04):357-59

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique: Le Chapeau du roi, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de M. Edouard Fournier, musique de M. Henri Caspers. [Before retelling the story, which is set in the time of Louis XI, Reyer explains that musicians should venerate the memory of this king for several reasons: he improved the status of the singers in his chapel and the ménestrels at his court; Ockeghem was his first chapelain; the king's excellent chapelle musicale was imitated by members of his family; in short, 'sous son règne la musique était très florissante.' -- Brief review of an overture by Ritter, the manuscript of which Reyer had studied before the young composer-pianist left again for Germany.]"

A-5(03/05):375-76

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Valentine d'Aubigny, pièce en trois actes, paroles de MM. Michel Carré et Jules Barbier, musique de M. F. Halévy. [Review is preceded by an editorial about the fact that 'nos opéras comiques modernes sont en général aussi compliqués, aussi volumineux, aussi solennelles que les grands opéras d'autrefois.' In the review proper, Reyer defends Halévy against the accusation that this composer 's'efforçait vainement de courir après la mélodie' by insisting that a musical phrase which 'n'a pas un sens bien précis pour l'oreille du vulgaire' should not be decried as being unmelodic.]"

A-5(10/05):397-99

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique: Reprise de Si j'étais roi. [Review includes assessments of two singers who were making their Parisian debuts: MM. Scott and Grillon.] -- Concerts [Mlle Clémence Laval, pianist]."

A-5(17/05):421-22

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens: L'Impressario, opéra-bouffe en un acte, paroles adaptées sur la musique de Mozart par MM. Léon Battu et Ludovic Halévy. [Reyer first draws upon Oulibischeff's biography of Mozart for a summary of both the origin and the subject of this opera buffa. He notes that, since Mozart's time, the score has been augmented by borrowings from the composer's other works, and that 'l'ouvrage représenté aux Bouffes-Parisiens est tel qu'on le joue en Allemagne aujourd'hui.' The libretto, however, has been 'modifié de fond en comble' by Battu and Halévy, and Reyer then tells their version of the story before discussing the music and the interpretation.]"

A-5(31/05):470-71

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Pâquerette, un acte, paroles de MM. Grangé et Charles de la Rounat, musique de M. J. Duprato. -- Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens: Vénus au moulin d'Ampiphros, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de M. Brésil, musique de M. Destribaud."

A-5(21/06):534-35

Revue française

"Chronique musicale. [Théâtre-Lyrique:] L'Habit de noce, opéra comique en un acte [libretto by Dennery and Bignon, music by Cuzent]. Mlle Pouilley et Mme Cabel. -- Concerts [Société des jeunes élèves du Conservatoire; Société des concerts du Conservatoire]. -- Théodore Ritter [Reyer translates from the Frankfurt Conversationsblatt notices attesting to the success of the recent German tour of Ritter and the Maurin Quartet. Announcement that these artists have resumed their fortnightly concerts at Paris; review of the first concert.]"
A-1(20/01):512-16

"Chronique musicale. [Editorial on the sameness of the librettos of Scribe and his imitators, and on the negative effects of the domination of such librettos in Parisian lyric theatres. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Manon Lescaut, opéra comique in three acts, libretto by Scribe, music by Auber. -- Théâtre-Lyrique: La Fanchonnette, opéra comique in three acts, libretto by de Leuven and Saint-Georges, music by Clapisson. Concert: M. Deloffre (violin) and Mme Deloffre (piano).]"
A-2(20/03):333-39

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique: Mam'zelle Geneviève [opéra comique in two acts, libretto by Brunswick and Beauplan, music by Adolphe Adam.] -- Opéra-Comique: Le Chercheur d'esprit [opéra comique in one act, libretto by Foussier, music by Besanzoni]. -- Concerts [Vivier, 'le corniste inimitable'; Léon Lecieux (violin)]."
A-2(20/04):505-10

"Chronique musicale. Opéra-Comique: Valentine d'Aubigny [opéra comique in two acts, libretto by Brunswick and Beauplan, music by Adolphe Adam. Review concludes with the observation that this work, like most presented at the Comique 'depuis quelque temps,' is 'plutôt un grand opéra qu'un opéra comique . . . Supprimez un petit bout de dialogue, et entre les deux genres la distinction ne sera bientôt plus possible.'] -- Théâtre-Lyrique: Le Chapeau du roi [opéra comique in one act, libretto by Edouard Fournier, music by Henri Caspers]. -- Concerts [M. Jacquart (cello); Mlle Virginie Huet (piano)]. -- M. Adolphe Adam [obituary]."
A-2(20/05):163-70

"Chronique musicale. [Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique and Théâtre-Lyrique: Revivals of Grétry's Richard Coeur-de-Lion. Comparison of the two productions includes brief editorials on: Adolphe Adam's modernization of the original instrumentation; the mania for retouching masterpieces of the past; the need to subsidize the Lyrique. -- Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens: L'Impresario, opéra-bouffe in one act, libretto adapted by Léon Battu and Ludovic Halévy, music by Mozart. Vénus au moulin d'Ampiphros, opéra comique in one act, libretto by Brésil, music by Destribaud. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Pâquerette, pièce in one act, libretto by Grangé and Charles de la Rounat, music by Duprato.]"
A-2(10/06):291-96

"Chronique musicale. [Editorial: During the summer, the lyric theatres should close instead of subjecting listeners to the second-rate singers kept in reserve to replace the vacationing principals. --] Concours d'orphéons à Blois. [Reyer was one of a half-dozen musicians invited to judge a competition of provincial choral societies. He describes the competition and recommends that the directors of these choirs adopt one or another of the existing 'systèmes' for the musical education of their singers, as is done in Belgium and Germany.] -- Mme Ugalde [in a revival of Ambroise Thomas's Le Caïd at the Opéra-Comique]."
A-2(01/08):56-61

"Chronique musicale. [Théâtre de l'Opéra: Revival of Rossini's Guillaume Tell (review includes a brief editorial on the years of mutilation suffered by this work, which is finally being presented almost exactly as written). The ballet Les Elfes, music by Count Gabrielli. Mme Borghi-Mamo as Fidès in Meyerbeer's Le Prophète. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Revival of Hérold's Zampa (review is preceded by an editorial regretting that most of the new works written for the Comique are more suited to the Opéra). -- Théâtre-Lyrique: Reyer predicts that, during the new season, Carvalho will give further proof 'de son habileté administrative et de sa sollicitude pour les jeunes compositeurs.' -- Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens: Reyer praises it as being the only other Parisian lyric theatre which opens its doors to young composers. Brief review of Guetteur de nuit, by Blacquière.]"
A-2(20/09):348-56

"Chronique musicale. M. Verdi et le Théâtre-Italien. [Verdi's withdrawal of Il Trovatore prompts Reyer to editorialize first on the composer's conduct toward the theatre which had made his works almost as popular in France as in Italy, and then on Verdi's fame, which was making the public lose interest in such masters as Rossini, Bellini, and Donizetti.] -- Mme Medori [in the Opéra's revival of Verdi's Les Vêpres siciliennes. -- Théâtre-Italien: Earlier productions of the season (Rossini's La Cenerentola; Bellini's Beatrice di Tenda). -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Mme Cabel's failure as Catherine in Meyerbeer's L'Etoile du Nord.] -- [Théâtre-Lyrique:] Les Dragons de Villars [libretto by Cormon and Lockroy, music by Maillart]."
A-2(20/10):541-48

"Chronique musicale. [Théâtre de l'Opéra: The dispatching of talent scouts to Italy in search of a new prima donna inspires an editorial on the inadequacy of the Conservatoire and the consequent reliance upon Italian singers. Reyer then discusses Mme Deligne-Lauters (whom the Opéra engaged for lack of an Italian 'discovery') and her forthcoming debut as Léonore in Pacini's French translation of Trovatore. Premiere of La Rose de Florence, libretto by Saint-Georges, music by Billetta. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Revival of Boïeldieu's Jean de Paris.]"
A-2(01/12):251-56

"Chronique musicale. [Théâtre de l'Opéra: Mlle Wertheimber's faithful performances of Léonore in Donizetti's La Favorite and Fidès in

Meyerbeer's Le Prophète. Editorial objecting that most contemporary singers are instead 'prêts à sacrifier l'idée du musicien au profit de leurs qualités ou de leurs défauts.' -- Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens: M'sieu Landry, libretto by du Locle, music by Duprato. -- Théâtre-Italien: Premiere of Verdi's La Traviata. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Le Sylphe, libretto by Saint-Georges, music by Clapisson. Maître Pathelin, libretto by de Leuven and Langlé, music by Bazin. -- Mme Farrenc: her two new trios; 'la place qu'elle devrait avoir' in French musical life. -- Album by Clapisson is recommended to 'des dilettanti.']"

A-2(20/12):377-84

1857

La France musicale

"Les Concerts historiques du clavecin et du piano par M. et Mme Farrenc. [Includes the complete text of the discourse read by M. Farrenc before the performance of the first half of the program.]"

*A[LamR 106 n. 6]-21(06/12):395-96

"Les Concerts historiques du clavecin et du piano par M. et Mme Farrenc (Suite). [Includes the complete text of the discourse read by M. Farrenc before the performance of the second half of the program.]"

*A[LamR 106 n. 6]-21(20/12):410-11

Revue française

"Chronique musicale. [Théâtre-Lyrique: La Reine Topaze, libretto by Lockroy and Battu, music by Massé. Review is preceded by a long editorial decrying a contemporary situation in the lyric theatres: sumptuous décors and 'le nom magique d'une cantatrice à roulades' can make a great success of a work whose libretto and music are mediocre. -- Review of Jules de Groot's Etudes for piano. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: Mme Deligne-Lauters's triumph in the premiere of Le Trouvère. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Mme Ugalde in a revival of Donizetti's La Fille du régiment. -- A performance of the Société des concerts du Conservatoire.]"

A-2(20/01):566-73

"Chronique musicale. [Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique:] Psyché [libretto by Jules Barbier and Michel Carré, music by Ambroise Thomas. Review includes editorial opinions on the luxuriousness of the décors and the contemporary practice of tailoring operatic roles to flatter the exhibitionism of a singer. -- Théâtre-Italien: Parisian premiere of Verdi's] Rigoletto. -- Conservatoire Impériale de Musique. [Review of the most recent performance of the Société des concerts du Conservatoire. -- Review of Miscellaneous, a series of piano pieces by Arthur Kalkbrenner,

son and pupil of the celebrated pianist.]"
A-3(20/02):186-92

"Chronique musicale. [Théâtre-Lyrique: Weber's Oberon, translated by C. Nuitter, A. Beaumont, and P. de Chazot. Review begins with a long editorial on the state of musical taste in France: the popularity of Castil-Blaze's travesties of Weber's operas; the French public's willingness to leave any score at the mercy of the translator, director, and/or performers; and the need both to raise the level of the public's musical taste and to improve the skills of young singers by reviving neglected masterpieces and premiering outstanding modern works from all countries. -- Concerts: Fortnightly concerts of Lebouc (cello). Concert of Mlle Marie Darjou (piano).]"
A-3(20/03):377-84

"Chronique musicale. [Private concerts: Sponsored by the Pleyel firm and featuring several artists, including the young Saint-Saëns playing a new pédalier (pedal-piano). Sponsored by the directors of the RGMP and featuring the bouffo singer Berthelier as well as the horn-player Vivier. -- Concerts of the Société des concerts du Conservatoire. (Review includes a brief editorial against the practice of using the string choir of the orchestra to perform, for example, a string quartet by Haydn.) -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: The ballet Marco Spada, scenario by Mazilier (after the opéra comique by Scribe), music by Auber. -- Concert of Mme Farrenc and assisting artists. (Review includes a brief editorial urging that her music be performed by the Société des concerts du Conservatoire.)]"
A-3(10/04):508-12

"Histoire d'un musicien."
A†-3(20/06):321-29

"Les Concours orphéoniques. [Editorial on the necessity of regenerating the repertoires of French choral societies, to help raise 'le niveau de l'intelligence musicale chez les masses.' -- The competition at Bordeaux: Editorial on the need for better musical education in this and other southern cities in order to cultivate the many fine voices which could grace Parisian lyric theatres. Review of the competition at Bordeaux. -- A few words on the competitions at Caen and Dijon.]"
A-3(01/09):252-56

Le Courrier de Paris

"Revue musicale. [Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Joconde, libretto by Etienne (after Lafontaine), music by Nicolo Isouard. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: François Villon, opera in one act, libretto by Got, music by Membrée; used as a curtain-raiser for Auber's new ballet, Marco Spada. (Review of Villon is preceded by an editorial protesting the practice of using an opera as a curtain-raiser.) Debut of Mlle de La Pommeraye in a revival of Halévy's La Reine de Chypre. -- Berlioz's reading of his

libretto for a 'grand opéra en cinq actes' (Les Troyens). -- Concerts: The young pianist-compsoer Théodore Ritter. The pianist Anton Rubinstein.]"

F-29/04

"Revue musicale. [Editorial on the pursuit of virtuosity: pianists and pianistes-compositeurs; singers, many of whom cannot read music. -- An exceptional pianist-composer: Anton Rubinstein. Review of his second concert at Paris. -- Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens: A brief comparison of two new works (L'Opéra aux fenêtres by Gastinel and La Pomme de Turquie by Mlle Pauline Thys). -- An anecdote about Rossini.]"

F-15/05

"Revue musicale. [Théâtre-Lyrique: Les Nuits d'Espagne, opéra comique in two acts, libretto by Michel Carré (after Beaumarchais), music by Théophile Semet. (Review begins with a brief editorial on a fixture in Parisian theatres: the claque.) -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: La Clé des champs, opéra comique in one act, music by Pierre-Louis Deffès. -- New publications: Leçons de lecture musicale, by Fromental Halévy. Manuel pratique et élémentaire d'harmonie, by Fitton. -- Concerts: Soirée musicale of Mme Farrenc. Concert tour of Mlle Wertheimber (contralto).]"

F-29/05

"Revue musicale. [Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Les Dames capitaines, opéra comique in three acts, libretto by Mélesville, music by Henri Reber.]"

F-12/06

"Chronique musicale. [Editorial on the Théâtre-Lyrique's responsibilities toward 'jeunes compositeurs.' Description of the modifications being made in Weber's Euryanthe in preparation for the premiere of a new translation. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Le Mariage extravagant, vaudeville (first performed in 1812) converted into an opéra comique, music by Eugène Gautier.]"

F-26/06

"Chronique musicale. [Competition of orphéons (choral societies) from the French provinces, held at Bordeaux on 28 June 1857. -- Reyer recounts what he was told concerning the success of Marie Cabel's recent appearance at the Bordeaux theatre: her farewell performance had been in Meyerbeer's L'Etoile du Nord, in which, 'à la demande générale,' she had interpolated the 'air des Fraises, qu'elle a popularisé et qui l'a popularisée.' (This air was from Adolphe Adam's Le Bijou perdu, premiered at the Théâtre-Lyrique in 1853.) -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Stockhausen in a revival of Boïeldieu's La Fête du village voisin. Debuts of Mlle Dupuy, M. Barrielle, and M. Nicolas in a revival of Halévy's Les Mousquetaires de la reine.]"

F-14/07

"Chronique musicale. [Reyer first prints a letter from Marie Cabel denying his report that she had interpolated the 'air des Fraises' in L'Etoile du Nord, and then proves the truth of his report by publishing an extract from 'l'un des journaux les plus spirituels et les mieux rédigés de Bordeaux.' -- Competition of orphéons at Caen, 19 July 1857. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: Amalia Ferraris in a revival of Adolphe Adam's ballet Orfa. -- New publications: Piano etudes by Mme la baronne du Verger (née Morel). -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Debut of the tenor Jourdan as Lorédan in a revival of Auber's Haydée. -- Théâtre-Lyrique: Announcement of major works which will be presented during the next season. -- Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens: Une Demoiselle en loterie, opérette by Offenbach; debut of Mlle Louise Tautin in the principal role.]"

F-31/07

"Chronique musicale. [Editorial on the inadequacies of the Conservatoire's three-year program for students of singing, and on the need to create both 'une classe d'enseignement pratique' and 'une classe dans laquelle les élèves iront apprendre uniquement l'ancien répertoire.' -- Competition of orphéons at Dijon. (Review includes remarks on two promising Dijonnais musicians: the composer Charles Poisot and the violinist Jules Mercier.) -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Mme Cabel and Mlle L'Héritier.]"

F-28/08

"Chronique musicale. [Théâtre-Lyrique:] Euryanthe [libretto by H. von Chézy, translated and adapted by de Leuven and Saint-Georges, music by Weber]."

F††-11/09

"Chronique musicale. [Fêtes at Wiesbaden:] Tannhäuser. Opéra-romantique de Richard Wagner. [-- Concert. -- Léopold Amat, organizer of the fêtes.]"

F††-30/09

"Chronique musicale. [Review of Canon Goschler's translation of Georg Nicolaus von Nissen's collection of Mozart's correspondence (Vie d'un artiste chrétien au dix-huitième siècle, extraite de sa correspondance authentique, traduite et publiée pour la première fois en français, par J. Goschler, chanoine honoraire, ancien directeur du collège Stanislas). -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Roi don Pèdre, music by Ferdinand Poise. -- Théâtre-Lyrique: Maître Griffard, opéra comique in one act, libretto by Mestépès and Jaime fils, music by Léo Delibes.]"

F-14/10

"Chronique musicale. [Théâtre-Lyrique: Editorial on Scribe's breaking of a contract. Rehearsals of Margot, ou la Filleule du seigneur, by Clapisson. Sixty-fourth performance of Weber's Oberon. Revival of Reyer's Maître Wolfram. -- Inaugural concert of the Salle Beethoven. -- Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens: Notices of Offenbach's Le Mariage aux

lanternes and the young Erlanger's L'Arbre de Robinson.]"
F-30/10

"Chronique musicale. Margot, opéra comique en trois actes. Paroles de MM. de Leuven et de Saint-Georges, musique de M. Louis Clapisson. Représenté pour la première fois au Théâtre-Lyrique le 5 novembre 1857."
F-12/11

"Chronique musicale. [Editorial applauding Pasdeloup's decision to present Part I of Mendelssohn's Elijah (a work never before performed in Paris) at a concert of the Société des jeunes artistes du Conservatoire. Editorial on the need for a concert hall in Paris. -- Concert of early music for clavecin and piano, at the home of the Farrencs. -- New publicatons: Two books of piano études by Louis Messemaeckers (Etudes de style and Etudes caractéristiques). -- Brief editorial urging that the repertoire of the Théâtre-Italien be enriched with the Italian operas of Mozart and Cimarosa. -- Other new publications: Spécimen de grammaire musicale, by Bernardin Rahn, and La Transposition rendue facile, by Eugène Paturel du Terrail.]"
F-29/11

"Chronique musicale. [Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Le Carnaval de Venise, libretto by Sauvage, music by Ambroise Thomas. -- Société des jeunes artistes du Conservatoire: Concert featuring Part I of Elijah.]"
F-16/12

L'Indépendance belge

"Fêtes de Wiesbaden. [Dated 'Wiesbaden, 25 septembre.' Includes a brief review of Tannhäuser.]"
*LA[JD F-01/11/1872]-30/09, p. 3

L'Artiste

"Galerie du XIX^{e} siècle: IX. Hector Berlioz."
A-2(06/12):209-14

1858

Revue française

"Chronique musicale. [Editorial praising Carvalho for proving that his objective as director of the Théâtre-Lyrique is 'l'amélioration du sort des jeunes compositeurs.' Reviews of premieres at the Lyrique: La Demoiselle d'honneur, opéra comique in three acts, libretto by Mestépès and Kauffmann, music by Semet. Le Médecin malgré lui, opéra comique in three acts, libretto by Barbier and Carré (after Molière), music by Gounod. -- Remarks on Gounod's current project: Ivan le Terrible, a

five-act grand opera destined for the Opéra. -- Notices: Debut of Mlle Artot as Fidès in Le Prophète at the Opéra. Revival of Auber's Fra Diavolo at the Opéra-Comique. Rossini's operetta Bruschino at the Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens.]"

A-4(10/02):117-28

La France musicale

"Séances musicales. Deuxième matinée de Mme Pierson-Bodin. -- Première soirée de M. Marmontel. -- Première soirée de M. Baillot."

*A[LamR 106 n. 6]-22(10/01):10-11

"Les Soirées de M. Marmontel."

A-22(06/06):181-82

Le Courrier de Paris

"Chronique musicale. [Théâtre-Lyrique: La Demoiselle d'honneur, opera in three acts, libretto by Mestépès and Kauffmann, music by Théophile Semet. (Review includes an editorial objecting to the contemporary 'habitude' of overusing trombones, cymbals, and bass drum.) Anecdote concerning a recent performance of Clapisson's Margot. -- Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens: Remarks on Rossini's operetta Bruschino. -- Concert sponsored by La France musicale for its subscribers. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: M. Barbot and Mlle Lefebvre in a revival of Auber's Fra Diavolo. -- New publications: Albums and waltzes recommended 'aux amateurs.']"

F-13/01

"Chronique musicale. [Théâtre-Lyrique: Le Médecin malgré lui, opéra comique in three acts, libretto by Carré and Barbier (after Molière), music by Gounod. (Review includes a short account of Gounod's principal early works.) -- Société des jeunes artistes du Conservatoire: The overture of Meyerbeer's incidental music to Struensee at the first concert. Other works at the first, second, and third concerts. -- Théâtre-Italien: Debut of Mme Salvini-Donatelli as Norina in Donizetti's Don Pasquale. -- New publication: Cours d'harmonie by François Bazin.]"

F-24/01

"Chronique musicale. [Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Les Désespérés, libretto by de Leuven and Moinaux, music by Bazin. (Review calls attention to one of the librettists' witty touches: a character confides that he is writing a treatise entitled De l'influence des queues de poisson sur les ondulations de la mer. Reyer notes that such a work had in fact been written, and that the announcement of its publication had borne a printer's blunder which had long been a joke in the world of French literature and arts.) -- Le Chant d'Antonia, ode-symphonie, words by Am. Burion (after E. T. A. Hoffmann), music by Victor Chéri. (Review recommends this young composer to the directors of the Comique and the

Lyrique.) -- Charles Lebouc's first concert of 'musique classique et historique.' -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: Debut of Mlle Désirée Artot as Fidès in Le Prophète.]"

F†-07/02

"Chronique musicale. [The pianist-composer Henry Litolff: Biographical sketch. Remarks on musical life in Germany (including a brief digression concerning Wagner and 'la musique de l'avenir'). Litolff's concerto-symphonie no. 4 at a concert of the Société des jeunes artistes du Conservatoire. -- Théâtre-Italien: Parisian premiere of Marta, by Friedrich von Flotow. (Review includes a brief history of this work, which for many years had been popular outside France.) -- Concert: Mme Ida Brüning (soprano) and Mme Ernesta Grisi (contralto).]"

F-22/02

"Chronique musicale. [Théâtre de l'Opéra:] La Magicienne. [Opera in five acts, libretto by de Saint-Georges, music by Halévy. (Review is introduced by an anecdote concerning one of Reyer's friends, the poet Méry.)]"

F-25/03

"Chronique musicale. [Théâtre-Italien: Don Desiderio, opera buffa in two acts, music by Prince Joseph Poniatowski. (Review begins with a short account of this nobleman's activities as composer and amateur singer.) Parisian debut of the Italian tenor Enrico Tamberlik in Rossini's Otello. Tamberlik's famous 'ut dièze' (high C-sharp from the chest). -- Théâtre-Lyrique: Revival of Félicien David's opéra comique La Perle du Brésil. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Quentin Durward, opéra comique in two acts, libretto by Carré and Cormon (after Sir Walter Scott), music by Gevaert.]"

F-07/04

"Chronique musicale. [Théâtre-Lyrique:] Preciosa. [Billed as an 'opéra comique de Weber.' (Reyer demonstrates that it was a travesty, a 'castilblazerie,' of the original.) Don Almanzor, opéra comique in one act, libretto by Eugène Labot and Louis Ulbach, music by Renaud de Vilbach. (This work preceded Preciosa to make a double bill.)]"

F-24/04

"Chronique musicale. [Witty descriptions of the typical matinées and soirées musicales which are given 'pendant tout l'hiver . . . dans le monde de la bourgeoisie, de la finance ou de la noblesse.' -- Review of a concert given by Litolff in the prestigious Salle du Conservatoire, with Berlioz conducting the orchestra, and a program comprising music by Litolff and Berlioz. -- Concerts by celebrated foreign virtuosos: Wieniawski (violin). Bazzini (violin). -- Soirée of the composer Charles Poisot.]"

F-16/05

"Chronique musicale. [Théâtre-Lyrique:] Les Noces de Figaro. [New translation by Carré and Barbier. (Review begins with a brief history

of Parisian productions of this 'chef-d'oeuvre presque inconnu à la génération contemporaine.')] Gastibelza [revival of the first work by Maillart]."

F-30/05

"Chronique musicale. [Competition of orphéons at Dijon. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: Revival of Gounod's opera Sapho, condensed from the original three acts into two, and used as a curtain-raiser. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Revival of Grétry's Les Méprises par ressemblance. (Review begins with an editorial urging the director of the Comique to exploit further the 'riche répertoire' of Grétry and other 'vieux maîtres' virtually unknown to the public.)]"

F-07/08

"Chronique musicale. ['Festival' organized and conducted by Berlioz at Baden-Baden (music by Weber, Litolff, Mozart, Berlioz, and Beethoven). Reyer focuses on the following: Litolff's success as composer-pianist; Mme Charton-Demeur, who sang Juliette's strophes from Roméo et Juliette and an aria from Les Noces de Figaro; and the instrumental love scene as well as the Scherzo from Roméo et Juliette. -- Remarks on Berlioz as critic.]"

F-12/09

"Chronique musicale. [Editorial urging the Opéra to revive the major works of Gluck and other 'vieux maîtres,' for the sake of improving 'l'éducation des artistes et . . . le goût du public.' -- Remarks on the forthcoming premiere of Félicien David's first work for the Opéra: Herculanum.]"

F-30/09

"Chronique musicale. [Théâtre-Lyrique: Broskovano, opéra comique in two acts, libretto by Henri Boisseaux, music by Pierre Louis Deffès. Revival of Oberon. -- Théâtre-Italien: Mme Rosina Penco and M. Ludovico Graziani in a revival of La Traviata. Debut of Mlle de Ruda in a revival of Rigoletto. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: Debut of Mlle Audibert in Le Trouvère. Forthcoming debut of the ballerina Emmy Livry in La Sylphide.]"

F-17/10

"Chronique musicale. [Théâtre de l'Opéra: Debut of Emma Livry in a revival of La Sylphide by Schneitzhoëffer. (Review includes a sketch of the life and works of this obscure 'artiste si richement doué.') Gounod's Sapho as curtain-raiser for La Sylphide. (Reyer's objection to such mutilation prompts him to recount an anecdote told by Meyerbeer, concerning Cimarosa's refusal to shorten one of his works.) -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Forthcoming premiere of a new three-act work by Meyerbeer. -- Théâtre-Italien: Revival of Bellini's Norma. Anecdote told by 'un ami de Bellini.' -- A performance of the Concerts de Paris (conducted by Victor Elbel).]"

F-31/10

"Chronique musicale. [Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: La Bacchante, opéra comique in two acts, music by Eugène Gautier. -- Editorial on the ill effects of the Opéra's catering to the public's demand for phenomenal voices.]"

F-16/11

"Chronique musicale. [The yearly performance sponsored on Saint Cecilia Day by the Association des artistes-musiciens: Mass by Weber. -- Théâtre-Italien: Revival of Mercadante's Il Guiramento. (Review begins with an assessment of Mercadante's place in the history of Italian opera.) -- An evening of chamber music given by a quartet assembled by the violinist Henri Vieuxtemps. -- Annual concert of the Société de bienfaisance du quartier de la Monnaie. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: Debut of Mlle Micheau in the title role of La Magicienne prompts Reyer to editorialize on a contemporary situation in which Conservatoire students, if recommended by prestigious professors, are given roles at the Opéra before they are ready to appear on 'une scène où bien des réputations acquises sont venues échouer.']"

F-01/12

[A short notice on Mme Caroline Barbot (née Douvry): the early years of her career; her debut at the Opéra as Valentine in Les Huguenots.][24]

U-04/12, p. 2

"Chronique musicale. [Editorial on the Opéra-Comique's repeated postponements of the premiere of Clapisson's Trois-Nicolas. -- Review of Clapisson's Album (twelve 'romances') for the year 1859, with comments on the popularity of 'la naïve romance.' -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: Debut of Mme Barbot in Les Huguenots.]"

F-16/02

Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris

"Sonate en mi bémol pour deux pianos [by Théodore Ritter]."

A-25(08/08):265-66

1859

Le Courrier de Paris

"Chronique musicale. [Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Trois-Nicolas, opéra comique in three acts, libretto by Scribe and Bernard Lopez, music by Clapisson. (Review includes a long excerpt from the source upon which the libretto was based: a notice on Dalayrac in Adolphe Adam's Souvenirs d'un musicien.)]"

F-01/01

"Chronique musicale. [News concerning the Opéra-Comique: Success of Trois-Nicolas. Rehearsals of a new opera by Meyerbeer. -- Théâtre-

Lyrique: Editorial on the practice of alternating the latest successful production with 'la pièce du lendemain' (a second-rate production of an earlier success). Debut of Mlle Lecomte in a revival of Semet's La Demoiselle d'honneur. -- Concerts: Société des jeunes artistes du Conservatoire (with the violinist Sainton as guest artist). Soirée of the violinist Gleichauff. -- Théâtre-Italien: Notices of the revivals of Rossini's Semiramide and Flotow's Martha.]"

F-19/01

"Chronique musicale. [Concert of Jacques Baur (pianist). -- The Théâtre-Italien.]"

F-30/01

"Chronique musicale. [Editorial responding to an article on the state of French criticism (Henry Trianon's 'Où en est la critique?' published in the Gazette des Théâtres. Trianon was administrator-general of the Opéra-Comique.) -- Concert of Zani de Ferranti (guitar).]"

F-13/02

"Chronique musicale. [Henri Vieuxtemps: As man and artist. Second concert of the year (featuring his Fantasia appasionnata for violin and orchestra). The singer Mlle Lischtner, guest artist at Vieuxtemps's first concert. -- Notices of performances at the lyric theatres: The répétition générale of Gounod's Faust at the Théâtre-Lyrique. Revival of Donizetti's L'Elisir d'amore at the Théâtre-Italien. -- Concerts: Parisian debut of the violinist Becker. The three 'soirées de musique classique' given by the cellist Lebouc (with assisting artists).]"

F-01/03

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Herculanum [opera in four acts, libretty by Méry and Hadot, music by Félicien David. (Review is preceded by a summary of David's fifteen-year career as composer.)] -- Théâtre-Lyrique: La Fée Carabosse. [Reyer announces its 'très brillant succès' and apologizes that lack of space obliges him 'de renvoyer à un prochain article le compte-rendu.']"

F-08/03

"Chronique musicale. [Théâtre-Lyrique: Faust, opéra dialogué in five acts, libretto by Barbier and Carré (after Goethe), music by Gounod. La Fée Carabosse, opéra comique in three acts, libretto by Lockroy and Cogniard, music by Massé. -- Enrico Tamberlik. -- Les Grotesques de la musique, by Hector Berlioz. -- Concerts.]"

F-29/03

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Le Pardon de Ploër-mel. [Opéra comique in three acts, libretto by Barbier and Carré, music by Meyerbeer. (Review includes a brief editorial objecting to the public's complaint that 'M. Meyerbeer est souvent à court de mélodies.')]"

F-15/04

"Chronique musicale. Concert spirituel de M. Hector Berlioz [at the Opéra-Comique]: L'Enfance du Christ, fragmens de Faust [review of 'Le Sommeil de Faust' and the 'Valse des Sylphes' leads to remarks on the need for a concert hall]. -- [Concerts:] M. de Hartog [composer]. M. Georges Mathias [composer-pianist]. M. Hans de Bulow [Hans von Bülow, pianist]. MM. Besekirsky et Arwed Poorten [Russian violinist and cellist respectively]. -- [Théâtre-Français:] Les choeurs d'Athalie, par M. Jules Cohen. -- [Donizetti's] Poliuto au Théâtre-Italien. -- Mlle Wertheimber. M. Michel Bergson. [Remarks on Bergson's 'La Pêche aux fiancés' and on the contralto Mlle Wertheimber's impromptu performance of it at a soirée.]"

F-30/04

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique: L'Enlèvement au sérail [translated and adapted by Prosper Pascal]. Abou Hassan [translated by Nuitter and Beaumont]. -- Opéra-Comique: Le Diable au moulin. [Reyer apologizes that lack of space obliges him 'de renvoyer le compte-rendu . . . à un prochain numéro.']"

F-18/05

"Chronique musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Le Diable au moulin [libretto by Cormon and Carré, music by François Gevaert]."

F-31/05

"Chronique musicale. [Announcements: Closing of the Opéra-Comique and the Théâtre-Lyrique for the summer. -- Remarks on the need to subsidize the Lyrique. -- Brief editorial encouraging the Lyrique to stage Gluck's operas. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: Revival of Les Vêpres siciliennes. -- Editorial on a new invention known as the piano mécanique. -- Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens: L'Omelette à la Follembuche, by Léo Delibes. -- Outdoor orchestral concerts conducted by Alfred Musard.]"

F-16/06

"Chronique musicale. [A short account of the diverse works of the composer, theorist, and scholar Johann Georg Kastner, newly elected to the Académie des Beaux-Arts of the Institut de France. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: Announcement of works to be presented during the season 1859-60. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Debut of Mlle Cordier in a revival of Auber's L'Ambassadrice.]"

F-26/07

"Chronique musicale. [A pleasure trip through Switzerland: Neuchâtel. Weber's Preciosa, performed at Erlach by a travelling German company. (Reyer compares this faithful rendering with the travesty presented 'sous le nom d'opéra comique' at the Théâtre-Lyrique in 1858.) The Société de Grutly, a choral society 'très populaire en Suisse et en Allemagne.']"

F-23/08

"Chronique musicale. [Dated 'Lundi, lac de Bienne.' Continuation of Reyer's trip through Switzerland: Lucerne and Rigi. From Rigi to

Interlachen. Interlachen and the surrounding region.]"
F-06/09

"Chronique musicale. [Dated 'Bade, mardi.' Review of the 'festival' organized and conducted by Berlioz at Baden-Baden (music by Berlioz, Meyerbeer, Spontini, Ritter, Rossini, Beethoven, and Weber, as well as 'une romance russe et une chanson française'). Reyer concentrates on the two excerpts from the unpublished Les Troyens: Cassandre's scene, ending in the duet with Chorèbe; and the love duet of Dido and Aeneas.]"
F-07/09

"Chronique musicale. [Return to Paris. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: Bellini's Roméo et Juliette, translated by Nuitter. Review includes editorializing on the use of an opera as merely 'un prétexte au début de la cantatrice' (the contralto Mme Vestvali).]"
F-13/09

"Chronique musicale. [Review of summer and early autumn activities at the lyric theatres: Debut of Mlle Monrose in a revival of Ambroise Thomas's Le Songe d'une nuit d'été at the Opéra-Comique. Debut of Mlle Marie Sax as the Countess in Les Noces de Figaro at the Théâtre-Lyrique. -- Inauguration of the winter season at the Opéra-Comique: Revival of Meyerbeer's Le Pardon de Ploërmel. -- Théâtre-Italien: Notices of recent productions of Verdi's La Traviata, Rossini's L'Italiana in Algeri, and Mercadante's Giuramento. The singer Marini, an addition to the roster of principals. -- Volume 1 of the Farrencs' Le Trésor des pianistes.]"
F-18/10

"Chronique musicale. [Editorial on the need for a 'salle de concert, proprement dite,' both to stimulate and to provide an outlet for 'artistes qui composent des oratorios, des concertos et des symphonies.' Reyer sets forth his conception of an ideal concert hall, which would have a permanent 'société lyrique, philharmonique, ou symphonique.']"
F-25/10

"Chronique musicale. [Théâtre de l'Opéra: Debut of the Marchisio sisters in Rossini's Sémiramis, French translation by Méry. Notices of revivals of Flotow's L'Ame en peine as a curtain-raiser, and Count Gabrielli's ballet Les Elfes. -- Théâtre-Italien: Notice of the return of Mme Borghi-Mamo in a revival of Rossini's Barbiere di Siviglia. -- Théâtre-Lyrique: Mam'zelle Pénélope, opéra comique in one act, libretto by Henri Boisseaux, music by de Lajarte. -- The piano incliné (modified upright) invented by Eisenmenger. -- Obituary of Ludwig Spohr (based on the notice published in the Vienna Recensionen).]"
F-08/11

"Chronique musicale. ['Festival' honoring the memory of Friedrich Schiller: 'la liste des morceaux qui ont été joués, chantés et déclamés'; review of two unpublished works written by Meyerbeer for the occasion (i.e., La Marche de Schiller and a cantata on a poem by

L. Pfau). -- Chansons du troubadour, a collection of songs by Delphin Balleyguier, whom Reyer recommends to the attention of the director of the Opéra-Comique.]"

F-15/11

1860

La Gazette du Nord

"Chronique musicale. [Editorial on 'la prédilection du public pour la musique italienne.'] Théâtre-Italien: Margherita la mendiante, mélodrame en trois actes, paroles de M. Piave, musique de M. Gaetano Braga. [-- The Société des concerts du Conservatoire and its responsibility toward 'compositeurs vivants' as well as 'les mort illustres.' -- Collection of songs by Paul d'Estribaud.]"

A-2(07/01):5-6

"Chronique musicale. [Obituary of the conductor Narcisse Girard, successor of Habeneck both at the Société des concerts du Conservatoire and at the Opéra. -- Premieres of works by living French composers: Gounod's choral setting of the psalm Sur le fleuve étranger (Super flumina) at the Société des concerts du Conservatoire. A symphony by Demerssemann at the Société des jeunes artistes du Conservatoire. -- Notice on Wagner: his decision to put his music before the Parisian public; the controversies he had aroused; Reyer's determination not to be influenced by either 'l'enthousiasme de ceux-ci' or 'l'opposition de ceux-là.' -- Collection of songs by Vaucorbeil.]"

A-2(21/01):5-6

"Chronique musicale. M. Richard Wagner. [Review of the second performance of Wagner's thrice-given concert at the Théâtre-Italien. (Review is introduced by an editorial regretting that 'en France, bien plus qu'en Allemagne, nous sommes habitués à la pompe du spectacle.']"

A-2(04/02):5-6

"Chronique musicale. [Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Le Roman d'Elvire, opéra comique in three acts, libretto by Alexandre Dumas and de Leuven, music by Ambroise Thomas. -- Théâtre-Italien: Don Giovanni. -- Concert of the Société des jeunes élèves du Conservatoire. -- Other concerts: Hans von Bülow (piano). Jacques Dupuis (violin). Zani de Ferranti (guitar). Lebouc and Becker (cello and violin respectively).]"

A-2(18/02):5-6

"Chronique musicale. [Théâtre-Lyrique: Philémon et Baucis, opera in three acts, libretto by Barbier and Carré, music by Gounod. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Revival of Massé's Galathée.]"

A-2(03/03):5-6

"Chronique musicale. [Théâtre de l'Opéra: Pierre de Médicis, opera in four acts, libretto by Pacini and de Saint-Georges, music by Prince

Joseph Poniatowski.]"

A-2(17/03):4-5

"Chronique musicale. [Théâtre-Lyrique: Gil Blas, opéra comique in five acts, libretto by Carré and Barbier, music by Théophile Semet. (Review includes an editorial against the widespread practice of writing a principal role for a specific singer.) -- Concerts: Société des concerts du Conservatoire. Société des jeunes artistes du Conservatoire.]"

A-2(31/03):5-6

"Chronique musicale. [Editorial on the need for a concert hall, which should be administered like a subsidized lyric theatre and should have singers as well as instrumentalists at the disposal of 'le musicien qui écrit des oratorios et des symphonies ou le virtuose qui a besoin d'un orchestre pour accompagner l'oeuvre qu'il interprète.' -- Review of the concerts and soirées musicales of the season: Emile Prudent (pianist-composer). Théodore Ritter (pianist-composer) and Camillo Sivori (violinist). Emile Forgues (pianist). Foreign pianists (notably Hans von Bülow, Zarzycky, and Mme Szarvady [Wilhelmine Clauss]). Louis Lacombe (pianist-composer). Hans Soeling (pianist). Charles Lebouc (cellist). Krafzoff (Russian tenor). Casella (cellist-composer). Koempel (violon solo to the King of Hanover). The young Izidore Lotto (violinist).]"

A-2(14/04):5-6

"Chronique musicale. [Editorial on the ways in which the contemporary situation in the lyric theatres encourages composers to strive for quantity rather than quality of works. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Le Château-Trompette, opéra comique in three acts, libretto by Carré and Cormon, music by Gevaert. -- Concert: Mme Yung-Guibert (piano) and Mlle Wertheimber (contralto). -- Announcement: Program of the forthcoming London concert of the three thousand orphéonistes of France, to be conducted by Delaporte.]"

A-2(28/04):5-6

"Chronique musicale. [Remarks on the success of operas by Weber, Gluck, Mozart, and Beethoven at the Théâtre-Lyrique; objection to Mme Viardot-Garcia's addition of a point d'orgue in both Orphée and Fidelio. -- Théâtre-Lyrique: Fidelio, French translation by Carré and Barbier. (Review is preceded by some 'détails historiques et chronologiques' on Beethoven's first and second versions as well as his final setting, and on productions at Paris in German and Italian.) -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Posthumous premiere of Rita, ou le Mari battu, libretto by Gustave Vaëz, music by Donizetti. -- 'Berceuse' by Mme A. Ferrand.]"

A-2(12/05):5-6

"Chronique musicale. [Editorial on the 'star system' in the lyric theatres.]"

A-2(09/06):4-5

1864

Le Moniteur universel

"Souvenirs d'Allemagne. [Dedicated 'A M. le comte Walewski.' Serialized in the feuilleton of the following issues: 19, 20, 22, 27, 29, and 30 November; and 16, 22, 25, and 31 December.]"
F†-19/11 to 31/12

1865

Le Moniteur universel

"Souvenirs d'Allemagne. [Serialization completed in the feuilleton of the following issues: 3, 4, 6, 7, 12, 15, 18, 20, and 22 January.]"
F†-03/01 to 22/01

1866

Journal des Débats

"['Profession de foi.' --] Opéra-Comique. Mignon, opéra comique en trois actes et cinq tableaux, paroles de MM. Michel Carré et Jules Barbier, musique de M. Ambroise Thomas (de l'Institut)."
F-02/12

"Revue musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique: Le Freischütz [new translation by Henri Trianon and Eugène Gautier]. -- Opéra-Comique: Lalla-Roukh et le Chien du Jardinier (reprises). -- Théâtre-Italien: Sapho [review of the revival of Pacini's Saffo concludes with a plea for Gounod's Sapho, 'ce remarquable ouvrage, très injustement délaissé']. -- Fantaisies-Parisiennes: Le Chanteur florentin [libretto by Alfred and Edouard Blau, music by Jules Duprato]. -- Athénée musical et autres fantaisies. [Excerpts from Lohengrin and Tannhäuser are being presented by Pasdeloup at concerts of both the recently founded Société de l'Athénée and the Concerts populaires; and Hainl, conductor of the Société des concerts du Conservatoire, plans to present an excerpt from Lohengrin later in the season. Reyer fantasizes that 'ces deux docteurs de l'orchestre réussiront . . . à guérir ceux qui prétendent que M. Wagner est un fou.']"
F-16/12

1867

Journal des Débats

"Revue musicale. [Editorial suggesting that the director of the Théâtre-Italien restore prosperity to this enterprise by broadening the repertoire: if the existing company performed in alternation with a

German company, the director could present not only Italian opera, but also German opera and the many works that had been translated into either language. -- The cold reception of Gounod's Près du fleuve étranger at a performance of the Société des concerts du Conservatoire prompts Reyer to editorialize on this organization's unwillingness to 'sortir . . . du vieux répertoire.' -- Société de l'Athénée: Mendelssohn's choruses to Athalie. Théodore Ritter, guest artist at the second concert. -- Concert spirituel directed by Saint-Saëns at the Madeleine. -- Extract from a letter describing the enthusiastic reception accorded Berlioz's La Damnation de Faust at Vienna in December. (Reyer later identified Berlioz as the writer of this letter; see F-15/12/1878.)]"

F-03/01

"Revue musicale. Struensée, tragédie de Michaël Beer, musique de G. Meyerbeer. [The announcement that this score would be performed in its entirety for the first time in Paris at one of the concerts of the Société de l'Athénée inspires Reyer to 'donner, par anticipation, l'analyse du drame et celle de la partition.'] -- [The newly founded] Société des concerts du Conservatoire de Strasbourg. [-- Review of Les Alpes, two works for piano by Alexandre Lovie, a pianist-composer residing at Avignon.]"

F†-15/01

[Notice of a premiere at the Théâtre-Lyrique: Devin-Duvivier's Deborah, a "succès honorable."]

U-16/01, p. 2

"Revue musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique: Deborah, opéra en trois actes, paroles de M. A. Favre [and Edouard Plouvier, after Sir Walter Scott], musique de M. Devin-Duvivier."

F-27/01

"Revue musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique: Sardanapale, opéra en trois actes et cinq tableaux, paroles de M. Becque, musique de M. Victorin Joncières. -- Les décors des Troyens [used for Sardanapale]. -- Théâtre-Italien: débuts de Mlle Laura Harris dans la Sonnambula. -- Société des concerts du Conservatoire: les choeurs d'Athalie. -- [Société de l']Athénée: le Désert et les choeurs d'Ulysse. -- Mélodies nouvelles [by Bizet and others] et livres nouveaux. [Reyer names three books to be reviewed in 'mon prochain feuilleton.' -- Concerts: Duvernoy (pianist). Forthcoming appearances of Koempel (violinist) and Vieuxtemps (violinist).]"

F-16/02

"Revue musicale. [New books:] La Semaine sainte au Vatican, étude musicale et pittoresque, par M. Ludovic Celler. -- Traité analytique et complet de l'art de moduler, par M. Johannès Weber. -- De l'Enseignement du piano, conseil aux jeunes professeurs, par M. Félix Le Couppey. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Le Fils du brigadier, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. Labiche et Delacour, musique de M. Victor Massé. -- Concerts. [Struensée at an Athénée concert. Koempel as soloist at one of the Concerts populaires. Concert of Louise Cantin

(pianist) at the Salle Pleyel.]"

F-28/02

"Revue musicale. Théâtre impérial de l'Opéra: Don Carlos, opéra en cinq actes, poëme de Méry et de M. Camille Du Locle, musique de M. Verdi."

F-20/03

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: La Grand'-Tante, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de M. Adenisé Grandvalet [i.e., Adenis and Grandvallet], musique de M. Jules Massenet. -- Les prix de Rome. -- Les jeunes compositeurs. [Editorial on the difficulties that confront winners of the Prix de Rome and other young composers who seek to launch their careers at Parisian lyric theatres. -- Notices: Massenet's Suite d'orchestre at one of the Concerts populaires. Parisian debut of the Viennese soprano Gabrielle Krauss as Leonora in Il Trovatore at the Théâtre-Italien.]"

F-18/04

[Notice of a premiere at the Théâtre-Lyrique: Gounod's Roméo et Juliette, the success of which was "très grand."]

U-29/04, p. 2

"Théâtre-Lyrique. Roméo et Juliette, opéra en cinq actes, [paroles] de MM. Jules Barbier et Michel Carré, musique de M. Charles Gounod. [-- Inaugural concert of a series of 'représentations-concerts' to be given thrice weekly at the Lyrique: guest artists Carlotta Patti (soprano) and Henri Vieuxtemps (violinist).]"

F-05/05

"Revue musicale. [General remarks on 'la saison de concerts.' -- Concert of Hubert Léonard (violinist). Comments on Léonard as performer, composer, and pedagogue. -- Mme Charlotte Tardieu de Mallevlle (pianist). -- Two eighteen-year-old pianists: Mlles Louise Cantin and Laure Bedel. -- 'La musique classique' at the annual concert of Mlle Mangin (pianist). -- Prodigies: the Waldteufel sisters; the Pollini sisters. -- Recollections of Karl August Krebs (Kapellmeister at the Dresden court opera) precede a brief review of a concert given by his daughter, Maria (pianist). -- Reflections on the 'vie paisible et honorée' led by composers who write chamber music instead of music for the theatre. Piano trios by Jakob Rosenhain and Berthold Damcke. -- Two concerts consisting mainly of works by Saint-Saëns. -- Soirées musicales: Caroline Bonnais (singer). Julien Sauzay (violinist). -- Chamber music by Henri Reber at a concert given by Achille Dien (violinist) and assisting artists. -- Names of other performers and new compositions which merit 'l'admiration de la foule.']"

F-14/05

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: reprise de l'Etoile du Nord. -- Théâtre des Fantaisies-Parisiennes: l'Oie du Caire (l'Oca del Cairo), opéra-bouffe inédit de Mozart, parles de M. Victor Wilder. [--

Concert given by Wieniawski (violinist). -- New mélodies received from Germany and Strasbourg. -- Salle de l'Athénée: soirée in memory of the violinist Heinrich Ernst. (The performers included the violinist Joseph Joachim and the contralto Amalie Joachim.) -- Obituary of the soprano Mme Persiani.]"

F-18/06

"Revue musicale. [Opening remarks to the effect that many French composers who have obtained little or no success at Parisian lyric theatres are now writing 'la musique religieuse.' -- Masses by four contemporary composers: Charles Colin; Théodore de Lajarte; Prince Poniatowski; Mme la vicomtesse de Grandval. -- Les Sept paroles du Christ, by Théodore Dubois. -- Concert sponsored at Versailles by the Société des amis des arts de Seine-et-Oise: Mass by Joseph d'Ortigue, and the oratorio Tobie, words by Léon Halévy, music by Eugène Ortolan. Brief editorial urging that Gounod's oratorio Tobie, which had been premiered at London, be performed at Paris. -- Concert of the Société de bienfaisance of the Church of Saint-Roch. M. Vervoitte, conductor of this society and 'propagateur infatigable de la musique des vieux maîtres.' -- Editorial against the contemporary practice of capitalizing on the success of one work (in this case, Gounod's Roméo et Juliette) to draw attention to another based on the same subject (Les Amans de Vérone by Richard Yrvid, pseudonym of the marquis d'Ivry). -- Volume One of a projected edition of all the works composed by Cherubini for the Royal Chapel during the period 1815 to 1830. -- Notice of the debut of Mlle Devriès in La Somnambule at the Théâtre-Lyrique.]"

F-04/08

"Revue musicale. Exposition universelle. [Editorial on the need for a good concert hall suitable for large forces.] -- Les Noces de Prométhée, cantate, paroles de M. Romain Cornut, musique de M. Camille Saint-Saëns. [This cantata had won a competition instituted by the Exposition committee. Before reviewing the work, Reyer recounts the difficulties caused by the authorities' reluctance both to have it performed and to pay out the cash prize.] -- Musique chinoise, musique militaire, orphéons, musique suédoise et concerts historiques. [Reyer regrets that the Exposition committee had renounced the idea of giving a series of 'concerts historiques,' and had instead sponsored 'concerts chinois' at which Chinese music was played by an ensemble of occidental instruments.] -- [Notice:] L'ouverture du Théâtre-Italien [with Adelina Patti in La Sonnambula]."

F-08/09

"Exposition universelle. Les instrumens, les ouvrages de musique (éditions). (Premier article). [American pianos: Steinway; Chickering. Pianos from Vienna, Berlin, Stuttgart, and Madrid. -- Violins by French makers: M. Vuillaume; M. Grivel, who claims to have discovered the secret of the varnish used by Antonio Stadivari. -- Valved brass instruments: Adolphe Sax. Editorial opposing the use of valved instruments for performances of music by Beethoven and Weber.]"

F-22/09

"Exposition universelle. Les instrumens, les ouvrages de musique (éditions). (Deuxième article.) [Sax's valved flute. -- Sax's suggested modifications to timpani and drums. His set of thirteen 'timbales chromatiques.' -- Sax's brass bassoon. -- Designs by Sax: a concert hall suitable for large forces; a lyric theatre with a sunken orchestral pit. -- One of Sax's latest inventions: an apparatus for circulating and purifying the air in a room. -- 'Un saxhorn monstre' (contrabass saxhorn?).]"

F-27/09

"Exposition universelle. Les instrumens, les ouvrages de musique (éditions). (Troisième et dernier article.) [Comments on the international jury's distribution of the prizes for instrument making: brass instruments; woodwinds. -- Spanish guitars. -- Harps exhibited by the Erard company. Reflections on the scarcity of harpists in France. -- The collection of Asian instruments prompts Reyer to regret that the Exposition committee had sponsored 'des concerts pseudo-chinois' instead of bringing to Paris native musicians. -- 'Musiciens tziganes': the zymbala player at the café Fanta; excerpts from Liszt's book Des Bohémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie; an incident which the Russian novelist Turgenev recounted to Reyer. -- Russian pianos. -- Instruments of 'des peuples orientaux': collections from Egypt, Turkey, China, Japan, and Greece. -- New publications: scores, 'solfèges,' and 'méthodes d'enseignement' exhibited by French firms (Lemoine, Heugel, Choudens, Brandus et Dufour, Escudier et Gérard). -- A visual teaching aid invented by Pauraux, professor of music at the lycée Louis-le-Grand.]"

F-19/10

[Notice of a premiere at the Opéra: "l'accueil très sympathique" of Duprato's La Fiancée de Corinthe (curtain-raiser for a revival of Adolphe Adam's ballet Le Corsaire).]

U-23/10, p. 2

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: La Fiancée de Corinthe, opéra en un acte, poëme de M. Camille Du Locle, musique de M. Duprato. -- Théâtre-Lyrique: Les Bleuets, [opéra comique in four acts,] paroles de MM. Cormon et Trianon, musique de M. Jules Cohen. [-- Notice that Grand Duchess Helen, who 'apprécie comme il convient le génie d'un illustre compositeur,' has invited Berlioz to St. Petersburg to conduct a series of concerts.]"

F-01/11

"Revue musicale. [Apropos of a Mémoire which the composer Xavier Boisselot had sent to the mayor of Marseille, and which had subsequently been published in Le Nouvelliste: Reyer quotes and discusses excerpts in which he finds 'des considérations du plus haut intérêt sur la musique en général et sur le développement qu'il conviendrait de lui donner dans les établissemens municipaux en province.' He then elaborates on the need for 'un peu de décentralisation musicale,' recommending that winners of the Prix de Rome, upon their return from the Villa Medici, be named 'maîtres de chapelle ou directeurs de musique attachés

aux théâtres de province.' -- Théâtre-Italien: review of the repertoire since 3 September, when the new season began; comments on 'les artistes qui ont débuté cette année.' -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: debut of the tenor Colin in Don Juan. -- Théâtre-Lyrique: brief editorial on the demise of Jules Cohen's Les Bleuets.]"

F-16/11

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Robinson Crusoé, opéra comique en trois actes et cinq tableaux, paroles de MM. Cormon et Hector Crémieux, musique de M. Jacques Offenbach. -- Théâtre des Fantaisies-Parisiennes: le Planteur, opéra comique en deux actes, paroles de M. de Saint-Georges, musique d'Hippolyte Monpou. -- [Théâtre de l']Opéra: Guillaume Tell."

F-29/11

[Notice that the popularity of chamber music in "nos villes de province" is being proved by the successful tour of an ensemble of Parisian musicians: Mme Charlotte Tardieu de Malleville (piano) and a string quartet (MM. Maurin, Mas, Boulart, and Demunck).]

U-09/12, p. 3

"Revue musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique: Cardillac, opéra en trois actes et quatre tableaux, paroles de MM. Nuitter et Beaumont, musique de M. Lucien Dautresme. [-- Comments on rumors that the Lyrique would stage Tannhäuser and had renounced Pedrotti's opera buffa Tutti in maschera.]"

F-18/12

1868

La Presse

"Richard Wagner et la critique. (Suite.) [Addressed 'A Madame Judith Mendès' and dated 'Mardi 20 octobre.' Written in response to the first installment of Judith Gautier Mendès's article 'Richard Wagner et la critique' (La Presse, 17 October, 1868, p. 3).]"

LA-29/10, p. 3

Journal des Débats

"Théâtre-Lyrique: la Jolie Fille de Perth, opéra en quatre actes et cinq tableaux, paroles de MM. de Saint-Georges et Jules Adenis, musique de M. Georges Bizet. -- Théâtre-Italien [brief editorial on the director's intention to sue La France musicale]."

F††-06/01

"Variétés. Revue musicale. Bibliographie [review of new publications]. Parémiologie musicale de la langue française, ou explication des proverbes, locutions proverbiales, mots figurés qui tirent leur origine de la musique, accompagnée de recherches sur un grand nombre

d'expressions du même genre empruntées aux langues étrangères, et suivie de la Saint-Julien des Ménétriers, symphonie-cantate à grand orchestre avec solos et choeurs, par Georges Kastner, membre de l'Institut. [--] Louis van Beethoven, sa vie et ses oeuvres, d'après les plus récens documens, par Mme A. Auilley. [--] L'art harmonique aux douzième et treizième siècles, par E. Coussemaker, correspondant de l'Institut, membre correspondant de l'Académie impériale de Vienne, membre titulaire non résidant du comite impériale des travaux historiques, etc. [--] Etudes sur la musique grecque, le plainchant et la tonalité moderne, par Alix Tiron."

A-19/01, pp. 2-3

"Théâtre-Italien: Il Templario, opéra en trois actes, tiré du roman d'Ivanhoe, de Walter-Scott, par Jérôme-Marie Marini, musique de Othon Nicolaï [Otto Nicolai]. -- Société des Concerts du Conservatoire. -- Concerts populaires. -- Hector Berlioz en Russie."

F-06/02

[Notice of successes at the newly restored Théâtre des Fantaisies-Parisiennes: premiere of La Croisade des dames (Victor Wilder's French translation of Schubert's Die Verschworenen); revival of Adolphe Adam's operetta Le Farfadet; premiere of a one-act opera by Emile Durand.]

U-08/02, p. 3

[Notice of a successful premiere at the Opéra-Comique: Auber's Le Premier Jour de bonheur.]

U-17/02, p. 3

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: le Premier jour de bonheur, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. Adolphe d'Ennery [Dennery] et Eugène Cormon, musique de M. Auber. -- Théâtre des Fantaisies-Parisiennes: la Croisade des Dames, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de M. Wilder, musique de François Schubert; l'Elixir de Cornélius, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de MM. Henri Meilhac et Arthur Delavigne, musique de M. Emile Durand. -- Concert de M. Lamoureux [an orchestral concert organized and conducted by the future founder of the Concerts Lamoureux]. -- Première représentation de Roméo et Juliette à Vienne. [Reyer summarizes what he has read concerning the great success of Gounod's opera.]"

F-25/02

[Notice concerning the inauguration of the "grand orgue" at Notre Dame cathedral: Reyer protests that he and many others invited to the ceremony were turned away, because "aucune précaution n'avait été prise pour que les invités pussent arriver aux places qui leur étaient désignées."]

U-12/03, p. 2

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Hamlet, opéra en cinq actes, paroles de MM. Michel Carré et Jules Barbier, musique de M. Ambroise Thomas."

F-14/03

[Notice: Carvalho is trying to improve the financial situation of the Théâtre-Lyrique by having the company perform not only at its home in the Plâce du Châtelet, but also at the elegant Salle Ventadour (which he has sublet from the foundering Théâtre-Italien). His venture at the Ventadour is known as "le Théâtre de la Renaissance," and has been inaugurated by a successful production of Gounod's Faust.]

U-18/03, p. 3

"Revue musicale. Bibliographie. (Deuxième article.) La musique aux Pays-Bas avant le dix-neuvième siècle, documens inédits et annotés par Edmond Van der Straeten. Tome 1er. [--] Etudes pratiques de style vocal (leçons écrites), par M. Stéphen de La Madelaine."

F-02/04

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: La Part du diable [by Auber; revival]. -- Rose et Colas [by Monsigny; revival]. -- Mademoiselle Sylvia [opéra comique in one act, music by Samuel David; review of this curtain-raiser includes editorializing on the situation of David and other winners of the Prix de Rome]. -- Théâtre-Italien: Giovanna d'Arco [libretto by Solera, music by Verdi]. -- Théâtre de l'Athénée: Fleur-de-Thé [operetta; libretto by Chivot and Duru, music by Charles Lecocq]. -- Théâtre de la Renaissance: Roméo et Juliette. [Reyer's review of this revival of Gounod's work leads to a brief editorial on Carvalho's 'double entreprise.'] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: La Fiancée de Corinthe [by Duprato; revival]. -- [Revivals at the] Théâtre des Fantaisies-Parisiennes: Le Muletier [by Hérold], Roger Bontemps ['un ancien vaudeville' by Bernard Lopez and Clairville, music by Debillemont]. -- M. Barsotti [obituary of the former director of the Marseille Conservatoire]. -- M. de Gasperini [obituary of a music critic who, like Reyer, was one of Wagner's earliest champions in France]."

F-22/04

"Revue musicale. Théâtre-Italien: La Contessina, opéra semi-seria en trois actes, paroles italiennes de M. de Lauzières (d'après un livret de MM. de Saint-Georges et Jules Adenis), musique de [Prince] Joseph Poniatowski. -- Fermeture du Théâtre-Lyrique et du Théâtre de la Renaissance. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: La Pénitente, un acte, de MM. Henri Meilhac et W. Busnach, musique de Mme de Grandval. [-- Church of Sainte-Geneviève: Part I of] La Passion, de Jean-Sébastien Bach. [Reyer apologies that lack of space precludes a review of 'un sujet aussi élevé.']"

F-17/05

"Revue musicale. Théâtre des Fantaisies-Parisiennes: le Barbier de Séville, de Paisiello. -- [The Société des Oratorios, founded by Pasdeloup. Inaugural concert at Sainte-Geneviève: Part I of] La Passion, de Bach [French translation by Maurice Bourges]. [--] Musique religieuse. [Chauvet's Quinze Etudes préparatoires aux oeuvres de Bach and other works. At the Church of Saint-Eustache: Bourgault-Ducoudray's Stabat mater; Mass by François Schwab. At the Church of Saint-Roch: séances of the Société académique de musique sacrée, directed by Verviotte and

consecrated to sacred music by masters ranging from Palestrina to Beethoven; a performance of Palestrina's Stabat mater, directed by a M. Blaise.]"

F-31/05

"Revue musicale. Concerts. (Premier article.) [Mme Monbelli (soprano) and Charles de Bériot (piano). -- Mlle Laure Bedel (piano). -- Jacques Baur (piano). -- Sonata for piano and violin, Op. 40, by the pianist-composer Jean-Henri Bonewitz. -- Federigo Consolo (violin). -- E. Delaborde (pedal piano) and Mlle Wertheimber (contralto). -- 'Le célèbre Arnoldi' (vocal coach to such singers as Mlle Wertheimber and Jean-Baptiste Faure, the Opéra's famous baritone). -- Concert of chamber music: Achille Dien (violin) and assisting artists. -- Benefit concert featuring music by Elwart, Prilleux and Crosti. -- Mlle Léona Ferrary (piano). -- 'Les enfans Frémeaux' (cello, violin, and piano), assisted by Anton Rubinstein. -- Garcin (pianist-composer). -- Friedrich Gernsheim as composer and pianist.]"

F-02/08

"Revue musicale. Concerts. (Deuxième article.) [The Cercle des Beaux-Arts: its founder and organizer, the violinist Georges Jacobi; a recent soirée musicale. -- Concert of Wilhelm Krüger (pianist-composer): concerto and études by Krüger, mélodies by Benjamin Godard. -- Mlles Rita and Nina Pellini (singers) and Henri Kowalski (pianist). -- Orchestral concert at the Casino Cadet, conducted by Jean-Baptiste Arban, with guest artist Alexandre Luigini (violinist). -- Louise Palloc (pianist). -- Gennaro Perrelli (pianist-composer). -- Mlle Dona de Potier (pianist). -- Chamber music by the pianist-composer Jakob Rosenhain. -- Editorial on the conservatism of the committee which chooses the repertoire of the Société des concerts du Conservatoire. -- A young baritone with 'un brillant avenir': Victor Maurel, one of the guest artists at a piano recital. -- The pianist Mme H. Rouxel (née Angèle Tailhardat). -- Anton Rubinstein as pianist and composer. -- Concert of Ernest Stoeger (pianist-composer). -- Mme Béguin-Salomon (pianist). -- Soirée of chamber music at the home of the violinist Eugène Sauzay. -- Concert of Julien Sauzay (violinist; son of Eugène). -- Eugène-Léon Vivier as horn virtuoso and composer.]"

F-08/08

"Revue musicale. A propos du Florentin, ouvrage mis au concours par la Direction de l'Opéra-Comique, et mis en musique par cinquante-trois concurrens. [Editorial in which Reyer explains his reservations about 'les concours en général et . . . le concours de l'Opéra-Comique en particulier.'] -- Le Théâtre-Lyrique. [Comments on the choosing of Jules Pasdeloup to succeed the bankrupt Carvalho as director of this theatre.] -- M. Carvalho. [A retrospective examination of his directorship.] -- M. Pasdeloup. [Reflections on his championing of Wagner's music at the Concerts populaires and his intention to premiere Rienzi at the Lyrique.]"

F-01/09

"Revue musicale. A propos de Lohengrin et de Richard Wagner. (Premier article.) [Rumors of an impending premiere of Lohengrin in Paris prompt Reyer to urge the directors of the lyric theatres not to be daunted by reports from Baden-Baden, where this opera had been coolly received by 'une brillante compagnie de sportmen et de touristes français.' -- Remarks on the success of Lohengrin in Germany after Liszt had premiered the work at Weimar in 1850. -- Comparison of Wagner's theories of operatic reform and those of Gluck.]"

F†-30/09

"Revue musicale. A propos de Lohengrin et de Richard Wagner. (Deuxième article.) ['Analogies très visibles' between the libretto of Lohengrin and that of Weber's Euryanthe. -- The sources upon which Wagner based his libretto. -- Retelling of the story of Lohengrin 'dans ses moindres détails . . . afin d'en donner une idée à ceux qui ne le connaissent guère et qui en médisent beaucoup.']"

F†-07/10

"Revue musicale. Réflexions préliminaires. [The ever-growing popularity of the operetta theatres. The reception of fragments from Die Meistersinger at the Concerts populaires. The dearth of contemporary French symphonic music. Editorial objecting that the lyric theatres are according more importance 'à des chanteurs ou à des cantatrices dont le public s'engou' than to the musical value of a work.] -- Théâtre-Italien. [Comments on the public's continuing interest in virtuosity and in well-known numbers, and its indifference both to 'le reste de la partition' and to 'oeuvres nouvelles.' Questions raised by the director's promise to present two new operas. Brief remarks on the principal singers at this theatre.] -- Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens. -- Théâtre de l'Athénée. ['Quelques mots' about the operettas which inaugurated the new season: at the Bouffes-Parisiens, Offenbach's L'Ile de Tulipatan, Le Fifre enchanté, and La Périchole, as well as Nibelle's L'Arche-Marion; and, at the Athénée, Laurent de Rille's Le Petit-Poucet.] -- Théâtre des Fantaisies-Parisiennes. [Announcement of a new operetta, Le Soldat malgré lui, libretto by Chivot and Duru, music by Frédéric Barbier.] -- Mélodies de M. Henry Altès. -- Mélodies de M. Victor Massé."

F-23/10

"Variétés. Bibliographie musicale [review of new publications]. Les Musiciens célèbres, depuis le seizième siècle jusqu'à nos jours, par M. Félix Clément. -- L'Acoustique et les phénomènes du son, par M. R. Radau. -- Les Origines de l'opéra et de le ballet de la reine (1581), par M. Ludovic Celler. -- Dictionnaire de la musique appliquée à l'amour, par M. Albert de Lasalle. -- Mes souvenirs (les Virtuoses), par M. Léon Escudier. -- Misères d'un prix de Rome, par M. Albéric Second. -- Le Trésor des pianistes, par Aristide Farrenc et Mme Louise Farrenc. -- Bellini, sa vie et ses oeuvres, par M. Arthur Pougin."

A-04/11, pp. 2-3

"Revue musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique: Discours d'ouverture. [Reyer recalls diverse rumors that had circulated before the reopening, then

defends Pasdeloup's choice of two well-known works (Halévy's Le Val d'Andorre and Rossini's Le Barbier de Séville) as the first offereings of the new enterprise. Reyer's defence concludes with an imaginative device: a long 'discours' which, he declares, Pasdeloup might have wanted to address to the audience on opening night. -- Remarks on the reliance on revivals at the Opéra, the Opéra-Comique, and the Bouffes-Parisiens.] -- Fantaisies-Parisiennes: La Fête du village voisin [by Boïeldieu; revival]. -- Le Néophyte, musique d'un tableau de M. Gustave Doré [an orchestral composition by A.-E. Vaucorbeil, inspired by one of Doré's paintings]. -- Méditation pour piano, par A.-E. Vaucorbeil [the composer's piano reduction of Le Néophyte, supplemented by 'un programme explicatif']. -- Poëme d'avril [cycle of seven songs], par J. Massenet. -- [Notice of the publication of other scores:] Mélodies [and piano pieces as well as études] de MM. Bizet, Duvivier et Camille Saint-Saëns. -- Opéra: Reprise des Huguenots."

F-14/11

"Revue musicale. [Obituary of] Rossini. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: Les Huguenots; Mme Carvalho [her Opéra debut as Marguerite in Gounod's Faust]. [Forthcoming appearance of the Opéra's Christine Nilsson in the same role. Mme Pauline Lucca, the Marguerite of the Royal Opera of Berlin. Brief comparison of the repertoire of the Berlin Opera and that of the Paris Opéra.] -- Théâtre-Lyrique: Iphigénie en Tauride; Mme Lacaze [in the title role]."

F†-29/11

"Revue musicale. Théâtre impérial de l'Opéra-Comique: [Remarks on the dispute between the administration of this theatre and the Société des auteurs et compositeurs dramatiques.] Le Corricolo, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. Labiche et Delacour, musique de M. Ferdinand Poise. [Review is preceded by an editorial on the current repertoire of this theatre.] -- Encore un mot, qui, je l'espère, ne sera pas le dernier, sur Iphigénie en Tauride [at the Théâtre-Lyrique]. -- Concerts populaires; concerts Uhlmann [(?) a performance at Versailles, featuring Carlotta Patti (soprano), Théodore Ritter (piano), Vieuxtemps (violin), Bottesini (douible-bass virtuoso), and Jacquart (cello),] et réunions intimes [a sextet by Mme Farrenc for piano and wind instruments, played at the home of Mme Pierson-Bodin]. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: Départ de Mlle Marie Battu. -- M. Tilmant, M. Deloffre. [Notice that Tilmant has retired as conductor of the Opéra-Comique orchestra, and has been succeeded by Deloffre, formerly conductor at the Théâtre-Lyrique and at Carvalho's defunct Théâtre de la Renaissance.]"

F-06/12

"Revue musicale. [Editorial on the current situation in the lyric theatres: the intention of the Fantaisies-Parisiennes to win rights to works that have long been neglected by the Opéra-Comique; the Comique's announcement of forthocming revivals of such works; singers and works appropriated from the Théâtre-Lyrique by the Comique and the Opéra; the Lyrique's need to rebuild its repertoire with works which the Opéra has neglected or rejected.] Théâtre-Lyrique: Le Brasseur de Preston, opéra

comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. de Leuven et Brunswick, musique d'Adolphe Adam [originally performed at the Opéra-Comique]. [Remarks on the last performances of Iphigénie en Tauride.] -- Théâtre des Fantaisies-Parisiennes: Gille ravisseur, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de M. T. Sauvage, musique de M. Albert Grisar [originally performed at the Opéra-Comique]. -- Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens: Petit Bonhomme vit encore, opéra comique en deux actes, paroles de M. Emile de Najac, musique de M. Deffès. -- Théâtre de l'Athénée: Les Honneurs de la guerre, opéra comique en deux actes, paroles de M. Philippe Gille, musique de M. Jules Costé. -- [Three successes at the] Concerts populaires: Concerto en sol mineur de M. Camille Saint-Saëns. -- Symphonie en ré de Robert Schumann. -- Adagio de Roméo et Juliette, de M. Hector Berlioz. [--] Théâtre-Italien: [Revival of Rossini's] Otello. Mlle Krauss, M. Tamberlick [in the principal roles]. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: [Benefit concert for] Mme Ugalde, [at which] Mlle Wertheimber [received an ovation for her performance in Act IV of Vaccaj's Roméo et Juliette]."

F-28/12

1869

Journal des Débats

"Revue musicale. Théâtre-Italien: Piccolino, opéra en trois actes, musique de Mme de Grandval, poëme de M. de Lauzières, d'après la comédie de M. Victorien Sardou. -- Théâtre-Lyrique. [Reyer urges Pasdeloup to stop relying on revivals.] -- Concerts populaires du Cirque. [Success of 'la marche religieuse' from Lohengrin. A piano concerto by Henry Litolff.] -- Suite et Fugues pour le piano, par M. Alexis de Castillon. -- Sonates pour piano et violon, par Joachim Raff."

F-15/01

"Revue musicale. [Editorial on the Conservatoire's annual competition for the Prix de Rome, and on the situation of young French composers in general.] Daniel, cantate couronnée [winner of the Prix de Rome], paroles de M. Cicile, musique de M. Wintzweiler. La même, musique de M. Alfred Rabuteau. -- Encore Mlle Wertheimber dans le quatrième acte de Roméo et Juliette, de Vaccaj. [This scene, which had received an ovation at the benefit concert for Mme Ugalde in December, was staged after both performances of Wintzweiler's cantata.] -- Don Juan au Théâtre-Lyrique; Mlle Hisson dans le rôle de Valentine des Huguenots [at the Opéra]."

F-28/01

"Revue musicale. Théâtre des Fantaisies-Parisiennes: Une Folie à Rome, opéra-bouffe, en trois actes, paroles de M. Victor Wilder, musique de M. Frédéric Ricci. -- Théâtre-Lyrique: Début de Mlle Aglaja Orgeni [as Violetta in Duprez's translation of La Traviata]. [The bass F. Lutz, one of the principals in Pasdeloup's company.] -- Messe de M. Léon Kreutzer [at the Church of the Trinité]. -- Stabat mater de M. Jules

Regnaud. -- Cent un chorals de Jean-Sébastien Bach, réduits pour orgue, harmonium ou piano, ad libitum, par M. Auguste Durand. -- Concerts. [Société des concerts du Conservatoire: the 'marche religieuse' from Lohengrin.] -- Annonces. [Forthcoming concerts: Mlle Célestine Maurice (piano). M. Ely Delaborde (?).]"

F-12/02

"Revue musicale. [Remarks in praise of 'des musiciens d'orchestre en général.' --] Le 5e concerto symphonique d'Henry Litolff. [This piano concerto was given an impromptu reading at the Salle Valentino by the orchestra of Litolff's friend Jean-Baptiste Arban, with Litolff playing the piano part. One of the few persons present at this reading was Reyer, who prefaces his comments on the concerto with a description of Litolff's career as composer since his arrival at Paris in 1858.] -- Le roi des Aulnes, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de MM. C. Guérouit et G. Wallinger, musique de M. Edmond Weber. [After reading about the successful premiere of this young composer's work at Strasbourg, Reyer urges that it be performed at Paris.] -- A propos de la représentation de Faust, à l'Opéra. [Comments on the preparation of a new production, with Christine Nilsson as Marguerite.]"

F-28/02

[Obituary notice: Berlioz.]

U-10/03, p. 2

[Letter to the editor: Reyer observes that the newspaper has announced his candidacy for election to the late Berlioz's chair in the Institut de France. He then declares that he has withdrawn his name, out of respect both for the memory of Berlioz and for a fellow-nominee, Félicien David. (The editor of the Débats notes that Reyer sent the same letter to the editors of two other newspapers: La France and Le Figaro.)]

U-15/03, p. 2

"Revue musicale. [Théâtre de l']Opéra: Faust. [First production with a ballet (music by Gounod). The role of Marguerite was sung by Christine Nilsson. Review is preceded by a brief history of the reception of Gounod's opera in France and in Germany.] -- Théâtre-Lyrique: En Prison, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de MM. Chaigneau et Boverat, musique de M. Ernest Guiraud. -- Concert de Mlle Célestine Maurice [(pianist), with assisting artists]. -- Histoire générale de la musique, par M. Fétis [notice of the publication of the first volume]. -- Opéra-Comique: Vert-Vert [libretto by Charles Nuitter and Henri Meilhac (based on a vaudeville by de Leuven), music by Offenbach]. -- Fragmens de Roméo et Juliette, d'Hector Berlioz, exécutés [by Pasdeloup and his orchestra] au dernier concert du Cirque-Napoléon."

F-16/03

"[Obituary of] Hector Berlioz."

A†-31/03, p. 3

[Notice of a premiere at the Théâtre-Lyrique: Wagner's Rienzi, an "oeuvre de jeunesse" which "pourrait couronner dignement la carrière de plus d'un compositeur."]

*U[JD F-18/04/1869]-07/04, p. 3

"Revue musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique: Rienzi, opéra en cinq actes de Richard Wagner, traduction française de MM. Nuitter et Guilliaume. -- [Notice of a forthcoming] Concert de M. Vivier [horn virtuoso]. -- Mme Marie Sass à Bruxelles. [Reyer notes that the celebrated soprano, whose contract with the Paris Opéra would soon expire, was already enjoying ovations at the Théâtre de la Monnaie.]"

F††-18/04

"Revue musicale. Les Concerts. (Premier article.) [Editorial on the need to build a concert hall suitable for large forces. -- Delaborde as performer (piano and pedal piano) and composer. -- Violin sonata by Joachim Raff, performed by Hubert Léonard (violin) and Alfred Jaëll (piano). -- Four séances of chamber music given by the pianist Alphonse Duvernoy and assisting artists. -- Debut of Gustave Pradeau (pianist-composer). -- Chamber music and mélodies by André Oeschner. -- Edouard Broustet's Symphonie concertante for piano and orchestra. -- Mélodies and other compositions by Louis Lacombe. -- Concert sponsored by the journal Paris for its subscribers, and featuring singers from the Théâtre-Italien. -- Vivier as horn virtuoso and composer. -- Soirée at the Salle Erard: selections from the Farrencs' Le Trésor des pianistes; La Folia (set of variations by Corelli); a quintet and a violin sonata by Mme Farrenc. -- Announcement of a forthcoming outdoor concert of 'l'orchestre que dirige l'habile M. Cressonnois' on the Champs-Elysées. -- Postscript concerning the replacing of Mlle Nilsson with Mme Carvalho in the Opéra's production of Faust.]"

F-30/04

"Revue musicale. Les Concerts. (Deuxième article.) [Editorial on the practice of luring the public to a concert by means of misleading advertising. -- Brahms's String Sextet Op. 18 at a concert of the Séances populaires de musique de chambre (founded by the then-violinist Lamoureux). -- The Quatuor florentin. -- Mlle Laure Bedel (pianist). -- Instrumental music by Henri Reber. -- Series of concerts of chamber music chez the violinist Eugène Sauzay. -- Concert of Julien Sauzay (violinist) and Mme Charlotte Tardieu de Malleville (pianist). -- Soirée musicale of the Société des symphonistes (directed by Léopold Dédedique). -- Concerts of Parisian choral societies: the Orphéon de Paris; the Liederkranz. -- Ernest Stoeger as pianist and composer. -- Remarks on 'd'autres compositions': a collection of piano music by Félix Godefroid; four songs by O'Kelly; a chorus by Auguste Lippmann. -- Georges Pfeiffer as pianist and composer. -- Soirée musicale given by a young tenor named Girardot.]"

F-11/05

"Revue musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique: Don Quichotte, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. Jules Barbier et Michel Carré, musique de

M. Ernest Boulanger. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Reprise de Jaguarita [l'indienne], opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. de Leuven et de Saint-Georges, musique de F. Halévy [premiered at the Théâtre-Lyrique in 1855]. -- M. Poussard ['un violiniste hors ligne']."

F-26/05

"Revue musicale. Séance annuelle de la Société des auteurs et compositeurs. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: La Fontaine de Berny, un acte, paroles de M. Albéric Second, musique de M. Adolphe Nibelle. -- Deux mélodies de M. Antony Choudens."

F-12/06

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Reprise du Prophète. -- Représentation extraordinaire à la Porte-Saint-Martin (intermède musical). [Review of the musical segment of a benefit for two actors of the Théâtre du Vaudeville. The music consisted almost entirely of well-known numbers from opera, performed by Marie Sass and other celebrated singers.] -- L'Ange déchu, fragmens d'un opéra inédit de M. Xavier Boisselot, exécutés à Marseille. [Reyer reports on the success of 'notre cher et éminent confrère' by giving extracts from a review published in a provincial newspaper.] -- Concert de M. Morphy. [The program consisted mainly of sixteenth-century pieces for vihuela, transcribed by Morphy for harpsichord. Reyer notes that Morphy will include these pieces in a forthcoming publication: Les Annales de l'histoire musicale en Espagne.] -- Nouvelles mélodies de M. Ch. Gounod. -- La cantate couronnée par le jury du grand-prix de Rome. [Announcement that the prize has been awarded to a M. Taudou, student of Henri Reber.]"

F-07/07

"Variétés. Bibliographie musicale [book review]. Histoire générale de la musique depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu'à nos jours, (tome 1), par M. F.-J. Fétis. -- [. . . (Titles of other books are then listed, but only Fétis's volume is reviewed in this first of two articles.)]"

A-14/07, p. 3

"Variétés. Bibliographie musicale. Histoire générale de la musique depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu'à nos jours, (tome 1), par M. F.-J. Fétis [reviewed in the preceding article]. -- La Musique, les Musiciens et les Instrumens de musique chez les différens peuples du monde, par M. Oscar Comettant. -- Les Luthiers italiens aux dix-septième et dix-huitième siècles, nouvelle édition du Parfait Luthier, de l'abbé Sibire, suivie de notes sur les maîtres des diverses écoles, par M. J. Gallay. -- L'Ecole de l'accompagnement, ouvrage faisant suite à l'Etude sur le quatuor, par M. Eugène Sauzay. -- Histoire de W.-A. Mozart, sa vie et son oeuvre, d'après la grande biographie de G.-N. de Nissen, augmentée de nouvelles lettres et de documens authentiques, traduite de l'allemand par M. Albert Sowinski. -- L'Art du chant et l'école actuelle, par M. Charles Delprat."

A-15/07, p. 3

"Revue musicale. Mignon et le Théâtre-Italien. [Editorial on a dispute over Thomas's highly successful opera, which the director of the Italien wants to take from the repertoire of the Opéra-Comique.] -- Le concours du Théâtre-Lyrique. [Remarks on the results of a competition for new operas.] -- Une lettre de M. Charles Beauquier. [The librettist of Lalo's Fiesque, which had placed third in the Lyrique's competition, had sent a letter of protest to Camille Doucet, Director-General of State Theatres. Reyer examines Beauquier's grievances, quoting extensively from the letter to Doucet.] -- La commission des auteurs et compositeurs dramatiques et M. Martinet. [Brief editorial on a dispute between this society and the director of the Théâtre de l'Athénée (Fantaisies-Parisiennes).] -- Nouvelles des théâtres lyriques. -- Le festival de Bruxelles. [Remarks on an international choral concert which will be presented at the opening of the new Gare du Midi at Brussels.]"
F-11/09

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: La Petite Fadette, pièce en trois actes et cinq tableaux, de George Sand, musique de M. Th. Semet. -- Théâtre-Lyrique: Le Dernier Jour de Pompëi, opéra en quatre actes, de MM. Nuitter et Beaumont, musique de M. Victorien Joncières. -- [Remarks on 'deux bouffoneries' translated by Nuitter and Beaumont for the] Théâtre de l'Athénée: Le Docteur Crispin [the Ricci brothers' Crispino e la comare], les Masques [Carlo Pedrotti's Tutti in maschera]. -- [Notice of the success of a 'bouffonerie indienne' at the] Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens: Le Rajah de Mysore [libretto by Chivot and Duru, music by Lecocq]. -- Début de Mlle Mélanie Reboux [as Valentine in Les Huguenots] à l'Opéra. -- A propos d'une lettre de M. P. Bagier, directeur du Théâtre-Italien. [Editorial against Bagier's project of presenting in Italian translation French works belonging to the repertoires of the Opéra, the Opéra-Comique, and the Théâtre-Lyrique.]"
F-28/09

"Revue musicale. Société des Concerts de l'Opéra. [Editorial encouraging Henry Litolff 'dans une entreprise hardi, mais grande et belle': the founding of a third orchestral society, which would present concerts of old and new orchestral and choral music at the Salle de l'Opéra.]"
F-20/10

"Revue musicale. Théâtre-Italien: Représentations et concerts extraordinaires. [Editorial applauding Bagier's plan to present a 'nouveau programme' of operas and concerts: the repertoire of operas, to be given in Italian, would include both neglected masterpieces (such as Fidelio) and contemporary French works; the concerts would present 'des symphonies et des oeuvres lyriques de maîtres français et de maîtres allemands.'] -- Fidelio. [Reyer urges Bagier not to depend solely on the talent of Gabrielle Krauss (who will sing the title role) to make a success of a work which has never found favor with the French public.] -- [Remarks on the forthcoming inauguration of Bagier's concerts with the Parisian premiere of] Le Paradis et la Péri, [and notice of the publication of] l'Anathème du Chanteur, de Robert Schumann. [Reyer

hopes that L'Anathème will someday be presented by either Bagier or Litolff.] -- Sonate pour piano et violon; romances sans paroles et Pastorale, par M. Hector Salomon. -- Douze choeurs, de M. Charles Gounod. -- Vocalises de style, par M. Aimès (de l'Opéra)."[25]

F-31/10

"Revue musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique: Le Bal masqué (Un Ballo in maschera), paroles de M. E. Duprez, d'après Scribe, musique de M. Verdi. -- Mme Meillet [who made her debut as Amelia in this production]. -- Théâtre-Italien: Débuts de Mlle Sessi: la Sonnambula, Rigoletto. [Remarks on Bagier's preparations for the performances of Fidelio and Le Paradis et la Péri.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Débuts de Mlle Estherina Daniele: Galathée [by Massé], l'Eclair [by Halévy]. -- Le théâtre du Caire [is prospering with performances of operetta, featuring renowned singers who have left Paris]. -- Mlle Marguerite Joly [one of the 'fugitives' now singing at Cairo]. -- Le concours de l'Opéra. [Announcement that this theatre's competition for new operas has been won by a M. Diaz, who defeated Guiraud and Massenet.] -- [Excerpts from] Faust [sung by Marie Roze when she auditioned for the Opéra]. -- Mlle Marie Roze. [Further remarks on this student.] -- Les concerts de l'Opéra. [Review of the first two concerts of Litolff's enterprise, focusing attention on the 'grand succès' of excerpts from Berlioz's La Damnation de Faust.] -- Henri Litolff. [Notice that his fifth concerto-symphonie for piano and orchestra ('une oeuvre extrêmement remarquable') will be performed at one of the later concerts of his society. Remarks on the need to increase the size of the society's chorus.]"

F-23/11

"Revue musicale. Théâtre-Italien: Fidelio [in Italian; probably the translation that was performed in 1852.]"

F†-02/12

"Revue musicale. Théâtre-Italien: Le Paradis et la Péri, de Robert Schumann (traduction française de M. Victor Wilder). [In the midst of the review, Reyer pauses to welcome the newly founded Société Schumann, quoting extensively from the circulaire which outlines the purposes of this chamber music group. -- Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens: La Princesse de Trébizonde, libretto by Nuitter and Tréfeu, music by Offenbach. -- Remarks on the demise of Litolff's Société des concerts de l'Opéra after only two programs.]"

F-15/12

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Rêve d'amour, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. d'Ennery et Cormon, musique de M. Auber. -- Carlotta Patti et Théodore Ritter en Amérique. [Reyer reports on the successful tour of the soprano and the pianist-composer by translating excerpts from American newspapers.]"

F-30/12

1870

Journal des Débats

"Revue musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique: La Bohémienne, opéra en quatre actes et un prologue, paroles de M. de Saint-Georges, musique de M. W. Balfe. -- Opéra: Début de Mlle Marie Rôze [as Marguerite in Gounod's Faust]."
F-09/01

"Revue musicale. La question des trois théâtres lyriques. [Editorial on the project of placing the Opéra, the Opéra-Comique, and the Théâtre-Lyrique 'sous l'autorité d'un seul directeur.'] -- Opéra: Reprise d'Hamlet; rentrée de Mlle Nilsson [in the role of Ophélie]. -- Théâtre-Italien: [Notices on the] Reprise de Don Juan et de Marta; rentrée de Mlle de Murska [in the title role of Flotow's Marta]; [recolections of the tenor Fraschini as Florestan in Fidelio;] début de Mme Zina Paoli [in Il Barbiere di Siviglia]. -- Théâtre-Lyrique: Reprise du Médecin malgré lui. -- École lyrique de M. Duprez. [Comments on a séance given by the students at a vocal school founded in 1850 by the tenor Gilbert Duprez.] -- Concert de Mlle Célestine Maurice [(pianist), and assisting artists]. [-- Announcement that Camille du Locle has been named associate director of the Opéra-Comique.]"
F-29/01

"Revue musicale. Festival pour l'anniversaire de la mort d'Hector Berlioz. [Remarks on the forthcoming concert which will commemorate the first anniversary of Berlioz's death.] -- Théâtre-Italien: Guido et Ginerva [by Halévy; first performance in Italian]. -- [Matinées of the] Société chorale Bourgault-Ducoudray. -- Concert de Vieuxtemps et Jacquard. [The distinguished violinist and cellist were joined by several other instrumentalists for this concert of chamber music.] -- Concert de Mme Montigny (Caroline Rémaury) [(pianist), with orchestra]. -- Concert de M. Horace Poussard [violinist]. -- Concert d'Henry Litolff: 1re audition de son 5e concerto-symphonie [for piano and orchestra]. -- [The first two séances of the] Société Schumann. -- Mme. Farrenc. [Reyer regrets that he was unable to attend her last soirée, and announces that she will give four séances of chamber music.]"
F-22/02

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: L'Ours et le Pacha, folie-vaudeville en un acte, de Scribe et Saintine, musique de M. François Bazin. -- La Cruche cassée, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de MM. Hippolyte Lucas et Emile Abraham, musique de M. Emile Pessard. -- Théâtre de l'Athénée: Les Deux Billets, opéra comique d'après Florian, musique de M. Ferdinand Poise. [-- Société des concerts du Conservatoire: La Mort de Diane, scène dramatique, words by Henri de Lacretelle, music by Auguste-Emmanuel Vaucorbeil.] -- Poëme de Souvenir, scènes de M. Armand Sylvestre, mises en musique par M. Jules Massenet. -- Six pièces caractéristiques pour le violon, avec accompagnement de piano, par M. J. Armingaud. -- 3e sonate pour piano et violon, par M. Benjamin Godard [and a few remarks on other works by this young

composer]. -- Mélodies par M. Armand Gouzien. -- [Announcements concerning the forthcoming] Festival Berlioz."

F-27/02

"Revue musicale. [Editorial on the question of abolishing the droit des pauvres (the 'poor tax' imposed on each theatre ticket).] Opéra: Reprise de Robert-le-Diable. -- Théâtre-Italien: Alina, regina di Golconda, drame lyrique en quatre actes, musique de Donizetti. [-- News from Brussels: forthcoming production of Lohengrin; successes of Mlle Wertheimber as Fidès in Le Prophète and Azucena in Il Trovatore.] -- [News from Edinburgh: successes of] Mlle Rebous [in The Marriage of Figaro, Don Giovanni, and Faust]. -- [Mlle Hisson, Mme Carvalho, and] Mme Gueymard [have traded roles as rehearsals of Der Freischütz and Diaz's La Coupe du roi de Thulé continue at the Opéra]. -- [Remarks concerning rehearsals for the] Festival Berlioz."

F-20/03

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Festival en l'honneur d'Hector Berlioz."

F†-31/03

"Revue musicale. Projet d'un Opéra populaire. [Editorial on the project of founding a new lyric theatre at Paris.] -- Théâtre-Lyrique [administered by the artists since the resignation of Pasdeloup]: Reprise de Charles VI [by Halévy; ceded to the Lyrique by the director of the Opéra]. -- Société Bourgault-Ducoudray: la Fête d'Alexandre [(French translation by Victor Wilder), performed in its entirety]. -- Concerts. [Delaborde (pianist). Anton Rubinstein (pianist-composer). A few words on some 'très intéressantes soirées.' Brief comments concerning an orchestral concert conducted by the young Charles Lamoureux.]"

F-17/04

[Letter to the editor: Reyer regrets taht Carvalho has withdrawn his candidacy for the post of director of the Théâtre-Lyrique.]

U-20/04, p. 3

[Announcement of two musical events which will take place on the same day: the soprano Christine Nilsson's farewell appearance of the season (in the French premiere of Julius Benedict's cantata Saint Cecilia); and the premiere of Jules Cohen's Déa at the Opéra-Comique.]

U-30/04, p. 2

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Petit accident à propos de la représentation de Déa. [Remarks on the fact that, after six months of rehearsals and postponements, the administration of the Comique has decided to replace the young tenor who was to debut in this work.] -- Salle du Conservatoire: Exécution du Stabat mater de Mme la vicomtesse de Grandval. -- Théâtre de l'Athénée: Valse et Menuet, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de Méry, musique de M. Louis Deffès [one of Méry's last works; first performed at Bade Ems]. -- Concerts:

M. Deloffre [(violinist-composer), and assisting artists], M. Thibault [(violinist)], M. Achille Dien [(violinist), whose program of chamber music featured a then-unpublished piano trio by Henri Reber], M. Deledicque [conductor of 'la partie symphonique' of the annual concert of his Société de symphonistes], M. Damcke [whose piano trio was performed at a benefit concert], etc. [Mme Philipon (pianist), who performed at Thibault's concert]. -- Cantate de Sainte-Cécile, par M. Jules Benedict. [Reyer states only that he attended the performance.]"

F-01/05

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Déa, opéra comique en deux actes, paroles de MM. Cormon et Michel Carré, musique de M. Jules Cohen. [Review is followed by a brief editorial about a lawsuit brought against the Comique by the composer François Bazin concerning 'coupures non autorisées' in L'Ours et la Pacha.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: la Légende de Sainte-Cécile, cantate en deux parties, texte anglais de M. Chorley, traduction de M. Tagliafico, musique de M. Jules Bénédict. [Review begins with remarks on this English commposer's fame in his homeland and in Germany.] -- Rentrée de Mme Marie Sass [as Alice in Robert le diable]. -- Concerts: M. Vivier [horn virtuoso]. -- M. Magimel [who has transcribed for orchestra some works by Mozart and Beethoven for the combination of piano and stringed instruments]. -- Mme Mathilde Michel [piano teacher whose students performed in a 'séance intime']. -- M. Vieuxtemps [violinist who included two of his own compositions on the program of a concert given by himself, the pianist Anton Rubinstein, and the singer Marie Battu]. -- M. Charles Dancla [violinist who was applauded also as composer and conductor at a recent concert with orchestra]. [-- Annual séance of the Société chorale d'amateurs, directed by Antonin Guillot de Sainbris. -- Concert of the harpist Hasselmans.] -- Publications nouvelles et brochures. [Reyer singles out a collection of mélodies by the then-unknown Henri Duparc.]"

F-11/05

[Obituary notice: Mme Choudens (wife of the music publisher).]

U-14/05, p. 3

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Le Freyschütz [sic], opéra romantique en trois actes, de Frédéric Kind (traduction française de M. Emilien Pacini, avec récitatifs d'Hector Berlioz), musique de Weber. [-- A few remarks on Delibes's Coppélia, the new ballet for which Freyschütz was used as curtain-raiser.]"

F-31/05

"Revue musicale. Le Théâtre-Lyrique. -- L'Athénée. [The news that Martinet (director of this theatre) will become director of the Lyrique leads Reyer to reflect on the difficulties Martinet will face at his new theatre.] -- L'Opéra-Comique. [Remarks on the administration's acceptance of Flotow's L'Ombre, which had first been promised to the Lyrique.] -- Reprises de Lalla-Roukh, du Postillon de Lonjumeau et du Toréador. [Brief editorial on the lyric theatres' practice of relying on revivals instead of adding new works to their repertoires. Review of

Comique's revival of Félicien David's Lalla-Roukh.] -- Nouvelles musicales et anti-musicales. [Comments on yet another postponement of the premiere of Saint-Saëns's Le Timbre d'argent at the Comique; description of the earlier 'vicissitudes' of both the libretto (which had passed through several hands) and Saint-Saëns's score. Remarks on the Comique's commissioning of two new works: an opéra-ballet by Guiraud, and an opéra comique by Offenbach. Observations concerning the tenor Montaubry, who, after trying unsuccessfully to direct a small theatre, has resumed his singing career.]"

F-18/06

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: ['Réflexions préliminaires' concerning the 'destinée' of this 'théâtre éminemment national.'] L'Ombre, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de M. de Saint-Georges, musique de M. de Flottow [Friedrich von Flotow]. [-- Brief editorial urging that the Prix de Rome competition be judged not by a jury elected each year, but rather by members of the Académie des Beaux-Arts of the Institut de France.]"

F-03/08

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Le Kobold, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de MM. Nuitter et Gallait, musique de M. Guiraud. -- La Marseillaise. [Comments on renditions of the national anthem by celebrated artists of the French stage.] -- Le Rhin allemand. [This subtitle is erroneous, because Reyer does not mention any such work.] -- [Obituary of the poet and chansonnier] Pierre Dupont."

F-20/08

1871

Journal des Débats

"Mémoires d'Hector Berlioz. [First instalment of a serialized review of the Mémoires.]"

F†-15/03

"Mémoires d'Hector Berlioz."

F†-16/03

"Mémoires d'Hector Berlioz. (Troisième article.)"

F†-04/06

"Mémoires d'Hector Berlioz. (Quatrième article.)"

F†-05/06

"La Musique de l'avenir. [Reyer begins by explaining: 'Par musique de l'avenir, j'entends celle que l'on fera à Paris l'hiver prochain.' Remarks on the postwar opening of the Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique with revivals of La Dame blanche and Le Domino noir. Editorial on the government's system of subsidizing the lyric theatres. Proposal of a

system which would enable the theatres to support themselves: 'une loterie.' Suggestions for reforms at the Opéra: build 'une troupe d'ensemble' instead of featuring 'étoiles'; perform every day; forgo curtain-raisers; enlarge the repertoire by reviving 'les chefs-d'oeuvre du répertoire classique' and admitting 'des opéras de demi-caractère, [et] des opéras romantiques,' such as Les Noces de Figaro and Obéron. -- New music by composers active at Marseille: mélodies by Auguste Morel (known as 'le Schubert français'); a piano trio in F-sharp minor by Morel; a piano concerto by Thurner (a professor at the Marseille Conservatoire). -- Changes in the postwar repertoire of the Concerts populaires. -- Reyer urges the government to give financial assistance to singers and instrumentalists who have been left destitute by the closing or destroying of many theatres during the war and the Commune. -- Editorial supporting Martinet's request that the Théâtre-Lyrique (whose building had burned down) be permitted to share the Salle Ventadour with the foundering Théâtre-Italien. -- News of the return of Carlotta Patti and Théodore Ritter after their highly successful two-year tour of North and South America.]"

F-04/07

[Notice concerning changes in the leadership of major cultural institutions: Ambroise Thomas has been named director of the Paris Conservatoire, succeeding the late Auber; Perrin has left the directorship of the Opéra and has taken over that of the Théâtre-Français. Reyer hopes that the Minister of Fine Arts will choose as Perrin's successor someone who can offer "de sérieuses garanties" not only "au gouvernement," but also "à l'art et aux artistes."]

U-05/07, p. 2

[Notice concerning the post of director of the Opéra: Reyer expresses support for Carvalho, who has just announced his candidacy.]

U-08/07, p. 2

"Auber [obituary]. -- Fétis [obituary]. -- [Remarks on others recently deceased:] Maillart. -- Thalberg. -- Barroilhdet [singer]. -- Saint-Léon [choreographer who had long been ballet master at the Opéra]."

F†-16/07

[Untitled article describing the funeral of Auber: music performed at the service in the Church of the Trinité; cortège to the cemetery; music and speeches at the cemetery.]

A-16/07, p. 3

"Revue musicale. Les reprises et les débuts à l'Opéra-Comique et à l'Opéra. [Remarks concerning the continual reliance on 'des reprises et des débuts, des débuts et des reprises.' Debuts at the Opéra: Mlle Thibault as Marguerite in Les Huguenots; M. Bouhy as Méphistophélès in Faust.] -- Une lettre inédite d'Hector Berlioz [which Reyer prints in an editorial demanding 'que l'Opéra fasse une part . . . beaucoup plus large au répertoire classique, et particulièrement à l'oeuvre de Gluck']. [-- Reyer's reaction to the choosing of Halanzier, rather than

Carvalho, to succeed Perrin as director of the Opéra.] -- Le Conservatoire et l'Institut. [Reyer repeats a view he had expressed the preceding year: the Prix de Rome competition should be judged by the Académie des Beaux-Arts of the Institut.] -- Les prix de Rome. [Editorial on the neglect of these young composers upon their return from Rome.]"

F-29/07

[Notice applauding the choice of Henri Reber as inspector of the provincial branches of the Conservatoire.]

U-03/08, p. 2

"Revue musicale. Les théâtres lyriques. -- Les subventions. [Editorial urging the government to decide quickly how much money it would allocate for subsidizing the lyric theatres, and how this money would be divided amongst them. -- Editorial advising the government to encourage also 'le genre symphonique, dans lequel peuvent être compris la musique de chambre et les oratorios, la musique de concert.'] -- M. Lhérie à l'Opéra-Comique. [Debut of this tenor in the title role of Hérold's Zampa.] -- M. Monjauze. [Reyer hopes that this tenor, who has left the Comique, will be engaged by the Opéra.] -- Reprise de la Juive [at the Opéra]. -- Mlle Mauduit, M. Villaret, M. Bosquin [in La Juive]. -- Festival des Champs-Elysées au profit des orphelins de l'armée. [Review of a benefit concert given under the patronage of Mme Thiers (wife of the President of France) and conducted by Théodore Ritter at the Cirque des Champs-Elysées. Carlotta Patti and several other celebrated performers took part in the 'splendide programme.']"

F-22/08

"Revue musicale. Théâtre lyrique de l'Athénée [Martinet's attempt to establish his company at the Théâtre de l'Athénée]: Martha et Ne touchez pas à la reine! [Reyer focuses on the revival of Boisselot's opera, and gives an account of the career of this composer, whose works had not been staged in Paris since the early 1850s.] -- Les subventions. [Editorial on the government's decision to reduce drastically the subsidies of the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique, while maintaining the small subsidy of the Théâtre-Italien and abolishing that of the Théâtre-Lyrique. -- A few remarks concerning the forthcoming production of Reyer's Erostrate at the Opéra.]"

F-22/09

[Notice hailing Ruth by a then-obscure organist named César Franck, who had conducted excerpts from this "oeuvre remarquable" at a benefit concert at the Cirque des Champs-Elysées.]

U-16/10, p. 3

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Erostrate. [Reflections on the demise of this production after only two performances. Account of Reyer's attempts to have his work staged in Paris during the 1850s, and of the premiere at Baden-Baden in 1862. Comments on Mlle Hisson and the other principals in the Opéra's production.] -- Concert des Champs-Elysées: Ruth, églogue biblique, musique de M. César Franck.

[Recollection of the benefit concert which revealed 'un grand compositeur' whose name, Reyer hoped, would soon appear on one of the programs of the Société des concerts du Conservatoire.] -- [Théâtre des Folies-Dramatiques:] La Boîte de Pandore, opérette de MM. Th. Barrière et Henri Litolff. -- Mme Miolan-Carvalho. -- Le Pré aux Clercs et l'Ombre. [Remarks on Mme Carvalho's return to the Opéra-Comique in a revival of Hérold's work, which is being alternated with a revival of Flotow's L'Ombre.] -- Post-Scriptum. [A humorous response to a comment made by 'un de mes confrères' apropos of Erostrate.]"

F†-24/10

"Revue musicale. Gallia, lamentation, paroles et musique de M. Charles Gounod. [An editorial on the need for a concert hall suitable for large forces leads into the review of Gounod's cantata, which was performed first at the reopening of the Conservatoire and then on the stage of the Opéra-Comique. The review includes an assessment of the English soprano Georgina Weldon, who sang the solo part. -- Further remarks on Franck's Ruth, which Reyer suggests be performed in its entirety at the Good Friday concert of the Société des concerts du Conservatoire.] -- Théodore Ritter. [Reyer describes Ritter's delighted reaction to the score of Ruth, which the young man read at Reyer's piano.] -- Mélodies de M. Antony de Choudens [friend and student of Bizet]. -- Concerts populaires: Symphonie de M. Millault. -- Le Théâtre, par M. Charles Garnier. [Notice concerning a book by the architect of the new Opéra.]"

F-16/11

"Revue musicale. Les concours d'admission au Conservatoire. [Editorial urging that the Conservatoire admit only those competitors who have already learned the rudiments of music (including solfège), because 'il faut que le Conservatoire cesse d'être une école primaire.'] -- La brochure de M. Gustave Bertrand. [Discussion of 'd'excellentes réflexions' in Bertrand's pamphlet De la réforme des études du chant au Conservatoire. -- Remarks on another new work by Bertrand: a book entitled Les Nationalités musicales étudiées dans le drame lyrique.] -- La Messe de M. Charles Gounod et Gallia, à Saint-Eustache. -- Mme Weldon [who sang the solo parts in both works]. -- Reprise du Docteur Crispin [the French version of the Ricci brothers' Crispino e la Comare, revived at the Théâtre-Lyrique de l'Athénée]. -- M. Monjauze. [Announcement that the Opéra is finally considering engaging this tenor for a revival of Le Prophète.]"

F-30/11

1872

Journal des Débats

"Revue musicale. [Review of the world premiere of Verdi's Aïda at Cairo's Théâtre-Italien. Communication is dated:] Le Caire, le 31 décembre 1871."

F†-16/01

"[Communication addressed to the 'Directeur' of the Débats, and dated:] Le Caire, le 3 février 1872. [Recollections of a twenty-two-day sightseeing trip through Egypt. -- Cairo's Théâtre-Italien: Marie Sass as Marguerite in Faust. General description of this theatre: the interior of the building; the budget; the size of the company; three of its principals (Mme Pozzoni-Anastasi, Mme Grossi, and M. Steller); the authority accorded the director; the repertoire; forthcoming productions. -- Cairo's Théâtre-Français: three of the actresses at this theatre 'où l'on joue le drame, le vaudeville et l'opérette'; other remarks on the repertoire. -- The city of Cairo: the Esbékieh ('ce beau jardin'); the European Quarter; old Cairo.]"

F†-17/02

"Revue musicale. Retour d'Egypte. [Reyer editorializes on some news that he heard when he returned to Paris: a young composer has achieved sudden popularity by writing music for a comedy 'qui n'a aucune prétention à la morale'; the National Assembly has increased the Opéra's subsidy to the usual sum (800,000 fr.).] -- [Théâtre-Lyrique de l'Athénée:] Sylvana, opéra en quatre actes, paroles de MM. Wilder et Mestépès, musique de Weber. [This was a pastiche based on Weber's three-act Romantic opera Silvana, with borrowings from Leyer und Schwerdt and Peter Schmoll und seine Nachbarn.] -- [A curtain-raiser at the Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique:] Le Passant, pièce en un acte, poésie de M. François Coppée, musique de M. Emile Paladilhe. -- M. Logé. [Reyer regrets that he was in Egypt when this Belgian pianist 'avait fait sensation à Paris.'] -- Concert du Conservatoire: Mme Carvalho, Mme Alboni, M. Francis Planté. [Review of a benefit which featured the two celebrated sopranos and the virtuoso pianist.] -- [Concert given by the violinist and composer] M. Vieuxtemps. -- Concert de la société Guillot de Sainbris. [The program of this amateur choral society included 'Estelle' by Léonce Farrenc, nephew of Louise Farrenc.] -- Les Sakiehs du Nil. [Reyer wistfully recalls listening to the gentle drone of these irrigation machines as he sat on the banks of the Nile in the evening.]"

F-02/05

"Revue musicale. [Reflections on the multitude of concerts given during the season, and on the advertising which arouses public interest in these performances. -- Salle du Conservatoire: benefit concert featuring Mme Carvalho, the pianist Francis Planté, and several other noted artists. -- Salons (dining room) du Grand-Hôtel: benefit concert conducted by César Franck, who presented Ruth in its entirety for the first time since 1846. (Review is initiated by an editorial on the Parisian public's 'préventions à l'égard de l'oratorio.') -- Debuts at the Théâtre-Italien: Marie Sass (once a principal at the Opéra); Mme Sylvia Floriani (? pseudonym). -- Solo concerts: Mlle Célestine Maurice (pianist) and assisting artists; Vivier (horn virtuoso and composer). -- Société Bourgault-Ducoudray: performance of Handel's Acis and Galatea in French translation. (Review begins with comments concerning the place of this pastorale in Handel's production.) -- Notices on two works by provincial musicians whom Reyer recommends to the attention of Parisian concert societies: Ruth et Booz by Alexis Rostand; and a Stabat

mater by Poll de Silva. -- Société des concerts du Conservatoire: Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto, performed by 'un artiste peu connu,' M. White.]"

F-18/05

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Djamileh, un acte, dédié à M. Camille Du Locle, par MM. Louis Gallet et Georges Bizet. -- Une pièce inédite de Méry. [The dénouement of Djamileh reminds Reyer of a short play 'que m'avait raconté Méry et qu'il n'a, je crois, jamais faite.' Reyer then tells the events of Méry's plot.] -- Reprise du Médecin malgré lui [at the Comique; premiered at the Théâtre-Lyrique in 1858]. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: Début de M. Sylva [in the title role of Robert le Diable]. -- La Musette, de Mme de Grandval. -- Les Roussalkas [ballet], de Mme la baronne de Maistre. [Reyer does not review the works by these ladies; he simply states that he heard the Musette and fragments from the ballet at a 'soirée aristocratique.']"

F-31/05

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: La Princesse jaune, un acte, par MM. Louis Gallet et Camille Saint-Saëns. [-- A few remarks on the Comique's revival of Poise's Bonsoir, voisin! (premiered at the Théâtre-Lyrique in 1853).] -- La musique à bon marché. [The cost of the score of La Princesse jaune prompts Reyer to wonder why French scores are more expensive than 'certaines éditions allemandes' available in France.] -- Fiesque, opéra en trois actes, d'après Schiller, par MM. Charles Beauquier et E. Lalo. [Reyer first reviews the score of this unperformed opera, and then regrets that Paris no longer has a theatre which would accept such a work.] -- Le théâtre de la Monnaie. [Reyer speculates that Lalo will have to go to Brussels in order to have his opera staged.] -- Mlle Sarolta. [Notice on the career of a soprano whom Reyer advises to go to Brussels because the director of the Paris Opéra would not engage her.] -- La Société Schumann. [Reyer applauds the inclusion of quartets by three 'jeunes compositeurs' (White, Hector Salomon, and Taudou) on the programs of six benefit concerts.] -- Gluck et Piccini, par M. Gustave Desnoiresterres. [Notice on this 'livre très intéressant et très instructif.']"

F-19/06

"Revue musicale. [Editorial on various matters pertaining to the Conservatoire and the competition for the Prix de Rome:] Les concurrens pour le prix de Rome. -- Les cantates. [Reyer suggests 'un système plus simple' for selecting the cantata text which the competitors are required to set to music. -- Remarks on the events which had culminated in the decision to have the settings judged not by a newly elected jury, but rather by members of the Académie des Beaux-Arts of the Institut de France.] -- Les concerts des élèves du Conservatoire. [A demand for the reestablishing of a student orchestra, which would enable students of composition to hear their works and thus to improve their understanding of the art of instrumentation.] -- Les chefs d'orchestre. [Reyer points out that the concerts of a student orchestra 'serviraient d'école préparatoire à nos chefs d'orchestre de l'avenir.'] -- Le Théâtre-Lyrique.

[Comments on the demise of Martinet's Théâtre-Lyrique de l'Athénée.] -- Le Théâtre-Italien. [Editorial urging that this theatre, which is on the verge of bankruptcy, be transformed into 'un véritable théâtre lyrique français . . . où pourront se produire des compositeurs français de tout âge que l'on repousse systématiquement ailleurs.'] -- L'Opéra. [Editorial on the need to revive 'le répertoire classique' at France's national lyric theatre.]"

F-29/06

"Revue musicale. [Reflections occasioned by the Conservatoire's annual competitions and closing ceremony: (1) the need to transform the provincial schools of music into 'conservatoires nationaux' which would receive both funding and closer supervision from the State; (2) the neglect of the study of certain instruments, notably the bassoon, clarinet, and harp; (3) the decorating of M. Elwart, a retired professor of harmony, at the closing ceremony; and (4) the speech given by the Minister of Fine Arts in memory of the Conservatoire's former director, Auber (a speech which, much to Reyer's dismay, was 'peu flatteuse pour le maître français'). -- Editorial on the state of the Opéra under its new director, Halanzier: the need to rejuvenate the repertoire; the loss of several great 'cantatrices.' -- Obituary of the composer Carafa.]"

F†-18/08

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Reprise de La Juive. [Remarks on the new production are preceded by an editorial protesting that several fine works by Halévy have long since disappeared from the 'répertoire courant' of this theatre, and, like so many other works which it neglects, cannot be staged at any theatre without permission from the Opéra's director.] -- Un mot à propos de la Coupe du roi de Thulé. [Comments on the rumor that the celebrated baritone Faure and the young composer Diaz 'collaborent' in preparation for the premiere of this work at the Opéra.] -- La réouverture de l'Opéra-Comique et son programme. [Remarks on the repertoire announced for the winter season.] -- Les propagateurs de l'Ombre. [During the summer closure of the Comique, four of its singers, accompanied by a régisseur and a conductor, toured France with Flotow's 'petit opéra sans choeurs.'] -- Le Théâtre-Italien et son programme. [Remarks on a repertoire 'qui embrassera à la fois l'opéra et . . . le drame avec choeurs et entr'actes.'] -- Concerts de M. Gounod à Spa. [After noting that Gounod is still being applauded on foreign soil, Reyer hopes that 'l'illustre maître' will soon end his long absence from Paris.] -- Institution des Jeunes Aveugles: deux choeurs de M. Edouard Chavagnat. [Two works by this former student of the Institution are admired: 'une grande scène avec choeurs, intitulée le Printemps'; and a men's chorus entitled Les Casseurs de cailloux.] -- Les musiciens de la garde de Paris, retour d'Amérique. [Reyer comments on a tour which was intended to propagate 'la rare découverte d'Adolphe Sax: les trombones et les trompettes à six pistons indépendans.']"

F-31/08

"Revue musicale. [Editorial suggesting various measures that the government could take to reestablish and to insure the survival of the

Théâtre-Lyrique. Reyer concludes by hoping that Carvalho, who is trying to revive mélodrame at the Vaudeville, will soon be enabled to change 'l'enseigne de la maison.'] Théâtre du Vaudeville: L'Arlésienne, pièce en trois actes et cinq tableaux, de M. Alphonse Daudet, avec entr'actes, choeurs et morceaux symphoniques de M. Georges Bizet. -- Réouverture du Théâtre-Italien. [After attending revivals of La Traviata and Lucrezia Borgia, Reyer hopes that the director will soon chart a more unusual course, such as was promised at the beginning of the season.] -- Le Conservatoire de Marseille. [Reyer suggests that 'l'autorité supérieure' should take steps to settle a dispute between the prefect and the municipal council.] -- Début de Mlle Sangalli à l'Opéra. [Notice on this ballerina's appearance in Delibes's La Source.]"

F††-10/10

"Revue musicale. [Obituary of] Théophile Gautier. -- Concerts populaires: [Editorial on: (1) Pasdeloup's need to have a chorus associated with his orchestra, so that he can present oratorios and other choral works both 'classiques et modernes'; and (2) the consequent need for the Conservatoire to give in its curriculum 'une plus large part à la musique classique,' so as to produce singers familiar with such music. Remarks on Pasdeloup's substitution of the Obéron overture for that of Rienzi on the program of the most recent concert.] Le Rouet d'Omphale, de M. Camille Saint-Saëns; Suite d'orchestre, de M. Ernest Guiraud; [--] un quatuor inédit de M. Léonce Farrenc [performed by de Groot and 'les enfans Frémeaux']. -- Théâtre-Italien: Début de Mlle Albani [in La Sonnambula]."

F†-01/11

"Revue musicale. Séance annuelle de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts. [Description of this public meeting: distribution of the Prix de Rome to the winners in the various categories (music, painting, etc.); speech by Ambroise Thomas, secrétaire perpétuel of the Académie; performance of an overture by Rabuteau and the cantata by Wintzweiler (the two laureates who, in 1868, had shared the 'grand prix' for music).] -- Concerts populaires: fragmens de l'Arlésienne, de M. Georges Bizet [the orchestral suite drawn by the composer from the incidental music]. -- Le projet de M. Hippolyte Leroy. [Editorial endorsing a project submitted recently to the Minister of Fine Arts by a former 'metteur en scène' of the Opéra (and, coincidentally, outlined a few years earlier by Reyer himself in Souvenirs d'Allemagne and in the JD F-19/11/1867 and F-28/01/1869): every year, each director of a subsidized provincial theatre should be required to premiere a work in three or more acts by a young French composer.] -- Mme Marie Sass à Madrid. [News of her successes in Anna Bolena and Les Huguenots.] -- Début de M. Prunet à l'Opéra [in the title role of Faust]. -- Léopold Amat. [Obituary of a once-popular singer and composer of romances.] -- Trois nouvelles publications de la maison Peters. [Notice concerning the full scores of Fidelio, Freischütz, and Gluck's Orphée.]"

F-17/11

"Revue musicale. Théâtre-Italien: les Deux Reines, drame en quatre actes, de M. Ernest Legouvé, musique de M. Charles Gounod. [Reyer begins by telling readers that, although the play has already been reviewed by Jules Janin (drama critic of the JD), 'j'ai encore quelque chose à vous dire.' Reyer's review includes an editorial on Gounod's fame in England and his continuing absence from France.] -- Théâtre de l'Athénée. [A brief history of 'ce petit théâtre' from the time of its foundation until the demise of Martinet's Théâtre-Lyrique de l'Athénée.] -- [The 'pièce nouvelle' at the Théâtre de l'Athénée, which is now directed by Jules Ruelle:] Monsieur et Madame Turlupin, opéra comique en deux actes, paroles de M. Cormon, musique de M. E. Guiraud."

F-30/11

"Revue musicale. Réflexions préliminaires. [News that, for the second year in a row, the Société des concerts du Conservatoire will present excerpts from La Damnation de Faust prompts Reyer to urge that this organization reveal Berlioz's works in their entirety.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Don César de Bazan, opéra comique en trois actes et quatre tableaux, paroles de MM. d'Ennery et Chantepie, musique de M. Jules Massenet. -- Société des Concerts du Conservatoire: Fragmens de la Damnation de Faust. [Subtitle belongs with 'Réflexions préliminaires.'] -- Salons du Grand-Hôtel: Symphonie-cantate de M. le vicomte d'Arneiro: Mme Reboux. [Very brief notice of a benefit concert given by a Portuguese gentleman and amateur composer, at which Mélanie Reboux was one of the soloists.] -- [Editorial on the theatre subsidies voted by the] Assemblée Nationale: Le rapport de M. Beulé en faveur des subventions des théâtres; le discours de M. de Belcastel contre ces mêmes subventions: l'obole du paysan et le soulier de Corneille [an allusion to two of the colorful anecdotes and metaphors in de Belcastel's speech]."

F-13/12

"Revue musicale. [Editorial on the distinct possibility that 'ce petit théâtre de l'Athénée' will be subsidized and officially recognized as the new Théâtre-Lyrique.] Théâtre-Lyrique de l'Athénée: Dans la Forêt, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de M. Jules Ruelle, musique de M. Constantin. [Review includes a description of the musical career of Constantin (conductor at the Athénée since Ruelle became director). -- Postscript: the subsidy of the Opéra-Comique will be increased, just as Reyer had hoped in the feuilleton of 13 December.]"

F-22/12

"Revue musicale de l'année 1872. [Théâtre de l'Opéra: reflections on the repertoire. -- A collection of mélodies by Faure, the Opéra's celebrated baritone. -- A collection of mélodies by Gounod. (Review includes remarks in praise of Gounod's unsuccessful early opera, Sapho.) -- Notices of other collections: Le Mécanisme des doigts, by Rosenthal; L'Agilité de la voix, by Saint-Yves Bax; an album de danse by Camille Schubert. -- The completion of Le Trésor des pianistes; Mme Farrenc. -- Théâtre-Italien: the need for a subsidy; the reception of Les Deux Reines; Mme la marquise Carracciolo (formerly Mlle Scotti) in a concert

at the Italien. -- Théâtre-Lyrique de l'Athénée: Reyer again states that it deserves the solicitude of the government. -- Concerts Pasdeloup: a few words on the repertoire; the reception of two excerpts from Lalo's Fiesque. -- Société des concerts du Conservatoire: the performance of excerpts from La Damnation de Faust. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Reyer applauds the repertoire.]"

F-29/12

1873

Journal des Débats

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: La Coupe du roi de Thulé, opéra en trois actes et quatre tableaux, de MM. Louis Gallet et Edouard Blau, musique de M. Eugène Diaz. [The fact that La Coupe had won the Opéra's competition for new works in 1869 prompts Reyer to precede his review with reflections on several matters: the competitions held also by the Opéra-Comique and the Théâtre-Lyrique in 1869; the results of all three competitions; and the need for a 'rajeunissement du répertoire' at the Opéra, where Diaz's work was the first new offering in five years.]"

F-16/01

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Roméo et Juliette, opéra en cinq actes, de MM. Jules Barbier et Michel Carré, musique de M. Charles Gounod (reprise). [Review includes editorializing on the need to reestablish the Théâtre-Lyrique, where Gounod's work had been premiered in 1867.] -- Théâtre-Lyrique de l'Athénée: Monsieur Polichinelle, opéra comique en deux actes, paroles de MM. Morand et Vattier, musique de M. Deléhelle."

F-26/01

"Revue musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique de l'Athénée: Reprise de la Fanchonnette [by Clapisson; premiered at the Théâtre-Lyrique in 1856]. -- M. Monjauze. [Comments on the performance of this tenor, who had been one of the principals at the old Lyrique, lead to reflections on recent plans to revive this theatre.] -- Les Cris de Paris, par Georges Kastner. [A scene known as 'les cris de Paris' in Clapisson's work reminds Reyer of Kastner's symphonie vocale et instrumentale. After quoting from Kastner's preface to this symphony, Reyer editorializes on 'les cris du Paris moderne,' which 'sont devenus actuellement odieux, insupportables.'] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Reprise du Premier Jour de bonheur. [A few remarks on the popularity of Auber's work.] -- M. Offenbach et la Société des auteurs. [Brief editorial concerning a dispute between this organization and Offenbach, who aspires to become director of the Théâtre de la Gaîté.] -- Gemmy Brandus. [Obituary of the music publisher and director of the Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris.]"

F-23/02

"Revue musicale. Théâtre des Folies-Dramatiques: La Fille de Mme Angot, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. Clairville, Sirandin et Koning, musique de M. Charles Lecocq. -- [New publications:] Méthode nouvelle pour la formation des voix, par M. Marié. -- Nouvelle méthode de la musique vocale, par M. Hippolyte Dessirier. -- Traité pratique des maladies du pharynx et du larynx, par M. le docteur Mandl. -- Encore un mot sur la Fanchonnette, à propos de M. Aurèle [who appears in the role of Candide]."

F-28/02

"Revue musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique de l'Athénée: la Dot mal placée, opéra-bouffe en trois actes, paroles de M. Georges Mancel, musique de M. Paul Lacome. -- Réflexions et anecdotes à propos des chanteurs et des cantatrices. [The presence of 'un grand air de prima donna' in Lacome's opéra-bouffe prompts Reyer to reflect on 'des incroyables licences' taken by singers who regard their roles as vehicles for displays of virtuosity.] -- Concerts du Cirque [Pasdeloup's Concerts populaires at the Cirque d'hiver]: la Symphonie fantastique, d'Hector Berlioz; [--] Concerts du Conservatoire: l'ouverture du Carnaval romain. -- [Notice concerning the founding of a] Nouvelle Société de musique de chambre."

F†-09/03

"Revue musicale. [A short notice on Bach: his reputation in Germany; the Bach-Gesellschaft.] Salle Pleyel: Concert pour l'audition des oeuvres de Jean-Sébastian Bach, donné au profit des pauvres de Paris, sous la direction de M. Charles Lamoureux. -- La Querelle de Phoebus et de Pan, drame lyrique avec récitatifs, soli et choeur: Mlle Marcus, Mlle Adèle Monnier, M. Bataille et M. Grisy, de l'Opéra, M. Archambaud. Solistes de la partie instrumentale: M. Delaborde, professeur au Conservatoire, MM. Fissot et Taffanel. [Review of the Parisian premiere of Bach's cantata (translated by Romain Bussine). -- Comments on the other works presented at the Bach concert. --] Théâtre de l'Opéra: Les Huguenots, débuts de MM. Léon Achard et Menu. [Remarks on these singers are preceded by a brief editorial remonstrating against the liberties taken with Meyerbeer's score.] -- Dernière représentation de la Coupe du roi de Thulé; départ de M. Faure. [Editorial regretting 'que nous persistions à attacher la fortune d'un ouvrage aux caprices d'un chanteur.']"

F-25/03

"Revue musicale. Concerts de l'Odéon [founded and conducted by Colonne]: Marie-Magdeleine, drame sacré en trois actes et quatre tableaux, de M. Louis Gallet, musique de M. Jules Massenet; Rédemption, poëme symphonique de M. Edouard Blau, musique de M. César Franck."

F††-23/04

"Revue musicale. Les concerts de la saison. [Opening remarks: the tribulations entrepreneurs undergo in order to present a concert at Paris. -- Pianists: Antoine de Kontski at one of the Concerts populaires; the several pianists who, in Reyer's opinion, are among the greatest of the 'époque'; concerts of Alfred Jaëll; Delahaye, pianist for the Société Schumann; Delaborde and Fissot, pianists for Lamoureux's

Séances populaires de musique de chambre. -- The newly founded Société classique: personnel; noteworthy performances (excerpts from Berlioz's L'Enfance du Christ, and an allegretto for string quintet and wind instruments by the late Alexis de Castillon). -- The newly founded Société de musique de chambre: personnel; repertoire. -- The pianists Delaborde, Planté, and Ritter. -- Concert of works by Henri Ketten. -- Music by the late Leon Kreutzer at a 'concert avec choeurs et orchestre.' -- Music by Jean-Baptiste Wekerlin at three 'concerts à orchestre.' -- Choral music at a concert of the Société d'amateurs. -- Henri Logé (pianist). -- Brief remarks on other concerts: a quintet by Auzende; Arved Poorten (cellist); Bourgault-Ducoudray's choral society. -- 'La musique moderne' on the programs of the Concerts populaires.]"

F-03/05

"Revue musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique de l'Athénée: La Guzla de l'émir, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de MM. Jules Barbier et Michel Carré, musique de M. Théodore Dubois. [Review is introduced by a short notice on the career of this former winner of the Prix de Rome.] -- [Another premiere at the Athénée:] Ninon et Ninette, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de Mlle Hermance Lesguillon, musique de M. Pénavaire. [--] Théâtre de l'Opéra: Gretna-Green, ballet-pantomime en un acte, de MM. Nuitter et Mérante, musique de M. E. Guiraud. [--] Appendice aux concerts de la saison [i.e., a supplement to the preceding feuilleton]: la Jeanne d'Arc de M. Pfeiffer [performed at the Salle Pleyel by the orchestra of Jules Danbé], la Berceuse de M. Léonce Farrenc, un scherzo de M. Vaucorbeil, une marche et une romance pour clarinette par M. Taudou [all of which were presented at Danbé's concerts in the dining room of the Grand-Hôtel]. -- Publications diverses: [a Mass and other works by] Mlle H. Wild, [four mélodies by 'une femme du meilleur monde' who writes under the pseudonym] M. Paul Duras, [Dix transcriptions classiques for flute and piano by] M. Taffanel."

F-17/05

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Reprise du Freischütz [as a curtain-raiser for Guiraud's ballet Gretna-Green]. -- [Danbé's] Concerts du Grand-Hôtel: la Vie d'une rose, de Robert Schumann. [Review of the Parisian premiere of Der Rose Pilgerfahrt, translated by Victor Wilder.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Le Roi l'a dit, opéra comique en trois actes, poëme de M. Gondinet, musique de M. Delibes. [-- Notice of the publication of a version 'pour piano seul' of Emile Pessard's opéra comique La Cruche cassée.]"

F-29/05

"Revue musicale. [Théâtre-Lyrique de l'Athénée: Pierrot Fantôme, libretto by Dubreuil and Stapleaux, music by Lionel (pseudonym of the Belgian composer Vercken). -- Brief editorial on plans for reviving the Théâtre-Italien: Bagier's prospectus; Strakosch's prospectus.]"

F-29/06

"Revue musicale. [A letter from a resident of Benares, India, concerning a pagoda consecrated to music. (Reyer uses this fictitious letter

to criticize contemporary practices at the Paris Opéra.) -- News concerning the forthcoming musical season at Cairo: principals and repertoire of the Théâtre-Italien; repertoire of the Théâtre-Français. -- A brief editorial protesting the fact that Aïda has not yet been staged at Paris leads to remarks welcoming Strakosch's announcement that this work will be among his first offerings when he reopens the Théâtre-Italien. -- Comments on the Opéra's treatment of Le Preneur de rats, a ballet scenario written by Théophile Gautier shortly before his death. -- Editorial calling upon the French government to encourage composers of large-scale concert works by building a concert hall suitable for such works, and by providing a subsidy for 'un personnel d'instrumentistes et de chanteurs qui ne soient point recrutés au hasard.' -- Notice: before the Théâtre-Lyrique de l'Athénée closes, it will premiere a small 'pièce' entitled Royal-Champagne.]"

F†-29/06

"L'Alsace. -- Les Vosges. Souvenirs rétrospectifs et notes de voyage. [Reyer describes his final visit to Alsace and the Vosges Mountains, which France had ceded to Germany after the Franco-Prussian War.]"

*F†-20/09

"L'Alsace. -- Les Vosges. Souvenirs rétrospectifs et notes de voyage. (Suite et fin. -- Voir le Numéro d'hier.)"

*F†-21/09

"Revue musicale. [Remarks on the impending resurrection of the Théâtre-Italien. -- Editorial: the latest plan to revive the Théâtre-Lyrique, and 'la situation actuelle' at the subsidized lyric theatres. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: the return of Faure in a revival of Diaz's La Coupe du roi de Thulé. -- Comments on the Opéra's treatment of two young composers: Mermet and Duprat. -- Reflections on the fates of the three operas which had won the lyric theatres' competitions for new works in 1869: La Coupe du roi de Thulé (premiered at the Opéra in 1873); Philippot's Le Magnifique (still awaiting production while the home of the Théâtre-Lyrique is being rebuilt); Lenepveu's Le Florentin (finally in rehearsal at the Opéra-Comique). -- A few comments on the rebuilding of the Théâtre-Lyrique and the reopening of the Théâtre-Lyrique de l'Athénée. -- The Concours Cressent (established by an endowment from a deceased music-lover): the terms of this triennial competition for new operas by French composers; a brief editorial on competitions in general and the Concours Cressent in particular.]"

F-27/09

"Revue musicale. Théâtre-Italien. -- Réouverture: [Don Pasquale,] Il Barbiere di Siviglia, Rigoletto, Il Trovatore. Rentrée de Mlle Krauss, de MM. Zucchini, Delle-Sedie et Brignoli. Débuts de Mlles Anna de Belloca, Tagliana, Lombia [misspelling of 'Lormia'], [and Marie Belval,] de MM. Padilla, Benfratelli et Villa. [--] Théâtre de l'Opéra. -- Débuts de Mlle Ferrucci, dans les Huguenots, et de Mlle Vidal, dans Don Juan. [Apropos of both works, Reyer adds a brief editorial protesting 'les licences qui se permettent certains chanteurs.' --] Théâtre de

l'Opéra-Comique. -- Reprise de Richard Coeur-de-Lion. [Review is preceded by remarks on Grétry's instrumentation. --] Premier Concert populaire de la saison. [Comments on the success of Massenet's Suite d'orchestre (from his incidental music to Les Erinnyes).]"

F-21/10

"Revue musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique de l'Athénée: Reprise du Bijou perdu. [Drawing on a serialized study of Adolphe Adam by Arthur Pougin, Reyer tells how Bijou came to be written for Marie Cabel in 1853.] -- Mme Marie Cabel. -- [Reyer's recollections of this soprano lead to] L'Ecole du petit chien [a witty sally from Berlioz's A travers chants]. -- Mlle Singelée [in the role written for Cabel]. -- La Dot mal placée et les affaires d'Espagne. [Humorous remarks on the Athénée's revival of Lacome's opéra-bouffe, which is set in Spain. --] Réouverture des Concerts populaires [with Massenet's Suite d'orchestre (from Les Erinnyes), two songs by Glinka, Schumann's Symphony in D Minor, and the scherzo from Joachim Raff's symphony Im Walde]. -- M. Joachim Raff. [A notice on his large musical output and his reputation in Germany.] -- [Other music presented at the Concerts populaires: Marche by Saint-Saëns, and] La deuxième partie de Roméo et Juliette, d'Hector Berlioz."

F-28/10

"Revue musicale. L'Opéra. [The home of the Opéra (on the rue Le Peletier) has burned, and Reyer ponders ways to 'atténuer autant que possible les conséquences d'un grand malheur.'] -- Théâtre de la Gaîté: Jeanne d'Arc [drama by Barbier, incidental music by Gounod; Reyer leaves the analysis of Barbier's work to Clément Caraguel, drama critic of the Débats]. La partition de M. Gounod. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: ['quelques lignes' about] les Trois Souhaits, un acte de M. Jules Adenis, musique de M. Ferdinand Poise. -- Reprise de l'Ambassadrice. Mme Carvalho. [Notice on her success in the Comique's revival of 'un des plus charmans ouvrages d'Auber.']"

F-14/11

"Revue musicale. La question de l'Opéra. [The fate of the company remains undecided. Reyer declares that he will discuss the question after he has had more time to gather information and ideas.] -- Théâtre-Italien: Don Giovanni et la Norma: Mlle Krauss, M. Padilla, M. Debassini. -- Académie des Beaux-Arts, séance annuelle: La cantate couronnée, paroles de M. de Lauzières [after Byron's "Mazeppa"], musique de M. Paul Puget. [Review includes a notice on M. Ehrhart, one of Puget's competitors for the Prix de Rome.] -- Publication de l'oeuvre de Gluck. [Reyer first announces that Berthold Damcke and Fanny Pelletan have undertaken a critical edition of Gluck's operas, and then comments briefly on the first fruit of their efforts: Iphigénie en Aulide.] -- Concert National: Scènes pittoresques de M. Jules Massenet. -- M. Colonne [conductor of the Concert National, which has just moved from the Odéon to the Châtelet]."

F-25/11

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Maître Wolfram (reprise). [Before assessing this production of his early opéra comique, Reyer recalls how the libretto had been created by several poets and writers whom he had known.] -- Concerts populaires: Im Walde, symphonie de M. Joachim Raff [performed in its entirety]. -- Concert National: Ruth et Booz, oratorio de M. César Franck. -- [A premiere at the Concert National:] Phaëton, poëme symphonique de M. Camille Saint-Saëns. -- Concerts du Conservatoire: La 3e partie de Roméo et Juliette, d'Hector Berlioz. -- Le quatuor de M. Deloffre et le quatuor de M. Luigini. [Both works were 'couronnés par la Société des compositeurs de musique.'] -- L'orchestre féminin viennois. [Subtitle is erroneous; no such orchestra is mentioned in the text.] -- Recueil de douze mélodies, par M. Victor Massé."

F†-13/12

1874

Journal des Débats

"Revue musicale. L'Opéra au Théâtre-Italien. [The company of the Opéra is temporarily installed at the Salle Ventadour, and Reyer reflects on several aspects of the situation: the reasons for choosing the Ventadour; Halanzier's 'directeur de la scène,' Carvalho; changes in the roster of principals; Don Juan as the company's first production at the Ventadour; the sum required to complete the Opéra's future home, the Palais Garnier.] -- Le Messie, de Haendel, au Cirque des Champs-Elysées. [Before reviewing this Parisian premiere (conducted by Lamoureux), Reyer contrasts the popularity of oratorio in England with the neglect of the genre in France.] -- Recueil de vingt mélodies, par M. Georges Bizet [comprised mainly of 'mélodies qui ont déjà paru séparément' and fragments from some of his operas and incidental music]. -- Recueil de mélodies, par M. Antony de Choudens [some of which had already been published]. [--] Théâtre-Italien: Le Cenerentola."

F-25/01

"Revue musicale. Le spectre de Paganini. [Reyer wonders whether the talent of a certain Irish violinist will justify his being billed as 'le spectre de Paganini.'] -- Concerto de violon de M. E. Lalo, exécuté par M. Sarasate. [Reyer assesses both Lalo's work and the playing of Sarasate, who premiered it at one of Colonne's Concerts du Châtelet.] -- [D'Indy's Les Piccolomini and Ten-Brinck's La Suite d'orchestre at Pasdeloup's] Concerts du Cirque et [excerpts from Albert Cahen's 'drame biblique' Jean le Précurseur at Colonne's] concerts du Châtelet. [-- Reyer prints a telegram describing the triumph of Gounod's Mireille at St. Petersburg.] -- Le Florentin et le buste de M. Lenepveu. [Apropos of the work which had won the Opéra-Comique's competition in 1869, Reyer observes that the rehearsals 'marchent lentement,' and that the composer, 'impatient de la renommée qui l'attend, vient d'exposer son buste chez un éditeur de musique.'] -- Théâtre-Italien: Le Astuzie femminili, de Cimarosa. [Review includes a notice on the operas of this 'génie

aimable,' whose 'délicieuses improvisations musicales' were rarely staged at Paris.]"

F-08/02

"Revue musicale. ['Réflexions préliminaires' concerning the competitions for new works sponsored in 1869 by the Opéra, Opéra-Comique, and Théâtre-Lyrique: Reyer reiterates his conviction that 'les résultats obtenus ne sont pas proportionnés aux efforts qui se sont fait . . . pour les obtenir.'] Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: le Florentin, opéra comique en trois actes; paroles de M. de Saint-Georges, musique de M. Lenepveu. -- Théâtre de l'Odéon: Marie-Magdeleine, drame sacré en quatre parties; poëme de M. Louis Gallet, musique de M. J. Massenet. [This performance, like the premiere in 1873, was given by Colonne's concert society. Reyer notes that this second success of Massenet's work has prompted the director of the Opéra-Comique (Camille du Locle) to put his theatre and personnel at the composer's disposal for the next performance.]"

F-01/03

"Revue musicale. Société des Concerts du Conservatoire: Mlle Sternberg [French soprano; soloist at a concert which featured excerpts from Orphée, La Vestale, and Fidelio]. -- Concerts populaires: Les trois ouvertures de MM. Georges Bizet, Massenet et Guiraud. [All three works (Bizet's Patrie, Massenet's overture inspired by Racine's Phèdre, and Guiraud's Ouverture de concert) were commissioned by Pasdeloup, as Reyer explains in his review.] -- Concerts du Châtelet. -- La Marche troyenne, d'Hector Berlioz [the composer's orchestral arrangement of the Trojan March, performed at one of the Concerts du Châtelet]. -- [On the same Châtelet program:] M. Camille Saint-Saëns. [His Rouet d'Omphale was performed, and he played the solo piano part in an orchestral Fantaisie by Liszt.] -- Société de musique de chambre: MM. Taudou, Desjardins, Lefort, Rabaud. [Review of the most recent séance of this society, which was beginning its second year of existence.] -- Mme Massart [as guest pianist with the Société de musique de chambre]. -- Foundation Mozart internationale à Salzbourg. [Description of the purposes and categories of members of this newly founded organization.]"

F-15/03

"Revue musicale. [Remarks on Mme Carvalho's renewal of her contract with the Opéra-Comique, which will revive Gounod's Mireille for her. --] Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Marie-Magdeleine, drame sacré, de M. Louis Gallet, musique de M. Jules Massenet (1re audition). [In the review of this concert performance by the artists of the Comique, Reyer regrets again 'que nous n'ayons à Paris un local, une administration, un personnel spécialement affectés à l'exécution des oratorios, des drames sacrés et des symphonies.'] -- Mme Carvalho, M. Bouhy [two of the soloists in Marie-Magdeleine]. -- Concerts populaires: La Madeleine au désert, scène pour voix et orchestre: [text by Edouard Blau, music by Reyer, who devotes his review to Blau's verses and to the performance of the

soloist, Bouhy. --] M. Henri Logé. [Review of a soirée musicale given by this twenty-year-old pianist.]"

F-31/03

"Revue musicale. [Opening remarks concerning the proliferation of concerts and the inattentiveness of many concert-goers. -- Société des concerts du Conservatoire: excerpts from La Passion selon saint Matthieu (translated by Charles Bannelier), conducted by Charles Lamoureux. Review includes editorializing on the need to teach singers to respect a composer's text, as is done in the class of M. Saint-Yves Bax, a professor at the Conservatoire. -- Concert spirituel conducted by Pasdeloup on Good Friday: Part I of a Stabat Mater by Bourgault-Ducoudray; music by Beethoven, Gluck, and Paganini. Reyer applauds Pasdeloup for founding a chorus of two hundred, which will be a permanent 'auxiliaire' to the Concerts populaires. -- Concerts at the Conservatoire on Good Friday and Easter Sunday: music by Mozart, Gluck, Mendelssohn, Halévy, Pergolesi, Weber, Beethoven, and Berlioz. -- A few remarks on a concert given by the pianist-composer Leybach 'pour l'audition de ses oeuvres.' -- Review of an orchestral concert: Eugène Sauzay's setting of the intermèdes of Molière's Georges Dandin; the adagio from Mlle Louise Bertin's Third Symphony. -- Obituary of the clarinetist Edouard de Groot.]"

F-21/04

"Revue musicale. Projet de transformation du théâtre du Châtelet en théâtre lyrique. [Rumors of such a project prompt Reyer to consider several issues: an appropriate repertoire; the need to assemble a company of 'grands artistes'; the qualifications for the position of director; and the role of the government in the establishing and supervising of the theatre.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: Début de Mlle Fouquet [in Guillaume Tell]. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: 1re représentation de Gille et Gillotin, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de M. Thomas Sauvage, musique de M. Ambroise Thomas."

F-30/04

"Revue musicale. Conservatoire de Musique et de Déclamation: Exercices des élèves. [Reyer welcomes the reestablishing of these student concerts, and hopes for a revival of the concerts d'émulation (presented by a student orchestra and 'destinées . . . à former des chefs d'orchestre'). Review of the first student concert of the year: a program of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century sacred, orchestral, and chamber music, as well as excerpts from operas.] -- Séance de musique de piano avec accompagnement d'orchestre: M. Francis Planté; partie vocale: Mme Carvalho et M. Diaz de Soria. [Review of a benefit concert featuring vocal solos and duets, and music for piano solo as well as piano with orchestra, by composers ranging from Boccherini and Gluck to Schumann and Liszt.] -- Le conseil municipal de Marseille et le Conservatoire. [Brief editorial on the council's dismissal of both Auguste Morel, who had long been director of the Conservatoire, and M. Thurner, 'un des meilleurs professeurs.'] -- M. Auguste Morel. [Reyer recommends Morel's Symphony in C to the attention of Pasdeloup.] -- Théâtre de la Nouvelle-

Orléans: Faust, Mme Fursch-Madier. [This soprano, who, in Reyer's opinion, was not fully appreciated at the Paris Opéra, has achieved great success abroad; he quotes excerpts from newspapers published at New Orleans and London.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Les Noces de Figaro, Mme Carvalho [as the countess], Mlle Breton [making her debut as Cherubino]. -- [New publication:] La Jonque des Amans, chanson japonaise, de M. Armand Gouzien."

F-17/05

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Le Cerisier, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de M. Jules Prével, musique de M. Jules Duprato. [Review includes a notice on the twenty-year career of this former winner of the Prix de Rome.] -- La Messe de Requiem, de M. Verdi. [Remarks on Camille du Locle's plan to give the Parisian premiere of this work on the stage of the Opéra-Comique.] -- Le Théâtre du Châtelet et les jeunes compositeurs. [Reyer explains why he had stated that a new lyric theatre should not be 'exclusivement consacré aux jeunes compositeurs' (JD F-30/04).]"

F-24/05

"Revue musicale. Salle du Conservatoire: Audition des envois de Rome: Le Passage de la mer Rouge, oratorio, paroles de M. Lucien Augé, musique de M. Rabuteau. -- Suite symphonique et Psaume, de M. Charles Lefebvre. [Review of the three envois is preceded by an editorial maintaining that the stay at Rome is of great value in the development of a young composer. -- A few more remarks concerning Thurner and the Marseille Conservatoire.] -- Festival dirigé par M. Pasdeloup, à Caen. ['Afin d'encourager les efforts tentés dans un but de décentralisation artistique,' Reyer recalls what he had read about this concert in L'Echo bayeusain.] -- Publication des oeuvres de Gluck, par Mlle Pelletan et M. Damcke: Iphigénie en Tauride; le manuscrit d'Alceste. [After saluting the publication of the second Iphigénie, Reyer appeals on behalf of Mlle Pelletan for assistance in locating two fragments missing from the manuscript of Alceste.]"

F-03/06

"Revue musicale. La Messe de Requiem, de M. G. Verdi. [Review of the Parisian premiere, which was given at the Opéra-Comique by its orchestra and chorus, with the four original soloists (who were brought to Paris expressly for this performance). The conductor was Verdi.]"

F†-14/06

"Revue musicale. Conservatoire de Musique: Le musée Clapisson. [Description of the Conservatoire's collection of musical instruments, which Reyer calls 'musée Clapisson' because 'la partie la plus importante de cette riche collection' had originally belonged to the composer Louis Clapisson. Reyer acknowledges as the source of most of his information the curator of the collection, Gustave Chouquet.] -- Quelques mots sur le livre de M. Gustave Chouquet. [Reyer expresses reservations about L'Histoire de la musique dramatique en France depuis ses origines

jusqu'à nos jours, which had been 'couronné par l'Institut' in 1868, and had been published in 1873.]"

F-02/07

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra (salle Ventadour): l'Esclave, opéra en quatre actes, cinq tableaux; paroles de MM. Ed. Foussier et Got, musique de M. Edmond Membrée. [Review is introduced by reflections on the difficulties of relations between 'compositeurs de peu de renommée' and any director 'à la tête d'une vaste entreprise dont la prospérité lui est confiée.']"

F-19/07

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Le Pardon de Ploërmel (reprise). [Review is preceded by a brief history of Meyerbeer's opéra comique, which had not been staged at Paris since 1860.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra [at the Salle Ventadour]: Débuts de Mlle Marie Belval et de M. Vergnet dans Robert-le-Diable. -- Théâtre-Lyrique: Le Manifeste de M. Bagier. [Reyer remarks that Bagier, formerly director of the Théâtre-Italien, has been named director of a Théâtre-Lyrique (to be established at the Salle Ventadour), and has announced his intention to found 'une académie lyrique et chorégraphique' as an adjunct to the new theatre. The critic gives excerpts from Bagier's prospectus.]"

F-05/09

"Revue musicale. Les malheurs d'Euterpe. [Reyer prints a letter supposedly dictated by a disembodied voice lamenting the Parisian public's craze for operetta and lack of interest in masterpieces of the past. This imaginative device is used as a 'préambule' to an editorial calling for a lyric theatre which would be a veritable altar to the muse Euterpe, an altar consecrated not to 'les flon-flons de la chansonette' but rather to 'des chants inspirés.'] -- Quelques mots à propos de l'Opéra-Comique. [Failure of Gounod's Roméo et Juliette; forthcoming premieres of Bizet's Carmen and Guiraud's Piccolino; Saint-Saëns's unperformed Le Timbre d'argent.] -- Quelques mots à propos de l'Opéra. [The director's trip to Italy; possible engagements of Mme Stolz, Mme Waldmann, and Mlle Krauss.] -- [Reviews of new publications:] L'Art en province, par M. Alexis Rostand. -- Méthode de chant, par M. Jules Lefort. -- Recueil de chants religieux et populaires des Israélites, etc. etc. [Recueil de chants religieux et populaires des israélites depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours, prefaced by an Etude historique de la musique des Hébreux], par M. S. Naumbourg."

F†-27/09

"Revue musicale. Salle Ventadour (Théâtre-Italien): Lucrezia Borgia. [First performance of the Théâtre-Ventadour, which, according to Bagier's prospectus, will present both Italian opera and French opera.] -- Mme Anastasi-Pozzoni, Mlle Emiliani; MM. Anastasi, Romani et Giraudet. [Observations on the performances of these principals in Lucrezia Borgia are followed by remarks on the probability that Bagier will stage Aïda. -- Editorial on the Théâtre-Lyrique français described in Bagier's prospectus: repertoire; role of the government. -- Comments on the

likelihood that the new Opéra populaire (the lyric theatre at the Châtelet) will never open.] -- (Théâtre de l'Opéra): Les Huguenots. [Editorial on Faure's threat to break his contract as a protest against the enormous sum the Opéra is paying Adelina Patti for each of her appearances as Valentine in Les Huguenots.] -- Mme Adelina Patti. [Review of 'la nouvelle Valentine.' Announcement of her forthcoming appearance as Marguerite in Faust.] -- Concerts populaires: le Choral Pasdeloup. [Before the reopening of Pasdeloup's series, Reyer again applauds the conductor for assembling a chorus of two hundred, which will participate in the last concert of each series.]"

F-17/10

"Revue musicale. Séance annuelle de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts [of the Institut]: Acis et Galatée, scène lyrique, poésie de M. E. Adenis, musique de M. Léon Ehrhart, premier grand-prix de composition musicale. [Review is introduced by remarks on: the Prix de Rome cantatas as 'jeux académiques'; the stay at Rome; and the prospects of the laureates upon their return to Paris.] -- Ouverture, composée par M. Henri Maréchal, pensionnaire de l'Académie de France à Rome. [Subtitle is erroneous; no such work is mentioned in the text. -- Comments on the Opéra populaire, which is not yet open.] -- Concerts populaires. Les deux premiers concerts. [Observations concerning two incidents: one provoked by Pasdeloup's attempt to pass off the entr'acte from La Traviata as a 'Prélude' composed by Verdi for the Concerts populaires; the other caused by a performance of the 'Marche des Pélerins' from Harold en Italie.] M. Pasdeloup et l'administration du droit des pauvres. [Brief editorial supporting Pasdeloup's opposition to the government's decision to increase the 'poor tax' imposed on each ticket.]"

F-01/11

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Début de Mlle Henriette Lory [as Zerlina] dans Don Juan; debut de M. Mierzwinski [as Raoul] dans les Huguenots. [These reviews are followed by objections that artists of the Opéra make 'toute sorte de coupures' in their roles.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Reprise de Mireille [the first Parisian performance of Gounod's work since it had disappeared from the repertoire of the Théâtre-Lyrique in 1865]. [-- Postscript concerning the opening of the Opéra populaire.]"

F-15/11

"Revue musicale. Opéra populaire du Châtelet: Les Parias, opéra en trois actes, paroles de MM. Hippolyte Lucas et L. Leroy, musique de M. Edmond Membrée. [Review is preceded by reflections on the sudden opening of this theatre, its prospects for survival, and the role it should play in Parisian musical life.] -- [Review of the first concert of the Société de l'Harmonie sacrée, founded and conducted by Charles Lamoureux, at the] Cirque des Champs-Elysées: Judas Machabée, oratorio en trois actes, de Haendel, traduction de M. Victor Wilder [Parisian premiere]."

F-24/11

"Revue musicale. [Editorial on the worsening situation of the lyric theatres in Paris: subsidies are not proportional 'aux résultats obtenus'; subsidized theatres present 'des reprises et d'insignifians débuts' and neglect masterpieces; and new theatres 'périclitent en des mains inhabiles.' --] Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Beppo, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de M. Louis Gallet, musique de M. J. Conte. [Review inlcudes remarks on the long neglect of this composer, who had won the Prix de Rome in 1855.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: Début de Mme Madier-Fursch dans Faust. [A few words on this soprano's return as a 'première chanteuse.'] -- Quelques mots à propos du nouvel Opéra. [After reading in La Liberté an article dealing almost exclusively with the material resources of the nearly completed Palais Garnier, Reyer discusses what he regards as a more important question: 'la question d'art,' that is, the composition of the company and the nature of the repertoire. -- The new Opéra and the foundering Opéra populaire du Châtelet: Reyer proposes an arrangement which could be mutually beneficial.] -- Concerts populaires: Elie, grand oratorio en deux parties, musique de Mendelssohn. [Comments primarily on the performance of the Choral Pasdeloup.]"

F-15/12

1875

Journal des Débats

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Soirée d'inauguration [the 'soirée officielle' (a program of opera excerpts and a ballet) which inaugurated the Palais Garnier on 5 January]. La Juive; Mlle Krauss. [This opera, performed on 8 January, inaugurated the public performances. Krauss, once one of the principals at the Théâtre-Italien, made her Opéra debut in the title role.] -- Théâtre Ventadour: [Editorial on Bagier's choice of Freischütz, Norma, and Samuel David's Un Caprice de Ninon as the first works to be offered by his Théâtre-Lyrique français at the Salle Ventadour. Review of the inaugural performance of] Le Freischütz. -- Société des concerts du Conservatoire: Fragmens de la Damnation de Faust. -- Concert du Châtelet: L'Enfance du Christ [the first Parisian performance since the winter of 1854-55, when, as Reyer recalls, it was conducted by the composer]."

F-15/01

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Reprise du Caïd, opéra comique en deux actes; paroles de M. Thomas Sauvage, musique de M. Ambroise Thomas. -- Théâtre Ventadour: La fermeture. [Reyer considers the factors which he holds responsible for the demise of Bagier's Théâtre-Lyrique français.] -- L'Opéra populaire. [Editorial suggesting that the Opéra's old home on the rue Le Peletier be rebuilt as the home of a new Théâtre-Lyrique, an 'opéra populaire.'] -- Société des Concerts du Conservatoire: Scènes dramatiques d'après Shakespeare, par M. Jules Massenet [premiere]. -- Concerts du Châtelet: La danse macabre, par M. Camille Saint-Saëns [premiere]. -- Concerts [of four pianists]: Mmes Montigny-Rémaury, Essipoff; MM. Théodore Ritter; le capitaine Voyer. --

[Private concert featuring a young French pianist:] Mme Henriette Fritsch. [-- Announcement of the forthcoming performance of Haydn's The Seasons at the Concerts populaires.]"

F-29/01

"Revue musicale. [Reviews of new publications:] Histoire générale de la musique depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu'à nos jours, par F.-J. Fétis (4e volume). -- Traité de l'expression musicale, par M. Mathis Lussy. [Reyer expresses reservations about this treatise, which had been awarded a medal at the Universal Exposition at Vienna and had been adopted by the Brussels Conservatoire.] -- Fritiof, légende scandinave de Esaïas Tegner (traduite par M. Victor Wilder), musique de M. Max Bruch. -- Recueil de mélodies pour chant et piano, par M. Ch.-L. Hess. -- Publications diverses. [Announcement of publications received from the firm of Durand, Schoenewerk et Ce (notably Schumann's Adventlied in French translation).]"

F-20/02

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: la Favorite; Guillaume Tell, M. Faure, Mlle Bloch, Mme Nilsson-Rouzeaud, Mme Carvalho, Mlle Krauss. [The répétition générale of Guillaume Tell. The Opéra's intention of reviving La Favorite 'pour la rentrée de M. Faure' elicits an editorial urging the director to 'compléter les ressources de son personnel' by hiring younger singers who will contribute to 'la formation d'une troupe d'ensemble.' Reyer then considers the other celebrities on the roster: Mme Carvalho; Mme Nilsson; Mlle Krauss, who is studying the role of Meyerbeer's Valentine.] -- Fausse nouvelle d'un changement de direction à l'Opéra-Comique. [Reyer contradicts a rumor that Camille du Locle plans to retire.] -- [Comments on a forthcoming premiere at the Comique:] Carmen. -- Société des concerts du Conservatoire: Concerto en sol mineur, de M. Camille Saint-Saëns. -- Mme Montigny-Rémaury [who played the solo piano part in Saint-Saëns's concerto]. -- [Another performance of the Société des concerts: the orchestral suite] L'Arlésienne, de M. Georges Bizet. -- Concerts du Châtelet: Adagio de la 3e symphonie de Mme Farrenc. -- Gloria victis! ballade pour chant et orchestre, musique de M. Alexis Rostand ['un jeune compositeur marseillais' who had sent this new work to Reyer]. -- Concerts populaires: [Haydn's] Les Saisons. -- M. Joseph Servais [Belgian cellist who played an unpublished concerto by his father (Adrien-François) at one of the Concerts populaires]. -- Symphonie espagnole, de M. Lalo. -- M. Sarasate [Spanish violinist who premiered Lalo's work at one of the Concerts populaires]. -- Concert de M. Eugène Sauzay [featuring his settings of the intermèdes of Molière's plays Le Sicilien and Georges Dandin]."

F-27/02

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Relâche par indispositions (sic) de MM. Villaret, Bosquin, Achard, Mierzwinski, Salomon et Vergnet. [Editorial on the postponing of the revivals of La Favorite and Guillaume Tell because, supposedly, all six of the Opéra's tenors were suddenly stricken with 'plusieurs indispositions.'] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Carmen, opéra comique en quatre actes, tiré d'une

Nouvelle de Prosper Mérimée, par MM. Henri Meilhac et Ludovic Halévy, musique de M. Georges Bizet. -- [Notices on two new publications:] Histoire et Théorie de la musique dans l'antiquité, par M. Gevaert. -- Trio pour piano, violon et violoncelle, par Mlle Louise Bertin. -- Reprise de Guillaume Tell. [A brief postscript on this revival, which was finally staged 'lundi dernier.']"

F††-14/03

"Revue musicale. [Opening remarks: contemporary French composers 'auxquels le théâtre fait des loisirs' are writing oratorios.] Eve, mystère en trois parties, poëme de M. Louis Gallet, musique de M. Jules Massenet [premiered at the Cirque du Champs-Elysées by Lamoureux's Société de l'Harmonie sacrée]. -- Théâtre Ventadour [i.e., Salle Ventadour]: Rédemption, poëme-symphonie de M. Edouard Blau, musique de M. César Franck. [Reyer had not heard this work since its premiere at Colonne's Concerts de l'Odéon in 1873.] -- Salle Pleyel: Agar, scènes bibliques, paroles de M. Paul Collin, musique de M. Georges Pfeiffer."

F-27/03

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Reprise d'Hamlet, Mme Carvalho [in the role of Ophélie, created by Mme Nilsson in 1868]. [Remarks on an extra performance of La Juive.] -- Concerts Pasdeloup: Le Requiem de Johannes Brahms. [Review of the Parisian premiere of excerpts from Ein deutsches Requiem in French translation. Reyer, who had studied the score, remonstrates against 'cette fâcheuse habitude de tronquer les oeuvres qui se prêtent le moins à des coupures.'] -- Académie des Beaux-Arts: Notice sur la vie et les oeuvres d'Auber, par M. Victor Massé. [Reyer discusses and gives excerpts from a speech delivered by Massé at a meeting of the Académie.] -- L'Orchestre et le Public, par M. Eusèbe Lucas. [Review of a 'brochure' by the founder and conductor of a series of 'concerts de musique classique' at the Théâtre de Monte-Carlo.] -- [Notice on a] Recueil de mélodies, par M. Henri Perry Biagioli. -- Une Noce russe au seizième siècle. [Notice on a 'représentation' sung in Russian.]"

F-17/04

[Notice on Verdi as conductor at the répétition générale of his Requiem at the Opéra-Comique (where he had conducted the Parisian premiere in 1874).]

U-18/04, p. 3

"Revue musicale. [A new score by a distinguished amateur composer:] La Forêt, poëme lyrique en trois parties, pour soli, choeurs et orchestre, par Mme de Grandval. -- Concert de Mme Szarvady (Wilhelmine Clauss). [The concert of this pianist comprised solo works by Chopin and Mendelssohn, and concertos by Beethoven and Schumann (performed with 'un orchestre assez nombreux').] -- Concert de Mlle Marie Brunot [a young pianist]. Conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation: exercice des élèves. [Review of the first student concert of the year.] -- Alphonse Royer. [Obituary of this librettist, writer, and former director of the Opéra.] -- Le concours Cressent. [As a member of the jury,

Reyer announces that the winner will soon be chosen.] -- Le concert de M. Henri Reber. [After reflecting on the 'désenchantement' that had long kept this composer virtually silent, Reyer provides information on a forthcoming concert of his music.]"

F-28/04

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: l'Amour africain, opéra comique en deux actes, poëme de M. Ernest Legouvé [after a comedy by Prosper Mérimée], musique de M. Emile Paladilhe; Don Mucarade, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de MM. Michel Carré et Jules Barbier, musique de M. Ernest Boulanger. -- Salle du Conservatoire: Concert de M. Henri Reber. [A notice on the career of this composer precedes the review of a concert of excerpts from his early successes and from the unperformed works of his later years. This 'concert à orchestre avec des solis et des choeurs' was conducted by Eugène Sauzay. -- Postscript announcing the posthumous publication of a collection of ten mélodies by Charlot, a former winner of the Prix de Rome.]"

F-14/05

"Revue musicale. Salle Ventadour: La Tour de Babel, drame biblique en quatre tableaux, musique de M. Antoine Rubinstein. [Review of the Parisian premiere of Rubinstein's oratorio (in translation).]"

F-26/05

"Revue musicale. [Obituary of] Georges Bizet. -- Les Festivals de Caen. [Review of two concerts conducted by Pasdeloup at the invitation of Caen's Société des Beaux-Arts, with guest artists Madier-Fursch (soprano), Bouhy (baritone), and Sarasate (violin).] -- Salle du Conservatoire: les Envois de Rome. [Review of the annual concert of envois from winners of the Prix de Rome: Judith and La Nativité, oratorios by Lefebvre and Maréchal respectively.]"

F††-13/06

"Revue musicale. [Book review:] Histoire et théorie de la musique de l'antiquité, par M. Fr.-Aug. Gevaert."

F-24/07

"Revue musicale. Le Théâtre-Lyrique. [News that the government will reestablish the Lyrique elicits an editorial on several pertinent matters: the restrictions imposed on the repertoire; the amount of the subsidy; the need for 'une troupe d'ensemble'; the choice of location.] -- La question du droit des pauvres à l'Assemblée Nationale. [Editorial favoring the limiting of the 'poor tax' imposed on tickets to 'les concerts non quotidiens.'] -- [Announcements of] Publications nouvelles: Roméo et Juliette, d'Hector Berlioz [piano-vocal score by Théodore Ritter]; oeuvres diverses de Schumann, de MM. Camille Saint-Saëns, Lalo, Octave Fouque, [Johannes Brahms,] etc., etc."

F-29/07

"Le centenaire de Michel-Ange. [Communication addressed to the 'Directeur' of the Débats, and dated 'Florence, les 11 et 12 septembre.' At

the invitation of the City of Florence, Reyer is attending the celebrations held in honor of the fifth Michelangelo Centenary. He describes the following: a concert of orchestral, choral, and chamber music; ceremonies at Michelangelo's house, at his tomb, and at the Michelangelo Monument. (The speech given by the painter Meissonier, who represented the Institut de France, is quoted in its entirety.)]"

*LA[CurR 191, HenR 413]-16/09, p. 2

[Second letter from Florence, dated "les 13 et 14 septembre." Reyer describes the following: the exhibition of Michelangelo's principal works; his house; a reception at the Riccardi Palace; a concert and ball at the Borghese Palace; local reaction to Verdi's declining an invitation to conduct his Requiem; the display of fireworks that closed the Centenary celebrations.]

*LA[CurR 191, HenR 413]-18/09, p. 3

"Revue musicale. Le Théâtre-Lyrique. [Editorial on the government's decision to postpone indefinitely the reestablishing of the Lyrique.] -- Mort de Léon Ehrhart [the student who had won the Prix de Rome in 1874]. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: reprise du Val d'Andorre, paroles de M. de Saint-Georges, musique d'Halévy."

F-19/10

"Revue musicale. Réflexions préliminaires. [The appearance of a fragment of Lohengrin on a forthcoming program of the Société des concerts du Conservatoire prompts Reyer to encourage all Parisian concert societies to expand their repertoires with excerpts from operas ignored by 'notre première scène lyrique.'] -- Concerts Pasdeloup: l'Arlésienne [suite by Bizet]; [Naim, overture by Reber;] Entr'acte, de M. Taubert; Concerto de violon, de M. Max Bruch. -- Concerts du Châtelet: Hommage à la mémoire de Georges Bizet: Lamento [by 'un ami de Bizet' (probably Massenet)]; Patrie [overture by Bizet]; Eloge en vers, par M. Louis Gallet; [a premiere at the same concert:] 4e Concerto de M. Camille Saint-Saëns. -- Académie des Beaux-Arts (séance annuelle): Clytemnestre, cantate de M. André Wormser, premier prix de composition musicale, paroles de M. Roger Ballu. -- [A new collection:] Airs à danser (dix-septième et dix-huitième siècles), transcrits par M. Théodore de Lajarte."

F-09/11

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Reprise de Carmen, opéra comique en quatre actes, de MM. Meilhac et Ludovic Halévy, musique de Georges Bizet. -- Théâtre de la Renaissance [an operetta house which had opened in 1873]: la Filleule du Roi, paroles de MM. Cormon et Raymond Deslandes, musique de M. Adolphe Vogel. [Review includes remarks on the career of this Belgian composer.] -- Concerts populaires: M. Sarasate [who played the solo part in Lalo's Symphonie espagnole]. -- Concerts du Châtelet: le Sacrifice, chant biblique, par M. Théodore Ritter [words by G. Boyer]. -- Roméo et Juliette, d'Hector Berlioz. [Comments on the news that Colonne, conductor of the Châtelet concerts, intends to present this work in its entirety.] -- [A new collection:] Six morceaux

de salon, pour piano et violoncelle, par M. Léon Jacquard. [-- Announcement: at a forthcoming Châtelet concert, Jacquard will appear as soloist in the Parisian premiere of Schumann's Cello Concerto in A Minor.]"

F-21/11

"Revue musicale. Concerts du Châtelet: Roméo et Juliette, symphonie dramatique composée d'après la tragédie de Shakespeare par Hector Berlioz, paroles de M. Emile Deschamps. [Review includes information on the genesis and the history of this work, which had not been performed in its entirety at Paris since 1839.] -- Les soli chantés par Mlle Vergin, M. Bouhy et M. Furst. [-- The Note de l'auteur added by Berlioz to a late edition of the score.] -- Le Théâtre-Lyrique. -- M. Albert Vizentini. [Reflections on the news that Vizentini will transform his Théâtre de la Gaîté into a lyric theatre.] -- Concerts populaires: Mme Montigny-Rémaury. [Review of performances by 'deux virtuoses de grand talent': Montigny-Rémaury in Beethoven's Piano Concerto in C Major, and the young Marsick in Vieuxtemps's Violin Concerto in E Major.] -- Concours Cressent. [Remarks on the jury's choice of Bathyle, libretto by Edouard Blau, music by William Chaumet.]"

F-12/12

"Revue musicale de l'année 1875. [Théâtre de l'Opéra: repertoire; principal singers, notably a new bass named Boudouresque; rehearsals of Mermet's Jeanne d'Arc; the public 'bals masqués.' -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Carmen and the other new works (Don Mucarade and L'Amour africain); forthcoming premiere of Guiraud's Piccolino. -- Unsuccessful attempts to reestablish the Théâtre-Lyrique: the Opéra populaire du Châtelet; Bagier's Théâtre-Lyrique français at the Ventadour. -- Vizentini's plan to reestablish the Lyrique. -- Société de l'Harmonie sacrée: Lamoureux's petition for a new home for this displaced society. -- Société des concerts du Conservatoire: Parisian premiere of Schumann's Manfred. -- Editorial urging that the government allocate annually a 'prime d'encouragement' for whichever concert society had rendered the greatest services to musical life in the capital. -- Enumeration of 'les oeuvres importantes qui se sont produites cette année en dehors du théâtre.' -- A quartet by Auguste Morel at a concert given by the Cercle littéraire et artistique de la rue de la Chaussée-d'Antin. -- Deaths of Bizet, Mme Farrenc, and Léon Ehrhart.]"

F-26/12

1876

Journal des Débats

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Reprise du Voyage en Chine [by François Bazin; one of the Comique's greatest successes of the season 1865-66]. [Remarks on the termination of rehearsals of Guiraud's Piccolino at the Comique.] -- Le centenaire de Boïeldieu et le livre de M. Arthur Pougin. [Comments on the centenary celebrations at Rouen and Paris are followed by a review of Pougin's Boïeldieu, sa vie, ses

oeuvres, son caractère, sa correspondance.] -- [Another book review:] Histoire de la musique moderne et des musiciens célèbres, etc., par M. Marcillac. -- Concerts populaires: Harold en Italie, symphonie d'Hector Berlioz. [Review includes information on the genesis and history of this work, which had not been performed in its entirety at Paris since 1840.] -- Société des Concerts du Conservatoire: Symphonie de M. Deldevez [conductor of this society]."

F-21/01

"Revue musicale. Les envois des prix de Rome. -- Rapport de M. le secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts. [Editorial addressing an action never before taken by the Académie: the publishing of the secretary's report on the Académiciens' judgments of the envois by former winners of the Prix de Rome (in this case, Salvayre, Serpette, and Maréchal).] -- Concert de M. Henry Ketten. [A notice on the career of this composer-pianist introduces a review of a concert which featured his piano solos and orchestral compositions. (The orchestra was conducted by Colonne.)] -- Concert de M. et Mme Viguier. [Review of this concert given by a violist and pianist includes remarks on the neglect of the teaching of viola in France.] -- Société des Concerts du Conservatoire: fragment du 2e acte de Sigurd [i.e., the scene of Brunehild's awakening], chanté par Mlle Krauss et M. Vergnet. [-- Postscript applauding Pasdeloup for engaging the baritone Maurel as guest artist for three Concerts populaires.]"

F-29/01

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: ['Préambule' objecting to the Opéra's custom of shortening such works as Guillaume Tell, Robert le Diable, Les Huguenots, La Juive, and Le Freischütz.] Début de Mlle Marguerite Baux et de Mlle Vergin dans la Juive. -- Halévy et Meyerbeer. [After recalling Meyerbeer's wrath over a singer's tampering with the role of Valentine, Reyer wonders why this composer often acquiesced to the wishes of his interpreters. The critic expresses doubt that Halévy made such concessions.] -- Les partitions et les traditions. [Reyer maintains that the supposedly traditional changes in the principal roles of La Juive did not originate with Halévy.] -- Concerts du Châtelet: les Héroïques. [Review of fragments of a 'drame lyrique,' libretto and music by a young sister and brother named Antonine and Henri Perry-Biagioli.] -- Les Annales du théâtre et de la musique pendant l'année 1845, par MM. Noël et Stoullig. [Notice on 'le premier volume d'une publication annuelle.']"

F-15/02

"Revue musicale. Société des concerts du Conservatoire: les deux premières parties de la Damnation de Faust, d'Hector Berlioz. [Review includes remarks on the reception of Berlioz's music in general and this work in particular during the composer's lifetime.] -- MM. Bosquin, Bouhy et Auguez [soloists in the performance conducted by Deldevez at the Conservatoire concert]. -- Lettre d'Hector Berlioz à M. Deldevez. [Reyer publishes a letter in which Berlioz thanked the young Deldevez for correcting the first proofs of the Damnation.] -- Concerts

populaires: M. Maurel [guest artist at two concerts]; M. Pasdeloup et M. Wilhelmj. [Comments on the breaking of a tentative agreement to have the German violinist appear as guest artist at one of the Concerts populaires.] -- Le Théâtre-Lyrique. [Brief editorial on the dispute between the government and the Prefect of the Seine concerning whether or not Vizentini, whose Théâtre de la Gaîté is 'transformé en Théâtre-Lyrique avec l'autorisation du ministre des beaux-arts,' is legally entitled to the repertoire of the old Théâtre-Lyrique.]"

F-01/03

"Revue musicale. Le théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique. [Editorial: Reyer first appluads the provisional transferral of the directorship from du Locle to Emile Perrin (director of the Comédie-Française), and then considers du Locle's tenure.] -- Concerts du Châtelet: le Déluge, poëme biblique en trois parties, par M. Louis Gallet, musique de M. Camille Saint-Saëns [premiere]. -- Les Concerts classiques en France, par M. Eusèbe Lucas. [Notice on a new book by the conductor of the Concerts de Monte-Carlo.]"

F-19/03

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Jeanne d'Arc, opéra en quatre actes et six tableaux, paroles et musique de M. Mermet. [Review is introduced by remarks on the career of this composer, whose most recent work for the Opéra had been Roland à Ronceveaux (1864).]"

F-09/04

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Piccolino, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. Victorien Sardou et Nuitter, musique de M. Ernest Guiraud."

F-16/04

"Revue musicale. Théâtre-Italien: Aïda, opéra en quatre actes, paroles de M. A. Ghislanzoni, musique de M. Giuseppe Verdi. [Review of this Parisian premiere is introduced by a brief recapitulation of the general impression Reyer received when he heard the work at Cairo in 1871.]"

F-26/04

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: les Amoureux de Catherine, opéra comique en un acte tiré de la Nouvelle d'Erckmann-Chatrian, par M. Jules Barbier, musique de M. Henri Maréchal. [Review opens with remarks on the improving fortunes of the Comique under Perrin.] -- Les Héroïques, drame lyrique en trois parties, par Mlle Antonine Perry-Biagioli, musique de M. Henri Perry-Biagioli. [The performance of this opera in concert at the Comique prompts Reyer to reflect on a similar 'aventure' undertaken in 1844 by the then-unknown Félicien David, whose ode-symphonie Le Désert was performed at the Conservatoire and brought the composer overnight acclaim.] -- Théâtre-Lyrique, réouverture: Dimitri, opéra en cinq actes, paroles de MM. Henri de Bornier et Armand Silvestre, musique de M. Joncières. [Reyer's remarks on the 'réouverture' constitute an editorial objecting that the Prefect of the Seine still denies Vizentini use of the name and the

repertoire of the old Théâtre-Lyrique; Vizentini's enterprise is therefore known as the Opéra-National-Lyrique.]"

F-14/05

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Philémon et Baucis, opéra comique en deux actes, paroles de MM. Jules Barbier et Michel Carré, musique de M. Charles Gounod. [Before reviewing this production of yet another work appropriated from the repertoire of the defunct Théâtre-Lyrique, Reyer editorializes on the 'situation équivoque' of Vizentini, and urges that this director of the resuscitated Lyrique be given rights to what remains of the repertoire of the old Lyrique.] -- [Vizentini's] Théâtre National Lyrique: Les Erinnyes, tragédie antique de M. Leconte de Lisle, musique de M. J. Massenet. [Massenet had expanded his incidental music (1873) to form 'une oeuvre complète,' as Reyer explains in his review.]"

F-28/05

"Revue musicale. [Vizentini's] Théâtre-Lyrique: Quelques mots sur les concours, à propos du Magnifique. [Reyer makes a few comments on the premiere of this one-act opéra comique (libretto by Jules Barbier, music by Jules Philippot), which had won the old Lyrique's competition for new operas in 1869. He then launches into an editorial on the results of such competitions.] -- Les subventions. -- L'amendement de M. Lucien Dautresme. [The impending vote on the subsidies of the theatres causes Reyer to consider a deputy's proposal that the system of subsidization be changed, and that the Opéra, Opéra-Comique, and Théâtre-Lyrique all be placed under the direct control of the government.] -- Reprise d'Oberon [at the Théâtre-Lyrique]. -- Un quatuor de Verdi. [Remarks on an unpublished string quartet (probably the Quartet in E Minor) which was premiered at Naples 'il y a environ deux ans' and will be performed at Paris 'cet hiver.'] -- Mme Marie Sass. [Announcement that this soprano will return to Paris in September to sing first at the Opéra and then at the Théâtre-Lyrique.]"

F-18/06

[Review of the Opéra's new production of Pacini's translation of Der Freischütz, which will be used as a curtain-raiser for Delibes's ballet Sylvia.]

A-06/07, p. 3

"Revue musicale. Les Concerts de la saison. [At the Conservatoire: the students' annual concert; concert of envois by former winners of the Prix de Rome (Maréchal, Salvayre, and Ehrhart). -- Chamber music: comments on its popularization by chamber music organizations; the repertoires of the Société Taudou-Desjardins, the Société Rémy-Marsick, and the Société des derniers grands quatuors de Beethoven. -- Brief reviews of new works by Parisian instrumentalists: a cello concerto by Vieuxtemps; works by the cellist Léon Jacquard and the violinist Jules Armingaud at a concert given by these two artists (with the assistance of four others). -- Pianists: concert classique of Mlle Marie de Pierpont; concert of Mlle M.-L. Rouff; Parisian premiere of Brahms's

Piano Concerto in D Minor at a concert of Mme Szarvady (Wilhelmine Clauss); concert of Mme Montigny-Rémaury; enumeration of outstanding male pianists. -- Violinists: concert of Julien Sauzay; the violinist Charles Dancla as composer; Vieuxtemps's Violin Concerto in A Minor, performed by Wieniawski. -- The first concert spirituel of Holy Week: works by Mme de Grandval, Charles Hess, and Georges Martin. -- The duet from Act I of Berlioz's Béatrice et Bénédict at a matinée musicale given by Colonne.]"

F-15/07

"Revue musicale. L'Institution des dames pensionnaires de S. M. le roi des Pays-Bas pour l'art lyrique et dramatique. [Reyer was among an international group of musicians invited by the King of the Low Countries to the Château Loo at Apeldoorn, to judge the exercices of the girls who study piano and voice at the Institution established at Brussels. Reyer comments on both the Institution and the Brussels Conservatoire.] -- Le château du Loo. [Description of the château and its theatre, where the exercices were held. Remarks on the exercices: several outstanding students; the student orchestra from the Brussels Conservatoire. -- A visit to Amsterdam: paintings in the Royal Museum; the Palais de l'Industrie, site of a forthcoming festival of choral societies from Belgium, France, and Germany. -- The Hague, Rotterdam, and the town of Dordrecht, the 'dernière étape' in Reyer's trip through Holland.]"

F-17/08

"[Communication addressed to the 'Directeur' of the Débats, and dated:] Blanche-Couronne (Loire-Inférieure), le 1er septembre 1876. [Reyer, who has just received word of the death of Félicien David, mourns the loss of 'non seulement le musicien poétique et charmant, mais aussi l'homme loyal et bon, l'ami sincère et dévoué.']"

LA-03/09, p. 3

"Revue musicale. [Obituary of] Félicien David."

F††-18/09

"Revue musicale. Réouverture du Théâtre-Lyrique. [Editorial in which Reyer decries the municipal administration's constant opposition to the existence of this theatre; defends the director, his singers, and his intentions as regards repertoire; and urges that the enterprise 'soit soutenu par tous les moyens possibles.' This editorial is followed by remarks on two of the Lyrique's tenors: Watson in Dimitri, and Michot in Oberon.] -- Réouverture de l'Opéra-Comique. [Reyer urges Carvalho, the new director, to rejuvenate the repertoire and to 'composer une troupe digne de son théâtre.'] -- Exposition musicale d'oeuvres de compositeurs vivans. -- Projet de M. Ernest L'Epine. [Editorial against L'Epine's proposal that there should be an annual Exposition musicale at which the entries would be performed in public and judged by a jury.]"

F-08/10

[Editorial objecting to the hissing of an excerpt from Wagner's Die Götterdämmerung at Pasdeloup's most recent Concert populaire. Reyer

supports his position by reprinting a letter which Pasdeloup, in an attempt to explain to the public his own attitude toward Wagner's music, had sent to the editor of the newspaper Le Figaro.]

A-02 and 03/11, p. 3

"Revue musicale. Théâtre-Italien: la Forza del Destino, opéra en quatre actes, paroles de F. Piave, musique de M. G. Verdi [Parisian premiere]. -- Théâtre-Lyrique: Reprise de Giralda, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles d'Eugène Scribe, musique d'Adolphe Adam. -- Séance annuelle de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts: Exécution de la cantate couronnée. -- M. Véronge de la Nux, M. Hillemacher. [Explanation of why the Académie has awarded the Prix de Rome to two cantatas instead of one. Review of the winning cantatas: settings of Paul Alexandre's poem Judith by Paul Hillemacher and Véronge de la Nux.]"

F-12/11

"Revue musicale. [Description of a musical fragment and other annotations made by Berlioz in his copy of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's tale Paul et Virginie, which the dying composer had given to Reyer. --] Opéra-National-Lyrique [official name of Vizentini's Théâtre-Lyrique]: Paul et Virginie, opéra en trois actes, paroles de Michel Carré et M. Jules Barbier [after Bernardin de Saint-Pierre], musique de M. Victor Massé. -- [Postscript:] Théâtre-Italien: Reprise d'Aïda. [Reyer apologizes that lack of space prevents him from discussing this revival and the Comique's revival of Félicien David's Lalla-Roukh.]"

F††-25/11

"Revue musicale. [Opening remarks on the 'très grand nombre de reprises' staged by Parisian lyric theatres within the past two or three weeks. --] Théâtre-Italien: Reprises d'Aïda et de [Donizetti's] Poliuto. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: reprises de Lalla-Roukh et de la Fille du Régiment. [Reyer's comments on the latter pertain only to the debut of Raffaella Franchino.] -- Théâtre-Lyrique: reprises du Barbier de Séville et des Troqueurs, d'Hérold. [Notice on Zina Dalti and Pierre-Emile Engel in Le Barbier. A few observations on the history of the one-act Les Troqueurs, which is being used as a curtain-raiser for Le Barbier.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: reprise de Robert le Diable (Mlle Gabrielle Krauss). [Reyer remarks on all of the principals but focuses his attention on Krauss, 'la première tragédienne lyrique de ce temps-ci.']"

F-10/12

1877

Journal des Débats

"Revue musicale de l'année 1876. [Lyric theatres: recollections of the few 'ouvrages nouveaux' and the many 'reprises.' Mme Albani, the new prima donna of the Théâtre-Italien. Forthcoming premiere of Saint-Saëns's Le Timbre d'argent at Vizentini's Théâtre-Lyrique. -- Concert

societies: Berlioz's Symphonie fantastique at one of Pasdeloup's Concerts populaires. (Review includes information on earlier performances of this work, which had not been presented in its entirety at Paris since 1832.) The public's reactions to music by Berlioz at the Société des concerts du Conservatoire and at Colonne's Concerts du Châtelet. Brief editorial urging the government to subsidize the concert societies of Pasdeloup and Colonne. Notices on the premieres of two overtures: Lalo's Le Roi d'Ys and Tchaikovsky's Romeo and Juliette. Enumeration of other works that appeared on the programs of the concert societies. The late Félicien David's Le Désert at concerts of both Pasdeloup and Colonne. Debut of Paul Viardot (violinist) at one of Pasdeloup's concerts. -- Gounod's Messe du Sacré-Coeur de Jésus at the Church of Saint-Eustache. -- Obituary of the composer Alfred Holmes.]"

F-16/01

"Revue musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique: Reprise de Martha. [Review includes a brief history of Flotow's work, which had been a great success at the old Lyrique. -- Editorial demanding that the government remedy the financial distress of the Théâtre-Lyrique by first liquidating it and then reestablishing it on a solid financial foundation.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: reprises de la Fête du village voisin et de Cendrillon. [Reviews incorporate comments by Pougin and Fétis concerning the premieres of these works in 1816 and 1810 respectively.] -- [Announcement of new publications:] Deux Recueils de mélodies pour chant et piano, par M. Alphonse Duvernoy et M. Jules Cressonnois."

F-30/01

"Revue musicale. Le Requiem de M. Deldevez. -- Habeneck. -- La Société des Concerts. -- La 9^{e} symphonie de Beethoven. -- Mlle Gabrielle Krauss. [All of these subtitles pertain to Reyer's review of two events commemorating the anniversary of the death of Habeneck (founder of the Société des concerts du Conservatoire). The first event, a concert at the Conservatoire, featured Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, with Krauss as one of the soloists in the choral finale. The second event, at the Church of the Trinité, was a performance of a Requiem which Deldevez (the current conductor of the Société) had composed and dedicated to the memory of Habeneck.] -- Salle Pleyel: Mme Szarvady. -- Mme Montigny-Rémaury. [Reviews of the concerts presented by these rival pianists.] -- Société fondée pour l'exécution des derniers quatuors de Beethoven. [Reyer applauds the ensemble for reserving on its programs a place for contemporary composers such as Brahms.] -- Concerts populaires: la Damnation de Faust. [Remarks on the recent performance of Parts I and II, and on the intention of both Pasdeloup and Colonne to present the entire work on the same day.] -- Théâtre-Italien: Linda di Chamounix (Mlle Albani, M. Pandolfini). [Reyer, 'émerveillé de l'exécution,' congratulates the director for having gathered together 'un groupe d'excellens artistes.'] -- Théâtre-Lyrique: Les vicissitudes du Timbre d'argent. [A description of the history of this work leads to an editorial reiterating a position taken by Reyer in the JD F-30/01: Vizentini's Théâtre-Lyrique should be liquidated and then reestablished

with a substantial subsidy. Reyer now supports his position by publishing a letter he had received from Vizentini.]"

F-18/02

"Revue musicale. Théâtre-National-Lyrique [Théâtre-Lyrique]: Le Timbre d'argent, drame lyrique ou opéra fantastique en quatre actes et huit tableaux, de MM. Jules Barbier et Michel Carré, musique de M. Camille Saint-Saëns. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Reprise de Philémon et Baucis. [Remarks on two of the principals in this revival of Gounod's work.]"

F-27/02

"Revue musicale. La Damnation de Faust, d'Hector Berlioz. [Review of a performance at Colonne's Concerts du Châtelet, with comments on Pasdeloup's unsuccessful effort, and information on the genesis as well as the history of Berlioz's work (which had not been performed in its entirety at Paris since 1846).]"

F††-13/03

"Revue musicale. Concerts du Châtelet: Sixième exécution de la Damnation de Faust [at the last concert in the Châtelet series]; Mme Duvivier, M. Talazac, M. Lauwers, M. Carroul [soloists]; l'orchestre et les choeurs. -- Concerts populaires: Festival en l'honneur de Beethoven. [Reyer reports what he was told concerning a concert of Beethoven's music, presented in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the composer's death. (Reyer admits that he did not attend this concert because it occurred at the same time as the last performance of the Damnation at the Châtelet.) -- Announcement: excerpts from L'Enfance du Christ will be performed at the Concerts populaires on Good Friday.] -- Concert de Mlle Marie Poitevin [pianist; assisted by her teacher, Elie Delaborde]. [-- Notice on a new publication: a 'brochure' consisting of a series of articles recently published by Adolphe Jullien, concerning Weber's five-day stay at Paris in 1826.]"

F-30/03

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Cinq-Mars, drame lyrique en quatre actes et cinq tableaux, par MM. Paul Poirson et Louis Gallet [after Alfred de Vigny], musique de M. Charles Gounod. [Review includes reflections on the presence of 'quelques phrases dialoguées' as a concession to the opéra-comique tradition.]"

F-15/04

"Revue musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique: le Bravo, opéra en trois actes et quatre tableaux, par M. Emile Blavet [after Fenimore Cooper], musique de M. Salvayre. [Before concluding the review of this work by a former winner of the Prix de Rome, Reyer editorializes on the current situation of these laureates and other young French composers.] -- Théâtre-Italien: Mme Zagury-Harris. [Notice on her return in Lucia.] -- Concert annuel de la Société des Symphonistes. [Two movements from a symphony by Léonce Farrenc were among the items performed by this organization of

amateurs (conducted by Léopold Deledicque). -- Postscript: a few remarks on the premiere of Massenet's Le Roi de Lahore at the Opéra.]"

F-29/04

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: le Roi de Lahore, opéra en cinq actes, de M. Louis Gallet, musique de M. J. Massenet. [Review begins with a description of the circumstances which prompted the director to premiere the first five-act opera by the young Massenet, who had never before had a work performed at this theatre.]"

F-10/05

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Bathyle, opéra comique en un acte, par M. Edouard Blau, musique de M. William Chaumet. [Review includes objections that 'la version originale,' which had won the Concours Cressent in 1875, had been altered.] -- Exercice public des élèves du Conservatoire. [Reyer first lists the items on the program of this concert, and then comments on each of the soloists as well as the chorus and the orchestra.] -- Concert de M. Colonne. [Review of an all-Berlioz program given at the new Salle Erard to benefit Colonne's concert society. After remarking on the inadequacies of 'la salle nouvellement construite,' Reyer laments that Paris still does not have 'une véritable salle de concert.'] -- Hector Berlioz. [The performance of the Trojan March at Colonne's benefit concert calls to Reyer's mind the production of Les Troyens à Carthage at the old Théâtre-Lyrique. He notes that Meyerbeer had attended every performance.]"

F-23/05

"Revue musicale. Le Théâtre-Lyrique: clôture de la saison. [Brief editorial on the presenting of 'trois pièces nouvelles' on the last evening.] -- Son programme pour la saison prochaine. [After listing the 'nouveautés' and the 'reprises' announced by Vizentini, Reyer considers these 'belles promesses' vis-à-vis the precarious financial situation of the Lyrique.] -- L'Opéra-Comique. [Objections to the administration's decision not to renew the contracts of M. Nicot and Mlle Ducasse.] -- Le Théâtre-Italien et Mme Adelina Patti. [Comments on the question of whether she will appear at this theatre next winter.] -- Judith, drame lyrique en trois actes, de M. Charles Lefebvre. [Calling attention to the newly published score of this oratorio by a former winner of the Prix de Rome, Reyer hopes that 'l'occasion me sera donnée de l'entendre avec l'orchestre.'] -- Concert au profit des Alsaciens-Lorrains: Mlle Adaïewski. [Remarks on a benefit concert at which most of the music was by this Russian composer. Notice on her works, of which Reyer has read 'plusieurs échantillons.'] -- Traité complet de chant et de déclamation lyrique, par M. Delle-Sedie. [Review of a manual by the Italian singing teacher who was then 'bien connu' as a professor at the Paris Conservatoire.]"

F-27/06

"Revue musicale. Les concerts. [Reflections on contemporary Parisian concert life: many virtuosos who used to give only one annual concert now give at least two; singers usually forgo mélodies and romances in

favor of 'des airs d'opéra'; and the popularity of the piano makes it 'le roi des instrumens,' followed by 'le violon, puis le violoncelle, et c'est tout.' -- Vivier, the horn virtuoso whose annual concert continues to attract 'ses fidèles.' -- Eduard Reményi: as violinist; his arrangement of Schubert's Divertissement à l'hongroise, Op. 54. -- A six-year-old prodigy from Brazil: Eugène-Maurice Dengremont (violinist). -- Three young Belgians studying at Paris: Mlle Anna Verhulst (pianist), Mlle Jeanne Kühn (pianist), and Joseph Hollmann (cellist). -- Two orchestral works by the pianist-composer Alphonse Duvernoy. -- The first concert of 'une toute jeune pianiste,' Mlle Jane Debillemont (with assisting artists). -- Apropos of chamber music: works by Charles Dancla; the continuing success of the Société Rémy-Marsick. -- Arabella Goddard (pianist). -- The recently completed provincial tour of Pasdeloup's orchestra, with guest artists Théodore and Cécile Ritter (pianist and soprano respectively).]"

F-08/07

"Revue musicale. Les concours du Conservatoire. [Opening remarks: although this institution did not produce a winner of the Prix de Rome this year, it yielded 'd'assez bons fruits.' -- The vocal competitions: Reyer considers each winner in turn, giving most of his attention to the tenors Sellier and Talazac, and the mezzo-soprano Mlle Richard. He concludes with a brief editorial urging the laureates to continue their training, because an award from the Conservatoire does not necessarily mean that a singer is 'un artiste.' -- The piano competition: remarks on the number of competitors; names of the winners. -- The harp competition: the participation of only four students, none of whom won a 'premier prix,' elicits observations on the need to encourage the study of this instrument. -- The organ competition: Reyer reports what he was told concerning this competition, which, like the 'concours de harpe,' took place 'à huis clos.' -- The violin and cello competitions: objections to the concertos selected; names of the winning students. -- Reyer calls for the teaching of viola at the Conservatoire. -- Names of the winners of the competitions for double bass and for various categories of woodwinds and brass. -- Comments apropos of the Prix de Rome: the decision not to present the annual public concert of envois from former winners; the decision not to award the prize this year. -- Summary of the speech presented by the Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts.]"

F-19/08

"Revue musicale. Théâtre national de l'Opéra: La Reine de Chypre, grand opéra en cinq actes, paroles de Henri de Saint-Georges, musique de F. Halévy. [Review of this fourth revival of Halévy's work includes remarks on its history.] -- Mlle Rosine Bloch [as Catherine Cornaro]; MM. Villaret, Lassalle, Caron, Menu, etc., etc. [-- Postscript: news concerning forthcoming productions at the Opéra.]"

F-28/08

"Les courses de taureaux de Saint-Sébastien. -- Frascuelo. -- Le Voyage en Espagne de M. Eugène Poitou. [While vacationing at Biarritz, Reyer

decides to travel across the border to San Sebastián, so that he can see something he has never before witnessed: the bullfights, which will feature the famous matador Frascuelo. After observing one of these combats, Reyer editorializes on the cruelty of such a 'spectacle horrible.' The editorial includes Eugène Poitou's description of a bullfight, excerpted from his book Voyage en Espagne. -- Reyer comments on the sights of San Sebastián: the citadel; Campo-Santo; the Alameda promenade; street musicians.] -- [Highlights of the trip back to Biarritz:] Pasages. -- Cambo. -- Le Pas de Roland. -- Les rapides de la Nive. -- Biarritz. -- Bayonne. [-- Reyer recalls the bullfights and vows that, upon his return to Paris, he will join the Société protectrice des animaux.]"

*F[CurR 190, HenT 415]-03/09

"Revue musicale. [The reopening of Vizentini's Théâtre-Lyrique affords Reyer an occasion to editorialize on the need for a more comfortable building in a better location. -- Reviews of three premieres at the] Théâtre-Lyrique: la Clef d'Or, comédie lyrique en trois actes, par MM. Octave Feuillet et Louis Gallet, musique de M. Eugène Gautier; Graziella, drame lyrique en deux actes, d'après Lamartine, par M. Jules Barbier, musique de M. Antony Choudens; l'Aumônier du Régiment, opéra comique en un acte, par MM. de Saint-Georges et Leuven, musique de M. Hector Salomon. -- Le ténor Monjauze [obituary]."

F-19/09

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: [Editorial regretting that, after Perrin had opened the doors of this theatre to contemporary composers (notably Massenet, Bizet, Saint-Saëns, and Guiraud), Carvalho is returning to the Comique's old repertoire. --] Reprise de l'Eclair, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. de Saint-Georges et Planard, musique de F. Halévy. -- Reprise de Mignon, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. Michel Carré et Jules Barbier, musique de M. Ambroise Thomas. [-- News concerning forthcoming revivals at the Comique.] -- Théâtre-Lyrique: reprise du Bravo, opéra en quatre actes, de M. Blavet, musique de M. G. Salvayre. -- Adolphe Adam, sa vie, sa carrière, ses Mémoires artistiques, etc., par M. Arthur Pougin. [Review of Pougin's book Adolphe Adam.]"

F-07/10

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Début de Mlle Richard [as Léonore in La Favorite]. -- M. Deldevez et M. Lamoureux. [Remarks on Deldevez's decision to retire from the conductorship of the Opéra orchestra, where he will be succeeded by Lamoureux.] -- La Société des Concerts et l'Opéra. [Reyer wonders whether Lamoureux's resignation from the orchestra of the Société des concerts du Conservatoire is the beginning of 'un scission' between the Société and the Opéra, two institutions which have enjoyed a long association.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: les Diamans de la Couronne. -- Mme Lacombe-Duprez. [Notice on her debut in the revival of Auber's work.] -- Lalla-Roukh. -- Mlle Ploux. -- Mme Eigenschenk. [Notices on the debut of Ploux and the performance of Eigenschenk in the revival of David's work.] -- Théâtre-Lyrique:

Reprise de Paul et Virginie. -- M. Capoul. [Remarks concerning the return of this 'célèbre ténor' in the role created by Engel.] -- Mlle Heilbronn et Mlle Cécile Ritter. [Comparison of the interpretation of Ritter (who had created the role of Virginie) with that of Heilbronn.] -- Si j'étais roi ou le Dormeur éveillé. [After announcing that the Lyrique will revive this comic opera, Reyer describes an ideal lyric theatre, the kind he would have if he were 'roi.'] -- Séance annuelle de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts. [Review of 'la partie musicale,' which consisted of Salvayre's overture La Bacchante (his last envoi from Rome) and a cantata by Claude Blanc, winner of the 'second grand prix' for 1877.] -- Réouverture des Concerts Pasdeloup. [Notice on the first concert of the season.]"

F-28/10

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: la Surprise de l'amour, opéra comique en deux actes, paroles de M. Ch. Monselet, d'après Marivaux, musique de M. Ferdinand Poise. [-- Notices on two revivals at the Comique: Grisar's Les Travestissemens (1839) and Monsigny's Le Déserteur (1769).] -- Le Théâtre-Italien (réouverture): [Remarks on the revival of this theatre under Léon Escudier (director since 1876).] Poliuto, musique de Donizetti. [Reyer focuses on the reappearance of Tamberlik in a role he had first performed at the Italien in 1859.] -- Théâtre-Lyrique: reprise de Si j'étais roi! opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. Dennery et Brésil, musique d'Adolphe Adam. [Very brief comments on this revival.]"

F-18/11

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: reprise de Cinq-Mars, drame lyrique en quatre actes et cinq tableaux, par MM. Paul Poirson et Louis Gallet, musique de M. Charles Gounod. [Review includes comments on the changes made by Gounod since the premiere in April.] -- Théâtre-Italien: Otello: M. Tamberlik, Mlle Sonieri [principals in this revival of Rossini's work]. -- Les subventions et les théâtres lyriques. [Vizentini's decision to try to save the Théâtre-Lyrique from bankruptcy by staging Offenbach's very popular operetta Orphée aux Enfers causes Reyer to affirm his conviction that the government, when it subsidizes a lyric theatre, should do so 'largement, c'est-à-dire dans une mesure suffisante.' -- Remarks on the forthoming reappearance of La Damnation de Faust on the programs of both the Concerts populaires and the Concerts du Châtelet.] -- La collection d'instrumens de musique d'Adolphe Sax. [Brief description of this collection, which is to be sold by auction in December.] -- [Book review:] Airs variés (Histoire, critique, biographies musicales et dramatiques), par M. Adolphe Jullien."

F-27/11

"Revue musicale. Théâtre-Italien: Zilia, drame lyrique en quatre actes, de M. Temistocle Solera, musique de M. Gaspar Villate. [Review includes some biographical information on the twenty-six-year-old composer, who was then 'absolument inconnu.'] -- [Also at the Italien:] Debut de Mlle Nordi dans Rigoletto. -- Concerts du Châtelet: [Remarks on the first in a series of concerts devoted to] la Damnation de Faust.

Mlle Vergin, M. Talazac, M. Lauwers [soloists]. -- Concerts populaires: Concerto de violoncelle, par M. Edouard Lalo [premiere, with Fischer as soloist]. -- Représentation de Samson et Dalila, opéra biblique de M. Camille Saint-Saëns, sur le théâtre grand-ducal de Weimar. [Editorial on a contemporary situation in which 'un maître français' had been obliged to take his work to a foreign theatre because 'il n'a pu le faire exécuter à Paris.']"

F-19/12

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Reprise de l'Africaine. [Review is preceded by comments on Fétis's completion of Meyerbeer's score after the composer's death in 1864.] Mlle Krauss; M. Lassalle; M. Salomon [principals in this revival]. -- Théâtre-Lyrique: Gilles de Bretagne, opéra en quatre actes et cinq tableaux; paroles de Mme Amélie Perronnet, musique de M. Kowalski [a pianist-composer, then (as now) unknown in the theatre]. -- Séance annuelle des envois de Rome: [a symphony by] M. Wormser, [an 'air varié pour instrument à cordes' and a setting of Psalm CXIII by] M. Salvayre. -- La Nativité, poëme sacré en deux parties; paroles de M. Cicille, musique de M. Henri Maréchal. [Reyer reviews this newly published oratorio, and wonders if it will ever be performed in its entirety.] -- [Obituary of the soprano] Blanche Baretti. [-- Postscript urging that the subsidies of both the Théâtre-Lyrique and the Opéra-Comique be increased.]"

F-29/12

1878

Journal des Débats

"Revue musicale de l'année 1877. Les théâtres lyriques. [A farewell to Vizentini's defunct Théâtre-Lyrique. -- News that there will be an attempt to resurrect the Lyrique leads to an editorial insisting that the 'répertoire classique' should be 'le point d'appui d'un théâtre lyrique sérieux,' and that this repertoire should receive 'la place qui lui appartient dans l'enseignement et sur les affiches de nos théâtres subventionnés.' -- The Opéra: remarks urging the long-contemplated revival of Gluck's Armide; retrospective survey of the repertoire. -- The Opéra-Comique: retrospective survey of the repertoire; notice on the revival of Halévy's Les Mousquetaires de la reine; comments on the government's tentative decision to augment the subsidy of the Comique. -- The Théâtre-Italien: retrospective survey of the repertoire; the 'louables efforts' of Léon Escudier (the director). -- The defunct Théâtre-Lyrique: retrospective survey of the repertoire, with special praise for Salvayre's Le Bravo and Antony Choudens's Graziella; list of works that Vizentini had announced he would present.]"

F-17/01

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: le Char, opéra comique en un acte et en vers, paroles de MM. Paul Arène et Alphonse Daudet, musique de M. Emile Pessard. -- Un nouveau candidat à la direction du

Théâtre-Lyrique. [Reyer remarks on one M. Dignat, and wonders where this candidate would establish his theatre.] -- Les Amans de Vérone, du marquis d'Ivry. [Recollections of the score of a work which Vizentini had intended to premiere.] -- Théâtre-Italien: rentrée de Mlle Albani. [Comments on her return from London, where the repertoire is 'beaucoup plus varié qu'à Paris.'] -- Concerts du Châtelet: Christophe Colomb, ode-symphonie en quatre parties, poëme de MM. Méry, Chaubet et Sylvain Saint-Etienne, musique de Félicien David. [Brief review includes a comparison of this neglected work with Le Désert, which both Colonne and Pasdeloup had revived in 1876.] -- Concerts populaires: le 2e concerto de M. Camille Saint-Saëns, exécuté par M. de Munck. [Short review of the cello concerto now known as no. 1.] -- Les Concerts Cressonnois à la Porte-Saint-Martin. [Reyer applauds the repertoire of this recently founded organization, which consists of 'un orchestre d'une quarantaine de musiciens et un nombre égal de choristes.']"

F-28/01

"Revue musicale. L'Opéra-Comique, le Théâtre-Lyrique, les Concerts populaires et la commission du budget. [After reading the recommendations of the committee apropos of these institutions, Reyer offers some recommendations of his own. The Opéra-Comique: the 150,000 fr. 'crédit supplémentaire' should be used to enlarge the stage and to enrich the repertoire with works which, although they contain little spoken dialogue, belong stylistically to the opéra-comique tradition. -- The Théâtre-Lyrique, 'dont on n'entend plus parler': editorial on how the Minister of Fine Arts might use the 200,000 fr. placed at his disposal. -- The 'concerts populaires': the allotting of only 20,000 fr. to the organizations of Pasdeloup and Colonne elicits an editorial on the contributions these conductors have made to French musical life, and on the need to give Pasdeloup's declining organization an annual subsidy instead of 'un encouragement momentané.']"

F-13/02

"Revue musicale. Un dernier mot sur le Théâtre-Lyrique. [Reyer again reflects on Vizentini's defunct Théâtre-Lyrique, 'moins pour constater les fautes commises que pour indiquer encore . . . comment il serait possible de les éviter.' The critic then outlines the Minister's project for using the 200,000 fr.: unpublished operas will be performed in concert at the Conservatoire, and from this 'source' the directors of the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique can choose works to add to their repertoires.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: reprise des Diamans de la couronne; Mlle Bilbault-Vauchelet [as Catarina]. -- Théâtre-Italien: reprise d'Ernani; Mme Maria Durand, M. Pandolfini, M. Cappelletti. -- Concours musical institué par la ville de Paris: M. Théodore Dubois, M. Benjamin Godard. [Remarks on the jury's decision to divide the prize equally between the composers of the cantatas Le Paradis perdu and Le Tasse.] -- Séance annuelle de la Société chorale d'amateurs dirigée par M. Guillot de Sainbris: Narcisse, idylle antique, poëme de M. Paul Collin, musique de M. J. Massenet. [Comments both on the Société and on Massenet's 'oeuvre nouvelle.'] -- Société des concerts: M. Léon Massart. [Notice on his performance of a cello concerto by Goltermann;

observations on the rest of the program.] -- M. Lemmens et sa nouvelle méthode pour accompagner et rhythmer le plain-chant. [Reyer, one of the 'très petit cercle d'auditeurs invités' who heard the celebrated Belgian organist demonstrate his 'méthode,' briefly describes how it differs from 'l'ancien système.' (Lemmens's 'méthode' was eventually published as Du chant grégorienne, sa mélodie, son rythme, son harmonisation.)]"

F-28/02

"Revue musicale. Concerts du Châtelet: la Fille du roi des Aulnes, ballade d'après une légende danoise, pour soli, choeurs et orchestre, musique de M. Niels Gade. Mme Brunet-Lafleur, M. Lassalle. [Review of the Parisian premiere of Gade's Elverskud. -- Concerts populaires: Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, with Dufriche as bass soloist.] -- L'Etoile du Nord. [Remarks on the Opéra-Comique's postponement of a revival of this work.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: début de M. Sellier [as Arnold in Guillaume Tell]. -- La pétition des jeunes compositeurs. [Editorial supporting their demand that the Minister reestablish the Théâtre-Lyrique instead of financing concert performances of unpublished operas (see JD F-28/02).] -- La reprise d'Armide. [Observations concerning the Opéra's decision to renounce such a revival.]"

F-20/03

"Revue musicale. [Concerts du Châtelet:] Le Requiem de Berlioz. [Review includes a summary of the history of this work, which had not been performed in its entirety at Paris since 1852.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: reprise de l'Etoile du Nord. [Review of the first new production since 1867.] -- Le Théâtre-Lyrique. [Reyer announces that the nomination of Léon Escudier as director of the future Théâtre-Lyrique is 'presque certaine,' and hopes that the Minister will unequivocally renounce the idea of presenting concert performances of unpublished operas.]"

F-30/03

"Revue musicale. Théâtre-Italien: Alma l'incantatrice, opéra en quatre actes, poëme de H. de Saint-Georges, adapté à la scène italienne par M. de Lauzières, musique de M. F. de Flotow. [Review begins with a brief history of this work, which had undergone several transformations since its premiere as a one-act opéra comique entitled L'Esclave de Camoëns (1843).] -- Théâtre-Lyrique [at the Salle Ventadour]: le Triomphe de la Paix, ode-symphonie en trois parties, poëme de M. Alexandre Parodi, musique de M. Samuel David. [Inauguration of the series of concert performances envisioned by the Minister.]"

F-21/04

"Revue musicale. Reprise de la Statue à l'Opéra Comique. [Reyer's work, which had been premiered as an opéra comique at the Théâtre-Lyrique in 1861, is now transformed into an opéra by the substitution of the composer's recitatives for the original spoken dialogue, and by the addition of a ballet drawn from his Sacountalâ. Reyer does not discuss the libretto and score of La Statue; instead, he recalls the performances of the principals in the original production at the Lyrique, and

assesses in some detail their successors at the Comique.]"

F††-05/05

"Revue musicale. Les concerts de la saison. (Premier article.) [Reflections on the proliferation of pianos in Parisian households. -- Remarks on the ever-increasing popularity of chamber music and on the success of four organizations which promote it (the Maurin Quartet; Sivori [violinist] and Loys [?]; the Rémy-Marsick Quartet; the Taudou-Desjardins Quartet). Works by Mme Héritte-Viardot, Benjamin Godard, and Auguste Morel at séances of L'Art moderne, a society founded for the performance of chamber music and songs by contemporary composers. Other séances of chamber music. -- Concert of the Dutch composer Jules Ten Brink: a symphony and a violin concerto. -- New works by the pianist-composers Henri Ketten and Louis Diémer. -- A woodwind quintet by the flutist Taffanel. -- Concert of a young composer named Emile Bourgeois. -- Annual concert of the Conservatoire students.]"

F-19/05

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Reprise de Psyché, opéra en quatre actes, paroles de MM. Jules Barbier et Michel Carré, musique de M. Ambroise Thomas. [This work, which had been premiered as an opéra comique in 1857, is now changed into 'un véritable grand opéra' by the substitution of the composer's recitatives for the original spoken dialogue, and by several other changes which Reyer discusses in his review.]"

F-02/06

"Revue musicale. Les concerts de la saison. (Deuxième article.) [Pianos and pianists: the piano à doubles claviers renversés, invented by Oscar Comettant and the Mangeot brothers. General remarks on the more than fifty concerts given by pianists during the season of private concerts (December through April). -- A piano concerto and a cello concerto by the organist Widor. -- Two child prodigies: Dengremont (violinist); Gemma Luziani (pianist). -- A few comments on the compositions of the Hungarian pianist A. de Bertha. -- Mlle Rouff (pianist). -- Chamber music and other works by the violinist Charles Dancla. -- Eduard Reményi: as violinist; his arrangement of Schubert's Divertissement à l'hongroise; his transcriptions of piano solos. -- Other violinists: Mme Norman-Neruda; Mlle Marguerite Pommereul. -- Adolphe Fischer (cellist). -- Hasselmans (harpist). -- At the Trocadéro: the first official concerts of the Universal Exposition of 1878 (in the 'grande salle,' a concert of excerpts from French orchestral music, choral music, and opera; in the 'petite salle' or Salle des Conférences, a séance of French chamber music).]"

F-16/06

"Revue musicale. [Opening remarks concerning the Exposition, at which the current musical attractions are the outdoor concerts featuring 'les Tziganes.'] Les Bohémiens de Moscou [a company of forty Russian musicians and dancers, also known as 'les Rossignols de Koursk']. -- Les Concerts du Trocadéro. [Reyer first explains why he had not submitted

his overture for Sigurd to the jury charged with selecting the works for the concerts of French music. He then reviews the second and third concerts, which consisted of music by Lalo, Bizet, Gounod, Massenet, Franck, and other composers.] -- [Notice on concerts given at the Trocadéro by an orchestra from Amsterdam. Review of concerts by another foreign orchestra:] L'Orchestre de la Scala. -- Académie des Beaux-Arts: Exécution et jugement des cantates pour le prix de Rome. [Assessment of the cantatas by Clément Broutin and Samuel Rousseau, winners of 'le premier grand prix' and 'un second grand prix' respectively.]"

F-05/07

"Revue musicale. [Opening remarks on the new Théâtre-Lyrique, founded by Léon Escudier at the home of his now-defunct Théâtre-Italien.] Théâtre-Lyrique (salle Ventadour): le Capitaine Fracasse, opéra comique en trois actes et six tableaux, tiré du roman de Théophile Gautier par M. Catulle Mendès, musique de M. Emile Pessart. [Review concludes with further comments about the new theatre: it must build a good orchestra and 'une bonne troupe d'ensemble,' and must present 'une bonne partition,' in order to merit support from the public and a subsidy from the government.]"

F-14/07

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Pepita, opéra comique en deux actes, paroles de MM. Nuitter et Jules Delahaye, musique de M. Léon Delahaye fils. [Reyer begins the review by pointing out that this work was originally intended for the Théâtre de la Renaissance (an operetta theatre).] -- Réflexions suggérées à l'auteur de cet article par la représentation de Pepita. [The critic hopes to see 'le jour où la spéculation heureuse cédera la place à l'art florissant': instead of catering to the public's taste for operetta, the director of the Comique will offer works which will be 'des fortifians' in the Parisian musical diet; the director of the Opéra will strive for more variety 'dans le choix des oeuvres contemporaines,' and will revive the long-neglected 'oeuvres classiques.']"

F-28/07

"Revue musicale. Les concours du Conservatoire. [Reyer first considers the question of whether the annual competitions should be abolished, and then suggests additions to the curriculum: students of singing should be familiarized with the 'répertoire classique'; and advanced students of composition should be guided through an analysis class which would embrace 'les chefs-d'oeuvre classiques de toutes les écoles' as well as 'des oeuvres modernes, toujours sans distinction d'école, produites par . . . les maîtres les plus discutés,' including Berlioz and Wagner. -- Review of the Conservatoire's vocal competitions. Names of the winners in several categories of the instrumental competitions: paino; violin; cello; double-bass; woodwinds; brass. The harp competition: names of the winners; observations on the need to encourage the study of this instrument. The organ competition: comments on the participation of only two students.] -- La distribution des prix. [Remarks on the Minister's speech. Names of the musicians who received honors from the

government after the distribution of the Conservatoire prizes.]"
F-19/08

"Revue musicale. La musique au Trocadéro. [Editorial agreeing with another journalist's complaints about the quantity and quality of the twelve concerts of French music presented at the Exposition.] -- Projet d'auditions musicales d'oeuvres symphoniques et chorales de compositeurs vivans, présenté par le ministre de l'Instruction publique et des beaux-arts. [Editorial against this proposed annual competition, which the Minister had modeled on the Expositions annuelles du Salon.] -- Concerts français. [Review of one of the Trocadéro concerts: Gounod's Gallia, conducted by the composer; music by Wekerlin, Salvayre, and Delibes.] -- Festivals et concours orphéoniques. [Remarks on the concerts and competitions of French and foreign choral societies at the Exposition.] -- Concerts anglais: la Société chorale de M. Leslie (Leslie's Choir). [Review of the three concerts sponsored by the publication British Musical Art, featuring Leslie's Choir either alone or with an orchestra.] -- Les étudians norvégiens et suédois. [Review of a concert given jointly by choral societies from Oslo and Upsala.]
F-26/08

"Revue musicale. Le Théâtre-Lyrique. -- La démission du directeur. -- Les trois théâtres de musique subventionnés. [Léon Escudier's resignation from the directorship of the foundering Lyrique occasions an editorial recommending for all three lyric theatres the 'système de régie' once used for the Opéra : the theatres would be under the direct control of the State, instead of being in the hands of directors who operated them as semi-private enterprises partly subsidized by the State.] -- Les Concerts russes du Trocadéro. [Review of the first concert, which consisted almost entirely of music by Russian composers but was performed by the Trocadéro orchestra and a chorus of French singers. Guest artists were the Russian pianist Nicholas Rubinstein (who also conducted the concert) and the Polish violinist Apollinaire de Kontski.] -- Les séances d'orgue: M. et Mme Lemmens. [Short review of the most recent concert given at the Trocadéro on 'le magnifique instrument construit par M. Cavaillé-Coll.' The Belgian organist Lemmens was assisted by his wife, the soprano Helen Sherrington Lemmens. -- Postscript about a letter published by Léon Escudier in L'Art musical.]"
F-24/09

"Revue musicale. La Cour et l'Opéra sous Louis XVI: Marie-Antoinette et Sacchini. -- Salieri. -- Favart et Gluck, d'après des documens inédits conservés aux archives de l'Etat et à l'Opéra, par M. Adolphe Jullien. [Review of Marie-Antoinette et Sacchini, the first part of Jullien's book.]"
F-06/10

"Revue musicale. La Cour et l'Opéra sous Louis XVI: Marie-Antoinette et Sacchini. -- Salieri. -- Favart et Gluck, d'après des documens inédits conservés aux archives de l'Etat et à l'Opéra, par M. Adolphe Jullien. [Review of Salieri, the second part of Jullien's book. A few

comments on Favart et Gluck.]"

F-10/10

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Polyeucte, opéra en cinq actes, de MM. Jules Barbier et Michel Carré, d'après la tragédie de Corneille, musique de M. Charles Gounod. [Review of the long-awaited premiere of Gounod's first opéra since Roméo et Juliette (1867).]"

F-15/10

"Revue musicale. Salle Ventadour [formerly the Théâtre-Lyrique, now under the provisional directorship of Capoul (the company's principal tenor)]: les Amans de Vérone, drame lyrique en cinq actes et six tableaux, imité de Shakespeare, paroles et musique du marquis d'Ivry. [Review begins with a brief history of this work, which the composer had taken from one theatre to another for fifteen years.] -- Académie des Beaux-Arts: Séance publique annuelle; exécution de la cantate la Fille de Jephté, paroles de M. Edouard Guinaud, mise en musique par les deux lauréats du grand prix de composition musicale, MM. Clément Broutin et Alexandre Rousseau. [Review of the public performance of the cantatas which had won a first and a second Prix de Rome (see JD F-05/07).]"

F-23/10

"Revue musicale. [Reviews and notices of the following publications:] Variétés littéraires et musicales, par Amédée Méreaux [a posthumous collection of articles by the former music critic of the Journal de Rouen]. -- Les pianistes célèbres, par A. Marmontel, professeur au Conservatoire. -- Nouvelle méthode de piano, par Ernest Bischoff. -- L'Art du chant, par Jules Audubert. -- La Symphonie fantastique et Harold en Italie, d'Hector Berlioz, pour piano à quatre mains [by Charles Bannelier and Mily Balakirev respectively]. -- Messe de Requiem, de M. Camille Saint-Saëns. -- Pièces composées par les plus célèbres clavecinistes flamands, retrouvées et collectionnées par le chevalier Van Elewyck. [This two-volume collection of works by celebrated Flemish clavecinists of the eighteenth century was published at Brussels.]"

F-12/11

"Revue musicale. Théâtre national de l'Opéra-Comique: les Noces de Fernande, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. Victorien Sardou et Emile de Najac, musique de M. Louis Deffès. [Review is introduced by a brief history of this work, and includes a notice on the career of Deffès (who had won the Prix de Rome in 1847).] -- Salle du Châtelet: le Paradis perdu, drame-oratorio en quatre parties, d'après le poème de Milton, par M. Edouard Blau, musique de M. Théodore Dubois. [Premiere of one of the two works which shared the Prix de la ville de Paris for 1878. (The other work, Benjamin Godard's Le Tasse, was premiered at a later concert; see JD F-01/01/1879).]"

F-30/11

"Revue musicale. Quelques mots à propos de la question de l'Opéra. [Editorial favoring a committee's recommendation that the Opéra be placed under 'régie tempérée,' and suggesting several questions which

should be addressed by this provisional system 'pour régénérer l'Opéra.' -- Editorial urging the reconstituting of the Théâtre-Lyrique, and citing ways in which the existence of such a theatre could benefit the Opéra.] -- Correspondance inédite de Hector Berlioz, 1819-1868, avec une Notice biographique, par Daniel Bernard. [Remarks on both the Notice and the collection of 156 letters (which included one that Reyer had excerpted in JD F-03/01/1867).]"

F-15/12

1879

Journal des Débats

"Revue musicale. Concerts du Châtelet: Le Tasse, symphonie dramatique, poème de M. Charles Grandmougin, musique de M. Benjamin Godard. [Premiere of one of the two works which had shared the Prix de la ville de Paris for 1878. (The other work, Théodore Dubois's Le Paradis perdu, had been premiered at an earlier concert; see JD F-30/11/1878.)] -- Les concours. [Editorial in which Reyer reaffirms his views 'sur les résultats à attendre des concours et sur leur utilité,' and suggests measures that might be more expedient for promoting new symphonic works and operas.]"

F-01/01

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Suzanne, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. Lockroy et Cormon, musique de M. Paladilhe. [-- Concerts du Châtelet: comments on the financial situation which had obliged Colonne to renounce Godard's Le Tasse after the third performance.] -- Concerts populaires: Judith, drame lyrique en trois parties, poème de M. Paul Collin, musique de M. Charles Lefebvre. [Premiere of a work which Reyer had first admired in 1877, when the score was published (see JD F-27/06/1877).] -- Festivals de l'Hippodrome. [Remarks on Vizentini's plan to present a series of concerts featuring contemporary French music conducted by the composers. Review of the first concert.]"

F-14/01

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Roméo et Juliette, opéra en cinq actes, de MM. Michel Carré et Jules Barbier, musique de M. Gounod (reprise). [Review of Carvalho's revival of a work which had been premiered by this director at the old Théâtre-Lyrique.] -- La suppression du Théâtre-Lyrique: rapport fait à la commission supérieure des théâtres par M. le sénateur Hérold. [Editorial protesting the senator's conclusion that the Théâtre-Lyrique should not be reestablished, and that the absence of such a theatre could be compensated partly by the Comique and partly by the creation of a Théâtre-Ecole.] -- Pétition adressée au ministre par la Société des compositeurs. [Excerpts from this petition of protest are incorporated by Reyer in his editorial on the senator's report.]"

F-01/02

"Revue musicale. La symphonie dramatique de Roméo et Juliette, d'Hector Berlioz, à la Société des Concerts et au Châtelet. [Editorial objecting that the Société's selection of excerpts from this work had appeared on the program 'non pas comme des fragmens détachés de l'oeuvre, mais comme les différentes parties de l'oeuvre complète.' Review of a performance of the work in its entirety at Colonne's Concerts du Châtelet.] -- Concerts populaires. [Short reviews of two compositions premiered by Pasdeloup: Jules Ten-Brink's overture to Le Cid, and J. Svendsen's Rhapsodie norvégienne. Notices on performances of two guest artists: Sivori (violinist), and Diémer (pianist).] -- Les deux derniers festivals de l'Hippodrome. [Reviews of concerts which featured music by Salvayre, Godard, Guiraud, Fauré, Weckerlin, and Saint-Saëns.] -- Encore un mot sur la question du Théâtre-Lyrique. [In compliance with a letter which Senator Hérold had sent to Reyer after reading the feuilleton of 1 February, the critic examines and responds to specific pages of the senator's report to the Commission supérieure des théâtres.]"

F-16/02

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: [Editorial reiterating Reyer's position that this theatre cannot compensate for the absence of the Théâtre-Lyrique. Review of 'la primeur de deux petites pièces nouvelles':] le Pain bis, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de MM. A. Brunswick et de Beauplan, musique de M. Théodore Dubois; la Zingarella, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de M. Jules Montini, musique de M. Joseph O'Kelly; [brief review of the newly published score of a work composed for an amateur choral society:] l'Enlèvement de Proserpine, scène lyrique pour choeur et soli, par M. Charles Collin, musique de M. Théodore Dubois. -- Concerts populaires: [debut of the soprano] Mlle Marianne Viardot [daughter of Pauline Viardot-Garcia]."

F-11/03

"Revue musicale. Le Festival-Berlioz à l'Hippodrome. [Review of the concert organized by Reyer (with the help of Vizentini) to commemorate the tenth anniversary of Berlioz's death.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: la Courte Echelle, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de M. Ch. de La Rounat, musique de M. Membrée."

F†-22/03

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: La Flûte enchantée (1re représentation à ce théâtre.) [Before reviewing this production (the first since 1865, when Mozart's work was staged at the old Théâtre-Lyrique), Reyer reflects on the Lyrique's contributions to Parisian musical life.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: Reprise du Roi de Lahore [after many successes abroad, as Reyer points out in his review]. -- La chanson des lavandières dans Ruy-Blas. [Remarks on Delibes's setting of the chanson in Victor Hugo's play, a setting composed at the request of Emile Perrin for his production at the Comédie-Française.]"

F-13/04

"Revue musicale. Salle du Trocadéro: [Editorial on the inadequacies of this 'salle de concerts,' which is now the home of the concert series

begun at the Hippodrome in January.] Festival-Gounod: Messe de Sainte-Cécile, Gallia, Super flumina Babylonis, etc., etc. [Short review of a program 'composé tout entier de morceaux connus,' conducted by Gounod at the Trocadéro.] -- Concerts populaires: le 1er acte de Lohengrin; la Résurrection de Lazare, scène religieuse, de MM. E. Favin et Ch. Grandmougin, musique de M. Raoul Pugno. [Review of Pasdeloup's slightly abbreviated version of Act I of Lohengrin includes editorializing on 'les siffleurs.' Before reviewing La Résurrection de Lazare, Reyer applauds Pasdeloup for making in his repertoire as large a place for contemporary French composers as for Wagner.]"

F-27/04

"Revue musicale. [Reflections on 'la question de l'Opéra': there is still no decision as to whether this theatre will be placed under a system of 'régie' (see JD F-15/12/1878); the director, Halanzier, has resigned.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: reprise de Don Juan, début de M. Bouhy. [Review of the performances of both Bouhy in the title role and Gabrielle Krauss as Donna Anna. The Opéra's billing of Bouhy prompts Reyer to object to the practice of advertising that an artist makes a 'début' whenever he or she sings a role for the first time.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: reprise du Caïd, débuts de Mlle Isaac et de M. Taskin. -- Salle du Conservatoire: Exercices des élèves. [Review of a program which, for the first time in the history of these public concerts, offered some music by Schumann: two movements from the Piano Quartet in E-flat.]"

F-09/05

"Revue musicale. Concerts populaires: Troisième et dernière audition des fragmens du premier acte de Lohengrin. Les sifflets et les siffleurs. [Editorial on 'les protestations brutales et préméditées' which disrupted this performance.] -- Concert de Mme Marie Jaëll: Ossiane [for soloists, chorus, and orchestra,] (prélude et 2e partie). [The concert also included Mme Jaëll's Piano Concerto in D Major, performed by the composer.] -- Société des Auditions lyriques. [Comments on this organization founded by the conductor Jules Danbé for the performance of operas by young French composers. Review of the first program, at which 'le principal attrait' was Albert Cahen's Le Bois.] -- [Announcement of] Publications diverses [notably Schumann's Requiem für Mignon in French translation by Victor Wilder]. -- La musique et les musiciens à Paris, par M. le docteur Hanslick (de Prague). [Notice on a disparaging article written by Hanslick after the Paris Exposition of 1878, at which he had served as one of the jurors in the department of music. Notice is preceded by Reyer's recollection of a chance meeting with this critic.]"

F-26/05

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Grande fête au profit des incendés de Szegedin. [Review of a benefit concert which featured the following: excerpts from operas by Verdi, Gounod, and Donizetti; orchestral music by Berlioz, Guiraud, Saint-Saëns, Gounod, and Reyer;

and airs de ballet from Delibes's Sylvia and Coppélia. Among the attractions of the concert were four celebrated singers (Gabrielle Krauss, Rosine Bloch, Faure, and Vergnet, all of the Opéra), and two then-unpublished works: Saint-Saëns's Rêverie orientale, and Massenet's Marche héroïque de Szabady.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Embrassons-nous, Folleville! opéra comique en un acte, paroles de MM. Labiche et Leiranc, musique de M. Avelino Valenti. [Review of Valenti's music for an old vaudeville includes remarks on the career of this Spanish composer.]"

F-16/06

"Revue musicale. Les concerts de la saison. [Reflections on changes that have taken place in Parisian concert life during the past few decades: recitals of romances have disappeared; interest in solo concerts has waned, and the public is now drawn by 'les concerts avec orchestre'; there are more organizations consecrated to chamber music, but they do not have large audiences. -- Pianists: Maurice Rosenthal (Polish prodigy). Frédéric Boscowitz. Frédéric Lottin's concert of music by Liszt. Elie Delaborde. Notices on Mlle Gemma Luziani, Mlle Anna Bock, and M. Agghazy. Names of 'plusieurs pianistes dont les succès se confondent un peu dans nos souvenirs.' -- Harpists: Mlle Angèle Blot. M. Hasselmans. -- Comments on women as violinists. Mlle Tayau, 'brillante violiniste' and founder of two musical organizations (the Quatuor Sainte-Cécile and L'Art moderne; see JD F-19/05/1878). Other violinists and cellists. The young violinist Ovide Musin. -- Remarks on the number of performances given in London lyric theatres and concert halls during the year 1878 (based on statistics published in the Musical Directory and reproduced in the Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris).]"

F-01/07

"Revue musicale. Le grand-prix de composition musicale. [Editorial repeating Reyer's position that the government should take certain steps to 'rassurer l'avenir' of winners of the Prix de Rome upon their return from the Villa Medici. -- Académie des Beaux-Arts: performance of the winning cantatas of 1879 (settings of Grimault's Médée by Hue, Hillemacher, and Marty, winners of the 'grand prix,' 'second prix,' and 'mention honorable' respectively).]"

F-08/07

"Revue musicale. [Review and notices of the following new scores and arrangements:] Balthasar, scène lyrique de M. Edouard Guinaud, musique de M. A. Guilmant. -- Mignon, épisodes lyriques tirés du roman Wilhelm Meister de Goethe, suivis d'un Requiem, paroles françaises de Victor Wilder, musique de Robert Schumann. -- Messe de Requiem, pour soli, choeurs et orchestre, par M. Camille Saint-Saëns. [-- Notice on Saint-Saëns's Tarentelle, arranged by the composer for two pianos.] -- Transcriptions pour piano du Menuet des Follets et de la Sérénade de la Damnation de Faust, par M. Georges Pfeiffer. -- Bagatelles, trente pièces pour piano; Mandoline, Berceuse, Rêverie, pour piano, flûte et violon, par M. Henri Reber. -- Sous les pins, romance sans paroles, de

M. Théodore Thurner. -- Publications diverses de MM. Henri Boubier, Gaston Serpette, Henri Maréchal, etc. [Reyer focuses on three mélodies by Maréchal.] -- L'Invitation à la valse (partition d'orchestre) [i.e., Berlioz's transcription of Weber's Aufforderung zum Tanze, which had been inserted as a ballet in the Opéra's 1841 production of Der Freischütz]. -- Sixième trio pour piano, violon ou violoncelle [sic], par M. Georges Mathias. -- Six Pensées musicales et trois Mélodies, piano et chant, par M. Gustave Louchet. -- Le Poème de mai, de M. Armand Silvestre, musique de M. Coedès [song cycle]. -- Poèmes de Provence, de M. Jean Alcard, musique de M. Auzende [song cycle]. [-- Two mélodies by Auzende.] -- Recueil de mélodies, par M. Octave Fouque. -- Vingt mélodies, par M. Alexis Rostand. -- Vingt-cinq mélodies, par M. J.-B. Weckerlin."

F-11/08

"Revue musicale. Les Concours du Conservatoire. [Opening remarks on the development of the career of a recent graduate: the tenor Talazac. -- The vocal competitions: Reyer considers the men's and women's competitions separately, giving most of his attention to the bass Dubulle, the tenor Lamarche, and the soprano Mlle Coyon-Hervix. -- The harp competition: as in earlier years, the participation of only a few competitors elicits observations on the need to encourage the study of this instrument. -- The piano competition: after reflecting on the large number of competitors, Reyer comments briefly on the winners in the classes of each of the five professors of piano. -- The violin competition: Mlle Teresa Tua; Mlle Godard; names of other winners. -- The cello and double-bass competitions: names of the winners. -- As in earlier years, Reyer objects that viola is not taught at the Conservatoire. -- Names of the winners in the several categories of woodwind and brass competitions. Remarks on the increasing neglect of the trumpet. -- Short description of the awards ceremony. Names of the professors who received honors from the government after the distribution of the Conservatoire prizes.]"

F-25/08

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Reprise de la Muette de Portici. [The first revival of Auber's work since 1870 occasions an editorial on the 'mission' of the Opéra: to improve 'le goût [musical] de notre génération actuelle' by familiarizing it with this and other neglected 'chefs-d'oeuvre dignes de son admiration.' The review includes an appreciation of La Muette as 'une date dans l'histoire de l'art musical.']"

F-22/09

"Les Orphéons et les Orphéonistes, à propos du concours de Cherbourg. [After attending at Cherbourg a competition of amateur choral societies (orphéons) and instrumental groups (sociétés d'harmonie and sociétés de fanfare), Reyer considers several matters: rival societies' practice of abstaining from each other's competitions; the need for the orphéons to emulate 'l'esprit de discipline et la bonne tenue' which distinguish the instrumental groups; the importance of having a 'bon musicien' as

conductor; 'l'indifférence du gouvernement' and 'la parcimonie des encouragemens accordés par les municipalités aux Sociétés orphéoniques'; the lack of rudimentary musical education amongst the members of most orphéons; and the repertoire, which Reyer finds 'mal approvisionné' in comparison with that of German and Belgian choral societies.]"
F-01/10

"Revue musicale. Aïda à l'Opéra. -- Le voyage de M. Vaucorbeil à Busseto. [News that Vaucorbeil has obtained Verdi's permission to stage Aïda at the Opéra prompts Reyer to comment both on Vaucorbeil's reasons for wanting this work, and on Verdi's reasons for granting this director the authorization that had been denied his predecessor. -- Remarks on a new lyric theatre, an 'Opéra populaire' founded by Martinet and Husson at the Salle de la Gaîté (which had once been the home of Vizentini's Théâtre-Lyrique).] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Réouverture, le Pré aux Clercs. [Reyer applauds both the refurbishing of the theatre, especially 'l'amélioration apportée à l'aménagement de l'orchestre,' and the augmenting of the orchestra itself. The revival of Hérold's work affords an opportunity to call for 'l'amélioration du personnel chantant.'] -- Concerts populaires et Concerts du Châtelet: Prochaine exécution de la Prise de Troie. [Observations concerning the intention of both Pasdeloup and Colonne to present in concert an opera of which the French public knew only a few fragments.] -- Un dernier mot au docteur Hanslick. [Response to Hanslick's anger over a notice which Reyer had published concerning an article by the Viennese critic. (Reyer's notice had appeared in JD F-26/05.)]"
F-17/10

"Revue musicale. Institut de France: [General remarks on the] Séance annuelle de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts. -- [Reviews of the two works performed at this meeting:] Ouverture composée par M. Véronge de la Nux [a former winner of the Prix de Rome]. -- Médée, scène lyrique, paroles de M. Grimault, musique de M. Georges Hue, grand prix de composition musicale. -- Le concours Rossini. [Description of the terms of this newly founded competition, which is to be judged by the Académie des Beaux-Arts.] -- Mélodies polonaises de F. Chopin. [Review of a collection of seventeen hitherto-unpublished songs which Victor Wilder has ferreted out and translated.] -- Cinq mélodies pour mezzo-soprano ou baryton, par M. Edouard Lassen. [Review of songs which Reyer had first heard at Weimar in 1863-64 and now are published in French translation by Wilder.] -- [Announcements of new publications:] Cinq Lieder, par M. Edouard Lalo. -- Méthode de piano, par M. Magnus. -- Aria et Gavotte pour violon, par M. Jules Bordier. -- Opéra populaire: [Notice on the success of the inaugural production, Halévy's] Guido et Ginerva."
F-31/10

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Reprise de Lalla-Roukh; débuts de M. Mouliérat et de M. Belhomme [two winners of the Conservatoire competitions held in August]. [-- Remarks on new lyric theatres (founded or soon-to-be founded by Leroy, Gros, and Vasseur).] -- Opéra-Populaire: Guido et Ginerva; Lucie de Lammermoor. [Review of the

latter is followed by an enumeration of the repertoire for 'cet hiver,' and a brief editorial urging that this theatre be subsidized.] -- Nouveau Lyrique [founded by Vasseur for 'la représentation de petites pièces en un ou deux actes seulement,' at the Salle de la rue Taitbout]: la Colombe, paroles de MM. Michel Carré et Jules Barbier, musique de M. Gounod [first Parisian production since 1866]; l'Ecossais de Chatou, opéra comique de MM. Philippe Gille et Léo Delibes [premiered at Paris in 1869]; prologue; intermède symphonique. [The prologue was recited at the beginning of the program; the intermède (which consisted of music by Serpette, Saint-Saëns, and Joncières) was performed between the works by Gounod and Delibes.]"

F-16/11

"Revue musicale. [Remarks on forthcoming premieres and revivals at the Opéra, the Opéra-Comique, and the Opéra-Populaire. --] Théâtre de l'Opéra: Débuts de Mlle Heilbronn dans Faust, de Mlle Janvier et de M. Melchissédec dans les Huguenots. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Rentrée de Mme Carvalho dans la Flûte enchantée et de M. Nicot dans la Dame blanche. -- Opéra-Populaire: Rita ou le Mari battu, opéra comique en un acte, de Donizetti; Sintillia la Bohémienne, ballet en deux tableaux, de M. Mazillier, musique de M. Pinto. [Reviews of these two works include objections that the Opéra-Populaire is amusing 'la galerie' with 'petits évènemens sans importance.'] -- Concerts du Châtelet: Fragmens d'Etienne Marcel [i.e., the Introduction, the ballet, and the finale of Act I of Saint-Saëns's opera]; M. Faure et M. Lauwers [soloists in the finale]. -- Concerts populaires: le premier acte de la Prise de Troie. [Reyer explains that Berlioz himself had divided this part of Les Troyens into three acts. The critic does not review Pasdeloup's premiere of Act I, preferring to wait for the premiere of the work in its entirety.]"

F-30/11

"Revue musicale. [Concerts populaires:] La Prise de Troie, d'Hector Berlioz. [Review of this premiere (concert performance) is preceded by a history of Les Troyens, of which Parisians had heard only fragments since the short-lived production of the second part, Les Troyens à Carthage, at the Théâtre-Lyrique in 1863.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: reprise d'Hamlet. Début de M. Maurel [who had left the Opéra in 1869 and had sung abroad for ten years]."

F††-12/12

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Débuts: M. Dereims, M. Mierzwinski, Mlle Vachot. [Reyer first assesses their performances in Faust, L'Africaine, and Les Huguenots respectively, and then comments further on 'le début le plus important,' that of Maurel in Hamlet.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Dianora, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de M. Jules Chantepie, musique de M. Samuel Rousseau. [Before reviewing the premiere of this work, which had won the Concours Cressent, Reyer reaffirms his position that such competitions 'ne peuvent donner et n'ont jamais donné d'ailleurs que des résultats stériles.'] -- Concerts du Châtelet: Exécution de la Prise de Troie. [Pasdeloup and Colonne had

each premiered this work on the same day. Reyer, who had attended Pasdeloup's premiere (see JD F††-12/12), now reviews a later performance conducted by Colonne. The review is preceded by reflections on the competitiveness with which Pasdeloup and Colonne have promoted Berlioz's 'renommée posthume.']"

F-26/12

1880

Journal des Débats

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: reprise de Don Juan. [Reyer begins the review by praising the director (Vaucorbeil) for having exercised his authority to obtain from the performers and the conductor 'le respect du texte et l'exactitude des mouvemens. . . . On peut dire que de mémoire d'abonné cela ne s'était jamais vu.'] -- Opéra-Populaire: reprise de Paul et Virginie. [Review of the first production of Massé's work since the premiere at Vizentini's Théâtre-Lyrique in 1876.] -- Revue de l'année 1879. [Remarks on the premiere of La Prise de Troie in concert. The Opéra and the Opéra-Comique: a retrospective review of the repertoire of each leads to the hope that 'l'année prochaine sera mieux remplie que celle-ci.' The Opéra-Populaire: reflections on both the location and the repertoire. Concerts at the Hippodrome and at the Trocadéro. The program of the annual public concert of the Conservatoire students. The Prix de Rome. Major works that were either revived or premiered at the Concerts populaires and the Concerts du Châtelet. 'Publications nouvelles . . . dont je n'ai point encore parlé': two mélodies by Philippe Maquet.]"

F-10/01

"Revue musicale. Concerts populaires: La Lyre et la Harpe, ode de Victor Hugo, mise en musique (soli, choeurs et orchestre) par M. Camille Saint-Saëns. [Review of the first Parisian performance of a work commissioned for and premiered at the Birmingham Festival of 1879.] -- [Notice on a new publication:] Recueil de trente mélodies, par M. Ch.-M. Widor. -- Académie des Beaux-Arts: le prix Rossini. [Announcement that the first Concours Rossini has been won by Mme de Grandval's oratorio La Fille de Jaïre. Explanation of the Académie's decision that this competition will be biennial instead of annual.]"

F-27/01

[(Communication published under the words "On nous écrit de Monaco:") Annual religious procession in honor of the patron saint of Monaco. -- Théâtre de Monte-Carlo: MM. Berardi and Duchesne in Gounod's Faust; Mlle Reicher in Donizetti's La Favorite. -- Performances of the harpist Hasselmans in the salons of the wealthy at Cannes, and at the "représentation-concert" given for habitués of the casino at Monte-Carlo. Comments on the repertoire for harp. -- The "salles de jeu" of the casino.]

*LA[CurR 191]-07/02, p. 3

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Populaire (Gaîté): Pétrarque, opéra en cinq actes et six tableaux, paroles de MM. Hippolyte Duprat et J. Dharmenon, musique de M. Hippolyte Duprat. [Review is preceded by an account of the 'odysse' of this work, which had been premiered at Marseille in 1873.] -- Théâtre-Italien (Gaîté): la Traviata, Mme Patti. [Brief editorial objecting that Patti reigns 'en souveraine absolue' at the revived Théâtre-Italien, which is provisionally installed at the Gaîté. In the review of Patti's performance, Reyer considers how her voice and her acting have changed since she last appeared on a Parisian stage (see JD F-17/10/1874).]"

F-22/02

"Revue musicale. Concerts Populaires: Le Faust de Schumann (1re audition). [Before reviewing this Parisian premiere, Reyer calls attention to other works which, like that of Schumann, were inspired by Goethe's poem and were virtually unknown to the French public: Louise Bertin's Faust, Eduard Lassen's Faust, Henry Litolff's Faust, and Boito's opera Mefistofele.] -- Théâtre-Italien (Gaîté): représentations de Mme Patti (Il Barbiere di Siviglia, Il Trovatore). [Reyer remarks on each of the principal singers, but concentrates on Patti. Her performance as Rosina prompts the critic to editorialize on 'ce parti-pris de défigurer une oeuvre sous prétexte de l'embellir ou de la rajeunir.' -- A few words on the government's tentative plan to give the Opéra-Populaire the name of Théâtre-Lyrique and a subsidy of 200,000 fr.]"

F-07/03

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Jean de Nivelle, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. Edmond Gondinet et Philippe Gille, musique de M. Léo Delibes. [This work, like Gounod's Cinq-Mars (see JD F-15/04/1877) and a few others that had been presented at the Comique during the 1870s, causes Reyer to reflect that the distinction between opéra comique and opéra sérieux does not rest on the technical point of spoken dialogue in the one as against sung recitative in the other. The review of Delibes's new score includes a notice on his earlier works for lyric theatre.]"

F-13/03

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Aïda, opéra en quatre actes, paroles françaises de MM. Du Locle et Nuitter, musique de M. Verdi. [Reyer declares that he will not retell the story and discuss the score 'pour la troisième fois,' having already reviewed both the world premiere and the Parisian premiere (see JD F-16/01/1872 and F-26/04/1876). He assesses instead the elements which, for the public, constitute 'un attrait tout nouveau': the staging and the interpretation. Reyer concludes the review by noting that the performance was conducted by the composer at the invitation of the Opéra; the critic then editorializes briefly on the dangers of invoking such a precedent 'chaque fois qu'on donnera à Paris, à l'Opéra ou ailleurs, un ouvrage français nouveau.'] -- Concerts du Châtelet. [Review of Colonne's twenty-fifth presentation of La Damnation de Faust. Review of the fourth performance of Godard's Le Tasse leads to an editorial reiterating the position that the

government should grant to the organizations of Colonne and Pasdeloup 'une subvention régulière, à la condition d'exécuter chaque année trois, quatre ou cinq symphonies ou oratorios inédits, et cela vaudra infiniment mieux que tous les concours.' (Reyer had first expressed this conviction in his review of the premiere of Le Tasse; see JD F-01/01/1879.)] -- Opéra populaire. [After announcing the demise of the Opéra-Populaire at the Gaîté, Reyer wonders about the news that 'un musicien ayant une grande fortune personnelle' intends to reestablish a third lyric theatre.]"

F-26/03

"Revue musicale. Concerts populaires: Diane, poème antique, paroles de M. E. Guinaud, musique de M. Benjamin Godard [premiere, conducted by the composer]. -- Les compositeurs chefs d'orchestre. [The fact that Godard and other French composers have been conducting their works at the Concerts populaires occasions an editorial elaborating on a point Reyer made when Verdi conducted Aïda at the Opéra: a composer does not have the right to conduct his music unless he has had training and/or practical experience as a conductor.] -- Concert donné par Mme Héritte-Viardot à Stockholm. ['A propos de compositeurs et de chefs d'orchestre,' Reyer reports that the Stockholm newspapers unanimously praised a concert at which Mme Héritte-Viardot conducted many of her works.]"

F-18/04

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Début de Mlle Marguerite Ugalde [daughter of Delphine Ugalde] dans la Fille du Régiment. -- Académie des Beaux-Arts: le prix Monbine; le prix Chartier. [Reyer first announces that the Prix Monbine has been awarded to Paladilhe for the opéra comique Suzanne (reviewed in JD F-14/01/1879), and then recalls the circumstances that led to the founding of this biennial prize. The announcement that the Prix Chartier has been awarded to Edouard Broustet is followed by a notice on the career of this former student of Henry Litolff.] -- [Book review:] Souvenirs d'un chanteur, par M. G. Duprez. -- [Review of a new collection of songs:] Sixain de mélodies par M. Paladilhe. -- Salle du Conservatoire: Exercices des élèves. [Review of the annual public concert presented by the students.] -- Mme Patti. [Remarks on her departure and on the imminent closing of the Théâtre-Italien (which the impresario Merelli had revived at the Gaîté expressly for the diva).]"

F-28/04

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Début de Mme Montalba dans les Huguenots. [Notice on the Parisian debut of this mezzo-soprano includes information on the earlier years of her career. -- Comments on the forthcoming premiere of Massenet's oratorio La Vierge at the first Concert de l'opéra.] -- Mémoire relatif à la réconstitution du Théâtre-Lyrique, présenté à M. le sous-secrétaire d'Etat au département des beaux-arts par M. Charles Lamoureux, ex-chef d'orchestre de l'Académie nationale de musique, le 10 mai 1880. [Lamoureux's Mémoire, in which he argued in favor of the reestablishing of a third lyric theatre and requested a subsidy that would enable him to undertake such a project, is

discussed at length and endorsed by Reyer.]"
F-15/05

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Concert historique [consisting of music ranging in date from 1674 to 1880, performed by the orchestra, chorus, and soloists of the Opéra], 1re partie: Fragmens d'Alceste (Lulli - 1674); des Fêtes d'Hébé (Rameau - 1739); d'Iphigénie en Tauride (Gluck - 1779); d'Anacréon (Grétry - 1797); de Moïse (Rossini - 1827). [Review is introduced by a brief editorial regretting 'une fois de plus' that Paris does not have 'un local spécialement affecté à l'exécution des oeuvres symphoniques et des oratorios.'] -- 2e partie: la Vierge, légende sacrée de M. Ch. Grandmougin, musique de M. Massenet. [Before discussing Massenet's oratorio, Reyer remembers the highly successful premiere of Berlioz's L'Enfance du Christ at the Salle Herz in 1854 (see AthF A-3[30/12]:1228-31). The critic wonders if 'les charmantes qualités du nouvel ouvrage de M. Massenet' would have been better appreciated in a similar milieu, 'partout ailleurs que dans l'immense salle de l'Opéra.']"
F-30/05

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: La Fée, comédie en un acte, de M. Octave Feuillet, transformée en opéra comique par M. Louis Gallet, avec musique de M. Hémery. [Review is begun by remarks on the career of this 'jeune musicien de province.'] -- Salle du Conservatoire: Concert donné par la Société chorale Concordia au bénéfice des salles de Laforce (Dordogne). [Notice on the hundred-voice Concordia (directed by Charles-Marie Widor) precedes the review of the benefit concert, which consisted of religious and secular music performed by the society with the assistance of Saint-Saëns at the organ, 'un excellent orchestre,' the pianist Diémer, and the harpist Hasselmans.] -- Mme la baronne de Caters-Lablache à Londres. [Reyer reports that English newspapers have praised several concerts given by this soprano, daughter of the great Italian tenor Luigi Lablache.] -- M. Bagier. [Obituary of the former director of the Théâtre-Italien and the short-lived Théâtre-Lyrique français.]"
F-19/06

"Revue musicale. Londres, Her Majesty's Theatre: Première représentation de Mefistofele, opéra en quatre actes avec un prologue et un épilogue, paroles et musique de M. Arrigo Boito. [Reyer, at London for the Handel Festival, devotes an entire feuilleton to an opera which he regards as 'une des plus intéressantes . . . que la jeune école italienne nous ait données.'] -- MM. Campanini et Nannetti; Mmes Christine Nilsson et Trebelli [principals in the London premiere of Boito's work]."
F-18/07

"Revue musicale. Londres: Crystal Palace, septième festival triennal en l'honneur de Haendel. [Review of the three-day festival of music by Handel: Messiah, Israel in Egypt, and a selection of excerpts from the other oratorios and cantatas. The festival was conducted by Sir Michael Costa, and featured such renowned soloists as the soprano Helen Lemmens-

Sherrington. (Review is interspersed with reflections on the popularity of Handel's music in England, and comments on the history of the festival since its inauguration at the Crystal Palace in 1857.)] -- La musique. -- Les concerts. (Premier article.) [The subtitles 'La musique' and 'Les concerts' refer to the second article.]"

F-27/07

"Revue musicale. Londres: Crystal Palace, septième festival triennal en l'honneur de Haendel. -- La musique. [Comments on London's flourishing musical life, with special attention to the lyric theatres.] -- Les concerts. [The Musical Union, directed by Professor Ella at St. James Hall: programs; patrons; guest artists at a recent concert. Mr. Ganz's Orchestral Concerts: the last concert of the season; the popularity of Berlioz's La Damnation de Faust in Ganz's repertoire; patrons of his series. Remarks on Lamoureux's plan to conduct four 'grands concerts' at St. James Hall in 1881. Program of a soirée musicale (which Reyer was unable to attend) at Buckingham Palace. The Albert Hall concerts: patrons; guest artists; brief description of this 'salle superbe.' A few words on the number of distinguished French instrumentalists performing in London. Grosvenor Hall's 'orchestre de la Réunion artistique': aristocratic founders and patrons; repertoire; co-directors (the French cellist Lasserre and Lord Dunmore). -- Notice on the operas most favored by the English public during the current season: Mefistofele, Lohengrin, and Carmen. -- Final observations on London and Londoners.] (Deuxième article. -- Voir le Journal des Débats d'hier.)"

F-28/07

"Revue musicale. Les Concours du Conservatoire. [Opening remarks. -- The violin competition: notice on Mlle Tua, the thirteen-year-old winner of the 'premier prix'; M. Nicosia; names of the other winners. -- The cello competition: comments on two of the winners of this 'assez faible' contest. -- The piano competitions: Reyer considers the men's and women's competitions separately, and expresses reservations about the jury's choice of M. René as winner of first prize in the men's competition. -- The harp competition: after naming the winners, Reyer reiterates his position that the study of this instrument must be encouraged because French orchestras are in great need of harpists. -- The wind instrument competitions: observations on the high calibre of the competitors; names of the winners in competitions for several categories of woodwinds and brass. -- Reflections on the question of whether the Conservatoire should teach more brass instruments (such as valve horn, valve trombone, saxophone, and tuba in B-flat). -- As in previous years, Reyer regrets the neglect of double-bass and viola, the latter not yet taught at the Conservatoire. -- The vocal competitions: general remarks on this 'maigre moisson'; notices on Mlles Frandin and Griswold; names of the other winners in the women's and men's competitions. -- Brief description of the ceremony at which the Conservatoire prizes were awarded and four professional musicians were made Officers of the Académie des Beaux-Arts.]"

F-18/08

[(Communication published under the words "On nous écrit de Luchon le 17 août:") Inauguration of the Casino de Luchon with a display of fireworks. Description of the casino. -- Review of the inaugural concert in the casino's theatre: program; guest singers; the orchestra and its conductor, Edouard Broustet. -- Remarks on a chorus that is very popular in the region: the "Toulousaine" by Deffès, performed at Luchon by the Société de l'Ecole philharmonique. -- Forthcoming events of the eight-day "fête" at Luchon.] (To this communication is appended a Note de la Rédacteur informing readers that "l'auteur de la lettre . . . a oublié, par modestie sans doute, de dire que le programme du concert d'inauguration comprenait deux morceaux d'orchestre de notre collaborateur M. Ernest Reyer, un Pas guerrier et une Marche tzigane.")

*LA[CurR 191]-21/08, p. 3

"Revue musicale. De Luchon à Paris. [The mountain guides of Luchon. -- The musical centres of this spa: the kiosk; the casino's theatre. Further remarks on the theatre: orchestra; repertoire; principal singers; a performance of Bazin's Le Voyage en Chine. Reyer's admiration for the faithfulness with which the singers perform their roles leads to editorializing against the Parisian practice of modifying, truncating, and even mutilating a work. -- Concert given at Luchon by the eminent cellist Lasserre, a young singer named Mlle Reggiani, and the composer Salvayre (who acted as accompanist on this occasion). -- The Luchon-Gazette and its illustrator, Henriot.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: Rentrée de Mlle Krauss; débuts de Mlle de Vère et de M. Giraudet dans les Huguenots. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Début de M. Bertin dans le Postillon de Longjumeau. [Of the three 'débutants' presented by the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique, Mlle de Vère was the only one who had never before sung at a Parisian lyric theatre, as Reyer indicates in his notices on these singers.]"

F-24/09

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Deux premières représentations: le Bois, poème en un acte, d'Albert Glatigny, musique de M. Albert Cahen [first performed in concert by the short-lived Société des Auditions lyriques (see JD F-26/05/1879)]; M. de Floridor, opéra comique en un acte, de MM. Nuitter et Tréfeu, musique de M. Théodore de Lajarte. -- Salle du Trocadéro: Festival national donné par l'Association artistique des Concerts du Châtelet. [Review of a 'grand concert' given by Colonne and his orchestra at the Trocadéro to precede the regular series of concerts at the Châtelet. The program consisted of music by sixteen French composers ranging from Hérold to contemporary figures such as Lalo, Saint-Saëns, and Massenet; guest artists were Mlle Tua (violin) and Théodore Ritter (piano). The review is introduced by an editorial to the effect that, although steps could be taken to improve the acoustics of the Trocadéro, this vast building will never be 'la salle de concert que nous avions rêvée.']"

F-15/10

"Revue musicale. Les Concerts populaires. [Review of the first two concerts, at which Pasdeloup offered music by Bizet, Berlioz, Ritter,

and Beethoven, as well as the premiere of Godard's Brésilienne. Reyer gives most of his attention to Bizet's Roma, which had never before been performed in its entirety.] -- Les Concerts du Châtelet. [The public's enthusiastic reception of the Benvenuto Cellini overture at Colonne's first two concerts occasions a series of observations on this overture, the neglected opera, the Carnaval romain overture, and certain aspects of Berlioz's 'génie.' Of the other works presented at Colonne's concerts, only two are reviewed by Reyer: Lalo's Concerto russe (premiered by the violinist Marsick), and the Danse bohémienne from Act II of Bizet's La Jolie Fille de Perth. -- Brief editorial exhorting the government to recognize the organizations of Pasdeloup and Colonne as 'institutions nationales' and to subsidize them generously.] -- L'Alceste, de Gluck: édition F. Pelletan et B. Damcke. - Le manuscrit. [Reyer first announces the recent publication of the third volume in the Gluck critical edition, and then promises that his next feuilleton will provide 'quelques détails curieux' concerning how Gluck's manuscript was acquired by Mlle Pelletan before her death.] -- [Notice on the success of an American soprano at the Opéra-Comique:] Rentrée de Mlle Vanzandt dans Mignon."

F-30/10

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Reprise du Comte Ory. [Review of Rossini's work (which was revived as a curtain-raiser for ballets) includes a description of its origins and remarks on its career at the Opéra, where it had last been performed in 1866.] -- Académie des Beaux-Arts: Séance annuelle: exécution de la cantate de M. Lucien Hillemacher et d'une ouverture de M. Wormser. [Review of both the cantata text that had been selected for the Prix de Rome competition, and Hillemacher's winning setting of that text. A few words on the overture by Wormser (who had won the Prix de Rome in 1875).] -- Le manuscrit d'Alceste. [Reyer recounts how and why the manuscript had been purchased by Mlle Pelletan.]"

F-08/11

"Revue musicale. Concerts du Châtelet: La Tempête, poème symphonique en trois parties, d'après Shakespeare, paroles de MM. Armand Silvestre et Pierre Berton, musique de M. Alphonse Duvernoy, ouvrage couronné au concours de la ville de Paris. [Review is preceded by observations on competitions in general and, in particular, the competitions for the Prix de la ville de Paris in 1878 (when the prize was divided between Godard and Dubois) and in the current year (when the jury is recommending that Augusta Holmès's Les Argonautes, although given only second place, be performed in public). These observations culminate in an editorial repeating Reyer's long-held view that competitions intended to promote new concert works would be unnecessary if the government would grant Pasdeloup and Colonne an annual subsidy, 'à la condition d'exécuter chaque année un certain nombre de symphonies dramatiques, de poèmes lyriques ou oratorios inédits.']"

F-30/11

"[Obituary of the composer, theorist, and teacher] Henri Reber."
A-11/12, p. 2

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: La Korrigane, ballet fantastique en deux actes; livret de MM. François Coppée et Louis Mérante, musique de M. [Charles-Marie] Widor. [Review includes a notice on the career of this young organist and composer, who had never before written a work for the stage.]"
F-12/12

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: L'Amour médecin, opéra comique en trois actes, d'après Molière, par M. Charles Monselet, musique de M. Ferdinand Poïse. -- [A few remarks on the Opéra-Comique's] Reprise de Richard Coeur-de-Lion. -- Salle du Conservatoire: Audition des envois de Rome. [Review of fragments of Rousseau's symphonic poem Sabinus, and fragments from Wormser's ode symphonique Poésie sacrée. The situation of these and other laureates who were trying to establish careers in Paris prompts Reyer to editorialize briefly on the government's decision not to reestablish a Théâtre-Lyrique.]"
F-26/12

1881

Journal des Débats

"Revue musicale. [Reviews of three new publications:] Mozart, l'homme et l'artiste, histoire de sa vie d'après les documens authentiques et les travaux les plus récens, par Victor Wilder. -- L'Opéra secret au dix-huitième siècle, par Adolphe Jullien. -- Frédéric Chopin: de l'interprétation de ses oeuvres, par Jean Kleczynski [a brochure comprising three lectures given at Warsaw by this Polish pianist]. -- Kermesse, par M. Benjamin Godard. [Notice on the composer's piano reduction of an orchestral work premiered at the Concerts populaires in 1880.]"
F-09/01

"Revue musicale de l'année 1880. [The Opéra: Editorial on the failure of the 'concerts historiques' conceived by Vaucorbeil (the director of this institution). Retrospective survey of the repertoire, with special attention to the production of Aïda and the revival of Don Juan. Remarks on singers engaged by Vaucorbeil. Demand for a larger subsidy 'pour que le directeur . . . puisse donner libre carrière à ses projets.' -- The Opéra-Comique: Retrospective survey of the repertoire, with observations on the diverse fates of the five works premiered. -- A few words on the demise of the Opéra-Populaire and the unlikelihood of another attempt to reestablish a third lyric theatre. -- Comments on Mme Patti's performances with the temporarily revived Théâtre-Italien at the Gaîté. -- The Concerts populaires and the Concerts du Châtelet: Retrospective survey of contemporary French and foreign works never before presented to the Parisian public. Plea that both organizations be

subsidized so that each can afford to maintain permanently 'un personnel de choristes et de chanteurs.' -- Names of winners of prizes awarded by the Académie des Beaux-Arts. -- Closing remarks: Reyer points out that 'le répertoire classique' has as important a place as 'la musique contemporaine' on the programs of the Concerts populaires and the Concerts du Châtelet. He therefore concludes that 'le concert est donc aujourd'hui, plus que le théâtre, une école d'enseignement.']"

F-15/01

"Revue musicale. [Concerts du Châtelet:] L'Enfance du Christ. [Reyer declares that he will not 'recommencer l'analyse,' having reviewed both the premiere in 1854 and the revival in 1875 (see AthF A-3[30/12]:1228-31 and JD F-15/01/1875 respectively). Instead, the critic compares 'l'exécution d'aujourd'hui' with that of 1875, giving much attention to three of the new soloists: M. Lauwers, Mlle Vergin, and M. Bolly. Reyer also tries to dispel what he regards as a popular misconception, namely, that Berlioz's motivation for composing this work was (in the words of Georges de Massougnes) 'la foi chrétienne.'] -- La statue de Berlioz. [Reyer announces that some of Berlioz's admirers have organized themselves into two committees whose purpose is to raise money for erecting a statue of the composer at La Côte Saint-André. He then describes the committees' preliminary efforts, and names the members (including himself).]"

F-30/01

"Revue musicale. [Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: premiere of] Les Contes d'Hoffmann, opéra fantastique en quatre actes, paroles de MM. Jules Barbier et Michel Carré, musique de Jacques Offenbach. [The Comique presented the Prologue and Epilogue as Acts I and IV, and deleted what is now known as Act II (the Giulietta act). Reyer's review includes comments on this deletion, and an assessment of Ernest Guiraud's orchestration of Offenbach's 'partition au piano.']"

F-19/02

"Revue musicale. Le prix Rossini. [Recollection of the terms and the purpose of this biennial prize leads to remarks on the most recent competition, won by Mme de Grandval for her oratorio La Fille de Jaïre (see JD F-27/01/1880). Reyer then editorializes on this competition and others which 'imposent le même sujet, le même poème à l'inspiration des musiciens,' and on the competition for the Prix de la ville de Paris, which instead permits each composer 'de choisir son poème.'] -- Salle du Conservatoire: la Fille de Jaïre, scène lyrique de M. E. Guinaud [name is erroneous; see JD U-27/02, p. 2], musique de Mme de Grandval. [Review is preceded by musings on the fate of the settings by Henri Maréchal and Georges Pfeiffer, recipients of 'une première et une seconde mention.'] -- Société de musique de chambre pour instrumens à vent. [Review of the first séance of this society, founded three years previously by the flutist Taffanel and other instrumentalists.] -- Concert de Mme Viguier. [Notice on this concert with orchestra, at which Mme Viguier performed two concertos and the soprano Gabrielle Krauss was guest artist.] -- Concerts du Conservatoire. [Notice on the first performance

of 'un fragment' from Reyer's opera Sigurd. The composer-critic choses 'de ne rien dire de l'oeuvre et de parler seulement de l'exécution,' which featured Krauss and other principals of the Opéra.]"

F-26/02

[Letter to the editor: Reyer corrects an error that appeared twice in JD F-26/02. (In the sommaire and in the second column of the text, 'j'ai confondu . . . le poète de la Fille de Jaïre avec le poète de la Fille de Jephté, M. Paul Collin avec M. Edouard Guinaud. Quelques lignes plus loin . . . j'ai rendu la paternité de la Fille de Jaïre à M. Paul Collin, son véritable auteur.')]

U-27/02, p. 2

"Revue musicale. Autographes de Meyerbeer acquis par la Bibliothèque de l'Opéra. (Premier article.) [Reyer recounts how, as head of the Bibliothèque, he acquired from the Berlin bookseller Liepmannssohn a collection of autograph scores by Meyerbeer. -- Descriptions of the scores listed by the bookseller as nos. 1-8. -- Detailed description of lot no. 9: Act I and the beginning of Act II of the opera Cinq-Mars (libretto by Planard and Saint-Georges), a work which Meyerbeer abandoned.]"

F-27/03

"Revue musicale. Autographes de Meyerbeer acquis par la Bibliothèque de l'Opéra. Second article. [Continuation of Reyer's report on the MSS purchased from Liepmannssohn. -- Lot no. 10: 'esquisses' of a then-unpublished overture for Les Huguenots. Reyer speculates that one fully orchestrated 'esquisse' was the allegro of the overture as it existed when the opera was put into rehearsal. (He interrupts the description of this MS to comment briefly on the whereabouts of Meyerbeer's overtures to other works and his music for Blaze de Bury's drama La Jeunesse de Goethe.) -- Lot no. 11: many fragments of Robert le Diable which were either 'coupés ou refaits, et dont quelques uns sont à l'état d'ébauches.' Reyer first describes each fragment, and then turns to a document which he had borrowed from Meyerbeer's publisher: the then-unpublished libretto of Scribe's original version of Robert le Diable, a three-act opéra comique. An examination of this libretto convinces Reyer that two numbers and one scene in lot no. 11 were composed for the opéra comique libretto, whereas another scene in the same lot was intended for the grand opéra libretto. He hypothesizes that Meyerbeer did not finish composing the opéra comique before asking Scribe to transform the work into a grand opéra. -- A few remarks on the Bibliothèque's collection of Meyerbeer MSS before the purchase from Liepmannssohn. -- Postscript concerning another Meyerbeer MS: a 273-page sketchbook of 'fragmens et pensées mélodiques.']"

F-29/03

"Revue musicale. Théâtre National de l'Opéra: le Tribut de Zamora, opéra en quatre actes, paroles de MM. d'Ennery et Brésil, musique de M. Charles Gounod. [Review of the long-awaited premiere of Gounod's first opera since Polyeucte (1878).]"

F-07/04

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: La 700e représentation des Huguenots. -- Une lettre autographe de Meyerbeer. [Before reviewing the seven hundredth performance of Meyerbeer's 'chef-d'oeuvre,' Reyer comments on its inauspicious early history: the public's cold reaction to the premiere (1836); and the less than cordial relations that had prevailed between the composer and Véron, director of the Opéra when the work had gone into rehearsal. As an illustration of these relations, Reyer publishes a letter sent by Meyerbeer to Véron (a letter which Vaucorbeil, the current director of the Opéra, authorized Reyer to print).] -- Concerts populaires: les Argonautes, symphonie dramatique en quatre parties; poème et musique par Mlle Augusta Holmès. [Review of the premiere of the work which had placed second in the recent competition for the Prix de la ville de Paris (see JD F-30/11/1880).]"

F-29/04

"Revue musicale. Académie nationale de musique et de danse: Reprise d'Hamlet. -- Rentrée de M. Maurel. -- Début de Mlle Subra. [Reyer considers each of the principals in the revival of Thomas's work, giving most of his attention to Victor Maurel's performance and the debut of the French ballerina Mlle Subra. -- Remarks on the Opéra's forthcoming premiere of Thomas's Françoise de Rimini lead to a demand for the re-establishing of a third lyric theatre, which would open its doors to composers who were unable to gain a hearing at the Opéra.] -- Opéra au Château-d'Eau: [Observations concerning an unsubsidized theatre which Millet (a former tenor) has just founded at the vacant Salle du Château-d'Eau.] Le Trouvère. [Review is preceded by an editorial on Millet's choice of this well-known work to inaugurate his theatre.] -- Salle du Conservatoire: Exercices des élèves. [Review of the annual public concert.] -- M. Pasdeloup et les Argonautes. [Reyer notes that Pasdeloup, whose premiere of Augusta Holmès's work (see JD F-29/04) had cost 8,000 fr., is appealing to various government officials for funds to help finance a second performance.]"

F-14/05

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Reprises du Pardon de Ploërmel et de la Flûte enchantée. [Before reviewing the revival of Meyerbeer's three-act opéra comique Reyer traces its history, from its origin as a one-act work to the most recent revival (1874). The review itself is interspersed with recollections of Meyerbeer's constant preoccupation with 'la mise en scène de ses opéras et leur exécution.' Reyer's much shorter review of the revival of La Flûte enchantée consists of a few remarks on each of the principals.] -- Mozart et Richard Wagner à l'égard des Français, par Adolphe Jullien. [Reyer remembers a brochure in which Jullien demonstrated that Mozart was as disdainful of the French as is Wagner. The critic agrees with Jullien that the French will pardon Wagner when they recognize his genius, just as they once pardoned Mozart.] -- Les Folies-Bergère. [Comments on the director's unsuccessful attempt to turn his establishment into a 'salle de concert.']"

F-29/05

"Revue musicale. Académie nationale de musique et de danse: Débuts de Mlle Griswold dans Hamlet et de Mme Lacombe-Duprez dans les Huguenots. [Review of Hamlet is devoted to the debut of the young American soprano who had been trained at the Paris Conservatoire. Review of Huguenots considers both the debut of Mme Lacombe-Duprez and the performance of Victor Maurel, and includes editorializing against the taking of traditional 'licences' in the interpretation of Meyerbeer's music.] -- Opéra du Château-d'Eau: début de Mlle Claire Cordier dans la Traviata. [Before reviewing the debut, Reyer speculates that a few renovations would transform this vast 'salle' into a good home for lyric theatre.] -- Théâtre-lyrique ou Opéra populaire. [News that either the City or the State will reestablish a third lyric theatre (perhaps at the Château-d'Eau) elicits an editorial on several matters: the need for a generous subsidy; the theatre's 'mission'; and the rights it should be granted as regards the forming of a repertoire.] -- [Obituary of the violinist and composer] Henri Vieuxtemps."

F-18/06

"Revue musicale. [Opening remarks on the twenty-eight-day confinement of students when they compete for the Prix de Rome.] Académie des Beaux-Arts: Jugement du concours pour le grand prix de composition musicale. [General observations concerning the cantatas (settings of Guinaud's Geneviève) submitted by the five competitors. Comments on the Académie's judgement of these scores, none of which was awarded the 'grand prix' (i.e., the Prix de Rome).] -- Geneviève, scène lyrique de M. E. Guinaud. [After assessing the cantata text by Guinaud, Reyer editorializes on the Académie's annual contest for such a text, arguing that the contest should be abolished and suggesting two alternatives.]"

F-29/06

"Revue musicale. L'Opéra Populaire municipal. [Upon reading in Le Ménestrel the text of a municipal committee's project for reestablishing a third lyric theatre, Reyer considers each of the eleven clauses and the two recommendations. The purpose of his editorial is to demonstrate to the committee that a theatre such as they propose to found would not be 'viable.']"

F-24/07

"Revue musicale. Concours du Conservatoire. Nécessité de rétablir le pensionnat. [The Paris Conservatoire's inability to furnish a sufficient number of good singers for French lyric theatres elicits an editorial on the need to recruit outstanding students from the provincial conservatories by reestablishing the bursary system known as the pensionnat.] -- Les Conservatoires de province. [Remarks on the underfunding of, and the consequently poor conditions at, provincial conservatories.] -- Situation à faire aux pensionnaires qui reviennent de Rome. -- Les lauréats du Conservatoire et les troupes de province. [Editorial proposing a system of 'décentralisation artistique' which would contribute to a 'régénération de l'art musical en province': each winner of the Prix de Rome would, upon his return to France, be appointed conductor of a provincial theatre for two years; and singers, upon gradua-

tion from the Paris Conservatoire, would be sent to these theatres to 'prendre l'habitude de la scène.'] -- Le répertoire classique au théâtre et dans l'enseignement. [Editorial repeating demands which Reyer has been making for many years: that 'le goût musical' be regenerated by a revival of 'chefs-d'oeuvre classiques' at Parisian and provincial lyric theatres alike; and that 'l'étude de ces mêmes oeuvres soit beaucoup plus répandue qu'elle ne l'est dans l'enseignement.'] -- Les concours. -- Les lauréats. [These last two subtitles refer to JD F-19/08.]"

F-18/08

"Revue musicale. Concours du Conservatoire. [The vocal competitions: List of the winners of first and second prizes in various categories. Observations on the fact that the Conservatoire chose not to award a first prize in two important categories. Remarks on each prize-winner and each student accorded either a first or a second 'accessit.' -- Reflections on the proliferation of pianos in Parisian households, and on the large number of students who apply themselves to this instrument at the Conservatoire. -- The harp competition: As in earlier years, the fact that only a handful of students participated prompts Reyer to demand that the Conservatoire offer 'primes d'encouragemens' to students of this instrument. He then comments on the scarcity of harpists in Parisian and especially provincial orchestras. -- The piano competitions: Notice on Mlle Talfumière, winner of first prize in the women's competition. A few words on each of the prize-winners in the men's competition. -- The violin competition: Notice on M. Wolff, winner of one of three 'premier prix' awarded in this 'exceptionellement brillant' competition. -- Apropos of the cello competition, Reyer wishes that the jury had awarded two 'premier prix.' -- The double-bass competition. -- The wind instruments competitions: After naming the few winners and noting that a 'premier prix' was not awarded for either trumpet or trombone, Reyer urges that the Conservatoire give 'une vigoureuse impulsion . . . à l'étude des instrumens à vent.']"

F-19/08

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Réouverture [following a two-month closure which Reyer regards as 'la plus grande faveur' accorded this theatre by the government]. -- Les Contes d'Hoffmann. [Brief review of the work which continues to be the Comique's 'plus grand succès' of 1881.] -- L'Hérodiade de M. Massenet, à Bruxelles. [Editorial defending Massenet for taking his new opera to the Théâtre de la Monnaie after the Paris Opéra rejected the work. Reyer concludes by observing that the Monnaie is, in effect, serving as the Théâtre-Lyrique which Paris lacks.] -- Le Théâtre-Lyrique chinois de Pékin. [Reyer criticizes the professional conduct of singers at Parisian lyric theatres by writing tongue-in-cheek about the 'moeurs musicales de la Chine.'] -- Le nouveau ballet de M. Lalo et les exigences de la chorégraphie. [Upon reading 'dans les petites nouvelles' that the ballet master of the Opéra finds Lalo's Namouna too symphonic for dance, Reyer wittily reminisces about the difficulties he had encountered when preparing his ballet Sacountalâ for the Opéra.] -- Une réclamation de M. Vizentini. [Reyer responds to a letter he had received from Vizentini

requesting correction of what the latter regarded as 'une double erreur' in Reyer's comments about Vizentini's defunct Théâtre-Lyrique de la Gaîté. (The comments in question had appeared in Reyer's editorial on the proposed Opéra Populaire municipal; see JD F-24/07.)]"

F-10/09

"Revue musicale. A propos des opéras qui émigrent à l'étranger. [Editorial objecting that 'la presse parisienne' is making strong personal attacks on Vaucorbeil (director of the Opéra) for having rejected Hérodiade and several other contemporary French operas, some of which are being taken to foreign theatres.] -- Les quatre Sociétés de Concerts anciennes et nouvelles, au Cirque d'hiver, au Châtelet, au théâtre du Château-d'Eau et au Cirque d'été. [Reyer announces that the symphonic societies of Pasdeloup and Colonne (housed at the Cirque d'hiver and the Châtelet respectively) will have competition from two new organizations: one founded by Lamoureux at the Château-d'Eau, the other by Edouard Broustet at the Cirque d'été. After explaining that Lamoureux has not yet offered any information on his projected programs, Reyer mentions some of the 'attractions' of the first concert planned by Broustet.] -- [Théâtre de l'Opéra:] Rentrée de Mlle Gabrielle Krauss dans le Tribut de Zamora. [The notice on her performance is followed by comments on forthcoming premieres at this theatre: Ambroise Thomas's Françoise de Rimini, and Henry VIII by Saint-Saëns, who is composing the rôle of Anne Boleyn for Mlle Krauss.]"

F-08/10

"Revue musicale. Académie des Beaux-Arts. [Recollection of the Académie's judgment of the cantatas submitted by the competitors for the Prix de Rome (see JD F-29/06) leads to an editorial demanding the reestablishing of a Théâtre-Lyrique, where young composers could absorb 'le répertoire classique . . . l'inappréciable enseignement qui en résulte.'] -- Séance annuelle [of the Académie]: Exécution de la cantate de M. Bruneau (Geneviève, scène lyrique, par M. E. Guinaud), et d'une ouverture composée par M. Lucien Hillemacher, pensionnaire de l'Ecole de Rome (envoi de quatrième année). [Review of Bruneau's cantata, which had been awarded 'un premier second grand prix' instead of 'le grand prix' (i.e., the Prix de Rome). Notice on Hillemacher's overture.] -- [Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: notice on the performance of] Mlle Van Zandt dans le rôle de Dinorah [in Meyerbeer's Le Pardon de Ploërmel, revived at this theatre in May (see JD F-29/05)]. -- [Reviews of performances by Parisian concert societies: part of Lamoureux's inaugural concert; the Venusberg scene from Tannhäuser, and Berlioz's Marche funèbre pour la dernière scène d'Hamlet, at Colonne's first concert of the season.] Deuxième concert du Châtelet. [Announcement of Colonne's forthcoming performance of Félicien David's Le Désert is followed by the observation that there are not enough 'choristes hommes disponibles le dimanche à Paris' to meet the needs of all four concert societies.]"

F-29/10

"Revue musicale. La Statue au théâtre royal de la Monnaie de Bruxelles. [Reyer's work, which failed at the Monnaie in 1865 (when

it was performed with the composer's recitatives), and was abruptly dropped by the Paris Opéra-Comique in 1878 (when it was performed with the same recitatives and a ballet added by the composer; see JD F-05/05/1878) is now revived successfully, with both the ballet and the recitatives. Reyer explains why he retained the recitatives, which were often held responsible for the failure of 1865, but he says nothing else about the score and does not discuss the libretto. Instead, he focuses on the rehearsals and the current performance at the Monnaie, explaining that 'cet article n'a pas d'autre but que de montrer . . . un auteur satisfait et reconnaissant.']"

F-30/11

"Revue musicale. [Preliminary reflections on Berlioz's posthumous fame: the popularity of his concert works; the need to acquaint the public with his operas; the publishing of collections of his letters. --] Concerts du Châtelet: Lélio, ou le Retour à la vie, drame lyrique avec orchestre, choeurs et soli invisibles, paroles et musique de Hector Berlioz. [Review begins with objections to the suppression of the monologues and the absence of the mise en scène. Reyer then comments on each of the six musical numbers and the reappearances of the idée fixe.] -- Lettres intimes de Hector Berlioz, avec une préface par Charles Gounod. [Reyer remarks on both the preface and the collection of letters to Humbert Ferrand.] -- [Notice on another new publication:] Hector Berlioz (la Vie et le Combat, les Oeuvres), par Adolphe Jullien. [-- Postscript: Brief review of Colonne's all-Berlioz concert of Sunday 11 December, the anniversary of Berlioz's birth. (The next Sunday Colonne repeated the concert, with a few modifications in the program; see the review in JD F-29/01/1882.)]"

F-13/12

"Revue musicale. Théâtre royal de la Monnaie à Bruxelles: Première représentation d'Hérodiade, opéra en trois actes et cinq tableaux, paroles de MM. P. Milliet et H. Grémont, musique de M. Jules Massenet."

F††-25/12

1882

Journal des Débats

"Revue musicale. [Reyer applauds the decision that winners of the Prix de Rome will henceforth be required to spend the fourth year of their pension in either Austria-Hungary or Germany. After speculating that they will seize the opportunity to hear Wagner's works, the critic writes an editorial warning all young French composers that they must guard against becoming mere imitators of this 'grand réformateur.' --] Salle du Conservatoire: Audition des envois de Rome. Le Sinaï, drame biblique, paroles de E. Guinaud, musique de M. Clément Broutin. -- Kaddir, légende hindoue, paroles de M. de Pont-Sevrez, musique de M. Samuel Rousseau. [Remarks on the fragments of Le Sinaï and Kaddir that were performed at the Conservatoire.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique:

les Pantins, opéra comique en deux actes, paroles de M. Montagne, musique de M. Georges Hue. [Brief review of the premiere of the work which had won the Prix Cressent in 1881.] -- [Another premiere at the Comique:] La Taverne des Trabans, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. Erckmann-Chatrian et Jules Barbier, musique de M. Henri Maréchal. [Review begins with a resumé of the career of this young composer, who, like Georges Hue, was a former winner of the Prix de Rome.]"

F††-10/01

"Revue musicale de l'année 1881. Les théâtres lyriques. [The review of 1881 is preceded by reflections on January 1882: Review of Gabrielle Krauss's first appearance as Marguerite in Gounod's Faust at the Opéra. News of the breaking of a contract between the director of the Théâtre des Nations and Angelo Neumann, an 'impresario allemand' who had intended to stage Lohengrin. Editorial on the 'réclames maladroites' which Massenet's 'maladroits amis' have been making in an attempt to bring Hérodiade to the Opéra. Editorial urging that a Théâtre-Lyrique be reestablished, and that its doors be open 'aux compositeurs de tout âge et aux oeuvres de tout pays, à l'art moderne et à l'art classique.' -- Review of 1881: The Opéra (repertoire; debuts). The Opéra-Comique (repertoire; debut of Mlle Merguillier in a revival of Adolphe Adam's Le Toréador). Comments on the demise of the Opéra du Château-d'Eau after two productions (Il Trovatore and La Traviata in French translation).]"

F-25/01

"Revue musicale de l'année 1881. Les concerts. [Description of the organization of the Société des concerts du Conservatoire, which, unlike the other four symphonic societies, has 'des choeurs que personne ne peut lui prendre.' -- Remarks on the Société's lack of permanent 'solistes-chanteurs' lead to an editorial urging that either this society or one of the others be subsidized, so that Paris will have an orchestra with 'des solistes et des choeurs attitrés.' -- A few words on the need for 'une salle de concerts.' -- Concerts du Château-d'Eau: Lamoureux and his orchestra. Review of a performance of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony (with observations on Victor Wilder's new translation of Schiller's text). Guest artists who appeared in the course of the year. -- Concerts du Cirque d'été: Broustet's modification of his programs because of the difficulty of obtaining choristers. Review of two performances of excerpts from Verdi's Requiem (the second performance without chorus). Survey of the repertoire, which consisted mostly of works by young French composers. Théodore Ritter as guest artist. -- Concerts du Châtelet: Review of the second concert commemorating Berlioz's birth. -- Concerts du Cirque d'hiver: Survey of new works in the repertoire, with special attention to Godard's Symphonie-ballet. -- Société des concerts du Conservatoire: Comments on excerpts from works by Franck, Félicien David, and Gounod, concluding with a plea for a revival of Gounod's Sapho at the Opéra.]"

F-29/01

[(Communication published under the words "On nous écrit de Monaco:") Observations on the flourishing tourist industry at Bordighera and at

other resorts along the Riviera. -- Lunch with Charles Garnier (architect), Léon Gambetta (ex-president of Italy), and a few others, at Garnier's villa in Bordighera. -- Return to Monaco with "mon ami Garnier." -- Description of the new "salle de jeu" built by Garnier at Monte-Carlo in 1881. -- Théâtre de Monte-Carlo: Mlle Van Zandt and Victor Maurel in Dinorah. (Review includes editorializing both on "des coupures" made in Meyerbeer's work, and on the short duration of Maurel's contract with the Paris Opéra.)]

*LA[CurR 191]-13/02, p. 2

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: 1re représentation de Namouna, ballet en deux actes et trois tableaux, par MM. Nuitter et [Lucien] Petipa, musique de M. Edouard Lalo. [In the course of the review, Reyer proclaims the musical value of Lalo's score and disputes the rumor that it is unsuitable for dance.]"

F-12/03

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Galante aventure, opéra comique en trois actes, de MM. Louis Davyl et Armand Silvestre, musique de M. Ernest Guiraud. [Review includes a resumé of Guiraud's career and remarks on his recent appointment as 'professeur de haute composition' at the Conservatoire.]"

F-31/03

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Françoise de Rimini, opéra en quatre actes, avec prologue et épilogue, poème de MM. Michel Carré et Jules Barbier, musique de M. Ambroise Thomas."

F-21/04

"Revue musicale. Les musiques militaires. [Editorial supporting Albert Perrin, 'le plus zélé défenseur des orchestres de régiment,' who is leading a campaign to save these military bands from being abolished.] -- La brochure de M. Albert Perrin: Tambours et musiques militaires. [Reyer's editorial includes excerpts from this and other writings in which Perrin advocates that the bands be reorganized and that the situation of the musicians be improved.] -- Le dernier concert du Château-d'Eau: [Review of Lamoureux's second performance of excerpts from Act III of Lohengrin. Review of a work premiered at the same concert:] la Vallée de Josaphat, symphonie biblique de M. Salvayre. -- M. Lalo. -- M. Marsick. [Notice on the performance of Lalo's Symphonie espagnole, with the violinist Marsick as soloist. Lalo's work completed the program of the last concert in Lamoureux's series at the Château-d'Eau.]"

F-30/04

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique. -- Reprise des Noces de Figaro. [This 'chef-d'oeuvre,' one of the great successes of the old Théâtre-Lyrique, had been appropriated by the Comique in 1872 but had disappeared from the active repertoire in 1874. The revival occasions an editorial calling for the reestablishing of a Théâtre-Lyrique. The editorial is followed by a review of the 'nouvelle interprétation' at

the Comique.] -- Académie des Beaux-Arts: le prix Monbine. [Announcement of the dividing of the prize between two opéras comiques: Poise's L'Amour médecin and Maréchal's La Taverne des Trabans (see JD F-26/12/1880 and F-10/01/1882 respectively). Remarks on the Académie's rejection of 'un ballet' (i.e., Lalo's Namouna). Brief editorial on the fate of Maréchal's prize-winning work at the Opéra-Comique.] -- Le prix de la ville de Paris. [Announcement of the awarding of the prize to Loreley, by the brothers Paul and Lucien Hillemacher.] -- L'Union des jeunes compositeurs. [Reyer welcomes a new musical society founded by Octave Fouque, Alfred Bruneau, Augusta Holmès, and others, 'dans le but de faire connaître, en les exécutant publiquement, les oeuvres des membres qui en feront partie.']"

F-20/05

"Revue musicale. Une lettre de Richard Wagner. [The letter, sent from Bayreuth to the editor-in-chief of La Renaissance musicale and published in that pro-Wagner journal, is reprinted and discussed by Reyer. In the letter, which 'a fait grand'bruit dans le monde de la musique,' Wagner expressed his vehement opposition to the idea of staging Lohengrin in translation at Paris, and added that, although he had once authorized the impresario Angelo Neumann to stage his works there, he had recently asked Neumann to renounce the French capital. Reyer marshalls various arguments in favor of a production of Lohengrin in French, and concludes by expressing the hope that Wagner will reconsider the instruction to Neumann.]"

F-01/06

[(Communication published under the words "On nous écrit de Londres:") Covent Garden: Opening remarks on the three-month season. Comments on the forthcoming premiere of the then-unpublished Velleda by Lenepveu (a former winner of the Prix de Rome), who has tailored the principal roles for Adelina Patti and Nicolini. Assessment of the company, with special attention to MM. Gailhard (formerly of the Paris Opéra) and Sylva, and Mmes Sembrich and Albani (the latter in Lohengrin), as well as the co-conductors Bevignot and Joseph Dupont. -- Brief editorial against the English practice of drastically shortening any work to keep it within "les limites voulues." -- Observations on the continuing popularity of Carmen (see JD F-28/07/1880). -- Notice on a recent "Operatic Concert" at Albert Hall. -- The German company of Pollini-Franck-Richter (conducted by Hans Richter) at Drury Lane: Survey of the repertoire, with a few words on a performance of Lohengrin. Review of Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg. -- Regrets that Angelo Neumann's touring company had already departed, after an unsuccessful attempt to win popularity for the Ring cycle (premiered at Her Majesty's Theatre in May).]

*LA[JD F-21/11/1897]-18/06, p. 2

"Revue musicale. Académie nationale de musique et de danse: Reprise du Fandango, ballet en un acte, de MM. Henri Meilhac, Ludovic Halévy et Mérante, musique de G. Salvayre. [In this review of a revised version of Salvayre's ballet Reyer explains that, before the premiere of Lalo's Namouna in March, he had requested and had been granted permission to

review for the JD 'des événemens chorégraphiques,' which had traditionally been the preserve of the drama critic.] -- Les Annales du théâtre et de la musique, par MM. Edouard Noël et Edmond Stoullig. [Review of 'le volume de 1881' in the ongoing series.] -- La reprise de Joseph à l'Opéra-Comique. [Reyer pronounces this revival 'la plus fidèle et la meilleure' of the several he had witnessed 'depuis une trentaine d'années.' -- Further comments on the 1881 volume in the series by Noël and Stoullig. -- Reflections on the 'heureuse nouvelle' that the director of the Opéra will audition one of the several unpublished works awaiting his attention: Frégor by Membrée.]"

F-02/07

"Revue musicale. Conservatoire national de musique et Académie des Beaux-Arts. -- Jugement du concours pour le grand prix de composition musicale. [Opening remarks on the 'concours préparatoire' and the competition for the 'grand prix' (Prix de Rome), of which two were awarded that year.] -- Edith, scène lyrique de M. E. Guinaud, mise en musique par MM. Marty, Pierné, Leroux, Vidal et Tailhade. [Reyer's assessment of the cantata text by Guinaud (author of the text of the symphonic ode Diane by Godard) leads to an editorial on the French public's lack of appreciation for 'la symphonie . . . qu'elle soit purement instrumentale ou dramatique.' -- Review of the setting of Edith by Marty, winner of the 'premier grand prix.' Notice on M. Cobalet, one of the singers who participated in the performance of Marty's work. -- Comments on the regulation requiring that each winner spend one year in either Germany or Austria-Hungary (see JD F-10/01) introduce the review of the setting by Pierné, winner of a 'second premier grand prix.' The review ends with a notice on one of the singers, the Opéra's Mme Montalba. -- A few words on the setting by Leroux, to whom the Académie accorded 'une mention honorable.']"

F-14/07

[(Communication published under the words "On nous écrit de Luchon:") Reflections concerning how the resort town has been affected by the casino, which was inaugurated two years ago (see JD *LA[CurR 191]-21/08/1880, p. 3). -- The Sunday bullfights: The famous sauteur Daverat. Comparison of these bullfights with Spain's "spectacles . . . sanguinaires." -- The casino's theatre: Remarks on the repertoire. Names of the principal singers. -- Notice on the "concerts classiques" given at the theatre by Edouard Broustet, conductor of the orchestra. -- The casino's rejection of a request for a concert which would feature four "éminens chanteurs" who are vacationing at Luchon.]

*LA[CurR 191]-05/08, p. 2

[(Communication published under the words "On nous écrit de Genève, le 15 août:") Description of a "concours musical" involving 208 amateur choral and instrumental societies (a total of ten thousand musicians) from Switzerland, Belgium, Piedmont, and France: Official reception of each society at the Palais electoral. The day of the competitions. The procession through the city after the competitions. Announcement of the

groups which had won "les premiers prix d'honneur."]
*LA[CurR 191]-21/08, pp. 1-2

"Revue musicale. Conservatoire de musique: Nécessité de rétablir le pensionnat. -- Les Conservatoires de province (succursales du Conservatoire de Paris). -- Le Conservatoire de Toulouse: MM. Gesta, Soum et Muratet. [All three subtitles pertain to an editorial affirming a position which Reyer, as he points out, had been among the first to enunciate: the Paris Conservatoire must recruit outstanding students from the provincial conservatories by reestablishing the pensionnat (see JD F-18/08/1881). To prove that such students are to be found in the provinces, Reyer describes three young singers whom he had heard that very year at the Conservatoire de Toulouse: the tenors Gesta and Muratet, and the baritone Soum.] -- Réflexions à propos des derniers concours de Paris et de Toulouse. [General remarks on the 'contingent assez respectable' that graduated from the Paris Conservatoire's classes in voice. Objections to the disorderly scenes that, at the competitions of both Paris and Toulouse, erupted in the audience whenever it was dissatisfied with a judgment. Recommendation that students and professors not be allowed to choose 'les morceaux de concours' from works by composers who are on the jury.]"
F-21/08

"Revue musicale. Académie des Beaux-Arts: Séance publique annuelle. Exécution des deux cantates composées par MM. Pierné et Marty sur la scène lyrique Edith, de M. E. Guinaud. [The fact that both Pierné and Marty are in Massenet's class at the Conservatoire prompts Reyer to editorialize briefly against encouraging 'cette préférence que semblent montrer les jeunes musiciens pour la classe du successeur de François Bazin,' when the classes of Guiraud and Massé remain virtually empty. Reyer had already described Guinaud's cantata poem at length, and had assessed the two winning settings individually (see JD F-14/07). He therefore gives only a synopsis of the poem, and discusses certain characteristics common to both settings. In conclusion, he reiterates a conviction which he had been expressing 'depuis douze ou quinze ans': winners of the Prix de Rome should, upon their return to France, be appointed conductors for two years at provincial lyric theatres, where they would 'faire leur apprentissage de chef d'orchestre' and would be obliged to produce 'un grand ouvrage' of their own.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: Débuts de Mme Engally dans Aïda. [Notice includes a few recollections of Engally's career at other Parisian lyric theatres.] -- Les examens d'admission au Conservatoire. [Remarks on this year's auditions, with special attention to MM. Muratet and Gandubert (candidates from the conservatory of Toulouse). Reiteration of another conviction: upon graduation from the Paris Conservatoire, young singers should spend at least two years acquiring experience at provincial lyric theatres (see JD F-18/08).]"
F-29/10

"Revue musicale. Concert Lamoureux. -- Concert du Châtelet. -- Concert du Cirque d'hiver: le prélude de Parsifal. [The uproar caused by this

prelude, which was presented by each of Paris's concert societies to open the new season, sparks an editorial urging the public and press not to condemn Wagner's music because of their hostility toward his character and his politics. The editorial concludes with a demand for the re-establishing of a Théâtre-Lyrique, the director of which would have the freedom to present Wagner's operas and music dramas in their entirety so that Parisians could judge these works 'mieux que sur de simples échantillons.'] -- [Notices on performances by guest artists at recent concerts of Lamoureux, Colonne, and Pasdeloup: Mlle Silberberg (pianist); Marsick (violinist); Franz Rummel (pianist); and Sarasate (violinist). -- After commenting that Sarasate had performed 'une Suite composée sur des motifs de Carmen,' Reyer calls for a revival of Bizet's work at the Opéra-Comique. --] Théâtre de l'Opéra: Rentrée de M. Salomon dans le Prophète. [Observations on Salomon's return to the Opéra after having sung for four years in the provinces.] -- Consonances et dissonances, par M. J. Armingaud. [Notice on a collection of 'pensées humoristiques et philosophiques' by one of France's most distinguished violinists.]"

F††-12/11

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: [Editorial on the supposed safeguarding of 'les intérêts des jeunes compositeurs' by means of a clause in this theatre's cahier des charges, a clause requiring that the director premiere each year two new one-act works. The editorial is followed by reviews of this year's choices:] la Nuit de Saint-Jean, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de MM. Delacour et Luce de Lusignan, musique de M. Paul Lacome [who had already achieved success 'sur différentes scènes de genre'; see JD F-09/03/1873]. -- Battez Philidor, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de M. Abraham Dreyfus, musique de M. Amédée Dutacq [who was then (as now) unknown in the theatre]. -- Le Théâtre-Lyrique. [Postscript on the question of reestablishing a third lyric theatre, which would be called either 'Théâtre-Lyrique' or 'Opéra-Populaire.' Reyer wonders what is implied by the latter name, and warns that, if a new theatre is to render 'de véritables services à l'art et aux compositeurs,' it should be entrusted to 'un homme d'une intelligence supérieure et d'un talent éprouvé' rather than 'un entrepreneur.']"

F-19/11

"Revue musicale. Concerts du Châtelet: Mlle Clara Gurtier-Krauss, Mlle Jenny Godin, M. Bouhy; l'ouverture des Francs-Juges, de Berlioz. [Mlles Gurtier-Krauss and Godin performed Mozart's double concerto for two pianos. Bouhy, a celebrated baritone who had been away from Paris for a few years and had renounced the stage, sang an aria from Mendelssohn's Elijah and the scène La Madeleine au désert (which Reyer had composed expressly for him; see JD F-31/03/1874). In the review of the Francs-Juges overture, Reyer focuses not on the performance but rather on the work itself (particularly the instrumentation).] -- Concerts du Château-d'Eau: le duo de Béatrice et Bénédict, Mme Brunet-Lafleur et Mlle Rocher [who sang the soprano and contralto parts respectively]; l'ouverture de Rienzi, de Richard Wagner.-- La musique du Roi s'amuse. [Remarks on Delibes's incidental music for a revival of Victor Hugo's play

at the Théâtre-Français.] -- Clément Caraguel. [Obituary of the journalist who had succeeded Jules Janin as drama critic of the JD.]"

F-26/11

"Revue musicale. Société des concerts du Conservatoire: la Lyre et la Harpe, de M. Camille Saint-Saëns. [Review of the second Parisian performance of a work that had been premiered at the Birmingham Festival of 1879. Reyer does not describe 'en détail' Saint-Saëns's setting of Hugo's ode, having already reviewed the Parisian premiere (at the Concerts populaires; see JD F-27/01/1880). Instead, the critic concerns himself mainly with the new interpretation, which he frequently compares with that of 1880.] -- La Rédemption, trilogie sacrée, paroles et musique de M. Charles Gounod. [Review of the score of the oratorio composed for and premiered at the Birmingham Festival of 'cette année' (1882). At the conclusion of the review, Reyer announces the forthcoming performance of Gounod's work at Brussels, and wonders when it will be presented at Paris.] -- [Concerts du Châtelet:] Sardanapale, symphonie lyrique, paroles de M. Pierre Berton, musique de M. Alphonse Duvernoy. [Review of a new work by the young pianist-composer whose symphonic poem La Tempête had won the Prix de la ville de Paris in 1880. Sardanapale was a concert work for orchestra and solo voices, but Reyer avowed that, with 'quelques personnages de plus concourant à l'action,' it would be 'bel et bien un opéra.' (Indeed, it was eventually staged at Liège; see JD F-17/04/1892.)] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: début de Mlle Lureau. [A few words on the 'début fort intéressant' of this recent graduate of the Conservatoire, in the role of Marguerite in Les Huguenots.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: reprise des Noces de Figaro. [Notice on the performances of Mlle Van Zandt, Mlle Isaac, and Mme Carvalho. -- Postscript on the renewed success of the Comique's revival of Joseph (see JD F-02/07).]"

F-10/12

"Revue musicale. Salle du Châtelet: Loreley, légende symphonique en trois parties, poème de M. Eugène Adenis, musique de MM. Paul et Lucien Hillemacher. [Review of the work which, earlier that year, obtained the Prix de la ville de Paris.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: Reprise de Coppélia [with Mlle Subra dancing the principal role]. -- Théâtre-Lyrique ou Opéra-Populaire: M. Ritt et M. Massenet. [Brief editorial welcoming the decision to reestablish a third lyric theatre, which will be directed by Eugène Ritt. Comments on: Ritt's plan to inaugurate the theatre by staging the Parisian premiere of Massenet's Hérodiade; Massenet's promise of another opera (i.e., a reworking of his early Esmeralda, to be entitled Notre-Dame-de-Paris).] -- Les Sept Ivresses, paroles et musique de Mlle Augusta Holmès. [Review of a newly published collection of seven songs.] -- La vérité sur l'entrevue de M. Lassalle et de M. Vaucorbeil. [A satire on a salary dispute between the baritone and the director of the Opéra.] -- Audition des envois de Rome [in the Salle du Conservatoire]: M. Georges Hue et M. Samuel Rousseau. [Short reviews of a symphony by Hue, two of Rousseau's 'trois pièces symphoniques,' and Rousseau's 'fabliau lyrique' La Florentine.]"

F-26/12

1883

Journal des Débats

"Revue musicale de l'année 1882. [The Opéra: Opening remarks on the fact that 'notre première scène lyrique' had presented only two new works (the opera Françoise de Rimini and the ballet Namouna). Editorial on the 'triste sort' of Namouna. Editorial on the departure of Mlle Salla, who had created the title role in Françoise de Rimini. -- The Opéra-Comique: Assessments of each of the five 'nouveautés,' none of which had found favor with the public, conclude with the observation that this theatre generally makes its profits not from new works, but rather from revivals of old favorites. Preparations for the forthcoming premiere of Delibes's Lakmé. Changes in the company (impending departure of Mlle Isaac; departure of Mlle Ducasse). -- Editorial on a speech which had been given by a member of Paris's municipal council, and had caused Ritt to postpone indefinitely the reestablishing of a third lyric theatre. -- The concert societies of Pasdeloup, Colonne, and Lamoureux: The Parisian premiere of the prelude to Parsifal. Lamoureux's forthcoming premiere of a 'Rapsodie sur Namouna.' The brief existence of two works premiered by Lamoureux (Loreley and Sardanapale). -- Reflections on the demise of the concert society founded by Edouard Broustet (see JD F-08/10/1881).]"

F-15/01

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Reprise de Giralda. [Review is preceded by a brief history of Adolphe Adam's work (which had not been revived since 1862) and an appreciation of Adam as critic.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: la Juive, Mme Montalba [who had never before sung the title role]; [-- Announcements of two new publications:] la partition du Saïs, paroles et musique de Mme Marguerite Olagnier [a 'conte arabe en quatre actes et cinq tableaux,' premiered at the Théâtre de la Renaissance in 1881]; la partition de la Messe des morts, d'Hector Berlioz [piano reduction]."

F-29/01

[(Communication published under the words "On nous écrit de Monaco:") Monte Carlo: Comments on the weather and the tourists. Roulette in the crowded "salles de jeu." -- Théâtre de Monte Carlo: Names of the principals in this year's "troupe incomparable." Survey of the repertoire. A few words on Mlle Van Zandt in Le Pardon de Ploërmel. Review of Faust (Talazac; Mlle Van Zandt; Maurel as both singer and actor; Mme Engally; Plançon; Dufriche).]

*LA[CurR 191]-17/02, pp. 2-3

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Henri VIII, opéra en quatre actes, paroles de MM. Léonce Détroyat et Armand Silvestre, musique de M. Camille Saint-Saëns. [Before reviewing this work, the first by Saint-Saëns to be staged at the Opéra, Reyer considers 'une lettre destinée à la publicité et qui en effet fut rendue publique,' in which

Saint-Saëns repudiated the doctrines of Wagner.]"
F-11/03

"Revue musicale. Les concerts spirituels du vendredi saint: Mme Marie Sasse; M. Théodore Ritter. [General remarks on the Good Friday concerts given by the societies of Pasdeloup, Colonne, and Lamoureux, as well as the Société des concerts du Conservatoire. Observations concerning a protest in the audience at Colonne's concert. Review of Pasdeloup's concert, which featured the soprano Sasse and the pianist Ritter as guest artists.] -- [Pasdeloup's concert of the preceding Sunday at the] Cirque d'Hiver: Endymion, poème mythologique de M. Louis Gallet, musique de M. Albert Cahen. [Review includes a notice on the career of this distinguished amateur, then known to Parisians as the composer of Le Bois (see JD F-15/10/1880).] -- Le directeur de l'Opéra et M. Verdi. [Brief editorial in support of Vaucorbeil, who has asked Verdi to compose a work expressly for the Opéra.] -- Les nouveaux ouvrages de M. Massenet. [After stating that Verdi's work 'succéderait à l'un de ceux qu'est en train d'écrire M. Jules Massenet,' Reyer explains that only one of Massenet's works is destined for the Opéra; the others are for the Opéra-Comique and 'le futur Théâtre-Populaire.'] -- Les reprises. [Comments on the rumor that the contract between Massenet and Vaucorbeil has a clause which stipulates that if Massenet does not complete the new work by a certain date, Vaucorbeil will not premiere an opera by another French composer, but will instead revive an 'opéra ancien choisi dans le répertoire ou hors du répertoire.' -- Postscript announcing that the Opéra has postponed the premiere of Massenet's work 'à une date encore indéterminée.']"
F-08/04

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Lakmé, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. Gondinet et Philippe Gille, musique de M. Léo Delibes. [In this review of a work which was billed as an opéra comique but bore the designation opéra in the score, Reyer argues that 'Lakmé est bel et bien un opéra comique,' and reaffirms a conviction he has held for many years: the distinction between opéra comique and opéra rests solely on style, not on the technical point of spoken dialogue in the one as against recitative in the other (see, e.g., his review of Gounod's Cinq-Mars in JD F-15/04/1877).]"
F-22/04

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Reprise de Carmen, opéra comique en quatre actes tiré de la Nouvelle de Prosper Mérimée, poème de MM. Henri Meilhac et Ludovic Halévy, musique de Georges Bizet. [Review includes recollections of Reyer's impression of this work when it was premiered in 1875.] -- Conservatoire national de Musique: Exercices des élèves. [Review of this public concert focuses in turn on the student orchestra, chorus, four solo singers, a string quartet, and two pianists.] -- [Obituary of the thirty-five-year-old pianist and composer] Henry Ketten. [-- Response to rumors concerning the nature of a libretto which the Académicien Ernest Legouvé 'a bien voulu se charger de lire

. . . au directeur de l'Opéra.' (The libretto, which Reyer does not name, is that of his Sigurd.)]"

F-29/04

"Revue musicale. [Editorial objecting that, several months after the voting of a subsidy and the choosing of Ritt as Director (see JD F-26/12/1882), the Théâtre-Lyrique or Opéra-Populaire 'n'existe guère encore qu'à l'état de projet.' -- Remarks on a lyric theatre which 'vient de surgir' at the Salle du Château-d'Eau and is functioning without any official support.] Théâtre du Château-d'Eau: Représentations populaires d'opéra et d'opéra comique: La Norma, de Bellini [review of the production which inaugurated this theatre]; le Voyage en Chine [observations on a rehearsal for the forthcoming production of Bazin's opéra comique]. -- Le Trouvère aux Bouffes du Nord. [Comments on the handbill of this theatre, 's'intitulant pompeusement et peut-être même illicitement "Opéra-Populaire."'] -- Le Lucifer de M. Peter Benoît au Trocadéro. [Reyer recalls hearing this oratorio, played at the piano and sung by the composer, at a 'réunion intime' at Brussels 'il y a quelque vingt ans.' The critic explains that he was unable to attend the performance at the Trocadéro because he was at Lille.] -- Le festival de Lille de la Société des Concerts populaires. [Reflections on a concert which was organized by the director of the society, Paul Martin, and consisted entirely of music by Reyer. The composer-critic does not review the program (which he conducted at Martin's invitation), but discusses the society, the Conservatoire chorus, and the guest artists (the soprano Rose Caron and the bass Auguez). In addition, he editorializes on the subsidy granted the society by the government.] -- Un mot sur Carmen. [After attending another performance of Carvalho's revival, Reyer comments further on 'cette musique de maître' and on Mlle Isaac's interpretation of the title role.]"

F-16/05

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: La Perle du Brésil, opéra en trois actes, poème de J. Gabriel et Sylvain Saint-Etienne, musique de Félicien David (Reprise). [The public's cold reception of this work, one of the successes at the old Théâtre-Lyrique, prompts Reyer to editorialize on the dispossession of the Lyrique's repertoire by the Comique, which 'ne réalisera jamais ce rêve . . . d'être à la fois l'Opéra-Comique et le Théâtre-Lyrique.' The review of David's work is largely concerned with the American soprano Emma Nevada, who made her Parisian debut in the role of Zora.] -- [Also at the Comique:] Saute Marquis, opéra comique en un acte, poème de M. Truffier, musique de M. J. Cressonnois. [A few words on the musical career of this former Chef des Guides precede the notice on the posthumous premiere of his work.] -- Encore les Bouffes du Nord. [Brief editorial on another manifestation of this theatre's ambition to become the Opéra-Populaire (see JD F-16/05).] -- Les concerts d'orgue de M. Guilmant au Trocadéro. [Review of a series of four concerts which the organist-composer gave with the assistance of guest artists and Colonne's orchestra.] -- Lecture d'un poème d'opéra, par M. Legouvé. [Remarks on the outcome of the reading of the libretto (which Reyer does not name; see JD F-29/04).] -- Post

Scriptum. [Announcement that 'l'opéra de Sigurd' has been accepted by the co-directors of the Théâtre de la Monnaie at Brussels, and will probably be premiered 'l'hiver prochain.']"

F-27/05

"Revue musicale. Les examens semestriels du Conservatoire et le concours pour le grand prix de composition musicale. [Comparison of the examination processes for 'les élèves chanteurs et instrumentistes' and for the Prix de Rome competitors. Comments on the cantata poem Le Gladiateur, by Emile Moreau.] -- Les prix de Rome. [Editorial in which Reyer reiterates his long-held conviction that winners of this prize should, upon their return to France, be sent to provincial theatres, where they would serve as conductors in exchange for the right to stage an opera of their own.] -- Le nouveau directeur de l'Ecole de musique de Toulouse, succursale du Conservatoire de Paris. [Notice on the career of the composer Louis Deffès, newly appointed director of the Toulouse conservatory.] -- Le nouveau théâtre italien. [Information on the imminent reestablishing of such a theatre: location; principal singers; conductor; repertoire; the baritone Maurel, who will be both a principal singer and the artistic director.] -- Les Illusions musicales, par Johannès Weber. [Review of a book by the music critic of Le Temps, apropos of what Weber regards as 'des illusions' of composer and public concerning 'la musique imitative,' 'la musique descriptive,' and 'la couleur locale.']"

F-17/06

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Mathias Corvin, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de M. Paul Milliet et Jules Levallois, musique de M. de Bertha; le Portrait, opéra comique en deux actes, paroles de MM. Laurencin et Jules Adenis, musique de M. Théodore de Lajarte. [Review of the works which were premiered to meet the requirement (stipulated in the cahier des charges of the Comique) that three new acts be staged before the end of the season. The work by the Hungarian pianist-composer Bertha was performed on the same evening as that of Lajarte.] -- [Théâtre de l'Opéra:] Débuts de Mme Duvivier dans les Huguenots, et de M. Plançon dans Faust. [Brief editorial on the supposed failure of Mme Duvivier (formerly of the Théâtre de la Monnaie in Brussels). Notice on the performance of Plançon as Méphistophélès.] -- Académie des Beaux-Arts: concours pour le grand prix de composition musicale. [Announcement of the results of the competition.] -- [Book review:] La Comédie à la cour: les Théâtres de société royale pendant le siècle dernier, par M. Adolphe Jullien."

F-01/07

"Revue musicale. Conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation. [Editorial on the hissing of the jury at the annual competitions. (Reyer suggests that either the competitions take place à huis clos and the public be admitted only for the awards ceremony, or that the judgments of the jury not be announced until the ceremony.)] -- Concours de chant, d'opéra et d'opéra comique. [The men's competitions: Muratet and Escalaïs, each of whom won a 'premier prix de chant.' (Reyer's

assessment of Escalaïs includes an editorial exhorting students and teachers to show respect for a composer's text.) Winners of 'accessits.' -- The adoption of Charles Garnier's plan for enlarging the Conservatoire building leads Reyer to call again for the reestablishing of the pensionnat (see JD F-18/08/1881). -- The women's competitions: Mlle Bérengier and the jury's judgment (which was hissed). Mlles Simmonet and Castagne, who shared the 'second prix de chant.' Winners of other prizes and 'accessits' in the three categories. -- Editorial reiterating the demand 'que, dans l'enseignement du chant au Conservatoire, on fît une plus large part à la musique classique.' -- Response to an unnamed journalist's objection that the director of the Opéra, who has the right to engage for one year any winner of a 'premier prix d'opéra,' should not permit the prize-winner to sing at a foreign theatre during that year.]"

F-08/08

"Revue musicale. La saison musicale. [Remarks on forthcoming premieres at the Opéra: a revised version of Gounod's Sapho (1851), and Théodore Dubois's ballet La Farandole. Observations concerning the Opéra-Comique's rehearsals of a new work by Massenet, Manon Lescaut.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: Débuts de Mlle Isaac dans Hamlet et de M. Escalaïs dans Guillaume Tell. [After writing a notice on Mlle Isaac (formerly of the Opéra-Comique), Reyer reviews at length the debut of Escalaïs, one of the winners of the Conservatoire's recent competitions. -- Comments on the continuing popularity of Audran's operetta La Mascotte (premiered at the Bouffes du Sud in 1880).] -- Théâtre du Château-d'Eau: [Editorial on the undistinguished repertoire that has been offered by the director, Georges de Lagrené, who aspires to obtain the subsidy once allocated for an Opéra-Populaire (see JD F-26/12/1882).] Roland à Roncevaux, poème et musique de M. Auguste Mermet. [Review of de Lagrené's production of a work which had not been staged at Paris since 1867.]"

F-19/10

"Revue musicale. Académie des Beaux-Arts. [Description of the proceedings of the annual public séance, at which the Académie awards the Prix de Rome in painting, architecture, sculpture, and music, and the winning cantata is performed with orchestra. -- Review of an overture by Samuel Rousseau (a former winner of the Prix de Rome), performed at the beginning of this year's séance.] -- Exécution de la scène lyrique le Gladiateur, paroles de M. Emile Moreau, musique de M. Paul Vidal, premier grand prix de composition musicale. [Review of both the prescribed text and the winning setting.] -- M. Debussy, M. René. [Remarks on the two students recognized after Vidal. -- Brief editorial counselling young composers to shun the vocal artifices 'dont l'unique objet est . . . d'attirer du même coup les applaudissemens du public sur l'interprète et sur le compositeur.'] -- La Damnation de Faust et le monument de Berlioz. [Announcement that the proceeds from this performance, which began the new season of the Concerts du Châtelet, will go toward the erection of a monument to Berlioz (see JD F-16/05/1884).] -- Concerts populaires: Le concerto en si bémol de Mozart, exécuté par M. Théodore

Ritter. [Review of Ritter's performance at Pasdeloup's first concert of the season. Comments on the intention of the conductor and the pianist to present a series of Mozart's concertos.] -- Teatro comunale di Bologna: Mlle Cécile Ritter. [Reyer reports that 'les journaux bolonais' have highly praised this French soprano (sister of Théodore Ritter), who recently appeared in the Bologna theatre's production of Thomas's Hamlet.]"

F-28/10

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: [Objections to the neglect of the soprano Mme Duvivier.] Reprise de Henri VIII. [In the midst of the review, Reyer again recalls the letter in which Saint-Saëns repudiated Wagner's doctrines (see JD F-11/03).] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Reprise de Carmen; Mme Galli-Marié [who had created the title role in 1875, and now appears in Carvalho's new production]. -- M. Mauras [as Don José]. -- Mlle Bilbaut-Vauchelet [as Micaela]. -- Quelques mots à propos de l'Opéra-Populaire et du Théâtre-Italien. [Editorial on the decision of the Commission de l'Opéra-Populaire to recognize and subsidize Georges de Lagrené's Théâtre du Château-d'Eau on one condition: that this director find '"six premiers sujets"' who would be acceptable to '"une sous-commission déléguée . . . par le Conseil municipal."' Response to the rumor that the recently organized Théâtre-Italien (see JD F-17/06) will not open.] -- Concerts du Châtelet: les Erinnyes. [Review of the performance of 'd'importans fragmens' from Massenet's incidental music for Leconte de Lisle's play (1873).] -- Publications nouvelles. [Announcements of new scores and the forthcoming publication of 'une belle marche funèbre' which Théodore Ritter has composed and dedicated to the memory of Berlioz.]"

F-10/11

"Revue musicale. Académie nationale de musique et de danse (Opéra): la Farandole, ballet en trois actes de MM. Philippe Gille, Arnold Mortier et Mérante; musique de M. Théodore Dubois. [Review is preceded by a description of the 'circonstances tout à fait imprévues' which had led to the commissioning of this ballet from Dubois (then professor of harmony at the Conservatoire and organist at the Madeleine). At the end of the review, Reyer declares: 'Je suis venu à Paris tout exprès pour assister à la première représentation de la Farandole; le lendemain, je retournais à Bruxelles, où j'ai quelque intérêt à résider actuellement.' (See JD F-26/01/1884.)]"

F-23/12

1884

Journal des Débats

"Revue musicale. Appendice à un feuilleton du 26 [i.e., 27] mai. [The reading of the libretto of Sigurd to the director of the Opéra (see JD F-27/05/1883) is recalled by Reyer, who explains that he had subsequently taken his score to Brussels, where it had been accepted by the

Théâtre de la Monnaie.] -- Voyage à Bruxelles. [After spending most of November and December supervising rehearsals of Sigurd, Reyer applauds the key personnel at the Monnaie, especially the co-directors (Stoumon and Calabrési), the régisseur général (Lapissida), and the conductor (Joseph Dupont). Reyer does not however review the premiere, believing that 'ma tâche ici doit se borner à vous dire que j'ai trouvé . . . des interprètes qui m'ont prêté le concours le plus dévoué.' He then discusses the singers who created the principal roles in his work.] -- [Concerts du Conservatoire (conducted by François Gevaert, director of the Brussels Conservatoire):] L'oratorio de Noël de Sébastian Bach. [Review of a performance of the first two parts. Included in the review are a notice on the six cantatas which comprise this 'oratorio,' and comments on Bach's use of the oboe d'amore.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Manon, opéra comique en cinq actes et six tableaux, de MM. Henri Meilhac et Philippe Gille; musique de M. Massenet. [Reyer begins the review by stating that he returned from Brussels expressly for the premiere of this work by 'mon ami Massenet.']"

F††-26/01

"Hérodiade au Théâtre-Italien. [Review of the Parisian premiere of Massenet's opera, performed in Italian at the Théâtre-Italien de la place du Châtelet (directed by Victor Maurel). Reyer does not retell the story and consider the music, having done so when he reviewed the premiere at Brussels (see JD F††-25/12/1881). Instead, he first editorializes on 'les inconvéniens de la traduction' and then assesses the singers who had overcome Massenet's misgivings about presenting the work in translation. (The singers included Mme Adler-Devriès, Maurel, and the de Reszke brothers.)]"

A-15/02, p. 3

[(Communication published under the words "On nous écrit de Monaco:") Théâtre de Monte-Carlo: Remarks on the practice of shortening the operas performed on this "petite scène." Names of the principal singers in this year's company. Survey of the repertoire (which consists of Italian operas and French operas in Italian translation). Comments on the fame and the fee of Mme Adler-Devriès, who will appear as Ophelia in a shortened version of Ambroise Thomas's Hamlet. Notices on performances of five other principals (Vergnet and Mierzwinski, two rival tenors; the baritone Pandolfini; the baritone Bouhy; the soprano Caroline Salla).]

*LA[CurR 191]-19/02, p. 3

[(Communication published under the words "On nous écrit de Monaco:") Théâtre de Monte-Carlo: Thomas's Hamlet, shortened and, contrary to the custom of this theatre, sung in French (with the exception of the choruses, which were sung in Italian). Review focuses on the performances of Bouhy, Mme Salla, and Mme Adler-Devriès. -- Remarks on the absence of the theatre's "accompagnateur," who is replaced this season by Véronge de la Nux, a former winner of the Prix de Rome.]

*LA[CurR 191]-27/02, p. 2

"Revue musicale. Concerts Lamoureux: Exécution du premier acte de Tristan et Iseult. [Review of the first Parisian performance (in concert; French translation by Victor Wilder). Lamoureux's presentation was Reyer's real initiation to this music drama, because 'c'était la première fois que j'entendais Tristan et Iseult à l'orchestre.' The critic seized the opportunity to make honorable amends for his rejection of it in Souvenirs d'Allemagne (serialized in Le Moniteur universel; see F-25/12/1864).] -- Lohengrin à l'Opéra-Comique. [Comments on the rumor that Carvalho intends to stage the Parisian premiere of Wagner's opera.] -- Théâtre-Italien: le ténor Gayarré. [Notice on a recently engaged tenor whose success is 'vraiment prodigieux.']"

F††-22/03

"Revue musicale. L'Opéra-Populaire et la proposition du citoyen Michelin. [Editorial on the city council's rejection of a councilman's proposal that the subsidy granted to Georges de Lagrené's Opéra-Populaire be discontinued. The editorial concludes with remarks on the most recent production at this theatre: a revival of Lucia di Lammermoor in French translation.] -- L'Union internationale des compositeurs et le directeur de l'Assistance publique. [Notice on the establishing of a new musical society, of which the violinist Bruneau (father of the composer) is both founder and 'président effectif,' and Reyer is honorary president. Description of the society's goal: to present to the public new works by living composers 'de tous pays,' by means of six concerts at the Trocadéro. Editorial on a dispute between Bruneau and the Director of Public Assistance about the amount of the 'poor tax' to be imposed on tickets for each concert.] -- La Situation musicale et l'instruction populaire en France, par M. Johannès Weber. [Review of a 'brochure d'une centaine de pages' in which the author, according to Reyer, is primarily concerned with 'l'enseignement, les études et l'organisation de notre Conservatoire national et des succursales de province.'] -- 4^{e} audition de Tristan et Iseult. [Notice on the success of the final performance of Act I at the Concerts Lamoureux. -- Postscript on the répétition générale of Gounod's revised version of Sapho, at the Opéra.]"

F-29/03

"Revue musicale. Académie nationale de musique et de danse: Sapho, opéra en quatre actes et cinq tableaux (reprise et première représentation), poème de M. Emile Augier, musique de M. Charles Gounod. [This work, originally in three acts and premiered at the Opéra in 1851, was expanded by the librettists and composer so that it could be staged as an 'oeuvre nouvelle' (one of which was required annually by the Opéra's cahier des charges). Reyer's review of the new version includes comparisons with the original.] -- [Concert or 'festival' of l'Union internationale des compositeurs, at the] Salle du Trocadéro: La Rédemption, trilogie sacrée, paroles et musique de M. Charles Gounod. [Review of the first Parisian performance of an oratorio premiered at the Birmingham Festival of 1882. (Reyer had written 'quelques mots' about this work upon receiving a copy of the score; see JD F-10/12/1882.)]"

F-06/04

"Revue musicale. Opéra-Populaire.....[sic] Finis coronat opus. [The demise of Georges de Lagrené's Opéra-Populaire causes Reyer to editorialize first on the factors which led to its downfall, and then on the 'mission' of a reestablished third lyric theatre.] -- Les concerts du vendredi saint. [Opening remarks on the secular character of these 'concerts qui s'intitulent "spirituels."' Programs of the concerts conducted by Lamoureux and Pasdeloup. -- Notices on new music at recent Concerts Lamoureux and Concerts populaires: excerpts from Godard's opera Pedro de Zalamea; Chabrier's España. -- Mme Adler-Devriès as guest artist at Colonne's 'concert spirituel.'] -- Salle du Trocadéro (2e festival), fragmens de Hulda, opéra inédit, poème de M. Charles Grandmougin, musique de M. César Franck. -- Léda, poème antique de M. Henri Lavedan, musique de M. Alfred Bruneau. -- Fritiof, légende scandinave d'après Esaïas Tegner, traduction française de M. Victor Wilder, musique de M. Max Bruch. [Fragments from Bruch's choral work and from Franck's opera, as well as Alfred Bruneau's Léda in its entirety, comprised the second concert of l'Union internationale des compositeurs (of which Gounod had succeeded Reyer as 'président honoraire'). None of these works had previously been performed at Paris, although the original version of Frithjof, with Wilder's translation, had been published (see Reyer's comments in JD F-20/02/1875).] -- Les Annales du théâtre et de la musique, par MM. Édouard Noël et Edmond Stoullig, avec une préface de M. Charles Garnier, de l'Institut. [Review of the architect Garnier's preface to the ninth volume in the ongoing series.]"

F-20/04

"Les Concerts populaires. [Editorial on the demise of the orchestral organization founded in 1861 by the conductor Jules Pasdeloup.]"

A-11/05, p. 3

"Revue musicale. Conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation: Exercice des élèves. [Review of the students' public concert (Mendelssohn's Elijah, in French translation).] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Reprise de Lakmé, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. Edmond Gondinet et Philippe Gille, musique de M. Léo Delibes. [Remarks on the renewed success of this work, with Mlle Van Zandt again in the title role and a young tenor, Degenne, making his debut as Gerald.] -- Théâtre-Italien: Début de M. Robert Stagno. [Reyer recounts what he has heard about the performance of this much-touted tenor in Rigoletto.] -- Le monument de Berlioz. [After announcing that 'le comité formé pour l'érection d'un monument à la mémoire de Berlioz' has been granted permission to place a statue in the square Vintimille, Reyer describes the kind of monument he would favor, and proposes 'à mes confrères du comité' that the Symphonie funèbre et triomphale be performed at the inauguration.] -- [Book review:] Paris dilettante au commencement du siècle, par M. Adolphe Jullien."

F-16/05

"Revue musicale. La cantate pour le grand prix de composition musicale. [The choosing of Guinaud's cantata text L'Enfant prodigue as the one to be set by this year's candidates for the Prix de Rome prompts

Reyer first to reflect on the 'médiocres' texts that have been submitted in these annual competitions, and then to reiterate his position that the holding of a competition is an unsatisfactory way to obtain a text (see JD F-29/06/1881).] -- Salle du Trocadéro: 4e festival de l'union internationale des compositeurs. [Reviews of the following (none of which had previously been performed at Paris): Saint-Saëns's Hymne à Victor Hugo; Niels Gade's La Fantaisie du printemps (Frühlings-Fantasie); an orchestral suite by Théodore Dubois, based on motifs from La Farandole; Guiraud's overture Arteveld; an Andante and a Menuet by Arthur Coquard; and Tchaikovsky's Italian Capriccio. (The reviews of the works by Gade and the young Coquard are accompanied by notices on their careers.) Comments on M. Bruneau's decision to postpone indefinitely the two remaining concerts in the series.] -- Publications nouvelles: Cendrillon, ballet pantomime en trois tableaux, musique de M. Charles Malherbe. [Review of a four-hand arrangement of this unperformed ballet by the then-unknown Malherbe.] -- Recueil de vingt pièces posthumes pour le piano, par M. Henri Ketten. [Review of the other new publication which Reyer singles out from amongst the many he has received 'pendant ces derniers jours.']"

F-01/06

"Revue musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique populaire: les Martyrs, musique de Donizetti. [Brief editorial applauding a 'courageux citoyen' (a tenor named Garnier) who has established at the Salle du Château-d'Eau 'un Théâtre-Lyrique d'été, libre et non subventionné.' Notice on Garnier's performance in his production of Donizetti's opera.] -- Salle du Trocadéro: le Festival Pasdeloup [review of a benefit concert organized for Pasdeloup by the baritone Faure and the conductor Colonne]; les Concerts d'orgue de M. Guilmant [review of the fourth concert in the seventh annual series, with general remarks on Guilmant and other contemporary Parisian 'maîtres' of the organ]. -- [Notices on] Publications diverses: Musique de piano et musique de chant [with special attention to a collection of mélodies by the young Gabriel Pierné, diverse piano compositions and a four-hand arrangement of Berlioz's La Damnation de Faust by Ernest Redon, and 'un recueil de quinze mélodies et différentes pièces' by René Lenormand]."

F-14/06

"Revue musicale. [Editorial on the financial situations of the Opéra-Comique and the Opéra: Reyer repeats his conviction that the requirements stipulated in the cahier des charges of the flourishing Comique are too 'légères' (see JD F-19/11/1882); he suggests that the profits of the foundering Opéra could be increased if it would enrich its repertoire and offer daily performances. -- Reviews of three one-act works premiered to fulfil a clause in the cahier des charges of the] Théâtre national de l'Opéra-Comique: le Baiser, opéra comique en un acte; paroles de M. Henri Gillet; musique de M. Adolphe Deslandres. -- L'Enclume, opéra comique en un acte; paroles de M. Pierre Barbier; musique de M. Georges Pfeiffer. -- Partie carrée, opéra comique en un acte; paroles de M. Augé de Lassus; musique de M. Lovello. -- Quelques mots à propos du concours Cressent. [The fact that none of the forty-

four works submitted to the jury was deemed worthy of the prize elicits an editorial reiterating Reyer's position that, except in rare cases, public competitions 'ne donneront et ne peuvent donner que les résultats les plus médiocres, et même les résultats négatifs.' The editorial concludes with an announcement that the biennial Prix Rossini has been awarded to two works instead of one, because the last competition (1882) had not yielded a work worthy of the prize. -- Remarks on the ambitious prospectus circulated by Garnier, director of the Théâtre-Populaire du Château-d'Eau.]"

F-29/06

"[Obituary of the composer and professor] Victor Massé."

A-07/07, p. 3

"Revue musicale. Les concours du Conservatoire. [An incident during one of the competitions prompts Reyer to suggest, as before, that either the competitions take place à huis clos, or the judgments of the jury not be announced until the awards ceremony (see JD F-08/08/1883).] -- La distribution des prix. [Comments on the speech of M. Kaempfen, Director of Fine Arts. Announcement of honors bestowed upon professors and other professional musicians. Notice on the students' concert, which was presented after the awarding of their prizes. -- Editorial renewing Reyer's demand for the teaching of viola at the Conservatoire (see, e.g., JD F-25/08/1879). -- Notice on Alphonse Hasselmans, who has succeeded Prumier as professor of harp. -- Miscellaneous reflections on the vocal competitions: the 'soif de virtuosité'; the 'nécessité d'apprendre à lire dans une partition'; the neglect of M. Gesta, a young tenor whom Reyer had brought to Paris from Toulouse (see JD F-21/08/1882). Short editorial insisting 'pour la centième fois' on the need to 'donner une plus grande place au répertoire classique dans l'enseignement.' -- Review of the vocal competitions: a few words about each winner in the several categories. -- Objections to the Conservatoire's lack of action concerning 'la question du pensionnat.' -- Postscript: notice that Lapissida, régisseur général at the Théâtre de la Monnaie and stage director at Covent Garden, has been honored by the French government.]"

F-13/08

"Revue musicale. Les [r]entrées. -- Les sorties. -- Les reprises. -- Les débuts. [Editorial decrying the Opéra's reliance upon 'menus événemens,' such as the farewell and return appearances of its principal singers, the so-called 'reprise' of some work which has long been a staple of the repertoire, the so-called 'début' of some singer who has already established a reputation outside Paris, and the debuts of prize-winning graduates of the Conservatoire. These 'élèves' are the focus of Reyer's attention: their lack of experience causes him to urge either that the Conservatoire create a 'théâtre d'essai' where students would perform periodically before the public, or that graduates be required to appear at a provincial theatre for at least one year before embarking on a career at a Parisian theatre.] -- La situation actuelle de l'Opéra. [Editorial on two recent articles, one by Louis Besson (music critic of L'Evénement) and one by Moreno (editor of Le Ménestrel), both of whom

have called for Vaucorbeil's resignation and have caused 'une très vive sensation.'] -- La reprise probable du Rossignol. [A brief history of Lebrun's Le Rossignol (1816), 'une petite platitude en un acte' which Vaucorbeil intends to revive.] -- Le Barbier de Séville à l'Opéra-Comique. [Reyer welcomes the news that, after Vaucorbeil's renunciation of this work, Carvalho has decided to stage it. -- Comments on Vaucorbeil's lack of interest in such works as Gluck's Armide (which his predecessors Perrin and Halanzier had contemplated reviving) and Berlioz's Les Troyens.] -- Une étude sur Berlioz et sur son oeuvre dramatique, par M. Alfred Ernst. [Review of Ernst's L'Oeuvre dramatique de H. Berlioz.]"

F-14/09

"Revue musicale. M. Pasdeloup et les concerts de Monte-Carlo. [Reyer applauds the news that Pasdeloup will conduct a series of twelve concerts at the Théâtre de Monte-Carlo, which has renounced 'des représentations d'opéras et d'opérettes.' The critic then discusses the repertoire and the guest artists announced by Pasdeloup. -- Notice that the Concerts populaires will continue to exist, but will be renamed and will be conducted by Benjamin Godard.] -- La partition d'orchestre des Troyens. [Remarks on Choudens's forthcoming publication of this score (which will be 'absolument conforme au manuscrit') lead to a call for the reestablishing of the 'forme primitive' of the piano-vocal score of Les Troyens à Carthage, which had been published during Berlioz's lifetime.] -- Reprise projetées de Benvenuto Cellini et de Namouna. [Upon hearing that Vaucorbeil might revive these two works, Reyer speaks out in their favor.] -- A propos du voyage en Allemagne imposé au grands prix de composition musicale. [Brief editorial supporting the Académie's request that the government grant each laureate an indemnity, so that such a 'voyage' can remain 'obligatoire' instead of becoming 'facultatif.'] -- Les envois de Rome. [Reyer lists the envois of this year, and declares that they are superior to those of recent years.] -- L'Opéra-Populaire: Etienne Marcel. [Comments on rehearsals for the Parisian premiere of Saint-Saëns's opera. -- Postscript: a few words concerning new publications (a piano trio by the late Alexis de Castillon; three concert works by André Wormser).]"

F-28/09

"Revue musicale. Les quatre ouvrages nouveaux du Théâtre-Italien. [After listing the four works which will be premiered during the season at Maurel's Théâtre-Italien, Reyer contrasts the musical activity at this theatre (where, 'suivant la méthode italienne, on ne s'absorbe pas dans des problèmes de mise en scène et de décors') with the relative lack of activity at the Opéra ('qui peut à peine monter un opéra per an'). -- Editorial objecting to the city council's withdrawal of the 300,000 fr. subsidy which had once been allocated for the creation of an Opéra-Populaire, and had scarcely been touched by de Lagrené before the demise of his theatre. Reyer suggests that the money be given to Garnier's Opéra-Populaire.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Joli Gilles, opéra comique, en deux actes; paroles de M. Charles Monselet, d'après d'Allainval; musique de M. Ferdinand Poise. -- [Also at the Comique:]

Reprise de Manon, de Lakmé et de Galathée. [Brief editorial on the cessation of performances of Lakmé because Mlle Van Zandt, for whom the title role was composed, 'est fatiguée.' Remarks on the foreign popularity of Manon and Lakmé, 'ces deux gracieux échantillons d'un art . . . éminnement français.' Comments on both the successful revival of the late Victor Massé's Galathée (1852) and the forthcoming premiere of his last opera, Une Nuit de Cléopâtre.]"

F-17/10

"Revue musicale. [Garnier's] Théâtre-Lyrique Populaire: Etienne Marcel, opéra en quatre actes, paroles de M. Louis Gallet, musique de M. Camille Saint-Saëns. [Review of the first Parisian performance of a work that had been rejected by the Opéra and had subsequently been taken to Lyons, where it was premiered and acclaimed in 1879.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Début de Mlle d'Adler dans Mignon. [A few words on the performance of this 'toute jeune fille' in the title role of Thomas's work.]"

F-25/10

[Notice concerning a plan to commission a work from a young composer: At the invitation of the Ministre de l'instruction publique, the Académie des Beaux-Arts has selected five former winners of the Prix de Rome, one of whom will be chosen by the minister to compose "la partition d'un ouvrage en deux actes pour l'Opéra." Reyer expresses doubt that the director of the Opéra has requested the minister's permission to present a sixth candidate, Samuel David, as is claimed in the newspaper Le Figaro.]

U-27/10, p. 3

"M. Vaucorbeil. [News of the death of the director of the Opéra occasions reflections on the five-year administration of this man whom Reyer had known personally and professionally 'depuis de longues années.']"

A-04/11, p. 3

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Le successeur de M. Vaucorbeil. [Observations on several matters which, Reyer suggests, probably account both for the minister's delay in naming a successor, and for 'l'hésitation du candidat auquel le ministre témoigne une sympathie toute particulière.'] -- Reprise de Françoise de Rimini. [Comments on the Opéra's decision not to reengage Mlle Salla, who had created the title role in 1882, precede remarks on Mlle Isaac's performance of this role.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: [Brief review of] le Barbier de Séville. -- Concert Lamoureux: [Notice on an excerpt from] Gwendoline, poème de M. Catulle Mendès, musique de M. Emmanuel Chabrier. [-- A few words of thanks to Mme Montalba and the young Van Dyck, who sang the duet from Act IV of Reyer's Sigurd.] -- [Also at the Concert Lamoureux: Parisian premiere of the] Ouverture pour Faust, par M. Richard Wagner."

F-16/11

"Revue musicale. Les émeutes à Madrid. -- Mme Adler-Devriès au théâtre royal de la Puerta del Sol. [Reyer notes that a riot at Madrid had

stopped because people wanted to 'venir contemplir et applaudir la blonde et délicieuse Marguerite' (i.e., Mme Adler-Devriès in Gounod's Faust). He speculates that, after this extraordinary success, the soprano will be reengaged by the Paris Opéra. -- Notice that the directorship of the Opéra has been accepted jointly by Pierre Gailhard (a principal bass in the company) and Jean Ritt (a former director of the Opéra-Comique). -- Brief editorial on the Théâtre-Populaire du Château-d'Eau, newly founded by Aimé Gros (previously director of the Grand-Théâtre de Lyon).] -- Concerts Lamoureux: Concerto de Max Bruch, exécuté par M. Rivarde[,] et Marche du Carnaval d'Athènes, par M. Bourgault-Ducoudray. [Reviews of the Parisian premieres of these works are followed by comments on the Funeral March from Die Götterdämmerung, which was performed at the same concert.] -- Concerts modernes [formerly Concerts populaires]: Ariane, symphonie cantate en deux parties, par M. A. Guilmant. [Review of the premiere of excerpts from this cantata ends with a few words on Benjamin Godard, Pasdeloup's successor.] -- Mlle de Adler. [Reyer explains why this young soprano's debut in Mignon (see JD F-25/10) had attracted little attention; he then praises her abilities.] -- [Book review:] Origines et variations de notre tonalité; son avenir, par M. L. Pagnerre."

F-30/11

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Reprise de Roméo et Juliette. [Review is preceded by observations concerning the Comique's abandonment of both Lakmé and Manon.] -- Quelques mots à propos de l'Opéra et de l'engagement de Mme Fidès Adler-Devriès. [Reyer expresses eagerness to hear this soprano in Le Cid by Massenet, who has written one of the principal roles for her. The critic also remarks on other works which will be premiered at the Opéra (including Lohengrin, with Mme Adler-Devriès).] -- Lutèce, symphonie dramatique de Mlle Augusta Holmès, exécutée par l'Association artistique d'Angers: Mlle Duvivier. [Reyer first reports what he has read about this premiere, and then regrets that one of the soloists brought from Paris, Mlle Duvivier, is leaving the Opéra for Rome.] -- Concerts-Modernes: Héro, scène dramatique pour voix de soprano, et orchestrée par M. Arthur Coquard. -- Les Lupercales, poème symphonique, par M. André Wormser. [These works by Coquard and Wormser had been premiered by l'Association artistique d'Angers, as Reyer points out in his review of the Parisian premiere of each at the Concerts-Modernes.] -- [Also at one of the Concerts-Modernes:] Aurore, mélodie de M. Benjamin Godard, chantée par Mlle Rosine Bloch. -- Autre mélodie, musique de M. Ferroni, et air d'Erostrate, chantés par M. Quirot. [Reyer comments on the song by the little-known Italian composer Ferroni, but simply thanks Quirot for performing the aria from Erostrate.] -- Publications musicales. [Recommendation of seven new books.] -- [Announcement:] La première représentation d'Aben-Hamet est ajournée."

F-14/12

"Revue musicale. Théâtre-Italien: Aben-Hamet, opéra en quatre actes et un prologue, paroles de MM. Léonce Détroyat et A. de Lauzières, musique de M. Théodore Dubois. [Although Dubois's score was composed to a

French libretto, the premiere was given in Italian. (The translation was by one of the librettists, de Lauzières.)] -- Concerts Lamoureux: Fragmens de Lohengrin, chantés par Mme Brunet-Lafleur et M. Van Dyck. [Notice on the performance of the love duet and 'les adieux de Lohengrin.' A few words about other compositions on the program.] -- Rigoletto à l'Opéra. [Reyer confirms a rumor that this work will enter the repertoire of the Opéra. He adds that the authorization had been obtained from Verdi and Victor Hugo by the late Vaucorbeil, who had entrusted the making of a new translation to 'l'habileté éprouvé de MM. Camille Du Locle et Charles Nuitter.']"

F-21/12

[Obituary notice: Mme Boisselot (daughter of Lesueur and wife of Xavier Boisselot).]

U-21/12, p. 3

1885

Journal des Débats

"Revue musicale de l'année 1884. [Opening remarks on the demise of both Garnier's Opéra-Populaire and Maurel's Théâtre-Italien. -- Editorial on the need to reestablish a third lyric theatre, and to insure its survival by means of 'une large subvention et une sage administration.' -- The Opéra: Recollections of 'la nouvelle Sapho' and the revival of Françoise de Rimini. The ignoring of Les Troyens. The co-directors' concern with budgetary reforms and reductions. The renunciation of the new translation of Rigoletto (see JD F-21/12/1884) in favor of the one used at the old Théâtre-Lyrique. Rehearsals of Pessard's Tabarin. -- The Opéra-Comique: Retrospective survey of the repertoire, with special attention to Manon and the revival of Galathée. -- An account of Garnier's short-lived Opéra-Populaire. -- 'Nos trois grandes Sociétés symphoniques': Comments on the prominence of excerpts from contemporary French and German operas on the programs of these organizations lead to a demand that they receive more funding from the government. A farewell to 'mon cher Pasdeloup.' -- A brief digression about the Théâtre de Monte-Carlo, where Pasdeloup will conduct a series of concerts which will include excerpts from operas, performed 'sans choeurs.' -- Further remarks on the three symphonic societies of Paris: Highlights of the season (Meyerbeer's Struensee; Berlioz's La Damnation de Faust; Cassandre's aria and duet with Chorèbe from La Prise de Troie). Names of guest instrumentalists, and notices on three whose performances Reyer has not previously discussed: the cellist Casella; the harpist Hasselmans; the violinist Hubay.]"

F-11/01

"Revue musicale. Académie nationale de Musique: Tabarin, opéra en deux actes, parole[s] de M. Paul Ferrier, musique de M. Emile Pessard. [The fact that this work was commissioned from a former winner of the Prix de Rome (in accordance with a clause in the cahier des charges of the

Opéra) elicits reflections on the improvement in the rights accorded these prize-winners, and on the need to fix an age limit beyond which they should not be allowed to claim these rights. The review of Pessard's work is immediately preceded by a notice on his career.] -- Reprise du Fandango, ballet en un acte de MM. Ludovic Halévy, Henri Meilhac et Mérante, musique de M. Salvayre. [A few words on the ballet for which Tabarin served as a curtain-raiser.] -- Concerts-Lamoureux [Nouveaux-Concerts]: La Damnation de Faust. [Notice on an 'admirable performance,' with soloists Van Dyck, Mme Brunet-Lafleur, and a Belgian baritone named Blauwaërt. -- Postscript recommending the vocal méthode written by the late Mme Nissen-Saloman.]"

F-18/01

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Rentrée de Mme Adler-Devriès dans Faust. [Before reviewing her performance as Marguerite, Reyer remarks on the other familiar roles Adler-Devriès will sing at the Opéra, and urges that this 'grande artiste' be given a role or roles which would challenge her to 'sortir de la sphère où elle s'est renfermée jusqu'ici.'] -- Le voyage de M. Gailhard à Bruxelles: Mme Caron. [Comments on the growing reputation of Mme Caron, whom the co-director of the Paris Opéra went to hear in a performance of Faust at the Théâtre de la Monnaie. Reyer reports on and responds to Gailhard's assessment of the young soprano.] -- Société des Concerts du Conservatoire: Fragmens des Argonautes, symphonie dramatique, paroles et musique de Mlle Augusta Holmès. [Observations on the success of Part III of 'cette remarquable composition,' which Reyer had reviewed in its entirety when it was premiered at the Concerts populaires (see JD F-29/04/1881). The critic's regret that Parisian concert societies rarely perform a dramatic symphony or an oratorio 'par suite des frais et des difficultés d'exécution qu'elle entraîne,' leads to an editorial reiterating his suggestion that the city council subsidize any one of these societies.] -- [Notice on a] Recueil de mélodies, par M. Paul de La Nux."

F-01/02

[(Communication published under the words: "On nous écrit de Monaco, le 12 février:") The Côte d'Azur: countryside, villages, and tourists. -- The casino at Monte-Carlo. -- Pasdeloup's first concerts in the Théâtre de Monte-Carlo: Notices on performances by guest artists (the tenor Vergnet; the soprano Mme Salla). A few words on three singers who have not honored their contracts. -- Nice: The forthcoming "carnaval." The unprosperous casino. -- Furher remarks on Pasdeloup's concerts: The practice of alternating, on a given program, "pièces symphoniques," "morceaux de chant," and excerpts or entire scenes from operas (performed with costumes and decors but without chorus). Notices on performances by other guest artists (the singers Faure, Capoul, and Couturier; the pianist-composer Théodore Ritter; the violinist Marsick). -- The conductor Accursi's "concerts classiques" at the Théâtre de Monte-Carlo: Comments on this series, which continues to attract "beaucoup de monde." -- The Prince of Wales, incognito at Pasdeloup's most recent concert. --

Postscript: Notice on the success of the singer Mme Franck-Duvernoy at one of Pasdeloup's concerts.]

*LA[CurR 191]-15/02, pp. 2-3

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: le Chevalier Jean, drame lyrique en quatre actes, paroles de MM. Louis Gallet et Edouard Blau, musique de M. Victorin Joncières. [Review of the premiere of a work which had been accepted by Maurel before the demise of his Théâtre-Italien. The fact that the libretto was serious rather than comic prompts Reyer to editorialize on the presenting of both opéra comique and opéra at the Comique.] -- Académie nationale de Musique: Rigoletto, opéra de M. Verdi; reprise du Tribut de Zamora, opéra de M. Charles Gounod. [After offering a few words on the success of Verdi's work (performed in the translation made for the Lyrique in 1863), Reyer declares that he must make haste to the Opéra to hear the revival of Gounod's work.] -- [Postscript:] Les Maîtres chanteurs à Bruxelles. [Remarks on the forthcoming premiere of Die Meistersinger in French (translated by Victor Wilder).] -- Un mot sur Diana. [Reflections on the failure of Paladilhe's work, which had been premiered at the Opéra while Reyer was 'absent.']"

F-15/03

"Revue musicale. [Announcement that Mlle Van Zandt is leaving the Opéra-Comique after being hissed in a revival of Lakmé. --] Salle du Conservatoire: Audition des envois de Rome. [General observations concerning these works lead to a brief editorial reiterating Reyer's position that young French composers must guard against becoming mere imitators of Wagner or any other master (see JD F††-10/01/1882). Review of each envoi: a fragment of Broutin's oratorio Moïse au Sinaï; Hue's ouverture symphonique; parts of Hue's scène lyrique Sakountala.] -- Salle du Château-d'Eau: les Sept Péchés capitaux, drame allégorique de M. Richard Hamerling, musique de M. Adalbert de Goldschmidt. [Review of the Parisian premiere of Die sieben Todsünden (translated by Victor Wilder). Reyer includes a few words on the career of the young Viennese composer.] -- [Notices on two works performed at the Concerts-Lamoureux:] La Sulamite, poésie de M. Richepin, musique de M. Emmanuel Chabrier [premiere]. -- La Mort d'Orphée, scène lyrique de M. Louis Gallet, musique de M. Léo Delibes [premiered at one of the Exposition concerts at the Trocadéro in 1878]. [-- Reyer regrets that he was unable to attend the premiere of Duvernoy's scène lyrique Cléopâtre at the Concerts-Colonne.] -- Cirque d'Hiver [Godard's Concerts-Modernes]: les Guelfes (fragmens), musique de M. Benjamin Godard. [Reyer notes the success of excerpts from the then-unperformed opera.] -- [Recommendation of two new publications:] Un Nid d'autographes, par M. Oscar Comettant. -- Histoire du piano et de ses origines, par M. Marmontel."

F-30/03

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Rentrée de Mme Adler-Devriès dans Hamlet. -- Début de M. de Reszké dans Faust. [After reviewing both performances, Reyer announces that the celebrated bass will soon leave the Opéra to fulfil a temporary engagement at Barcelona; such a situation

causes the critic to repeat his long-standing objections to the 'star system.'] -- Clôture des 'Nouveaux Concerts.' [Review of Lamoureux's Good Friday concert, with remarks on the rumor that this series will not begin again in the autumn.] -- Le voyage en Allemagne de M. Lamoureux. [Brief editorial supporting Lamoureux's plan to take his orchestra on a tour of Germany. -- Comparison of reactions to Von Goldschmidt's Die sieben Todsünden at Paris and at Leipzig.] -- Concert de M. G. Alary (salle Erard). [Review of a program which consisted entirely of works by this 'nouveau compositeur.'] -- Fragmens de Jeanne d'Arc, tragédie de M. Jules Barbier, musique de M. Ch. Gounod [see JD F-14/11/1873], et fragmens de Sapho, exécutés au Cirque d'Hiver. [The excerpts from Gounod's Sapho were from Act III of the original version (1851).] -- Mme Sarah Bernhardt [in the concert presentation of excerpts from Jeanne d'Arc]. -- [Also at the Cirque d'Hiver:] Les Guelfes, opéra inédit de M. Benjamin Godard: ouverture, entr'acte, air. -- Recueil de mélodies par M. Georges Weiler. [Notice on his Poème des souvenirs.] -- Théâtre de la Monnaie: La Tzigane, ballet en un acte, livret de M. Edmond Cattier, musique de M. Stoumon. [A few words on the premiere of this work by the co-director of the Monnaie.]"

F-19/04

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Une Nuit de Cléopâtre, opéra en trois actes et quatre tableaux tiré de la nouvelle de Théophile Gautier, par M. Jules Barbier, musique de Victor Massé. [Review of the posthumous premiere of Massé's last work.] -- Salle du Conservatoire: Exécution de la scène lyrique Prométhée enchaîné, poème de M. Camille du Locle, couronné au concours Rossini et mis en musique par MM. Lucien Lambert et Georges Mathieu [Mathias]. [After explaining why two Prix Rossini have been awarded this year, Reyer reviews the cantata text selected by the jury, and the winning settings by the then-unknown Lambert and the composer-pianist Mathias.] -- Exercice annuel des élèves. [Notice on this public concert of the Conservatoire students. -- Comments on the successful premiere, at Brussels, of a work which Reyer wants to hear at Paris: Saint-Saëns's early Scène d'Horace (a vocal duet with orchestral accompaniment).] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: Début de M. Berardi dans Guillaume Tell. [Notice on the return of a singer who had performed at the Opéra in the 1870s.] -- [Notice on a new publication:] Mélodies nouvelles composées par Mario Foscarina."

F-03/05

"Revue musicale. L'Arlésienne à l'Odéon. [At this revival of Daudet's tragedy, Bizet's incidental music was performed by full orchestra (conducted by Colonne) instead of the original twenty-six-piece orchestra. To introduce the review, Reyer gives a resumé of how this score and Carmen had fared in France since they were premiered in 1872 and 1875 respectively.] -- De la mauvaise influence du piano sur l'art musical, par M. Louis Pagnerre. [Book review is preceded by a brief editorial on 'le piano, instrument essentiellement vulgarisateur.'] -- La représentation au bénéfice de Mme Vaucorbeil, salle du Trocadéro: Mme Christine Nilsson. [Subtitle is misleading: Nilsson performed not at a benefit for Vaucorbeil's widow, but rather at a benefit for 'une Société

d'aveugles.' Reyer reviews Nilsson's performance (at the Trocadéro). He gives information about the forthcoming benefit for Mme Vaucorbeil (scheduled for 6 June, also at the Trocadéro).] -- Les concurrens pour le grand prix de composition musicale. [Editorial on various regulations governing the competition for the Prix de Rome, such as the admission of only six students, and their twenty-five-day confinement. (As before, Reyer objects particularly to the holding of a competition for the cantata text; see, e.g., JD F-01/06/1884.) After the editorial, Reyer reminisces about M. Gédalge, a young man who, at the critic's recommendation, had entered the composition class of Ernest Guiraud at the Conservatoire, and is now one of the six competitors for the Prix de Rome.]"

F-24/05

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra. -- Sigurd, opéra en 4 actes et 9 tableaux, poésie de MM. Camille du Locle et Alfred Blau, musique de M. E. Reyer. [Review of the Parisian premiere. Reyer does not assess the libretto and the score, because his 'confrères du feuilleton' have already done so. Instead, the composer-critic considers other matters: the long and troubled history of this opera before the premiere at Brussels (see JD F††-26/01/1884); his persistent opposition to the 'coupures' required by the co-directors of the Opéra; and the charge that Sigurd is the work of a 'wagnérien.' Finally, Reyer comments on the interpreters of each of the principal roles.']"

F††-21/06

"Revue musicale. Académie des Beaux-Arts: Endymion, cantate pour le grand prix de composition musicale (paroles de M. Augé de Lassus); mise en musique par MM. Leroux, Savard, Gédalge, Missa, Lerey et Kaiser. [Reyer reviews first the cantata text, and then the settings, focusing on those of Leroux (to whom the jury awarded the Prix de Rome) and Gédalge (who was accorded 'une mention honorable').] -- Les Italiens à l'Opéra. [Editorial urging the 'administration supérieure' of the Opéra to permit this financially distressed theatre to share the Palais Garnier with 'un Théâtre-Italien,' which will feature Mme Patti, Mme Nilsson, and other excellent principals.] -- Lohengrin à l'Opéra et à l'Opéra-Comique. [Remarks on the possibility that Lohengrin will be premiered at two Parisian theatres simultaneously: the Opéra (where the work will be performed in Italian by the new Théâtre-Italien) and the Opéra-Comique (where it will be performed in French).] -- [Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique:] Reprise de le Roi l'a dit. [Review includes a brief history of Delibes's neglected work, which had not been staged at Paris since the premiere (see JD F-29/05/1873).] -- Un dernier mot sur les coupures de Sigurd. [Reyer calls upon the co-directors of the Opéra to keep their promise that the music deleted from their production will be reinstated.]"

F-06/07

"Revue musicale. Les concours du Conservatoire. [The vocal competitions occasion an editorial reiterating Reyer's plea that this institution not just cultivate 'les voix,' but 'se préoccuper en même temps de

développer l'intelligence et de former le goût' by giving 'le répertoire classique . . . une place prépondérante.' -- General remarks on the cantatas submitted in the recent competition for the Prix de Rome. -- Further editorializing on the teaching of singing at the Conservatoire: as in earlier years, Reyer condemns the practice of altering a composer's text by means of ornaments, rallentandos, and other licenses which 'sont la mort du chant.'] -- La distribution des prix. [The vocal competitions: Reyer comments briefly on the winners in the several categories of men's and women's competitions. He adds pointedly that any young singer can learn much by appearing as a guest artist with Parisian orchestral societies. -- A few observations on other competitions: woodwind and brass; violin; cello. -- As in the past, Reyer demands that viola be taught at the Conservatoire.] -- [The critic applauds certain passages in] Le discours de M. le directeur des beaux-arts. [-- Notice on the conferring of honors from the government at the conclusion of the awards ceremony.] -- Débuts à l'Opéra: Mme Bosman, M. Gresse, M. Bertin. [Before reviewing the performances of these artists (each of whom had previously sung at the Opéra), Reyer again objects to the practice of advertising as a 'début' the appearance of a well-known singer in a role that is not already in his or her repertoire (see JD F-14/09/1884).]"

F-17/08

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: M. Duc et M. Ibos (débuts). [Notices on the performances of these recent graduates of the Conservatoire are preceded by an editorial against the practice of keeping the Opéra open during the summer by the substitution of 'de véritables débutans' for the vacationing 'artistes.'] -- Rentrée de Mme Fidès-Devriès dans Hamlet. [Notice on her performance is preceded and followed by remarks on Mme Caron and other principals who have returned to the Opéra.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Soulacroix (début). [Notice on the Parisian debut of this baritone, formerly of the Théâtre de la Monnaie. A few words on the forthcoming debut of Blanche Deschamps, another artist from the Monnaie. --] Lohengrin. -- Voyage à Vienne. [Reyer reports that, in preparation for the Parisian premiere of Lohengrin at the Comique during 'la saison prochaine,' the director and the conductor of this theatre have departed for Vienna and Bayreuth. They will study the mise en scène and the performance practices associated with this work, and will search for singers suitable for certain roles.] -- Une lettre de M. Masini. [Brief editorial on a letter from a celebrated Italian tenor who 'a parlé à Europe,' offering to sing for 7500 instead of his customary 10,000 fr. per performance.] -- Le portrait de Mme Rose Caron par M. Toulmouche. [Reyer describes a painting which the artist 'est en train de faire.'] -- [Book review:] Harmonie et Mélodie, par M. Camille Saint-Saëns."

F-28/09

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Mme Rose Caron et M. Gresse dans la Juive. [The Opéra's announcement of the 'débuts' of these established artists prompts Reyer to repeat his long-standing objection to

the practice of advertising as a 'début' the appearance of a well-known singer in a role that is new to him or her. The review of La Juive includes assesssments of Mme Caron, Gresse, and the other principals, as well as comments on tempi and staging.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Reprise de l'Etoile du Nord: M. Victor Maurel, Mlle Isaac. [Review begins with a brief history of Meyerbeer's work, which had not been staged at Paris in nearly seven years. This revival introduced to the Comique the already-famous baritone Maurel, and brought the return of the soprano Mlle Isaac, who had left the Comique for the Opéra in 1883. Reyer remarks on their performances, and on each of the other principals in the production.] -- [Also at the Comique:] Reprise de: Une nuit de Cléopâtre: Mlle Blanche Deschamps. [Reyer discusses the performance of Mlle Deschamps (formerly of the Théâtre de la Monnaie), but says little else about this revival of a work which he had reviewed only months ago (see JD F-03/05). -- After announcing the forthcoming revival of Sigurd at the Opéra, Reyer reflects on the co-directors' refusal to reinstate the material they had deleted (see JD F-06/07).]"

F-19/10

"Revue musicale. La soirée musicale espagnole du Figaro. [The concert, sponsored by the Parisian daily Le Figaro, consisted mainly of excerpts from Massenet's soon-to-be-premiered Le Cid, sung by four principals of the Opéra with the composer at the piano. Reyer however does not review these excerpts, because he is loathe to make 'un jugement téméraire.'] -- L'Arlésienne à l'Odéon. [The renewed success of this revival (see JD F-24/05) elicits further recollections of the original twenty-six-piece orchestra, reflections on the composer's posthumous fame, and some criticisms of Colonne's conducting.] -- La grande partition d'orchestre des Troyens. [Reyer announces that Berlioz's score, bequeathed to the Bibliothèque du Conservatoire, has been loaned to the publisher Choudens. The critic exhorts Berlioz's executor to insist that the score be engraved exactly as written.] -- Benvenuto Cellini en Allemagne. [Reyer calls for the staging of the little-known Les Troyens and the virtually forgotten Benvenuto Cellini; the latter, he points out, has long been popular in Germany.] -- Eugène Delaporte. [Editorial soliciting financial aid for the dying musician, who had organized and promoted the orphéons in France.] -- Premier concert de M. Lamoureux à l'Eden-Théâtre. [General remarks on the new home of Lamoureux's orchestral society are followed by a brief review of the first concert of the season.] -- Institut de France: Exécution de la cantate pour le grand prix de composition musicale. [After hearing an orchestral performance of the cantata with which Leroux had won the Prix de Rome, Reyer reviews this work in detail (cf. JD F-06/07).]"

F-15/11

"Revue musicale. Académie Nationale de Musique: Le Cid, opéra en 4 actes et 10 tableaux, de MM. Dennery, L. Gallet et Edouard Blau, musique de M. J. Massenet. [Before reviewing this new work, Reyer editorializes against the advance publicity which is 'la mode aujourd'hui,' and which makes known 'le poème et la partition, les costumes et les décors,' with

the result that 'les spectateurs, avant que le rideau se lève, savent ce qu'ils vont entendre et ce qu'en vaut l'aune.']"

F-06/12

"Revue musicale. Académie des Beaux-Arts: Concours Rossini. [Comments on the terms of this biennial competition, the quantity of poems and scores submitted this year, and the decision of the Académie.] -- Hérode, poème dramatique par M. Georges Boyer, musique de M. William Chaumet. [Review of the work which was awarded the Prix Rossini. Reyer adds a notice on Chaumet's long-forgotten comic opera Bathyle, which had won the first Prix Cressent (see JD F-12/12/1875 and F-23/05/1877).] -- Les trois opéras qui seront représentés cet hiver au théâtre royal de la Monnaie à Bruxelles [i.e., Henry Litolff's Les Templiers, the Hillemacher brothers' Saint-Mégrin, and Chabrier's Gwendoline. -- Short review of a 'prélude instrumental' from Gwendoline, performed at the two most recent Concerts-Lamoureux.] -- Le Nouveau Traité d'instrumentation de M. Gevaërt. [Notice on the revised and enlarged edition of Traité d'instrumentation (1863).] -- A propos de la représentation de Lohengrin à l'Opéra-Comique. [Editorial on the threat of an organized protest which would disrupt the premiere.] -- Concerts-Lamoureux: Mlle Silberberger [soloist in a piano concerto by Tchaikovsky]; Mme Brunet-Lafleur; Mlle Raunay. [Mme Brunet-Lafleur sang Dido's final aria from Les Troyens and, with Mlle Raunay, the Nocturne from Béatrice et Bénédict.] -- Le Cid retardé par indisposition de M. Jean de Reszké. [Remarks on the week-long interruption of Massenet's latest success.]"

F-13/12

"Revue musicale de l'année 1885. [Before reviewing the past year, Reyer considers whether or not Carvalho will premiere Lohengrin in 1886. -- The Opéra: The demise of Tabarin. The acquisition of 'trois fameuses recrues' from the Théâtre de la Monnaie (Mmes Caron and Bosman, and M. Gresse). The continuing success of Le Cid. Reyer announces the forthcoming premiere of an opera by Paladilhe, and wonders why the Opéra is no longer interested in Les Deux Pigeons, a new ballet by the young Messager. -- Review of the soirée d'inauguration of the illustrated journal Paris-Noël: a comedy by Gondinet; music by Fauré (the mélodie 'Noël chrétien') and Godard (Les Elfes); readings by actors from the Théâtre-Français. -- The Opéra-Comique: Reflections on the diverse fates of the three works premiered in 1885 (Diana, Le Chevalier Jean, and Une nuit de Cléopâtre). Recollections of the revival of L'Etoile du Nord. Review of the recent revival of Les Contes d'Hoffmann. Editorial urging Carvalho to stage Benvenuto Cellini. -- Announcement of the demise of Godard's Concerts-Modernes (formerly Pasdeloup's Concerts populaires). -- Brief editorial on the choosing of an inexperienced tenor for the title role in La Damnation de Faust at the latest Concert-Colonne. -- Concerts-Lamoureux: Remarks on the Eden-Théâtre. Review of the most recent concert (which consisted of Augusta Holmès's symphonic poem Irlande, 'fragmens symphoniques' from Wagner's Die Meistersinger, and the prelude to Tristan.]"

F-27/12

1886

Journal des Débats

"Revue musicale. Un dernier mot à propos de la représentation de Lohengrin à l'Opéra-Comique. [Reyer comments on Carvalho's renunciation of his plan to premiere Wagner's work (see JD F-13/12/1885). The critic then editorializes on the paradox that Parisians would hiss Wagner's music 'au théâtre' although they applaud it 'au concert' and even support pro-Wagner publications, such as the Revue wagnérienne and the Revue d'art dramatique.] -- Wagner poète dramatique, étude par MM. Albert Soubies et Charles Malherbe. [Review of a study published in the Revue d'art dramatique. (The study was excerpted from L'Oeuvre dramatique de Richard Wagner, which was in press.)] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Reprise de Zampa. [Reyer first considers whether Hérold's work should be classified 'comme opéra comique ou comme grand opéra,' and then assesses the performances of the principals. -- Announcement of the publication of Chaumet's prize-winning Hérode (see JD F-13/12/1884).] -- Eden-Théâtre (concerts Lamoureux): Exécution de la 'Symphonie avec choeurs' de Beethoven. [Review of 'une magnifique exécution.']"

F-24/01

"Revue musicale. Théâtre royal de la Monnaie: Les Templiers, opéra en cinq actes; poème de MM. Jules Adenis, Armand Silvestre et Ernest Bonnemère; musique de M. Henry Litolff. [After reading about the great success of the premiere of this work, Reyer studies the score and discusses in detail both the libretto and the music. -- Postscript: Reyer regrets that he lacks the space to review 'comme il convient' the recent concert of the violinist Joseph Joachim at the Salle Erard.]"

F-31/01

[(Communication published under the words "On nous écrit de Monaco:") Some sights of Monte-Carlo: The terrace of the palace. The army and its barracks. The casino. -- Théâtre de Monte-Carlo: The dismissal of both Pasdeloup and his "rival," Accursi (see JD *LA[CurR 191]-15/02/1885, pp. 2-3). Their successor, Arthur Steck. Notice on Mlle Isaac in two opéras comiques: Massé's Galathée and Thomas's Le Caïd. "Quelques mots" about other principals in the company. -- The "concerts classiques" at the Théâtre de Monte-Carlo: Steck as conductor. The importance of "la musique moderne" in the repertoire. -- An improvement in the weather at Monte-Carlo. -- Théâtre municipal de Nice: A few words on Mme Krauss, who sang in both Il Trovatore and Meyerbeer's L'Africaine (the latter in Italian translation). Forthcoming appearance of Mme Patti, another "étoile" whose engagement will be temporary.]

*LA[CurR 191]-16/02, p. 2

"Revue musicale. Le théâtre de Monte-Carlo. [Editorial applauding the administration's decision to return to 'les grands opéras . . . avec de grands artistes,' after two years of experimentation with less costly entertainment (i.e., the 'opéras-concerts' conducted by Pasdeloup in

1885, and the abbreviated opéras comiques performed by 'une troupe moyenne' during the past season).] -- Projet de restauration du Théâtre-Lyrique, par M. Pasdeloup. [Editorial against Pasdeloup's proposal to reestablish a third lyric theatre as 'un intermédiaire entre le Conservatoire et l'Opéra: une Ecole d'application.' (Reyer had on many occasions opposed such suggestions that a theatre be consecrated to young singers and composers; see, e.g., JD F-01/02/1879.)] -- Concerts Lamoureux: La Cloche, par M. Vincent d'Indy. [Review of the dramatic legend which had won the Prix de la ville de Paris in 1885.] -- La Valküre. [Comments on the success of excerpts (in French translation) at the Concerts Lamoureux.] -- Messe de Gran, exécutée à Saint-Eustache. [Remarks on a performance of the Gran Festival Mass, conducted by Colonne at the Church of Saint-Eustache in honor of Liszt. (The composer, who attended this performance, had conducted the Parisian premiere at Saint-Eustache in 1866.)] -- L'abbé Liszt: Souvenirs de Rome. [Reyer remembers his visits with Liszt at Rome in the summer of 1865, when the abbé gave permission to include Les Préludes on the program of the international concert Reyer would conduct at Baden-Baden in August.]"

F††-28/03

"Revue musicale. A propos d'une coquille. [The correcting of a printer's blunder that had appeared in the discussion of the 'projet Pasdeloup' (see JD F-28/03) occasions reflections on the 'privilège' and the 'prestige' of the Opéra. -- Editorial on the Opéra's subsidy: Reyer maintains that this subvention should be used not for 'les virtuoses qui passent,' but rather for building a company 'd'excellens sujets' and for rejuvenating the repertoire with unfamiliar works, both old and new, which might not be commercially successful.] -- M. Verdi à Paris. [Reyer speculates that the composer is being urged by the Opéra to choose this theatre for the world premiere of Otello.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Plutus, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. Albert Millaud et Gaston Jollivet, musique de M. Charles Lecocq. [In this review Reyer applauds Lecocq (whose operettas had rivalled in popularity those of Offenbach) for attempting a work in a more serious vein.] -- Symphonie légendaire, par M. Benjamin Godard. [Postscript announcing the publication of this 'oeuvre importante' which will be premiered 'le mois prochain.']"

F-04/04

"Revue musicale. Théâtre national de l'Opéra: l'Africaine. [Review is preceded by a brief editorial urging that conductors in French lyric theatres be accorded 'pleins pouvoirs' so that they can require every performer to be faithful to a composer's score.] -- M. Gayarré, M. Lassalle, Mlle Richard [principals in L'Africaine; the Italian tenor Gayarré had never before sung any opera in the French repertoire]. -- Conservatoire national de Musique et de Déclamation: Audition des envois de Rome. -- Suite d'orchestre par M. Gabriel Pierné. [General remarks on this envoi.] -- Merlin enchanté, poème dramatique de M. Emile Moreau, musique de M. Georges Martin [Marty]. [Before reviewing Marty's envoi, Reyer gives a summary of its 'programme.'] -- Théodore Ritter.

[Obituary of the forty-six-year-old pianist-composer, who had been one of Reyer's close friends.]"

F-11/04

"Revue musicale. Théâtre Royal de la Monnaie: Première représentation de Gwendoline, opéra en deux actes et trois tableaux, poème de M. Catulle Mendès, musique de M. Emmanuel Chabrier. [At the beginning of the review, Reyer recalls that he became interested in this opera when he heard excerpts performed at the Concerts Lamoureux (see JD F-16/11/1884 and F-13/12/1885). -- Postscript: Review of Gounod's preface to the eleventh volume (1885) of Les Annales du théâtre et de la musique, the ongoing series by Noël and Stoullig.]"

F-18/04

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Reprise du Songe d'une nuit d'été, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. Rozier et de Leuven, musique de M. Ambroise Thomas. [Review includes observations on Thomas's effort to 'rajeunir' this work by slightly revising the original version (1850).] -- Le festival projeté au bénéfice de la fille de Théodore Ritter. [Information concerning a benefit which is being organized for the six-year-old daughter of the late musician.] -- Antoine Rubinstein. [Comments on a series of Parisian concerts given by the pianist, who will be one of the artists featured at the benefit for Ritter's daughter.] -- Trois livres nouveaux. [Postscript announcing the publication of Arthur Pougin's Verdi, histoire anecdotique de sa vie et de ses oeuvres, and 'deux volumes sur Richard Wagner, l'un signé de MM. Albert Soubies et Charles Malherbe, l'autre de M. Catulle Mendès.' (Pougin's book and the volume co-authored by Soubies and Malherbe are reviewed in JD F-13/06.)]"

F-25/04

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Maître Ambros, drame lyrique en quatre actes et cinq tableaux, paroles de MM. François Coppée et Dorchain, musique de M. Widor. [Review of the first opera by Charles-Marie Widor. The premiere of this 'drame lyrique' at the Opéra-Comique prompts Reyer to editorialize on Carvalho's attempts to 'retarder indéfiniment' the resurrection of a Théâtre-Lyrique, 'en essayant d'acclimater l'opéra de genre et au besoin le drame lyrique sur la scène lyrique qu'il dirige.'] -- Théâtre de l'Eden: Concerts Lamoureux. -- Concert du vendredi saint. [Both subtitles refer to Reyer's review of the all-Wagner concert conducted by Lamoureux on Good Friday. -- Notice on another concert of Good Friday: Liszt's Die Legende von der Heiligende Elisabeth, performed in French translation at the Trocadéro (in the presence of the composer).]"

F-09/05

"Revue musicale. Salle du Trocadéro: Mors et Vita, a sacred trilogy, written and composed by Charles Gounod [sic]. [Review of the first Parisian performance of the oratorio which had been premiered at the Birmingham Festival of 1885.] -- Les cantates pour le grand prix de composition musicale. [Announcement of the choice of the cantata text to

be set by competitors for the Prix de Rome: La Vision de Saül, by Adenis fils. Remarks on other cantata texts that had been submitted to the jury.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: Reprise de Henri VIII, opéra en quatre actes, paroles de M. Léonce Détroyat, musique de M. Camille Saint-Saëns. [Brief review of a work which had not been staged at the Opéra since the year of the premiere (see JD F-11/03/1883).] -- [Also at the Opéra:] La 500^{e} représentation de la Juive. [Mme Caron, 'la nouvelle Rachel' in Halévy's work, is defended by Reyer against criticism that she had not participated in the ceremony honoring the composer's memory on the evening of the five hundredth performance. -- Postscript: A few words about a performance of Victor Roget's new operetta, Josephine vendue par ses soeurs, at the Bouffés-Parisiens.]"

F-30/05

"Revue musicale. La Traviata à l'Opéra-Comique. [Brief review of the répétition générale focuses on the new interpreters of a work which, since the Parisian premiere in 1856 (see RF A-2[20/12]:377-84), had been performed 'en français comme en italien . . . plus de cent fois.'] -- Verdi, histoire anecdotique de sa vie et de ses oeuvres, par M. Arthur Pougin. [Book review includes Reyer's reminiscences of his own encounters with Verdi, and an account of how 'la très grande impression que produisit sur moi la partition d'Aïda' led Reyer to reexamine Verdi's earlier works and thus to 'mieux apprécier les qualités que certains musiciens . . . se plaisaient à constater.'] -- La Voix et le Chant, traité pratique, par M. J. Faure. [Postscript announcing the publication of this treatise; see the review in JD F-04/07.]"

F-13/06

"Revue musicale. Académie des Beaux-Arts: Jugement des cantates pour le grand prix de composition musicale: la Vision de Saül, scène lyrique de M. Eugène Adenis, mise en musique par MM. Kaiser, Bachelet, Gédalge et Savard. [Brief editorial on the Académie's judgment of the four settings of the prescribed text. Review of both the text and Savard's winning setting. Observations on the settings by Kaiser and Gédalge, whom the Académie named after Savard.] -- La première année de musique, solfège élémentaire par M. Antonin Marmontel. [Reyer quotes the testimonial signed by him and by the other members of the 'section musicale' of the Académie.] -- La voix et le chant, traité pratique par M. J. Faure. [Reyer reviews first the preface and then 'la partie technique' of the treatise by the famous baritone.]"

F-04/07

"Revue musicale. [Recollections of a pleasure trip in Switzerland and Isère, with objections to the ubiquitous piano (which Reyer heard 'dans les villes comme dans les bourgades, dans les petites auberges comme dans les hôtels'). -- Remarks on the publisher Choudens's offer to reestablish a Théâtre-Lyrique and the city council's rejection of this project lead to an editorial suggesting measures which should be taken to insure the survival of a third lyric theatre. -- The Opéra-Populaire (installed 'cet été' at the Château-d'Eau, and directed by a M. Milliaud): A few words on the revival of Semet's La Petite Fadette.

(Reyer had reviewed the premiere at the Opéra-Comique; see JD F-28/09/1869.) -- The Opéra: Notice on Mme Caron's performance as Marguerite in Gounod's Faust. -- Notice on a newly published score: the operetta Singe d'une nuit d'été, libretto by Edouard Noël, music by Gaston Serpette. -- Reyer enumerates the works which the Opéra-Populaire had staged during the summer (and which he had not seen because he was travelling).]"

F-12/09

"Revue musicale. A propos de la représentation de Benvenuto Cellini à l'Opéra-Comique. [Editorial on the fate of this production, which originally was scheduled for 17 October (the day of the inauguration of the statue of Berlioz at Paris): Reyer first recalls the chain of events that had culminated in Carvalho's decision to put Benvenuto into rehearsal several months ago. The critic then reflects on how this opera had been adversely received by the singers and conductor of the Opéra in 1838; he contrasts their reaction with that of the artists currently at the Comique, and predicts that the work would be 'un énorme succès.' Finally, Reyer comments on the Comique's sudden decision to postpone the production 'à une date indéterminée.'] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: Début de M. Delmas. [Notice on the performance of this recent graduate of the Conservatoire in Les Huguenots.] -- Mlle Sarolta [a young Hungarian who will soon make her debut at the Opéra]. [-- Reyer eagerly anticipates the forthcoming premiere of Patrie! the first work for the Opéra by the already well-known Emile Paladilhe. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Remarks on the billing of Le Pardon de Ploermel as a 'reprise.' Observations on Carvalho's allusions to 'des projets dont il serait menacé par les directeurs de l'Opéra.'] -- L'impôt sur les pianos. [Editorial suggesting that the government should impose a small annual tax on the owners of the more than 500,000 pianos in France, and, moreover, that there should be in Paris (as in certain cities of Germany) a police order 'qui défend de jouer du piano, la fenêtre ouverte.']"

F-26/09

"La Statue de Berlioz. [Speech for the inauguration of the statue at Paris, 17 October 1886 (also published by the Institut de France; see Appendix B).]"

F-17/10

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Les Deux Pigeons, ballet en trois actes, par MM. Henri Régnier et Louis Mérante, musique de M. André Messager. [Review of the young Messager's first work for the Opéra.] -- Le Freischütz: [The revival of this work (as the curtain-raiser for Messager's ballet) elicits an editorial reaffirming Reyer's conviction that this 'chef-d'oeuvre de moyenne dimension' does not belong at the Opéra, where 'le cadre est trop vaste pour le tableau.' (See also JD F-31/05/1870, F-29/05/1873, and A-06/07/1876, p. 3.)] Mme Rose Caron, M. Delmas. [Reyer assesses the performances of these and other principals in Freischütz, giving most of his attention to Mme Caron.] -- Concerts du Châtelet: Premier concert à la mémoire d'Hector Berlioz. --

M. Sarasate. [Both subtitles refer to Reyer's notice on a Châtelet concert which, with the exception of two compositions performed by the violinist Sarasate, consisted of music by Berlioz.]"
F-31/10

"Revue musicale. Les Troyens à l'Opéra. [An account of an attempt to have this work put into rehearsal at the Opéra in the early 1860s, and recollections of the mutilated version staged at the Théâtre-Lyrique in 1863, culminate in an editorial urging the current co-directors of the Opéra to premiere Les Troyens.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Début de Mlle Elly Warnots. [Before commenting on this disappointing debut, Reyer remembers Mlle Warnots's fine performance in the Ninth Symphony at the Concerts Lamoureux (see JD F-24/01).] -- Reprise du Songe d'une nuit d'été. [Notice on the renewed success of this work, which the Comique had revived in April (see JD F-25/04). -- Denial of rumors that Ambroise Thomas was contemplating retiring from the directorship of the Conservatoire and that Reyer was designated as his successor.] -- Institut de France: Exécution de la Vision de Saül, scène lyrique, paroles de M. Eugène Adenis, musique de M. Savard. [Notice on the orchestral performance of the cantata which had won the Prix de Rome. (The score had been reviewed in JD F-04/07.)] -- Salle de l'Eden: 1er concert de M. Lamoureux. [Review of the first concert of the season: music by Mendelssohn, Schumann, and Berlioz.] -- Mme Fidès-Devriès à Londres. [News of this soprano's acclaimed performances in Faust at the beginning of an engagement at Her Majesty's Theatre. -- Postscript thanking Adolphe Jullien for a copy of his new book, Richard Wagner, sa vie et ses oeuvres (see the review in JD F-23/01/1887).]"
F-14/11

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Le Signal, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de MM. Ernest Dubreuil et William Busnach, musique de M. Paul Puget. [Review of this premiere is introduced by a notice on the career of Puget, who had won the Prix de Rome in 1873.] -- [Also premiered at the Comique:] Juge et partie, opéra comique en deux actes, paroles de M. Jules Adenis, musique de M. Edmond Missa. [Review of Missa's work, which had won the Prix Cressent that year, is preceded by observations on the advantages of this competition over both the Concours Rossini and the Concours de la ville de Paris. Reyer also provides a notice on the career of the twenty-five-year-old composer. -- Announcement of the long-awaited premiere of Salvayre's Egmont at the Comique.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: Début de Mlle [d']Alvar dans la Juive. [Notice on the performance of this former student of drama.] -- Le 'piano normal' de M. Lescuyer. [Remarks on an acoustician's 'piano normal, résonnateur mélodique,' which, by means of a third pedal, makes the sound 's'adoucit, s'arrête ou se prolonge indéfiniment.']"
F-28/11

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Egmont, drame lyrique en quatre actes, paroles de MM. Albert Wolff et Albert Millaud, musique de M. Gaston Salvayre. [This work, the libretto of which was an adaptation of Goethe's tragedy, had originally been accepted by the Opéra's

Vaucorbeil, but had been rejected by his successors. Before reviewing the Comique's production, Reyer editorializes on 'la nécessité de ressusciter le Théâtre-Lyrique,' reiterating his conviction that the Opéra-Comique could not function both as the home of 'son genre éminemment français' and as a new Lyrique which would open its doors to operas 'de toutes les époques et de toutes les provenances.']"
F-12/12

"Revue musicale. Académie nationale de Musique et de Danse [i.e., the Opéra]: Patrie! opéra en cinq actes et dix tableaux; paroles de MM. Victorien Sardou et Louis Gallet; musique de M. Paladilhe. [Review of the premiere of Paladilhe's opera based on Sardou's historical drama.]"
F-26/12

1887

Journal des Débats

"Revue musicale. Un télégramme des directeurs du théâtre royal de la Monnaie à Bruxelles. [Reyer first salutes the musical activities of the current co-directors, Joseph Dupont and Alexandre Lapissida, and then recalls their telegraphed invitation to attend a revival of Sigurd (which, unlike the production at Paris, would be 'sans coupures'). The composer-critic does not give 'un compte rendu détaillé de cette reprise,' but briefly assesses the performance of each of the principals.] -- Otello et Desdemone. [As the date of the world premiere at Milan approaches, Reyer comments on rumors about Verdi's new work, which is coveted by both the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique. The critic addresses in particular the rumor that Verdi has signed a contract with the Opéra's Gailhard without having specified who will sing the role of Desdemona.] -- L'invention de M. Chaussier. [Remarks on a 'mécanisme' which can be adapted to any transposing instrument of the orchestra, and enables the player to 'jouer la note réelle.'] -- [Concerts Colonne:] La Symphonie légendaire de M. Benjamin Godard. [Before reviewing the premiere of this work for voices and orchestra, Reyer editorializes on the neglect of Le Tasse and Diane, and renews his demand for 'une Société symphonique largement subventionné' which could afford to maintain permanently a 'choeur complet' for performances of such works.] -- Concert scandinave: Mme Christine Nilsson. [Review of a concert of Scandinavian art music and folksongs, featuring the Swedish soprano Mme Nilsson (formerly one of the stars of the Opéra).]"
F-16/01

"Revue musicale. [Book review:] Richard Wagner, sa vie & ses oeuvres, par M. Adolphe Jullien. [Reyer begins by quoting excerpts from reviews by 'les principaux critiques allemands,' to demonstrate their high regard for Jullien's book. Most of Reyer's review focuses on Jullien's preface and the chapters on Wagner's life and works up to and including the premiere of Die Meistersinger in 1868; the critic regrets that 'l'espace me manque' for more than a few comments concerning the

chapters on the Ring and on Wagner's character. Apropos of Jullien's discussion of the preparations for the Parisian premiere of Tannhäuser, Reyer publishes a letter from Wagner to Alphonse Reyer, then director of the Opéra. (The letter had been given to Reyer by his friend Ludovic Halévy, one of the librettists for Bizet's Carmen and a 'grand collectionneur d'autographes.')]"

F-23/01

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de la Scala: Première représentation d'Otello, drame lyrique en quatre actes, poème d'Arrigo Boïto, musique de Giuseppe Verdi. [Review of the work itself is preceded by a description of the ovation given Verdi on the night of the premiere, and by excerpts from the speech delivered the next day by the syndic of Milan at a banquet for the press.]"

F††-11/02

"Lettres du Midi. [Communication published under the words 'On nous écrit de Monaco:' Recollections of a train trip from Vintimille to Genoa and back. -- Nice: A few observations on the 'fête des parapluies' and other events of the annual carnival. The precarious existence of the municipal casino. -- Théâtre de Monte-Carlo: Debut of Mme Repetto in Lucia di Lammermoor. Performance of Mme Mazzoli-Orsini in La Favorita. Repertoire of Italian operas and French operas sung in Italian. -- The 'concerts classiques' at the Théâtre de Monte-Carlo: Repertoire (which includes 'les compositeurs modernes'). 'L'excellent orchestre de M. Steck.' Notice on the premiere of Suite antique by a young composer named Gaston Vuidet. -- Remarks on a benefit concert given by Mme Nilsson at Nice.]"

*LA[CurR 191]-19/02, p. 2

"Revue musicale. Théâtre royal de la Monnaie (Bruxelles): La Valkyrie, drame lyrique en trois actes, paroles et musique de Richard Wagner; version française de M. Victor Wilder. [Review of the first performance of Die Walküre in French translation. Reyer pauses in the midst of the review to differentiate his position from that of Wagner's fanatical followers (see also the review of the Parisian premiere of the prelude to Parsifal, JD F††-12/11/1882).] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Proserpine (d'après Auguste Vacquerie), drame lyrique en quatre actes, paroles de M. Louis Gallet, musique de M. Camille Saint-Saëns. [Reyer apologizes that, because of the length of his review of La Valkyrie, he must 'renvoyer à la huitaine le compte rendu de Proserpine.']"

F-20/03

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Proserpine (d'après Auguste Vacquerie), drame lyrique en quatre actes, paroles de M. Louis Gallet, musique de M. Camille Saint-Saëns. [Review of the premiere. -- Reflections on the Comique's abandonment of Benvenuto Cellini (see JD F-26/09/1886).] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: reprise d'Aïda. [Notice on a 'fort belle reprise' in which Jean de Reszke appeared for the first time as Radames.] -- Salle de l'Eden: Concerts Lamoureux (la Symphonie de M. Vincent d'Indy et celle de M. Edouard Lalo; le premier acte de

Tristan et Iseult); les représentations de Lohengrin. [Notice on the premiere of d'Indy's Symphonie cévenole. Comments on the piano score of Lalo's Symphony in G Minor, which was premiered when Reyer happened to be 'absent de Paris.' Notice on concert performances of Act I of Tristan, the first such performances in two years (see JD F††-22/03/1884). Remarks on the forthcoming Parisian premiere of Lohengrin under the baton of Lamoureux.] -- [Notice on a new book:] Richard Wagner jugé en France, par M. Georges Servières. -- [A few words on] Nouvelles compositions de Mario Foscarina [pseudonym of 'une personne du meilleur monde']. [-- Announcement of the program of Pasdeloup's sixth and last concert at the Cirque d'hiver.]"

F-27/03

"Revue musicale. A propos de Lohengrin. [Less than a month before the Parisian premiere, Reyer editorializes on the 'patriotisme' which has long ostracized Wagner's music from the lyric theatres of France.] -- A propos d'Otello. [Upon learning that Verdi has withdrawn the work from the Opéra because this institution will not renew the contract of Mme Caron (whom the composer wanted for the role of Desdemona), Reyer editorializes on several matters: Mme Caron's demand for a higher salary; the idea of staging this 'grand opéra' at the Opéra-Comique; and the 'mission' of the Comique, which, he maintains, 'doit rester l'Opéra-Comique.'] -- Appel au public, par M. Adolphe Sax. [Editorial concerning the instrument maker's appeal for public support of his demand that the chamber of commerce rectify a serious oversight in its records.] -- Les concerts de M. Hugo et Mlle Jeanne Becker. [Brief review of a concert given by this brother and sister (cellist and pianist respectively; son and daughter of the founder of the celebrated Quatuor florentin).] -- Le chef d'orchestre de l'Opéra. [News of the imminent retirement of the conductor Altès elicits an editorial recommending as his successor the composer Ernest Guiraud.] -- Mme Rose Caron. [After announcing Colonne's forty-fourth performance of La Damnation de Faust, Reyer observes that Mme Caron will not be among the soloists, and he again regrets that she will soon leave the Opéra.]"

F-17/04

"Revue musicale. Eden-Théâtre: Lohengrin, opéra romantique en trois actes, paroles et musique de Richard Wagner, traduction française de M. Charles Nuitter. [Review of the Parisian premiere includes the very detailed retelling of the story of this opera, which Reyer had originally published 'à l'époque où il fut question de représenter Lohengrin sur deux théâtres subventionnés' (see JD F†-07/10/1868). -- Postscript: Comments on the fact that Lamoureux, bowing to pressure from the government, has just published a letter announcing that he will not give further performances of Lohengrin.]"

F-08/05

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Le Roi malgré lui, opéra comique en trois actes (d'après une pièce d'Ancelot), par MM. de Najac et Paul Burani, musique de M. Emmanuel Chabrier. [Review of the premiere.] -- Le pianiste Hofmann. [Remarks on the child prodigy from

Poland.] -- Conservatoire de Musique et de Déclamation: Exercices des élèves. [Review of the annual public concert. -- Postscript: Reyer declares that he is now reading and will soon review Alfred Ernst's new book, Richard Wagner et le Drame contemporain.]"

F-22/05

"Revue musicale. Théâtre du Château-d'Eau (Opéra-Populaire): Kérim, opéra en trois actes, de MM. Paul Milliet et Henri Lavedan, musique de M. Alfred Bruneau. [Review of the premiere of this young composer's first work for the stage. Bruneau had placed second in the Prix de Rome competition of 1881, a fact which affords Reyer an opportunity to editorialize on the current situation of prize-winners upon their return to Paris.] -- Secours aux victimes de l'incendie de l'Opéra-Comique. [The raising of an estimated one million francs to aid victims of the fire which, on 25 May, had destroyed the Comique, elicits an editorial first on the difficulty of equitably dividing the sum, and then on possible ways of utilizing whatever amount might remain after the victims have been compensated.] -- Son Altesse, le chef d'orchestre de l'Opéra. [Reyer recounts an anecdote 'que l'on m'a contée' about Vianesi, the successor of Altès.]"

F-12/06

"Revue musicale. Académie des Beaux-Arts. [Editorial questioning the fairness of two of the rules which govern the Prix de Rome competition: each student must obtain the three singers who will perform his cantata for the jury; and a professor of composition at the Conservatoire cannot be a jurist unless he is a member of the Académie.] -- Jugement pour le grand prix de composition musicale: Didon, cantate par M. Augé de Lassus, mise en musique par MM. Bachelet, Kaiser, Erlanger et Charpentier. [After giving his impressions of these four settings 'à la sauce wagnérienne,' Reyer reiterates his long-held belief that all students of composition should undergo 'de fortes études classiques.' He then reviews both the prescribed text and Gustave Charpentier's winning setting.] -- Opéra-Populaire: [Brief editorial applauding 'les efforts qu'il fait pour vivre.'] Reprise de la Petite Fadette. [Notice on the first revival of Semet's work, which had left the repertoire of the Opéra-Comique shortly after the premiere in 1869.] -- Ouvrages théoriques pour l'enseignement du piano, par Mme Hortense Parent. [Reyer praises a 'méthode de solfège' and recommends two other pedagogical works by 'un de nos meilleurs professeurs de piano.'] -- Mlle Ada Adiny. [Assessment of the soprano engaged by the Opéra to take the place of both Mlle Krauss and Mme Caron.]"

F-03/07

"[Obituary of the conductor] Jules Pasdeloup [founder of the Concerts populaires and for two years director of the old Théâtre-Lyrique]."

A-18/08, p. 3

"D'Uriage à Aix-les-Bains. Notes de voyage. [Communication published under the words 'On nous écrit d'Aix-les-Bains:' Recollections of a pleasure trip from Uriage (Switzerland) across the border to Grenoble

and on to La Salette (site of a shrine to the Virgin), and then back to Uriage. -- Aix-les-Bains. Comments on 'la musique' at the Salle des Fêtes in the casino: forthcoming appearance of Mme Marthe Duvivier in Carmen; the young Gabriel Pierné's 'fantaisie-ballet' (for piano and orchestra) at a recent concert of Colonne's orchestra. A few words on the casino's rival, the Villa des Fleurs, which has its own theatre and 'un assez bon orchestre.']"

*LA[CurR 191]-03/09, p. 3

"Revue musicale. Opéra-Comique: Les suites de l'incendie. [Editorial on the choice of the Théâtre de Paris in the Place du Châtelet (once the home of the Théâtre-Lyrique) as the temporary location of the Comique. Reflections on other pertinent matters: the company of singers; the arrest of Carvalho and six other persons; the naming of the composer-critic Joncières as the Comique's 'administrateur provisoire'; the interim repertoire.] -- Le centenaire de Don Juan à l'Opéra. [Description of preparations for the ceremony which will commemorate the premiere of Mozart's work at Prague in 1787. -- Notice on a Recueil de vocalises by Mme Muller de La Source.] -- La mise à la retraite de M. Marmontel, professeur au Conservatoire. [Remarks on the retirement of this eminent professor of piano are followed by an editorial on the Conservatoire's hiring a sixth professor for this instrument while continuing to neglect the bassoon, harp, viola, and natural trumpet. -- Notice on the short engagement of Mlle Leisinger at the Opéra.] -- La partition de Namouna et une nouvelle symphonie de M. Lalo. [The publication of the score of Lalo's ballet (see JD F-12/03/1882) leads to a brief editorial calling for a revival of this work. Announcement: Lalo's Symphony in G Minor (see JD F-27/03) will be performed again 'cet hiver.'] -- Le Benvenuto Cellini de Berlioz, et l'Ascanio de M. Camille Saint-Saëns. [Reyer first applauds Saint-Saëns for changing the title of his new opera from Benvenuto Cellini to Ascanio, and then editorializes on the need to reestablish a third lyric theatre which would open its doors to Berlioz's work and other neglected 'chefs-d'oeuvres.']"

F-09/10

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique (ancien Théâtre-Lyrique). Réouverture: Roméo et Juliette, opéra en cinq actes, paroles de MM. Jules Barbier et Michel Carré, musique de M. Charles Gounod. [Review is introduced by a brief history of this popular work since its premiere at the old Lyrique two decades earlier (see JD F-05/05/1867). -- Reyer recommends Berlioz's Benvenuto Cellini to the interim director of the Comique, Jules Barbier, who must rebuild the repertoire.] -- Les responsabilités dans l'incendie de l'Opéra-Comique. [Summary of the charges that the 'parquet des responsabilités' is directing at Carvalho and the two firemen who were on duty at the Comique the night of the disaster.] -- Louis Brandus. [Obituary of the man who had long been head of the Paris firm of music publishers founded by Maurice Schlesinger.] -- Maurice Strakosch. -- La légende de la petite Nikita. [Obituary notice of Strakosch is followed by a story which the late impresario had told Reyer, concerning the kidnapping of a prodigy in America. -- Postscript

on the Opéra's preparations for the five hundredth performance of Gounod's Faust.]"

F-23/10

"Revue musicale. Institut de France: Séance annuelle de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts. Exécution de la cantate pour le grand prix de composition musicale: Didon, paroles de M. Augé de Lassus, musique de M. Gustave Charpentier. [Review of the orchestral performance of the prize-winning cantata is preceded by an editorial reiterating Reyer's position that each winner of the Prix de Rome should, upon his return to France, be appointed conductor of a municipal lyric theatre and be given the right to produce there a three-act opera. Reyer now adds that the government could cover the cost of such an arrangement by reducing to one year the length of the laureate's 'séjour' at Rome.] -- Académie nationale de Musique [i.e., Théâtre de l'Opéra]: Le centenaire de Don Juan. [Reyer first gives his opinion of the ceremony which honored the memory of Mozart, and then reviews the revival of 'l'immortel chef-d'oeuvre.'] -- Concerts du Châtelet et du Cirque d'Eté. [Comments on the Cirque d'Eté, the new home of Lamoureux's concert society. Review of his first concert of the season (with special attention to the interpretation of the 'Marche des pèlerins' from Harold en Italie). Review of Colonne's performances of Bizet's L'Arlésienne suite. Remarks on other works presented by Colonne and Lamoureux. Announcement of forthcoming performances of Gabrielle Krauss, whom Colonne has engaged as soloist for the season. -- A few words on the Opéra's five hundredth performance of Gounod's Faust.]"

F-06/11

"Revue musicale. [Brief editorial repeating Reyer's demand that the government generously subsidize the concert societies of Lamoureux and Colonne, so that they can afford to present more often 'de grandes exécutions d'oratorios ou d'oeuvres symphoniques avec soli et choeurs.'] Concerts du Châtelet: Le Paradis et la Péri, de Robert Schumann, traduction française de M. Victor Wilder; Mlle Gabrielle Krauss. [As Schumann's work had not been performed for the Parisian public since the premiere nearly twenty years ago (see JD F-15/12/1869), Reyer discusses at length both the text and the score. His assessment of the interpretation focuses on Mlle Krauss, who again sang the role of the Péri.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique [Place du Châtelet]: Reprise du Roi malgré lui, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. de Najac et Paul Burani, musique de M. Emmanuel Chabrier. [After recalling that Chabrier's work (see JD F-22/05) had been performed only a few times before the Comique's old home burned down, Reyer comments on the success of a slightly revised version.]"

F-20/11

"Revue musicale. Concerts du Châtelet: Le Centenaire de la mort de Gluck. Fragmens d'Iphigénie en Aulide, d'Armide, d'Iphigénie en Tauride, d'Orphée et d'Alceste; [with soloists] Mlle Krauss, M. Vergnet, M. Auguez. [Review of Colonne's commemorative concert is preceded by a tribute to Gluck and to the ongoing critical edition of his principal

operas.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique [Place du Châtelet]: Reprises du Caïd, de Philémon et Baucis et de Galathée. [Notice on these three revivals staged in one week. Reyer applauds in particular Gounod's Philémon and Thomas's Caïd.]"

F††-04/12

"Revue musicale. Concerts du Châtelet: Marie-Magdeleine, drame sacré en trois actes et quatre parties, poème de M. Louis Gallet, musique de M. Jules Massenet. [Review is introduced by recollections of the premiere (see JD F††-23/04/1873).] -- Scène d'Hermione, tirée d'Andromaque et mise en musique par Mme Pauline Viardot. [Review of a 'page remarquable' for voice and orchestra, Mme Viardot's setting of a passage from Act IV of Racine's tragedy.] -- [Théâtre des Menus-Plaisirs:] Stratonice, opéra comique en un acte, paroles de M. E. Chardon, musique de M. E. Diet. [Notice on the premiere of 'une opérette' by a pupil of César Franck.] -- Société Sainte-Cécile de Bordeaux: Concert de M. Ernest Guiraud. [Reyer reports what a 'correspondant' has written to him about a concert which was conducted by Guiraud and consisted almost entirely of music by 'l'éminent compositeur.'] -- Salle du Conservatoire: Audition des envois de Rome. [Notices on Georges Marty's overture Balthazar, a 'suite d'orchestre' by the same composer, and Gabriel Pierné's Les Elfes for soloists, chorus, and orchestra.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique [Place du Châtelet]: Début de Mlle Arnoldson dans Mignon. [Notice on the Parisian debut of the Swedish soprano.] -- Publications diverses. [Postscript in which Reyer enumerates publications he has recently received. (These include Siegfried with Victor Wilder's French translation, and scores by several French composers.)]"

F-18/12

1888

Journal des Débats

"Revue musicale de l'année 1887. [Opening remarks on 'les trois événemens . . . les plus considérables': Otello at Milan, La Valkyrie at Brussels, and Lohengrin at Paris. Brief editorial on the protest which had resulted in the abandonment of Lohengrin. Recollections of the successes of Otello and La Valkyrie, with regrets that neither work is forthcoming at Paris. -- The Théâtre de la Monnaie (Brussels): Notice on the premiere of Ponchielli's La Gioconda (1876). -- The Opéra: Observations concerning a year which had failed to bring forth any of the works 'destinées à renouveler le répertoire' (i.e., Salvayre's La Dame de Monsoreau, Véronge de La Nux's Zaïre, and Thomas's opera-ballet La Tempête). Remarks on Massenet's Le Cid (1885) and Paladilhe's Patrie! (1886), which had remained staples of the repertoire. -- The Opéra-Comique: Editorial on the refusal of the Commission des auteurs to sign an agreement which would have made the interim director, Jules Barbier, the successor of Carvalho. A few words about the new director, Paravey. Comments on the fates of Saint-Saëns's Proserpine and Chabrier's Le Roi malgré lui, the only works premiered that year. -- The

short-lived Opéra-Populaire: Reminiscences of Bruneau's Kérim and the revival of Semet's La Petite Fadette. -- 'Réflexions' on the intention of a M. Bertrand to reestablish a third lyric theatre. -- Concerts Lamoureux: The place of Wagner's music on the programs. Premieres of 'compositions importantes' by French composers. -- Concerts Colonne: Highlights of the season. Notice on Gabrielle Krauss, guest artist at many of those performances. -- Reyer reiterates his opinion that 'c'est au concert . . . que s'accomplit depuis quelques années le véritable mouvement musical' (see, e.g., JD F-15/01/1881).]"

F-01/01

"Revue musicale. [Comments on the current 'temps de disette' at both the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique. --] Théâtre de l'Opéra: Début de Mlle Bronville. [Notice on this 'élève' as Alice in Les Huguenots. Rumors about the libretto and score of Salvayre's La Dame de Monsoreau, which is in rehearsal. -- Reyer regrets that he will probably be 'dans le Midi' when Godard's Jocelyn is premiered at Brussels; however, the critic is studying the piano-vocal score, and will discuss it 'quand le moment sera venu' (see JD F-04/03).] -- Première représentation, à Lille, de Zaïre, opéra en quatre actes, d'après la tragédie de Voltaire, par MM. Paul Collin et Charles Lefebvre. [After reminding readers that the Opéra will premiere Véronge de La Nux's Zaïre, Reyer reviews the score of Lefebvre's work based on the same tragedy. (The critic, who had been unable to attend the premiere of Lefebvre's opera, notes that this former winner of the Prix de Rome had taken his score to Lille because there was no Parisian theatre which would accept it.)] -- Concerts du Châtelet: Le Manfred, de Schumann. [Reyer does not retell the story of the well-known poem, but reviews the performance, discusses the overture and 'les principaux morceaux de la partition,' and compares Emile Moreau's new translation (in verse) with that of Victor Wilder (in prose).] -- [Book review:] Une Première par jour, causeries sur le théâtre, par M. Albert Soubies. -- Sire Olaf, légende dramatique de M. André Alexandre; musique de M. Lucien Lambert. [Review of yet another score that had been premiered at Lille.]"

F-22/01

"Revue musicale. Opéra: La Dame de Monsoreau, opéra en quatre actes et sept tableaux, tiré par Auguste Maquet du roman d'Alexandre Dumas et Auguste Maquet [i.e., the libretto was drawn by Maquet from both the novel by Dumas and the play by Dumas and Maquet], musique de M. G. Salvayre; décors de MM. Rubé, Chaperon, Jambon, Poisson, Lavastre et Carpezat; costumes dessinés par M. Bianchini. [Although the subtitle suggests otherwise, Reyer's assessments of the decors and the costumes consist of only a few words. The review is almost entirely devoted to the libretto, the music, and the interpretation of the first work by Salvayre to be staged at the Opéra. (Reyer notes that this composer was a former winner of the Prix de Rome, and that several of his works had been performed at other theatres.)] -- Concerts du Châtelet. [Comments on each of the soloists in Charpentier's Didon, the cantata which had recently won the Prix de Rome (see JD F-03/07/1887).] -- Concerts

Lamoureux. [Notice on Mme Montalba's performance of 'la Mort d'Iseult' (Isolde's Liebestod).]"

F-05/02

[(Communication published under the words "On nous écrit de Monaco:") Recollections of Nice: The annual carnival during "un hiver exceptionnel." Entertainment at the municipal casino (performances of the actor Constant Coquelin in the casino's theatre; "le steeple-chase," a new diversion for gamblers). -- The weekly "concerts classiques" at the Théâtre de Monte-Carlo: The importance of the contemporary "Ecole française" in the repertoire. Arthur Steck's orchestra. -- Théâtre de Monte-Carlo: The "vieux répertoire" of opéras comiques. Memories of the era when this small theatre presented shortened versions of "grands opéras," and enjoyed a prestige which rivalled that of "les plus grandes scènes lyriques de France et d'Italie, qui lui envoyaient leurs meilleurs et leurs premiers sujets." Brief remarks on the "artistes de talent" who are featured this season.]

*LA[CurR 191]-25/02, p. 3

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de la Monnaie: Jocelyn, opéra en quatre actes et huit tableaux, tiré du poème de Lamartine par MM. Armand Silvestre et Victor Capoul, musique de M. Benjamin Godard. [Although unable to go to Brussels for this premiere, Reyer reviews the libretto and the music of the piano-vocal score, which he had been studying since January (see JD F-22/01). The fact that Capoul had once directed a lyric theatre at the Salle Ventadour (see JD F-23/10/1878) prompts Reyer to editorialize on the need to reestablish a third lyric theatre in Paris; he illustrates his point by giving a brief account of the fates of Godard's earlier operas (Les Guelfes and Pedro de Zalamea). The critic also editorializes on the neglect of Godard's concert works for solo voices, chorus, and orchestra (Le Tasse, Diane, and Symphonie légendaire).]"

F-04/03

"Lettres du Midi. [Communication published under the words 'On nous écrit de Monaco, le 7 mars:' News about Nice: Description of events planned for the 'fêtes du printemps.' Comments on the choice of Rossini's Barbier de Séville as the 'représentation théâtrale' intended to climax the celebrations. -- Théâtre de Monte-Carlo: Further reflections on 'le programme de la saison' (i.e., the director's renunciation of 'les étoiles' and 'le grand opéra' in favor of a 'troupe' and a 'répertoire vieillot' of opéras comiques; see JD *LA[CurR 191]-25/02, p. 3). Notice on the performances of Marie Hamann and Sigrid Arnoldson in Mignon. A few words on the tenor Talazac (who, like Mlle Arnoldson, will return to the Opéra-Comique in Paris). -- The presence of the Emperor of Brazil (a 'vrai dilettante') at the operas and concerts given at the Théâtre de Monte-Carlo calls to mind a work commissioned by the monarch: the 'poème lyrique' Paraguassu by Villeneuve and O'Kelly (first performed at the Théâtre-Lyrique in 1855).]"

*LA[CurR 191]-10/03, p. 3

"Revue musicale. [Editorial regretting that 'depuis quelques années' the concerts for Easter Week and Good Friday have been not 'spirituels' but rather 'laïques,' composed largely or entirely of 'élémens profanes.' Included in the editorial are remarks on the recent Good Friday concert of the Société des concerts du Conservatoire and the 'concert spirituel' at the Opéra-Comique, as well as recollections of the Parisian premiere of Verdi's Requiem at the Comique (see JD F-14/06/1874). --] Les Concerts du vendredi saint: [Comments on the programs of Lamoureux (now at the Cirque d'hiver) and Montardon (at the Château-d'Eau).] Mlle Gabrielle Krauss; Ludus pro patria, ode-symphonie, poème et musique de Mlle Augusta Holmès. [Notice on Mlle Krauss as soloist in operatic excerpts at the Good Friday concert of Colonne. Review of Holmès's work, which was performed at the same concert.] -- Le Conservatoire de Marseille: M. Claudius Blanc. [Editorial defending the new director against 'les attaques dont il est l'objet.'] -- Le livre de M. Victor Maurel sur Otello. [Review of A propos de la mise-en-scène du drame lyrique 'Otello', by the celebrated baritone who had created the role of Iago.]"

F-08/04

"Revue musicale. Concerts du Châtelet: la Damnation de Faust. [The enduring success of this work (which Colonne has conducted for the forty-seventh time since 1877) elicits an editorial objecting that the theatres of Paris continue to ignore Berlioz's operas even though the concert societies have presented much of his music. The review of Colonne's performance includes further editorializing on what Reyer regards as lingering prejudices and misconceptions about Berlioz the composer.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: reprise de Henri VIII, opéra en quatre actes, paroles de MM. Léonce Détroyat et Armand Silvestre, musique de Camille Saint-Saëns. [Notice on a work which had not been revived in two years (see JD F-09/05/1886).]"

F-22/04

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Le Roi d'Ys, opéra en trois actes et cinq tableaux, poème de M. Edouard Blau, musique de M. Edouard Lalo. [Review of a long-awaited premiere. At Lalo's request, Reyer quotes excerpts from a letter in which the composer denies the popular notion that this score is twenty years old.] -- Conservatoire de Musique (Concert Rossini): Les Jardins d'Armide, cantate par M. Emile Moreau, musique de M. Auguste Chapuis. -- Exercice des élèves. -- Hamlet, tragédie lyrique en cinq actes et neuf tableaux, paroles traduites de Shakespeare par Pierre de Garal, musique de M. Aristide Hignard. [These three subtitles refer to a postscript in which Reyer apologizes that, because of the length of 'l'analyse du poème et de la partition du Roi d'Ys,' he must 'renvoyer à la huitaine' his reviews of Les Jardins d'Armide, the public concert of the Conservatoire students, and Hignard's Hamlet.]"

F††-13/05

"Revue musicale. Salle du Conservatoire: Les Jardins d'Armide, cantate par M. Emile Moreau, musique de M. Auguste Chapuis (concours Rossini).

[Review of the work which had been awarded the biennial Prix Rossini in 1886, and now, 'comme d'habitude,' has been performed by the orchestra of the Société des concerts du Conservatoire. Included in the review are a few 'renseignemens biographiques' about the young Chapuis.] -- Exercice des élèves. [Review of the annual public concert presented by the students of the Conservatoire.] -- Hamlet, tragédie lyrique en cinq actes et neuf tableaux, paroles traduites de Shakespeare, par Pierre de Garal, musique de M. Aristide Hignard. [Review of the score of an opera that has just been premiered at the municipal theatre of Nantes. Reyer notes that Hignard's work was composed before Thomas's Hamlet (1868), but the critic does not compare the two works. -- Postscript announcing that, from the forty-two cantata texts submitted to the jury of the Académie des Beaux-Arts, Velléda has been chosen to be set to music by the students competing for the Prix de Rome.]"

F-20/05

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Reprise de Sigurd. [Remarks on the lack of success of a revival which the co-directors staged during 'un temps superbe' and with 'leur troupe d'été.'] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: le Baiser de Suzon, un acte par M. Pierre Barbier, musique de M. Hermann Bemberg. [Review of a 'lever de rideau,' the first work for the stage by a 'jeune amateur' who was a pupil of Massenet.] -- [Also at the Comique:] Reprise de l'Ombre, trois actes par M. de Saint-Georges, musique de M. de Flotow. [Review of a work which had not been seen at the Comique since August 1870, when its scarcely begun career had been cut short by the Franco-Prussian War (see JD F-03/08/1870). Reyer first retells the story of Flotow's work, 'si peu connu de la génération actuelle,' and then discusses the music.] -- La bibliothèque de l'Opéra-Comique. [Brief editorial calling upon the government to put forth funds to help replenish the Comique's library, which had consisted of more than seven hundred scores before the ruinous fire of 1887.] -- Mme Marie Sasse. [After describing 'l'admirable voix' of this teacher, formerly a principal soprano at the old Théâtre-Lyrique and the Opéra, Reyer suggests that she be made a professor at the Conservatoire.]"

F-10/06

"Revue musicale. Institut de France: Jugement du concours pour le grand prix de composition musicale. [Editorial supporting 'l'idée d'un de mes confrères' that, when the cantatas by the competitors for the Prix de Rome are sung for the jury, the performers should be students of the Conservatoire instead of professionals recruited by the competitors themselves. (Reyer had already made such a suggestion; see JD F-03/07/1887.)] -- Exécution de la cantate Velléda, paroles de M. Fernand Beissier, mise en musique par MM. Carraud, Bachelet, Erlanger et Dukas. [As in previous years, Reyer comments on the quantity and the disappointing quality of the entries in the annual competition for the Prix de Rome cantata text. He then reviews Beissier's Velléda and Charpentier's winning setting, as well as that of Dukas (who had placed second).] -- MM. Calabrési et Stoumon, directeurs du grand théâtre de Marseille. [Editorial applauding the appointment of the former co-directors of the Théâtre de la Monnaie.] -- L'Art musical au

dix-neuvième siècle, compositeurs célèbres, par M. le baron Ernouf. [Notice on a volume comprising 'études sur la vie et les oeuvres de maîtres célèbres,' studies which were originally published in the Revue contemporaine.] -- Recueil de vingt mélodies, par M. Emile Chizat. [Notice on a collection by 'l'ami et l'élève de Massenet.']"
F-01/07

"Revue musicale. Les plages normandes. [Musings on the commercialization of towns along the coast of Normandy. Description of a typical 'hostellerie.'] -- L'incident Saléza. [Observations on the outcome of an event 'dont on s'était beaucoup ému sur la côte normande': a dispute between the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique over a young tenor named Albert Saléza.] -- Les projets de M. Paravey. [Remarks on the Comique's repertoire for the new season.] -- Le théâtre lyrique du Château-d'Eau. [Reyer first notes that the impresario Senterre is going to reestablish a third lyric theatre, and then considers the plan to inaugurate it with the first Parisian production of Godard's Jocelyn.] -- Le théâtre de la Monnaie. [A few words on the forthcoming revival of Sigurd.] -- Henry VIII, Ascanio et Benvenuto Cellini. [Reflections on news concerning the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique: at the Opéra, Saint-Saëns's Henry VIII will be shortened to serve as a curtain-raiser, taking the place of the still-unfinished Zaïre by Véronge de La Nux; at the Comique, no date has been set for the premiere of Saint-Saëns's Ascanio (formerly entitled Benvenuto Cellini).] -- Berlioz et M. Eugène Diaz. [Reyer suggests that Berlioz's Benvenuto Cellini, which had been abandoned by Carvalho, be taken up by Paravey, and editorializes on the announcement that the Comique will premiere a work 'sur le même sujet' by Eugène Diaz, an admirer of Berlioz. This editorial leads to recollections of the Opéra's competition of 1869, when Diaz defeated such composers as Massenet and Bizet. (Diaz's winning setting of the libretto La Coupe du roi de Thulé was reviewed in JD F-16/01/1873.)]"
F-03/09

"Revue musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique national [established by Senterre at the Château-d'Eau]: Jocelyn, opéra en quatre actes, d'après Lamartine, par MM. Armand Silvestre et Victor Capoul, musique de M. Benjamin Godard. [Reyer recalls that he had been unable to attend the premiere at Brussels, and at the time had reviewed only the piano-vocal score (as he had explained in JD F-04/03). After hearing the first Parisian performance, he discusses in greater detail Godard's music, and assesses the principals as well as the orchestra and chorus of Senterre's theatre. -- Editorial on Paravey's sudden refusal to release Adam's opéra comique Si j'étais roi (1852), which Senterre had planned to alternate with Jocelyn. The editorial ends with a plea that the government subsidize Senterre's theatre.] -- [Book review:] Lettres de W.-A. Mozart, traduction complète de M. H. de Curzon. -- Théâtre national de l'Opéra: [Brief editorial on the attacks which certain Parisian periodicals are directing at the administration of Ritt and Gailhard.] Débuts de Mlle Landi et de M. Jérôme. [Notices on their performances are followed by further editorializing on the Opéra's administration, which, Reyer maintains, should be given a larger subsidy.] -- Les concerts

aériens de la tour Eiffel. [Brief editorial against the idea of installing at the top of the tower 'un orchestre aérien composé de harpes éoliennes, de gongs énormes et de trompettes gigantesques' which, by means of a special mechanism, would be sounded by air currents around the tower. -- Postscript announcing that Si j'étais roi has been released to Senterre's Théâtre-Lyrique national.]"

F-21/10

"Revue musicale. Voyage en Ecosse. [Gailhard's journey to Scotland to meet with Adelina Patti occasions an editorial on the co-directors' hopes of garnering 'les grosses recettes' by luring the diva back to the Opéra, where she would star in Gounod's Roméo et Juliette.] -- Institut de France: Séance annuelle de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts: Exécution de la cantate Velléda, paroles de M. Fernand Beissier, musique de M. Erlanger: Mlle Rose Caron, MM. Plançon et Piroïa. [Further remarks on Erlanger's prize-winning cantata (see JD F-01/07), now performed with orchestra and with Caron, Plançon and Piroïa as soloists.] -- Ouverture symphonique, par M. Georges Marty. [This subtitle probably refers to the envoi which would have been performed before the cantata, but is not mentioned in Reyer's text.] -- Théâtre-Lyrique: [Comments on Senterre's having to delete the word 'national' from the name of his theatre.] Reprise des Amours du Diable, poème de M. de Saint-Georges, musique d'Albert Grisar. [Review of Senterre's production of an opéra comique that had been premiered at the old Lyrique in 1853.] -- Le Mage et le Persan. [Upon reading about the grand opera which Massenet is composing, Reyer suggests a form of compensation for Mme Marguerite Olagnier, whose opera Le Persan was based on the same biblical story.] -- [Announcement of a new publication (reviewed in JD F-03/02/1889):] Hector Berlioz, sa vie et ses oeuvres, par M. Adolphe Jullien. -- Concerts Colonne. [Announcement of the program of the first concert.] -- Le vol au phonographe. [Anecdote about the clandestine use of the newly invented phonograph at the New York premiere of The Yeomen of the Guard.]"

F-04/11

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Roméo et Juliette, opéra en cinq actes, paroles de MM. Michel Carré et Jules Barbier, musique de M. Charles Gounod; Mme Adelina Patti-Nicolini. [Review of the Opéra's first production of Gounod's work, which featured the celebrated soprano who had not performed at this theatre 'depuis une quinzaine d'années' (see JD F-17/10/1874). The review is introduced by a brief editorial against expanding 'un ouvrage de demi caractère,' such as Der Freischütz, Don Giovanni, and now Roméo et Juliette, for the sake of presenting it 'sur la vaste scène de l'Opéra.' -- After giving news of the great success of the Dresden premiere of Berlioz's Benvenuto Cellini, Reyer regrets that the lyric theatres of Paris continue to ignore both this work and Les Troyens.] -- Concerts du Châtelet. [Reyer apologizes that he has 'ni le temps ni l'espace' to review the concerts with which the season has been 'brillamment inaugurée.']"

F-02/12

"Revue musicale. Opéra-Comique: l'Escadron volant de la Reine, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de MM. Adolphe Dennery et Jules Brésil, musique de M. Henri Litolff. [A notice on Litolff's long career as composer precedes the review of his first major work to be staged at a Parisian theatre (a work that had been rejected by three successive directors of the Comique before being accepted by Paravey).] -- Le Théâtre-Lyrique. [Remarks on Senterre's 'théâtre fiévreusement actif,' which, although not subsidized, has presented five works and has announced several more that will appear 'avant la fin de l'hiver.' A few words about the Lyrique's latest productions: Lambert's Sire Olaf (premiered at Lille; see the review of the score in JD F-22/01), and a revival of Nicolo's opéra comique Joconde (1814).] -- Les concerts Colonne et les concerts Lamoureux. [Reviews of Colonne's first two concerts of the season, with special attention to Gabrielle Krauss, guest artist at the second concert. Notice on Mme Roger-Miclos, soloist in Rubinstein's Piano Concerto in D Minor at the most recent concert of Lamoureux.] -- Quelques réflexions tardives à propos du vote de la Chambre réduisant de 50,000 fr. la subvention de l'Opéra. [Editorial on the decision of the Chamber of Deputies to reduce the subsidy, a decision that has been appealed by the co-directors of the Opéra.]"

F-23/12

1889

Journal des Débats

"Revue musicale. Hector Berlioz, sa vie et ses oeuvres[,] par M. Adolphe Jullien. [As in the review of Jullien's volume on Wagner (see JD F-23/01/1887), Reyer calls attention to the 'chaleureuses félicitations' with which the book is being greeted by critics outside France. Reyer's own assessment is interspersed with his thoughts on the musical 'ancêtres' of Berlioz; recollections of the reactions of prominent Parisian critics to the premiere of Les Troyens à Carthage in 1863; and comments on lingering opposition to Berlioz's music in France. -- Postscript correcting 'une erreur' in Jullien's book: Reyer denies that he was one of the musicians to whom the executor of Berlioz's will gave the late master's 'bâtons de chef d'orchestre.']"

F-03/02

"Lettres du Midi. [Communication published under the words 'On nous écrit de Monaco:' The weather along the Riviera. -- Marseille: A sketch of the city and its 'population cosmopolite.' -- The restored Grand-Théâtre de Marseille, co-directed by Stoumon and Calabresi. -- Concert series and chamber music at Marseille: The 'concerts classiques' conducted by Miranne at the Théâtre Valette ('l'élément moderne' in the repertoire; the fifteen-year-old violinist Henri Marteau as guest artist at the most recent concert). Notice on one of the concerts of the Société du Quintette-Harmonique. -- Regrets about the razing of the Church of Saint-Martin, one of Marseille's landmarks. -- Monte-Carlo: The landscape during a 'superbe' spring. -- Théâtre de Monte-Carlo: The

seasonal company (which includes artists from the Opéra-Comique, and Mme Fidès-Devriès). Notice on Mme Vaillant-Couturier's performance in Gounod's Mireille.]"

*LA[CurR 191]-13/02, p. 3

"Revue musicale. Les Pêcheurs de perles de Bizet. [Communication dated] Monaco, mercredi 17 février. [News about the annual carnival at Nice. -- 'Des Anglais' at Monte-Carlo. -- Théâtre de Monte-Carlo: Review of the first production of Bizet's work (which had not been staged at Paris since 1863, when it was performed eighteen times at the Théâtre-Lyrique). Near the end of the review, Reyer editorializes on 'les coupures' in works staged at the Théâtre de Monte-Carlo; he cites examples not only in Bizet's score, but also in Gounod's Faust.]"

F-03/03

"Revue musicale. Concerts du Châtelet: 48^{e} audition de la Damnation de Faust. [Observations on the popularity of this work lead to ironic remarks on the idea that it should be staged. This occasions an editorial on both the need for 'une salle de concert' and the insufficiency of the subsidies accorded by the government to the societies of Colonne and Lamoureux. The subject of subsidization leads, in turn, to editorializing on a 'projet' which, unlike the staging of the Damnation, does not strike Reyer as 'absurde': the loges at the Opéra should be auctioned, and the profits would enable this theatre to function without a subsidy; the money thus saved could be divided between the Théâtre-Lyrique and a symphonic society (the latter maintaining permanently a chorus and soloists). Reyer then returns to his review of the Damnation, and assesses the performance of each of the guest soloists.] -- Berlioz intime (nouvelle édition), par M. Edmond Hippeau. [Notice on the edition which comprises a shortened version of the original (1883) and a 'seconde partie' entitled Berlioz et son temps.] -- Une fête municipale. [After describing a ceremony for which Augusta Holmès had been designated to compose music, Reyer comments on the abandonment of the project.] -- Voyage à Marseille. [The composer-critic remembers a sojourn at his native city, where he had gone to work on the orchestration of Salammbô and, at the invitation of the co-directors of the Grand-Théâtre, to supervise rehearsals for the first performance of Sigurd. Reyer says nothing about the opera itself, but salutes the conductor and each of the principal singers.]"

F-14/04

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Esclarmonde, opéra romanesque en quatre actes et huit tableaux, dont un prologue et un épilogue, poème de MM. Alfred Blau et Louis de Gramont, musique de M. Massenet. [Before reviewing this new work, Reyer recalls that, 'il y a bien des années déjà,' his friend Alfred Blau introduced him to 'la scénario qu'il préparait en vue d'un poème lyrique.' -- Postscript: Reyer apologizes that lack of space obliges him to 'renvoyer à plus tard' his review of Gluck's Orfeo at the Théâtre de la Gaîté (see JD F-02/06).]"

F-19/05

"Revue musicale. Le Théâtre-Italien (salle de la Gaîté). [Remarks on the director of the Teatro Costanzi at Rome, M. Sonzogno, who is attempting to revive the Théâtre-Italien for the duration of the Paris Exposition. Reflections on what Reyer has been told about Sonzogno's unsuccessful production of Bizet's Les Pêcheurs de perles in Italian; recollections of the well received production in French at Monte-Carlo (see JD F-03/03). Review of Sonzogno's production of Gluck's Orfeo, a work which had not been staged at Paris in either Italian or French since 1863 (when the French version established by Berlioz left the repertoire of the Théâtre-Lyrique). Comments on the principals in Sonzogno's company. Concluding notes on the Théâtre-Italien and the Teatro Costanzi. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Further observations concerning Esclarmonde, which Reyer has heard for the second time.] -- Les concerts du Trocadéro. [Notice on the concerts given by Henri Dallier to inaugurate 'les concerts d'orgue de l'Exposition.' Brief review of a concert conducted by Lamoureux, the first in the series of 'concerts officiels français' which will consist of orchestral music as well as excerpts from operas and oratorios by French composers.] -- Publications diverses. [Notices on: a 'méthode . . . pour les voix de baryton et de basse chantante' by the Italian professor Augusto Bendelari; two collections of mélodies by Guy de Kervégueue; a Suite vénitienne for orchestra by Mario Foscarina (pseudonym of 'l'élève de mon ami Ernest Guiraud'); and a set of studies by the pianist and professor Auzende.]"

F-02/06

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: La Tempête, ballet fantastique en trois actes et six tableaux, d'après Shakespeare, livret de M. Jules Barbier, chorégraphie de M. J. Hansen, musique de M. Ambroise Thomas. [Review of the premiere of the last major work by Thomas. --] Salle du Trocadéro: Grande audition officielle de la Société des concerts du Conservatoire sous la direction de M. Jules Garcin. [Brief review of another in the series of concerts of French music at the Exposition. Reyer regrets that Mme Caron, one of the guest artists featured at the concert, was not yet re-engaged by the Opéra (which she had left in 1887 for the Théâtre de la Monnaie at Brussels).]"

F-30/06

"Revue musicale. Palais de l'Industrie: l'Ode triomphale, de Mlle Augusta Holmès. [Reyer first writes about the concert ('festival') conducted by Berlioz in the same building in 1844, and then describes the recent celebration: a pageant organized by the city council of Paris in honor of the centenary of the French Revolution. This description is followed by a review of Holmès's work, which accompanied the pageant.]"

F-15/09

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Reprise de Mireille, opéra en trois actes et cinq tableaux, tiré du poème de Frédéric Mistral par Michel Carré, musique de M. Charles Gounod. [Review of 'la version nouvelle' of a work that had passed through several different versions, first at the Théâtre-Lyrique (1864-1865) and then at the Comique (see JD F-15/11/1874). Reyer begins the review with a plea for a restoration of

the original version, which had been premiered at the Lyrique on 19 March 1864. --] Salle du Conservatoire: Les Noces de Fingal, poème en trois parties, par Mme Judith Gautier, musique de M. Blas Colomer (le poème et la partition couronnés par l'Académie des Beaux-Arts au concours Rossini). [Review of the prize-winning work is preceded by remarks on 'les concours' in general and the Concours Rossini in particular, as well as a brief notice on the career of Colomer.]"
F-03/12

1890

Journal des Débats

"Revue musicale de l'année 1889. [Recollections of the Théâtre de la Monnaie (Brussels): Mme Caron in Fidelio. Rehearsals for Reyer's Salammbô (Mme Caron; other principals). -- The Opéra: Comments on the postponements of de La Nux's Zaïre and Saint-Saëns's Ascanio. A few words on the premiere of La Tempête. Brief editorial on the mutilation of Donizetti's Lucie de Lammermoor. -- The Opéra-Comique: Reflections on the success of Esclarmonde lead to observations on its reception at Brussels, with a comparison of the Comique's Sibyl Sanderson and the Monnaie's Mme Nuovina. Apropos of the revival of Mireille at the Comique, Reyer first apologizes for a printer's blunder in his review (see JD F-03/12/1889), and then congratulates Paravey on the success of 'l'une des plus jolies partitions de M. Gounod.' -- An account of Sonzogno's attempt to reestablish the Théâtre-Italien: The repertoire and the public. Mme Calvé and the other principals. -- Concerts Lamoureux and Concerts Colonne: Brief editorial repeating Reyer's long-held view that the government should subsidize these organizations more generously, to enable them to hire frequently the choruses and soloists required for 'des grandes symphonies dramatiques et des oratorios.' Highlights of the season ('les soloistes,' including Mlle Krauss and Mme Caron; d'Indy's La Mort de Wallenstein; the premiere of Lalo's Piano Concerto in F Minor). -- Notice on Julien Tiersot's Musiques pittoresques; Promenades musicales à l'Exposition de 1889.]"
F-08/01

"Lettres du Midi. [Communication published under the words 'On nous écrit de Monaco:' Théâtre de Monte-Carlo: Opening remarks on the inauguration of 'la saison théâtrale' with Gounod's Faust and Reyer's La Statue, the latter never before staged at Monte-Carlo. Review of La Statue (the expanded version, with ballet, first presented at the Opéra-Comique; see JD F††-05/05/1878). Neither the libretto nor the music is discussed, but the performances of the principals are assessed (with special attention to guest artist Mme Caron in the role of Margyane). The review is followed by an enumeration of the other works in director Gandrey's repertoire for the season. -- Brief recollections of the celebrations held in honor of 'l'entrée du prince de Monaco dans ses Etats.' A glimpse of the royal family.]"
*LA[CurR 191]-20/01, p. 3

"Lettres du Midi. [Communication published under the words 'On nous écrit de Monaco:' Observations concerning the annual carnival at Nice. -- Théâtre de Monte-Carlo: Notices on the tenor Dereims and the soprano Nellie Melba, guest artists in Hamlet and Roméo et Juliette. A few words on productions that took place after the departure of Melba (several operas and opéras comiques; Delibes's Coppélia). -- Princess Alice, music-loving wife of Prince Albert, the new ruler of Monaco. -- A forthcoming election at Nice. -- 'Les Anglais' on the Riviera.]"
*LA[CurR 191]-23/03, p. 3

"Revue musicale. Académie nationale de Danse et de Musique [i.e., Théâtre de l'Opéra]: Ascanio, opéra en cinq actes et six tableaux, d'après le drame de Benvenuto Cellini, de M. Paul Meurice, poème de M. Louis Gallet, musique de M. Camille Saint-Saëns. [Review is preceded by comments on Saint-Saëns's long and varied musical career.]"
F-30/03

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Dante, drame lyrique en quatre actes, paroles de M. Edouard Blau, musique de M. Benjamin Godard. [Review includes editorializing on the need to reestablish a Théâtre-Lyrique instead of erecting a new home for the Comique (which, since 1887, has occupied a building on the site of the old Lyrique in the Place du Châtelet).] -- Théâtre royal de la Monnaie: Clôture de la saison théâtrale. [Remarks on forthcoming changes in the roster of principals. Notices on the performances of Mme Caron and other principals in Reyer's Salammbô, which was presented on the final night of the season. (This work had been premiered at the Monnaie on 10 February.) Notices on the theatre's conductor and its 'étonnans directeurs' (Stoumon and Calabrési).]"
F-20/05

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Zaïre, opéra en deux actes d'après la tragédie de Voltaire, paroles de MM. Edouard Blau et Louis Besson, musique de M. Paul Véronge de La Nux. [Review is preceded by comments on 'l'odysse' of this former winner of the Prix de Rome, whose opera (commissioned in accordance with a clause in the cahier des charges of the Opéra) was first announced in 1887. --] A propos de la Société des grandes auditions musicales de France fondée par Mme la comtesse Greffulhe. [Notice on the new society: its leaders (Mme Greffulhe and Gounod, 'la présidente effective' and 'le président honoraire' respectively); its purpose (to sponsor performances of little- or unknown works, 'anciennes ou modernes'). After editorializing on the ostracism of Berlioz's operas from the lyric theatres of Paris, Reyer announces that the Société will sponsor the Parisian premiere of Béatrice et Bénédict. (The critic later reveals that he is among the musicians from whom Mme Greffulhe seeks consel; see JD F-07/06/1891.)] -- [Obituary of] Le violiniste Hubert Léonard."
F-01/06

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Odéon: (Société des grandes auditions musicales de France). Première représentation de Béatrice et Bénédict,

opéra en deux actes, imité de Shakespeare, paroles et musique d'Hector Berlioz. [The performance was presented with the cooperation of the director of the Odéon (who loaned his theatre and some of his actors) and Charles Lamoureux (who recruited the singers and conducted his 'incomparable orchestre'). Before reviewing this performance, Reyer recalls the premiere at Baden-Baden in 1862. --] Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: La Basoche, opéra comique en trois actes, paroles de M. Albert Carré, musique de M. André Messager [premiere]. [--] Théâtre de l'Opéra: Début de Mme Fierens dans la Juive. [Notice on the career of this young Belgian soprano, and a few words on her 'très heureux début.']"

F††-08/06

"Revue musicale. [Théâtre de l']Opéra: le Rêve, ballet en deux actes et trois tableaux, livret de M. Edouard Blau, chorégraphie de M. J. Hansen, musique de M. Léon Gastinel. [Review is preceded by a notice on the career of this composer, who had won the Prix de Rome in 1846. -- Notices on two treatises:] Traité populaire d'harmonie[, de composition et d'orchestration], par M. Jules Philippot. -- Autre Traité d'harmonie [i.e., Traité d'harmonie moderne], par M. Anatole Loquin (d'Orléans). -- [Notice on Maurice Kufferath's 'brochure' Parsifal. -- Notice on a book:] Histoire du théâtre de la Monnaie [i.e., Le Théâtre de la Monnaie, depuis sa fondation jusqu'à nos jours], par M. Jacques Isnardon. -- Une matinée d'élèves chez Mme Edouard Colonne. [Short review of a vocal recital given by students of this 'excellent professeur.'] -- Un mot sur la disparition de Dante. [Brief editorial objecting that the Opéra-Comique has abandoned Godard's new opera 'après neuf ou dix représentations seulement,' for the reason that this work 'ne fait pas d'argent!' The critic regrets that the government, 'en donnant sa subvention sans assez s'inquiéter de savoir où elle va,' is the director's accomplice in the 'injustice.']"

F-15/06

"Revue musicale. Le Mage et Salammbô. [An account of the events that culminated in a promise from the Opéra's Ritt and Gailhard to stage Salammbô, and the subsequent developments that instead forced the co-directors to honor a contract to premiere Massenet's Le Mage. (Reyer explains that he has been 'beaucoup interviewé' since the misadventure, and that his purpose in writing about it is to 'dire toute la vérité.')]"

F-18/09

"Revue musicale. Théâtre-Lyrique (Eden-Théâtre): [In an editorial on the lyric theatre founded at the Eden by Verdhurt (a former director of the Théâtre de la Monnaie), Reyer recommends that the repertoire be 'classique et moderne à la fois,' and emphasizes the need for both a subsidy and 'une bonne troupe d'ensemble.'] Samson et Dalila, opéra en trois actes, paroles de M. Ferdinand Lemaire, musique de M. Camille Saint-Saëns. [Review of the first Parisian production of a work that had been premiered at Weimar in 1877.] -- [Also at Verdhurt's Théâtre-Lyrique:] La Jolie Fille de Perth, opéra comique en quatre actes, paroles de MM. de Saint-Georges et Adenis, musique de Georges Bizet.

[Reyer recalls that he has already written a 'long article' on this work (see JD F††-06/01/1868, the review of the premiere). The critic therefore says nothing about the story, and limits his remarks on the music to 'les pages . . . que l'on applaudit aujourd'hui.'] -- Le duo du troisième acte de Lohengrin, à l'Opéra. [After noting that the love duet was sung by Vergnet and Mme Caron (whom the Opéra has reengaged), Reyer calls upon this theatre to 'lever l'interdit' imposed on Wagner's works.] -- [Notice on the] Traité pratique d'instrumentation, par M. Ernest Guiraud."

F††-09/11

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Benvenuto, opéra en quatre actes et six tableaux, paroles de M. Gaston Hirsch, musique de M. Eugène Diaz. [In the review Reyer declares that neither the libretto nor the music of the new work bears any 'ressemblance' to Berlioz's Benvenuto Cellini; the critic therefore does not compare the two operas.] -- La fermeture du Théâtre-Lyrique. [Reflections on the failure of Verdhurt's theatre and the difficulties of reestablishing at Paris a theatre consecrated to 'la grande musique.'] -- Noël ou le Mystère de la Nativité, en vers, en quatre tableaux, par M. Maurice Bouchor, musique de scène de M. Paul Vidal. [Comments on the incidental music for a marionette play staged 'dans une petite salle de la rue Vivienne.']"

F-07/12

1891

Journal des Débats

"Revue musicale. Théâtre royal de la Monnaie: Siegfried (troisième partie de l'Anneau du Niebelung), opéra en trois actes, de Richard Wagner, traduction de M. Victor Wilder. [Review of the premiere of this work in French translation. Before discussing the drama and the music, Reyer points out that the Monnaie has already staged five of Wagner's works, including La Valkyrie (see JD F-20/03/1887), and that the entire Ring cycle was presented there in 1882 by a German company. Reyer also sketches the history of Siegfried and the Ring cycle, from the composition of Siegfrieds Tod to the premiere of the cycle at Bayreuth.]"

F††-18/01

[Communication from Brussels, addressed to the "directeur" of the Débats: Reyer, who is attending performances of "l'admirable Siegfried" at the Théâtre de la Monnaie, explains why he did not go to Nice for the premiere of Berlioz's La Prise de Troie. (The explanation is tantamount to an editorial arguing that the Théâtre-Municipal de Nice could not do justice to this "grand ouvrage lyrique.") -- Reyer announces "avec une véritable joie" that La Prise de Troie will be staged at the Théâtre de la Monnaie during "la saison prochaine."]

LA-24/02, p. 4

"Revue musicale. Académie nationale de Musique [i.e., Théâtre de l'Opéra]: Le Mage, opéra en cinq actes et six tableaux, poème de M. Jean Richepin, musique de M. Jules Massenet. -- Décors: (1er acte) de MM. Rubé, Chaperon et Jambon; (2e acte) de MM. Amable et Gardy; (3e acte) de M. Lemeunier; (4e et 5e actes) de MM. Lavastre et Carpezat. -- Costumes dessinées par M. Ch. Bianchini. [To introduce the discussion of Massenet's new work, Reyer emphasizes that the success of opera depends to some extent on the visual impressions presented on the stage.]"

F-24/03

"Revue musicale. Salle du Trocadéro: Société des grandes auditions musicales de France: Israël en Egypte, oratorio en deux parties, de Haendel, paroles françaises de M. Xavier Perraud. [Review of this Parisian premiere is interspersed with the following: observations on the organization and the future plans of the Société founded in 1890 by Mme Greffuhle; recollections of a performance of Israel in Egypt at the Handel Festival in London (see JD F-27/07/1880); and general remarks on the oratorio festivals held triennially at London, Manchester, and Birmingham.] -- Henry Vieuxtemps, sa vie et ses oeuvres, par M. Théodore Radoux. [Notice on a monograph which Radoux had written originally for the Académie royale de Belgique. Reyer, who had 'beaucoup connu Vieuxtemps,' concludes the notice by adding a reminiscence about an evening spent with the violinist and his wife.]"

F-07/06

"Revue musicale. [Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique:] Le Rêve, drame lyrique en quatre actes et huit tableaux, d'après le roman de M. Emile Zola, poème de M. Louis Gallet, musique de M. Alfred Bruneau. [Review includes comments on Bruneau's use of 'certains procédés particuliers à Richard Wagner.']"

F-21/06

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Lohengrin, opéra romantique en trois actes, paroles et musique de Richard Wagner, traduction française de M. Charles Nuitter. [Review of the first production of Lohengrin at the Opéra is preceded by a short history of this work at Paris, from the projects of Carvalho and Perrin in 1868 to the premiere conducted by Lamoureux at the Eden-Théâtre in 1887. Reyer does not retell the story of the libretto, having already done so on two occasions (see JD F†-07/10/1868 and F-08/05/1887). Instead, he considers the influence of Weber's Euryanthe on both the music and the libretto of Lohengrin; its place in Wagner's oeuvre; and certain traditions associated with the performance of this opera in Germany. (Apropos of these traditions, Reyer quotes from letters sent by Wagner to Liszt when the latter was preparing to premiere Lohengrin at Weimar.) The critic also editorializes briefly on 'un précédent' at the Opéra: the granting of 'pleins pouvoirs' to the conductor (in this case Lamoureux, who was guest conductor). Finally, Reyer assesses the performance of each of the principal singers.]"

F-20/09

"Revue musicale. Le Centenaire de Meyerbeer: souvenirs anecdotiques. [To commemorate the birth of a composer with whom 'mes relations . . . m'ont laissé les plus charmants souvenirs,' Reyer remembers visits and chance encounters at Paris, Berlin, and Baden-Baden. The critic then reflects on Meyerbeer's contribution to 'le monde musical,' the enduring success of his 'quatre grands ouvrages' in France, and the 'amoindrissement de sa renommée' in Germany, where his works were eclipsed by those of Wagner. -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: Remarks on the 'soirée du Centenaire,' at which the ceremonial crowning of a bust of Meyerbeer was followed by a performance of the 'Bénédiction des poignards' scene from Les Huguenots. (Reyer notes that the scene was performed as originally written, that is, with the Queen singing the role given to Saint-Bris before the premiere in 1836.)]"

F-22/11

1892

Journal des Débats

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Thamara, opéra en quatre tableaux, poème de M. Louis Gallet, musique de M. Bourgault-Ducoudray. [Review of a curtain-raiser by a composer who had won the Prix de Rome in 1862 and had since become well known amongst 'des artistes' while remaining virtually unknown to 'le public.'] -- Reprise de la Tempête, ballet en trois actes et cinq tableaux, de MM. Jules Barbier et Hansen, musique de M. Ambroise Thomas. -- Mlle Mauri. [Notice on the Opéra's first revival of Thomas's ballet, with Rosita Mauri again in the principal role. (For Reyer's review of the premiere, see JD F-30/06/1889.)] -- Musiciens d'aujourd'hui, par M. Adolphe Jullien. [In this review of a selection of Jullien's articles from Le Français, Le Moniteur universel, and L'Art, Reyer focuses on his fellow-critic's opinions about the music of Wagner and Berlioz.] -- Un mot d'adieu à MM. les directeurs de l'Opéra. [Ritt and Gailhard, whose contract as co-directors had expired on 31 December 1891, are thanked by Reyer for having reinstated the music deleted from their original production of Sigurd (1885), and for having given the composer 'la douce satisfaction d'assister à la 100^{e} représentation.' Reyer also describes his 'sincère' reconciliation with these two men, and applauds them for having staged Lohengrin (1891).]"

F-03/01

"Lettres du Midi. [Communication published under the words 'On nous écrit de Monaco:' A visit to Marseille occasions an editorial on the constructing of roads at the sacrifice of several 'particularités du vieux Marseille': the Church of Saint-Martin (see JD *LA[CurR 191]-13/02/1889, p. 3); and two famous 'promenades.' -- Nice: Description of Deloye's statue of Garibaldi. -- Théâtre-Municipal de Nice: A few words about the former director, Gunsbourg, and one of his productions (Glinka's La Vie pour le tzar). Observations on Gunsbourg's successor, Santini Costa, and the current repertoire. -- General remarks on 'la musique' at Monte-Carlo: Steck's 'concerts classiques'; the twice-weekly

performances at the theatre (directed by Jéhin since 1891). -- Théâtre de Monte-Carlo: Comments on forthcoming performances of Noël Desjoyaulx's Gyptis and Wagner's Lohengrin, the latter 'très raccourci.' Announcement of the repertoire and the principals in the company for the season. An allusion to 'le discrédit dans lequel est tombée la scène de Monte-Carlo' leads to a call for the return of the former director, Gandrey.]"

*LA[CurR 191]-31/01, p. 2

"Revue musicale. La Musique et ses représentants, entretiens sur la musique, par Antoine Rubinstein. [In this book review Reyer concentrates on the celebrated pianist's assessments of the music of Berlioz, Wagner, and Liszt.] -- La Sardanapale de M. Alphonse Duvernoy à Liège. -- Le Cousin Placide, opéra comique en un acte de M. E. Diet. [Reyer gives news of the success of these works by Duvernoy and Diet, which were premiered on the same evening at a theatre in Liège. The critic considers very briefly the score of Duvernoy's opera, and hopes that it will be staged at Paris.] -- Un mot à propos du Werther de M. Massenet. [Remarks on Carvalho's intention of presenting this work at the Opéra-Comique after the 'retentissant succès' of the premiere at Vienna.] -- Les Drames musicaux de Richard Wagner et le théâtre de Bayreuth, étude critique par le docteur Henri Coutagne. [Review of a 'brochure' in which a music-loving physician provides a short description of each of Wagner's operas (from Die Feen to Parsifal) and gives impressions of productions he has attended at Bayreuth.]"

F-17/04

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Enguerrande, drame lyrique en quatre actes, tiré du poème dramatique d'Emile Bergerat par M. Victor Wilder, musique de M. Auguste Chapuis. [Review includes editorializing in defence of Wilder's libretto, many passages of which had been 'soulignés' by the audience's 'accès de folle gaieté.'] -- [Notices on the careers of three recently deceased composers:] Edouard Lalo. -- Ernest Guiraud. -- Ferdinand Poise."

F-15/05

"Revue musicale. Salammbô à l'Opéra. [Following the first production of Reyer's opera at Paris (two years after the premiere at Brussels), the composer-critic describes various aspects of the history of this work: the writing of the libretto (a task finally entrusted to Camille du Locle); the gestation of the score; the performance of Mme Rose Caron in the title role at the premiere; the aborted plan to present the work at Paris (see JD F-18/09/1890); and the preparations for the current production at the French capital. Reyer does not evaluate the libretto and the score, because his 'confrères' in the Parisian press have already done so. Instead, he applauds each of the principal singers, the conductor (Colonne), and the chorus, as well as other artists who contributed to the success of the work.]"

F††-29/05

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Les Troyens, opéra en quatre actes, d'Hector Berlioz. (Reprise.) [Review of Carvalho's

revival of the shortened version that this director had premiered at the Théâtre-Lyrique in 1863. (The 1863 version consisted of a prologue composed by Berlioz to take the place of La Prise de Troie, and an abbreviated Les Troyens à Carthage.) The review of the revival includes the following: recollections of the premiere; comments on new changes and deletions made by Carvalho; assessments of the principal singers and the conductor; a plea that Les Troyens be staged in its entirety at the Opéra; and editorializing on the neglect of all of Berlioz's operas by the successive directors of both the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique. (Reyer points out that Carvalho's revival of the shortened Troyens was undertaken at the suggestion and with the assistance of the Société des grandes auditions musicales de France.)]"

F-12/06

"Revue musicale. [Théâtre de l']Opéra: Sylvia, ballet de MM. Jules Barbier et Mérante, musique de Léo Delibes (reprise). [Reyer remembers that he did not discuss the premiere in 1876, because 'à cette époque' the privilege of reviewing ballet for the Débats was reserved for the drama critic. In the review of the revival of Sylvia, Reyer suggests reasons why the premiere was 'assez froidement accueillie.'] -- [Performed at the Opéra on the same evening as the revival of Sylvia:] La Vie du Poète, symphonie-drame, paroles et musique de M. Gustave Charpentier. [Review of the last envoi by the young composer who had won the Prix de Rome in 1887. (Included in the review is an explanation of how this work for orchestra, chorus, and soloists came to be performed at 'notre première scène lyrique.')]"

F-26/06

"Revue musicale. Olla podrida [name of a dish of meat and vegetables (an allusion to the heterogeneous mixture of subjects in this feuilleton). -- Remarks on forthcoming premieres and revivals at the Opéra, the Opéra-Comique, and the 'théâtre lyrique' founded by Léonce Détroyat at the former Théâtre de la Renaissance. -- Souvenirs of Reyer's three-month holiday: Uriage: A gathering of a few friends chez Victorin Joncières, who sang and played at the piano the score of his new opera, Lancelot au Lac (which Reyer recommends to the director of the Paris Opéra). Luchon: Edouard Broustet, conductor of the orchestra of the casino. An 'ours gigantesque' killed by hunters in the environs of Luchon. Mauléon-Barousse. Encausse and other villages in the Pyrenees. -- The opening of the new season of the Concerts Colonne with the sixty-first performance of La Damnation de Faust causes Reyer to regret both the neglect of Berlioz's other large concert works and the insufficiency of the subsidies accorded the societies of Colonne and Lamoureux. -- News that Gunsbourg (the new director of the Théâtre de Monte-Carlo) intends to put the Damnation on the stage 'en le transformant en grand opéra' elicits an editorial against such a project; Reyer reminds readers that he had expressed this position in an earlier feuilleton (see JD F-14/04/1889). -- Review of the sixty-first performance of the Damnation at the Concerts Colonne. -- Comments on rumors concerning 'des projets de la direction de l'Opéra en ce qui touche l'oeuvre de Richard

Wagner qui succédera à Lohengrin.']"

F-23/10

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: [A few words on each of four 'artistes marseillais' who have recently joined the Opéra.] Mlle Tanésy dans les Huguenots; Mlle Lola Beeth dans Lohengrin. [Review of the debut of Mlle Tanésy, a fifth artist from Marseille. Review of the debut of Mlle Beeth, preceded by editorializing on the disappearance of Joncières's Le Chevalier Jean from the repertoire of the Opéra-Comique (where the Polish soprano had planned to make her Parisian debut in 1887).] -- Académie des Beaux-Arts: la Chasse fantastique, morceau symphonique, par M. Erlanger; Amadis, scène lyrique, paroles de M. Edouard Adenis, musique de M. Busser. [Review of the two compositions performed at the public séance of the Académie. The one by Erlanger, who had won the Prix de Rome in 1888, was an excerpt from his 'légende' Saint Julien l'Hospitalier. The other, by Busser, was the cantata which ranked highest in the Prix de Rome competition of 1892. Busser's setting of the prescribed text occasions general remarks on the competition (in which the 'premier grand-prix' was not awarded) and reflections on the neglect of former winners of this coveted prize.] -- Nouveau-Théâtre: Rabelais, pièce en quatre actes et cinq tableaux, de MM. Oscar Méténier et Dubut de Laforest, musique de M. Léon Ganne. [Reyer reviews the score (by a pupil of Massenet), but leaves the libretto to the drama critic of the Débats, Jules Lemaître.]"

F-06/11

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Samson et Dalila, opéra en trois actes, paroles de M. Ferdinand Lemaire, musique de M. Camille Saint-Saëns. [Before reviewing this production, Reyer recalls the Parisian premiere at Verdhurt's short-lived Théâtre-Lyrique and editorializes on the demise of that theatre. The critic's retelling of the story of the libretto, and much of his discussion of the music, are taken from the review of Verdhurt's premiere (JD F††-09/11/1890). After assessing the production at the Opéra, Reyer notes that this three-act work will be preceded by 'un ouvrage en deux actes'; he recommends Zaïre by de La Nux (see JD F-01/06/1890).] -- Concerts Colonne: Penthésilée, poème symphonique, avec chant, de M. Catulle Mendès, musique de M. Alfred Bruneau. [Notice on a work for soprano and orchestra, with the Opéra's Lucienne Bréval as soloist.] -- Au foyer de l'Opéra: Lesbos, poème saphique, de M. Joseph Gayda, musique de M. Fournier-Alix. [Notice on a work for two female voices, two harps, and two flutes, performed in the foyer for 'quelques invités seulement.']"

F-27/11

"Revue musicale. Théâtre du Châtelet (Concerts Colonne): L'Enfance du Christ. [Review is preceded by recollections of earlier performances of Berlioz's work at Paris: the premiere, conducted by the composer in 1854 (and reviewed by Reyer in AthF A-[30/12]:1228-31); the revival at the Châtelet (see JD F-15/01/1875); and the second revival, again at the Châtelet (see JD F-30/01/1881). Reyer does not repeat what he has written 'en maintes occasion' apropos of the text and the music.

Instead, he reviews the new 'exécution' at the Châtelet, and suggests that a more appropriate locale for the performance of this 'oeuvre de demi-caractère' would be 'la petite salle de la rue Bergère,' home of the Société des concerts du Conservatoire.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra: Stratonice, opéra en un acte, poème de M. Louis Gallet, musique de M. Fournier-Alix. [Review of the work which had won the Prix Cressent that year. At the end of the review, Reyer adds a few words on Méhul's Stratonice (1792), and regrets that this composer is generally regarded as being 'bien démodé.']"

F-11/12

1893

Journal des Débats

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Werther, drame lyrique en trois actes et quatre tableaux (d'après Goethe), poème de MM. Edouard Blau, Paul Milliet et Georges Hartmann, musique de M. J. Massenet (1re représentation). [Review of the first production at Paris; the opera had been premiered at Vienna in February 1892.]"

F††-22/01

"Revue musicale. [The opening of a Théâtre-Lyrique, founded by Léonce Détroyat at the former Théâtre de la Renaissance (see JD F-23/10/1892), prompts Reyer to consider several matters: the qualifications of the director; the role of a third lyric theatre in Parisian musical life; and the need to establish the new theatre 'sur des bases solides' by granting it a generous subsidy.] Théâtre-Lyrique: Madame Chrysanthème, comédie lyrique en quatre actes, un prologue et un épilogue, d'après Pierre Loti, par MM. Georges Hartmann et André Alexandre, musique de M. André Messager. [Review of the work which inaugurated Détroyat's theatre.]"

F-05/02

"Lettres du Midi. [Communication published under the words 'On nous écrit de Monaco:' Monte-Carlo and its environs: The weather. The disappearance of many gardens as new buildings are erected and old ones enlarged to accommodate an ever-rising 'flot d'étrangers.' M. de Thiaillat, former director of the Cercle des étrangers. -- The balls hosted by Prince Albert and Princess Alice. -- MM. Gérôme, Bonnat, and Bouguereau, judges at a recent 'exposition de peinture' at Monte-Carlo. -- Théâtre de Monte-Carlo: The new director, M. Gunsbourg, and his 'programme' of operas, operettas, and plays. The 'étoiles de premier grandeur'; other names on the 'programme.' A few words on the tenor Jean de Reszke (in Roméo et Juliette; forthcoming appearances in Le Prophète and Lohengrin). Comments about other productions on Gunsbourg's 'programme' (notably La Damnation de Faust 'avec décors et costumes'; and Tristan et Iseult). -- Nice: The annual carnival. -- Napoule (a small bay near Cannes).]"

*LA[CurR 191]-11/02, p. 3

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: 'la Valkyrie,' drame lyrique en trois actes, paroles et musique de Richard Wagner; version française de M. Victor Wilder. [Before reviewing the first Parisian production of a music drama by Wagner, Reyer remarks on both the unabated success of Lohengrin at the Opéra, and the measures taken by this theatre to insure that La Valkyrie would be well received. The critic's retelling of the story of the libretto, and much of his discussion of the music, are taken from the review of the premiere at Brussels (see JD F-20/03/1887); most of the additional observations pertain to the Opéra's shortening of Act II. Reyer assesses the performance of the orchestra and the principal singers in this new production, and then concludes the review with a brief editorial saluting the arrival of 'l'ère wagnérienne' at the Opéra.]"

F††-13/05

"Revue musicale. A l'Opéra: Les réformes et les projets de M. Gailhard. [Editorial supporting the co-director's several innovations: the decree that singers and dancers under contract to the Opéra will no longer be permitted to perform elsewhere; the project of reducing gradually the number of singers to 'des proportions normales, c'est-à-dire au chiffre exigé par les nécessités du répertoire seulement'; and the plan to rejuvenate the orchestra by giving an early retirement to certains 'vieux serviteurs' and replacing them with 'jeunes virtuoses.' -- Reyer casts doubt on the rumor that Cosima Wagner wants Tannhäuser to succeed La Valkyrie at the Opéra. -- Reflections on the arrival of 'l'ère wagnérienne' lead to comments on the rumor that Augusta Holmès, whose La Montagne-Noire has just been accepted by the Opéra, will risk 'les inconvénients d'un voisinage dangereux.'] -- Le départ de M. Colonne. [A brief tribute to the 'excellent musicien' who had been one of the conductors of the Opéra orchestra since January 1892.] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Phryné, opéra comique en deux actes, poème de M. L. Augé de Lassus, musique de M. Camille Saint-Saëns (1re représentation). [Review includes a response to 'ceux qui, à propos de la nouvelle partition de M. Saint-Saëns, ont prononcé le mot d'opérette.' -- Postscript: A few words on Henri de Curzon's new book, Musiciens du temps passé.]"

F-27/05

"Revue musicale. Institut de France. -- Académie des Beaux-Arts. -- Jugement du concours pour le grand prix de composition musicale. -- Six concurrents. -- Antigone, scène lyrique, par M. Fernand Beissier. [These subtitles refer to Reyer's review of the Prix de Rome competition. The review comprises the following: an assessment of Beissier's text; remarks on the six settings in general and those of the winners in particular (i.e., Bloch and Büsser, each of whom was awarded a 'premier grand prix,' and Levadé, who received the 'premier second grand prix'); and observations on the Académie's almost unanimous ratification of the 'jugement préparatoire' submitted by the 'section de musique.'] -- Mme Bosman, Mme Richard et M. Saléza dans la Valkyrie. [At the start of the Opéra's summer season, Mmes Caron and Deschamps-Jehin as well as M. Van Dyck have departed; Reyer reviews the performances of their replacements, Mme Bosman (Sieglinde), Mme Richard (Fricka), and M. Saléza

(Siegmund). The review is preceded by objections to a statement, excerpted from a source which Reyer does not identify, that Wagner's works alone can insure the prosperity of the Opéra.] -- Le projet de théâtre lyrique ou opéra populaire de M. Adolphe Aderer. [Reyer quotes from and editorializes on a plan, published by the music critic of Le Temps, for the reestablishing of a third lyric theatre at Paris.]"

F-08/07

"Revue musicale. Préambule. [Recollections of a summer holiday: Uriage (Switzerland); Vaucluse and Arles.] -- Académie nationale de Musique et de Danse [i.e., Théâtre de l'Opéra]: Déidamie, opéra en deux actes, poème de M. Edouard Noël; musique de M. Henri Maréchal. [Review includes a notice on the career of this composer, who had won the Prix de Rome in 1870. -- After alluding to 'l'accident survenu à M. Paul Viardot, le soir ou il dirigeait pour la première fois l'exécution de la Valkyrie,' Reyer renews his demands that students of composition at the Conservatoire be taught the art of conducting, and that each winner of the Prix de Rome be required to gain experience in this art by serving for a few years as conductor of a provincial lyric theatre (see, e.g., JD F-29/06/1872 and F-06/11/1887).] -- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: [Reyer editorializes briefly on Carvalho's slowness to fulfill one of the clauses in this theatre's cahier des charges, a clause requiring that the director premiere each year two new one-act works by young French composers. The critic then reviews this year's choices:] Le Dîner de Pierrot, un acte, de M. Bertrand Millanvoye; musique de M. Ch.-L. Hess; Madame Rose, un acte, de MM. P. Bilhaud et Barré; musique de M. Ch. Banès. -- Interview d'un ténor célèbre. [An excerpt from Jean de Reszke's interview with a writer for the English review Black and White is followed by Reyer's comments on the tenor's conviction that lyric drama has entered a period of 'décadence.']"

F-30/09

"Revue musicale. Gounod & son oeuvre. [Reminiscences of 'mon illustre ami' are interspersed in this assessment of the works of the late composer. Reyer dwells particularly on the opera Sapho (1851) and the choruses for Ponsard's drama Ulysse (1852), in an attempt to demonstrate that Gounod 'était un grand maître avant d'être l'illustre auteur de Faust.' -- Postscript: Announcement that the second half of Colonne's next concert will consist entirely of music by Gounod, presented in memory of this 'grand compositeur.']"

F††-28/10

"Revue musicale. Le retour des représentations du dimanche à l'Opéra. [Editorial against the resumption of extra performances 'à prix réduits' on Sunday, an experiment instituted the preceding year; Reyer urges that the government, instead of trying thus to turn the Opéra into 'un théâtre populaire,' should reestablish a Théâtre-Lyrique. -- Review of a revival of Meyerbeer's L'Africaine at the Opéra, focusing on the debut of the young baritone Jean Bartet in the role of Nélusko.] -- Concerts donnés par M. Colonne à la mémoire de Charles Gounod. [Review of two concerts which consisted almost entirely of music by the late composer,

with soloists Gabrielle Krauss, Mlle Auguez, M. Warmbroot, and a 'jeune cantatrice' named Lina Pacary.] -- Mlle Pacary et le citoyen Chalvet. [In order to 'offrir à mes lecteurs un tableau . . . des moeurs théâtrales en province,' Reyer recounts an 'épisode de mon séjour à Marseille,' where he had conducted the first performance of Salammbô at the Grand-Théâtre in March. (Among the key persons involved in the 'épisode' were Mlle Pacary, whom Reyer had chosen to sing the title role, and M. Chalvet, one of the municipal officials who had disputed Reyer's right to choose the singer.)] -- Le monument de Gounod. [Remarks on the opening of a subscription to raise funds for the erection of a statue of 'le maître regretté.']"

F-11/11

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: L'Attaque du moulin, drame lyrique en quatre actes, d'après M. Emile Zola, poème de M. Louis Gallet, musique de M. Alfred Bruneau. [Review begins with a brief comparison of 'le style' of this work with that of Le Rêve (see JD F-21/06/1891).]"

F-25/11

The Century Magazine

"Hector Berlioz. Biographical Notes and Personal Reminiscences. [This article was probably translated from a French publication.]"

R-47(00/12):304-10

1894

Journal des Débats

"Revue musicale. [Communication dated] Monaco, le 5 mars. [Description of Monte-Carlo, which 'se transforme à vue d'oeil': 'les jolies maisonnettes à l'italienne' are now dominated by 'villas et hôtels somptueux' as well as 'des bars à l'usage de messieurs les Anglais.' -- Comments on the 'scandale' caused at the Opéra-Comique in Paris by the debut of Mlle Jane Harding, formerly a member of the company of the Théâtre-Municipal de Nice. --] Théâtre de Monte-Carlo: [Notice on the career of the impresario Gunsbourg, director of this theatre since the winter of 1892-93. General observations on 'ce théâtre miniscule,' its enviable reputation, and its permanent musical personnel (the chorus; the orchestra, conducted by Léon Jehin).] Première représentation de Hulda, opéra en quatre actes et un épilogue (légende scandinave), d'après Bjoernsterne Bjoernson, poème de M. Charles Grandmougin, musique de César Franck. [Review of this posthumous premiere includes remarks on the history of the work since its completion in 1885. -- A few words concerning a dispute between the tenor Saléza (one of the guest artists in Franck's work) and the Opéra. -- Announcement of a forthcoming premiere at the Théâtre de Monte-Carlo: Aréthuse, by Mme de Montgomery.]"

F-08/03

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Falstaff, comédie lyrique en trois actes, par M. Arrigo Boïto, musique de M. Giuseppe Verdi (traduction française de MM. Paul Solanges et Arrigo Boïto). [Review of the Parisian premiere ends with a plea that the Opéra stage Otello, which had not been premiered at the French capital. -- Postscript: Announcement of four new books which Reyer is holding 'en réserve' until he has 'l'occasion propice pour en parler comme il convient': L'Histoire de l'Opéra-Comique (1860-1887), by Albert Soubies and Charles Malherbe; Ecrits sur la musique et les musiciens, by Robert Schumann, translated by Henri de Curzon; Musiciens d'aujourd'hui (deuxième série), by Adolphe Jullien; and Tristan et Iseult, an 'étude' extracted from Le Théâtre de Richard Wagner, de 'Tannhäuser' à 'Parsifal', by Maurice Kufferath.]"

F-21/04

"Revue musicale. Salle du Conservatoire de Musique: Audition des envois de Rome. Saint Julien l'Hospitalier, légende dramatique en trois actes et sept tableaux, poème de M. Marcel Luguet, d'après le conte de Gustave Flaubert, musique de M. Camille Erlanger. [From Erlanger's score, which comprised 'plus de quatre cents pages,' only four excerpts were performed; Reyer recalls that one of these, La Chasse fantastique, had been presented at a public meeting of the Académie des Beaux-Arts (see JD F-06/11/1892). The critic's review of the four excerpts performed at the Conservatoire includes a discussion of the tendencies which, in his opinion, characterize the music of most contemporary French composers ('l'Ecole moderne').]"

F-05/05

"Les représentations d'Orange. [Communication published under the words 'On nous écrit d'Orange:' Report on a two-day festival of music and drama at the 'Théâtre,' a restored Roman amphitheatre. Among the works performed were the following: French adaptations of Oedipus Rex and Antigone, with incidental music by Edmond Membrée and Camille Saint-Saëns respectively; a comedy by Paul Ferrier; Hymne à Pallas-Athénè, composed by Saint-Saëns for the soprano Lucienne Bréval; and an 'antique et authentique' Hymn to Apollo, preceded by verses by the archeologist Théodore Reinach. The performers featured at the festival were principals of the Comédie-Française, the Opéra's Mlle Bréval, and a singer named Mlle Coste (who was well known in the south of France). In addition to commenting briefly on the music of this festival, Reyer looks back at the productions of drama and opera given at the ancient theatre sporadically since 1869, and he provides a detailed description of the theatre itself.]"

LA-16/08, pp. 1-2

"Revue musicale. Académie nationale de Musique et de Danse [i.e., Théâtre de l'Opéra]: Othello, drame lyrique en quatre actes, de M. Arrigo Boïto, traduction française de MM. Camille Du Locle et Arrigo Boïto, musique de M. Giuseppe Verdi. [Before reviewing the first Parisian production, Reyer offers a few recollections of the premiere at Milan (see JD F††-11/02/1887), and speculates as to why this work took nearly seven years to reach Paris. Reyer's retelling of the story of the

libretto, and almost all of his discussion of the music, are taken from the 1887 review; additional remarks pertain to the French translation, the staging of the chorus accompanied by mandolins (Act II), and the intercalation of a ballet (Act III). The review ends with an assessment of the interpretation, focusing on the three principals (including Victor Maurel, who had created the role of Iago at Milan).]"

F-13/10

"Revue musicale. Académie des Beaux-Arts. -- Séance publique annuelle: Daphné, scène lyrique par M. Charles Raffalli, musique de M. Henri Rabaud. [Review of the cantata which won the Prix de Rome earlier that year.] -- [Notice on the envoi performed at the same meeting:] Buona Pasqua, morceau symphonique composé par M. Carraud, ancien pensionnaire de Rome. -- Les prix de Rome. [Reyer first reflects on the neglect of these prize-winners after their return from Rome, and then editorializes on a plan which he has often outlined: all students of composition at the Conservatoire should be taught the art of conducting; each winner of the Prix de Rome should, upon his return, be required to continue 'son apprentissage de chef d'orchestre' by serving as conductor of a provincial lyric theatre; and each of these young conductors should be given the right to stage an opera of his own, in order to acquire the renown which could open the doors of Parisian lyric theatres. -- Remarks on a 'malencontreuse' sentence about Berlioz's La Damnation de Faust, a sentence which had appeared in the 'Notice' on the late Charles Gounod written by the Secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts.] -- Les Concerts Colonne et les Concerts Lamoureux. -- Jules Pasdeloup. [An editorial on the need to increase the subsidies of the concert societies of Colonne and Lamoureux concludes with a brief tribute to the deceased founder of the first such 'institution,' the conductor Jules Pasdeloup. Reyer suggests that the city council of Paris honor Pasdeloup's memory by giving his name to one of the streets bordering on the Cirque d'hiver.]"

F-10/11

"Revue musicale. Concerts-Colonne: Le Cycle Berlioz. [Short editorial applauding Colonne's plan to present the 'grands ouvrages du maître écrits en dehors du théâtre' in a series of ten concerts, each program to be performed twice. -- A few general observations concerning Berlioz's influence on Wagner, whose music was dominating most of the programs of Parisian concert societies and drawing crowds to the Opéra.] -- Roméo et Juliette, symphonie dramatique avec choeurs, soli de chant et prologue en récitatif choral, dédiée à Nicolo Paganini. [Review of the first offering in the 'Cycle Berlioz' is preceded by comments on matters pertinent to the genesis and the history of Berlioz's symphonie dramatique: the gift of 20,000 fr. to Berlioz from Paganini, with whose son Reyer had been friends during his youth at Marseille; critical reaction to the premiere of Roméo et Juliette in 1839; and later performances of some or all of this work at the French capital. -- Reyer gives 'une heureuse nouvelle' which, although not 'absolument certaine,' is not 'apocryphe': before the end of the century, the Opéra will stage

the Parisian premiere of La Prise de Troie.]"
F-08/12

1895

Journal des Débats

"Lettre du Midi. [Communication published under the words 'On nous écrit de Nice:' Nice and its environs: The inclement weather. The imminent arrival of Queen Victoria at Cimiez. Notice on performances of Adelina Patti at the Théâtre-Municipal de Nice. The 'réjouissances finales' of the annual carnival at Nice. -- Théâtre de Monte-Carlo: La Jacquerie, opera in four acts, libretto by Edouard Blau and Simonne Arnaud, music by Edouard Lalo. (Review of the posthumous premiere of the opera completed by Arthur Coquard after Lalo's death.) -- Recollections of 'un séjour assez prolongé' at Marseille: The city's 'travaux d'assainissement.' Mobisson, the new director of the Grand-Théâtre. The 'concerts classiques' conducted by Lecocq at the Théâtre Valette (comments on the history of the series; a call for a more generous subsidy).]"
F-16/03

"Revue musicale. [Preliminary reflections on: the decision of the Opéra's co-directors to revive Tannhäuser instead of following their original plan to premiere Tristan et Iseult; and the subsequent flurry of publicity that recalled the fiasco of the Parisian premiere of Tannhäuser and thus primed a new generation of opera-goers to 'bien remplir son rôle de justicier.' -- Théâtre de l']Opéra: Tannhäuser, opéra en trois actes et quatre tableaux, poème et musique de Richard Wagner; traduction française de M. Charles Nuitter. [Before reviewing the revival, Reyer considers some of the musical and visual differences between this opera and the two later works (Lohengrin and La Valkyrie) which have captivated audiences at the Opéra; he also defends Tannhäuser from 'les wagnériens professionels' who denounce it as inferior or substandard Wagner. In the review itself, Reyer does not retell the already-familiar story of the libretto. Instead, he sketches the principal scenes as he discusses 'des morceaux' in the score.] -- La Damnation de Faust à l'Opéra. [Editorial against the co-directors' project of staging Berlioz's work. (See also the editorial opposing Gunsbourg's plan to stage this symphonie dramatique at the Théâtre de Monte-Carlo, in JD F-23/10/1892.)]"
F-25/05

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Guernica, drame lyrique en trois actes, par MM. P. Gailhard et P.-B. Gheusi, musique de M. Paul Vidal. [Review of the first opera by the young Vidal, who had won the Prix de Rome in 1889. The libretto was written by Pedro Gailhard (then co-director of the Opéra) and versified by the poet Gheusi.] -- [Also premiered at the Comique:] Pris au piège, opéra-bouffe en un acte, d'après le Florentin de La Fontaine et Champmeslé, paroles de M. Michel

Carré [fils], musique de M. André Gédalge. [Review includes a notice on the career of the composer.] -- A propos des Concerts de l'Opéra. [Editorial in which Reyer first applauds the co-directors' project of giving concerts on the stage of the Opéra, and then advises them to 's'en tenir aux symphonies et aux oratorios' rather than fragments of operas.]"

F-08/06

"Revue musicale. [Recollections of Reyer's summer holiday, during which he travelled through 'plusieurs départements' in France and spent some time at Luchon. --] Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: La Navarraise, épisode lyrique en deux actes, poème de MM. Jules Claretie et Henri Cain, musique de J. Massenet. [Review of the first Parisian production of a work that had already been performed at London and Brussels. After the review, there is a short editorial faulting Carvalho for having dropped Vidal's Guernica after 'quelques représentations,' and for not giving young French composers their rightful place 'sur un théâtre largement subventionné.'] -- M. Alfred Bruneau, successeur de Charles Darcours au Figaro. [Reyer welcomes the appointment of Bruneau as music critic for this Parisian daily, and offers a tribute to the memory of the late Charles Réty (who had written under the pseudonym Darcours).] -- Le Fiancé de la mer, petit drame lyrique en un acte, poème de M. E. Le Mouël; musique de M. J. Bordier d'Angers. [Review of a score by Jules Bordier, formerly a banker at Angers. The review is preceded by a notice on the defunct Concerts d'Angers, a series founded and supported by Bordier during his prosperous career in banking.]"

F-12/10

"Revue musicale. Académie nationale de Musique et de Danse: [A history of the project of presenting concerts at the Opéra, a project conceived by Bertrand 'il y a quatre ans.' Description of the 'forme' of the Concerts de l'Opéra newly instituted by the co-directors Bertrand and Gailhard ('des concerts avec intermèdes dansés').] Le premier concert. [Review of a program which consisted of the following: Berlioz's Corsaire overture; excerpts from operas by Gluck, Félicien David, and d'Indy; excerpts from oratorios by Franck and Gounod; and several Renaissance and Baroque dances. Reyer focuses on the scene from d'Indy's then-unpublished opera Fervaal, and the Temple Scene from Gluck's Alceste. The review concludes with a reiteration of the critic's opinion that the co-directors should present 'quelque oeuvre complète, oratorio ou symphonie,' instead of relying on 'les fragments d'ouvrages' (see also JD F-08/06).] -- [Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique:] Un mot sur Cavalleria rusticana. [After hearing for the first time a work which had been controversial since the Parisian premiere in 1892, Reyer remarks on the libretto, the music, and the performance of Nina Pack as Santuzza.] -- [Notice on a collection of mélodies:] Litanies de la Beauté, poésie de M. Armand Silvestre; musique de M. Paul Puget. -- [Brief review of a new book:] Musique, par M. Adolphe Jullien."

F-23/11

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Xavière, idylle dramatique en trois actes, poème de M. Louis Gallet, d'après le roman de M. Ferdinand Fabre, musique de M. Théodore Dubois. [Review includes a notice on the career of Dubois, whose name had not yet been 'popularisé' even though three of his earlier operas and several other secular and sacred works had been performed at Paris. Near the beginning of the review, Reyer digresses briefly to present to his readers 'un musicien de grand savoir et de grand avenir': Alexandre Georges. (The critic had heard three of Georges's Chansons de Miarka at a recent Concert Lamoureux.)]"

F-07/12

"Revue musicale. [Théâtre de l']Opéra: Frédégonde, opéra en cinq actes, poème de M. Louis Gallet; musique de Ernest Guiraud et Camille Saint-Saëns. [Reyer intersperses reminiscences of Guiraud in this review of the posthumous premiere of his last opera (completed by Saint-Saëns and the young Paul Dukas).] -- Troisième concert de l'Opéra. [Review of a program which comprised: a scene from Fidelio; Act III of La Muette de Portici; Renaud's aria from Lully's Armide and the analogous aria from Gluck's setting of Quinault's libretto; a symphony by Charles-Marie Widor; the Chasse fantastique from Erlanger's Saint Julien l'Hospitalier (see also JD F-05/05/1894 and F-06/11/1892); and dances choreographed to the minuet from Gluck's Orphée.] -- Une jeune violiniste que je vais avoir l'honneur de vous présenter. [Comments on Mme Howland (née von Stosch), who, in 1890, won a 'premier prix' at the Conservatoire royale de Bruxelles.]"

F-21/12

1896

Journal des Débats

"Ambroise Thomas. [Communication from Marseille: Upon learning of Thomas's death, Reyer offers an appreciation of the works of this 'grand musicien,' and recollections of 'l'homme excellent dont je m'honore d'avoir été le confrère et l'ami.']"

LA-18/02, p. 2

"Revue musicale. Ghiselle, drame lyrique en quatre actes, de M. Gilbert Augustin-Thierry, musique de César Franck. [Reyer observes that Franck's opera was completed after his death by several of his students. The critic, who was at Paris when the work was premiered at the Théâtre de Monte-Carlo, reviews it on the basis of 'une lecture attentive de la partition.' The review is introduced by a notice on Franck's career as composer, and a plea that 'un compositeur de l'envergure de César Franck' be heard at the Opéra.] -- Les Concerts spirituels de l'Opéra et du Châtelet: le Requiem de M. Alfred Bruneau; le Saint-Georges, de M. Paul Vidal. -- Berlioz et Wagner. [The Concert spirituel at the Opéra, the last in the series of Concerts de l'Opéra of the season 1895-96, was devoted to 'débutants': it included an overture by

Eugène Mestres as well as the works by Bruneau and Vidal. Reyer gives most of his attention to the Requiem (never before performed at Paris) and Saint-Georges (originally an envoi from Rome). The Concert spirituel at the Châtelet is not reviewed by Reyer; he simply declares that it was 'un concert superbe composé d'une sélection des oeuvres de Richard Wagner et de Berlioz.' -- Postscript concerning the salary of whomever succeeds Ambroise Thomas as director of the Conservatoire.]"

F-12/04

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Hellé, opéra en quatre actes, paroles de MM. Camille Du Locle et Charles Nuitter; musique de M. Alphonse Duvernoy. [Review begins with remarks on the dual career of this pianist-composer.]"

F-26/04

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Le Chevalier d'Harmental, opéra-comique en cinq actes; d'après Alexandre Dumas et Auguste Maquet, par M. Paul Ferrier; musique de M. André Messager. [Before reviewing a work which Reyer regards as a mixture of opéra, opéra de genre, comédie lyrique, and opéra-comique, the critic writes an editorial calling for 'la restauration du véritable genre de l'opéra-comique': the Opéra-Comique, installed in a theatre on the Place du Châtelet since the fire of 1887, should remain there, but should be consecrated to the preservation of 'un genre "éminemment national"'; and the new home being built for the Comique should instead be 'un véritable théâtre lyrique' which would open its doors to works that are not 'à leur place' at either the Comique or the Opéra.] -- [Postscript:] Concert de Mlle Jenny Passama. [Review of a recital given by the 'cantatrice attitrée' of the Concerts Lamoureux.] -- Concert de Mlle Madeleine Creux. [Notice on a recital given by this 'excellent professeur de piano.']"

F-10/05

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: la Femme de Claude, drame lyrique en trois actes, d'après Alexandre Dumas fils, par M. Léon Gallet, musique de M. Albert Cahen. [The mutilation of Cahen's score causes Reyer to editorialize on 'une manie d'omnipotence' which, in his opinion, has characterized both terms of Carvalho's directorship of the Comique. -- Notice on the Comique's revival of Donizetti's Don Pasquale. -- In a brief editorial on the annual two-month 'clôture' of the Comique, Reyer supports his position with an excerpt from an article published by Emile Bergerat in Le Journal.] -- Institut de France (Académie des Beaux-Arts): Concours pour le grand prix de composition musicale: la Cantate couronnée. [Observations on the results of the recent competition for the Prix de Rome, and a few words on Jules Mouquet's winning setting of Fernand Beissier's cantata text Mélusine.] -- L'incident de Mlle Kutscherra. [Reyer recounts and comments on a series of events concerning a foreign soprano who, after obtaining 'un certain succès' at the Concerts Colonne, was quickly engaged by the Opéra and made a debut which critics and public alike regarded as an 'échec.']"

F-05/07

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra: Reprise de Don Juan. [Review of the first revival since the centenary (see JD F-06/11/1887). Reyer considers the Opéra's treatment of Mozart's score: the ignoring of several 'fâcheuses traditions' which had long dictated certain changes; and the preserving of the interpolated ballet (written for the production of 1866). The critic also assesses the performance of each of the eight principals.] -- Institut de France: séance annuelle de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts: Mélusine, scène lyrique de M. Fernand Beissier; musique de M. Jules Mouquet. [Review of the orchestral performance of the prize-winning cantata is preceded by a notice on the other composition played at this public meeting: Ouverture de fête by Busser (a former winner of the Prix de Rome). -- Postscript: To 'nos directeurs de Concerts, parfois en quête de nouveautés,' Reyer commends two works: Cantilena amorosa for violin and orchestra, by Edouard Broustet; and Petit Roman, verses by Henry de Gorsse, music by Georges Guiraud.]"

F-08/11

"Revue musicale. Salle des concerts du Conservatoire: Aude et Roland, poème lyrique de MM. Georges Hartmann et Edouard Adenis, musique de M. Léon Honnoré, ouvrage couronné par l'Académie des Beaux-Arts (prix Rossini, 1897). [Review of this work is preceded by: an editorial on 'la petite malice' incorporated by Rossini when, in his will, he stated the goal of the competition to be established in his name; and remarks on the career of the young Honnoré (whose 'légende égyptienne' Isis had won the prize in 1892).] -- Don Juan, à l'Opéra-Comique. [Reyer briefly compares the relative authenticity of this production with that of the Opéra (see JD F-08/11). He then focuses on certain aspects of the Comique's production, such as the use of a harpsichord in the orchestra. Reyer does not review the performances of the principals, but does comment on several passages from A propos de la mise en scène de 'Don Juan', a new brochure by Victor Maurel (who sang the role of the Don at the Comique).]"

F-22/11

1897

Journal des Débats

"Revue musicale. Choses vagues à propos d'un hameau de pêcheurs et d'une lettre de M. Camille Saint-Saëns. [Recollections of the Provençal village where Reyer spent the winter both precede and follow thoughts on two events that occurred in Paris during his absence. The event which receives most of Reyer's attention is the publication of a letter written in 1896 by Saint-Saëns to a city councillor, concerning the council's proposal to reestablish a third lyric theatre at the Théâtre du Châtelet. The second event which Reyer contemplates is the performance of Otello in Italian at the Opéra. The critic then considers forthcoming productions of works by Wagner and Verdi at the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique, as well as preparations for a new production of Les Huguenots at the Opéra.] -- Théâtre de la Bondinière: Chemin de croix,

par M. Armand Silvestre; musique de M. Alexandre Georges. [Review of the music for twelve 'tableaux vivants' representing the scenes of the Passion. (Reyer also remembers the young composer's Chansons de Miarka; see JD F-07/12/1895.)] -- Le concert pour le monument d'Henri Vieuxtemps. [Remarks on plans for a benefit concert are framed with memories of the great violinist.] -- Que devient le futur théâtre lyrique? [Reflections on the fact that the city council has not yet decided whether the Châtelet will become a lyric theatre.]"

F-25/04

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: le Vaisseau-Fantôme, opéra en trois actes, de Richard Wagner; traduction française de M. Charles Nuitter. [Review of the Parisian premiere includes: a summary of the early history of the work, from the genesis of the scenario to the premiere at Dresden; and a comparison of Reyer's reactions to this opera when he heard it for the first time (at Weimar in 1863-64) and for the second time (at Brussels, probably in 1890). -- Brief editorial on the decision of the Opéra's co-directors to continue an 'opération fructueuse,' namely, the presenting of extra performances of Otello in Italian with the celebrated tenor Tamagno in the title role. -- Postscript applauding changes made at the Conservatoire by its new director, Théodore Dubois: the revival of the exercices des élèves (public concerts performed by students); and the plan to institute a 'classe de chef d'orchestre' such as Reyer had demanded 'si souvent.']"

F††-23/05

"Revue musicale. Théâtre d'Orange. [Report on a two-day festival of music and drama at the restored Roman amphitheatre.] Première soirée. [Opening remarks on the arrival of Félix Faure, then president of France.] Les Erinnyes, tragédie antique de Leconte de Lisle, musique de M. Jules Massenet. [In this review of the 'purement symphonique' version of Massenet's incidental music, Reyer regrets the suppression of the four choruses that had been added for the revival of de Lisle's drama at Vizentini's Théâtre-Lyrique (see JD F-28/05/1876). The review is followed by a brief editorial on the impracticability of the idea that Orange can become 'un Bayreuth français.'] Le Triomphe d'Apollon, par Louis Gallet. [Description of this allegorical 'à-propos en vers.' Notice on an accompanying march composed by M. Léon (conductor of the orchestra of the Comédie-Française).] -- Deuxième soirée: Antigone, tragédie de Sophocle, traduit par MM. Paul Meurice et Auguste Vacquerie, musique de M. Camille Saint-Saëns. [Review of Saint-Saëns's incidental music, about which Reyer had said little when he heard it at Orange in 1894. (The inadequate performance at the earlier festival 'a nui quelque peu à l'impression produite'; see JD LA-16/08/1894.)]"

F-08/08

"Revue musicale. [Théâtre de l']Opéra: Les Maîtres chanteurs de Nuremberg, poème et musique de Richard Wagner; version française de M. Alfred Ernst. [Review of the Parisian premiere includes: recollections of Reyer's reaction to this opera when he heard it at London (see JD *LA-18/06/1882, p. 2); comments on the Parisian public's warm reception

of a work which the critic regards as 'le plus foncièrement allemand' of all Wagner's creations; and remarks on the neglect of French works because of 'la wagnéromanie parisienne.' -- Notice on the triumphant return of Mme Caron after a five-month absence from the Opéra.] -- Concerts-Colonne: Mme Jeanne Raunay. [Notice on her 'très grand succès' in two excerpts from Les Troyens: Cassandra's aria, and 'la mort de Didon.']"

F††-21/11

"Revue musicale. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Sapho, pièce lyrique en cinq actes, d'après le roman de M. Alphonse Daudet, par MM. Henri Cain et [Arthur] Bernède; musique de M. J. Massenet. [Review of this premiere includes observations concerning 'l'oubli' of one of Massenet's earlier operas, Esclarmonde (see JD F-19/05/1889).] -- [Théâtre de l']Opéra: Rentrée de M. Saléza. [After alluding to the ailment which had caused the 'jeune et brillant ténor' to be absent from the Opéra for more than two years, Reyer applauds Saléza's successful return in Roméo et Juliette. The critic adds a notice on the performance of a 'jeune débutante,' Aïno Ackté, in the role of Juliette.] -- Concerts-Colonne: M. Henri Marteau [soloist in a violin concerto by Théodore Dubois]."

F-05/12

1898

Journal des Débats

"Revue musicale. [Théâtre de l']Opéra: La Cloche du Rhin, drame lyrique en trois actes, poème de MM. Jacques Montorguiel et P.-B. Gheusi; musique de M. Samuel Rousseau. [Review of the first work for the Opéra by the composer who had won the Prix de Rome in 1878. Before discussing the work itself, Reyer provides a notice on Rousseau's career, and editorializes on the need to reestablish a third lyric theatre at Paris. (In the midst of the editorial, the critic pauses to describe his conception of an ideal lyric theatre; see also the description in JD F-28/10/1877.) -- Comments on the forthcoming premiere of Puccini's La Bohème at the Opéra-Comique lead to a brief editorial on the care with which foreign works are staged at 'nos deux théâtres lyriques,' vis-a-vis the 'négligences' suffered by French works at Italian theatres.]"

F-12/06

"Revue musicale. [Théâtre de l']Opéra-Comique: La Vie de bohème, comédie lyrique en quatre actes, d'après la pièce de Théodore Barrière et Henri Murger, par MM. G. Giacosa et L. Illica; traduction de M. Paul Ferrier; musique de M. Giacomo Puccini. [Review of the Parisian premiere. -- Postscript: Notice on Baldinelli, 'première basse bouffe du théâtre royal de Madrid,' whom Reyer heard 'chez un de mes amis.']"

F-26/06

1899

Le Figaro

[Letter dated "Le Lavandou (Var.)" and addressed to "Mon cher confrère" (i.e., the writer of the column "Courrier des théâtres"): Reyer requests the correction of a significant misprint in a letter which had found its way into the column of 23 November. (The letter in question had been sent by Reyer to the co-directors of the Opéra to congratulate them on their production of Berlioz's La Prise de Troie.)]
U-27/11, p. 4

1901

Journal des Débats

[Brief description of the burial of Reyer's friend the painter Cazin, who had died at Lavandou and was interred at the town of Bormes.]
U-16/05, p. 2

"Edouard Broustet. [A short obituary of the composer-conductor, 'un ami qui m'était cher et . . . un musicien que j'estimais.']"
A-04/12, p. 3

1903

Le Monde musical

"Berlioz. -- Souvenirs intimes. [A few recollections of the last fifteen years of Berlioz's life. (The article bears the date '13 novembre 1903' and was written expressly for the Berlioz number of this periodical, as is explained in a prefatory note supplied by the editors.)]"
A-15(30/11):335

1904

Le Figaro

"Benjamin Godard. [Memories of Reyer's friendship with the composer. (According to a prefatory note supplied by the editors of Le Figaro, this article was written at their request to mark the opening of a subscription to help raise money for the erection of a monument to Godard, in commemoration of the tenth anniversary of his death.)]"
A-22/11, p. 1

1907

Musica

"Un article d'Ernest Reyer. [Reyer begins by declaring that the article is 'destinée à accompagner un portrait,' namely, a reproduction of the portrait of Rose Caron by the painter Toulmouche. Reyer's observations concerning the portrait are followed by a biographical notice on the soprano. (The publication in which this article originally appeared is not identified in the prefatory note supplied by the editors of Musica. The article may date from as early as 1885, when Reyer described for the Débats the 'portrait' which 'mon ami Toulmouche . . . est en train de faire'; see JD F-28/09/1885.)]"

R-5(00/02):31

* * *

Reyer, Ernest. Notes de musique. Paris: Charpentier, 1875.
[Each item is reprinted from the JD feuilleton unless otherwise stated.]

"Histoire d'un musicien" [Revue française 3 (20 June 1857):321-29]

Voyages

Souvenirs d'Allemagne [Le Moniteur universel, feuilletons of 19 November 1864-22 January 1865]

"L'Alsace. -- Les Vosges." [20 and 21 September 1873]

"Voyage au Caire" [16 January and 17 February 1872]

Etudes et Portraits

"Struensée" [16 January 1867]

"Lohengrin" [30 September and 7 October 1868]

"Rossini" [29 November 1868]

"Hector Berlioz" [obituary, JD, 31 March 1869, p. 3]

"Fidelio" [2 December 1869]

"Festival en l'honneur d'Hector Berlioz" [31 March 1870]

"Mémoires d'Hector Berlioz" [15 and 16 March, 4 and 5 June 1871]

"Requiem de Verdi" [14 June 1871]

"Erostrate" [24 October 1871]

[Notes de musique, cont'd]

"A propos des concours du Conservatoire" [18 August 1872]

"Auber" [16 July 1871]

"Fétis" [16 July 1871]

"Carafa" [18 August 1872]

"Théophile Gautier" [1 November 1872]

Petites notes

"On nous écrit de Bénarès" [29 June 1873]

"Les Malheurs d'Euterpe" [27 September 1874]

"La Dot mal placée" [9 March 1873]

"Maître Wolfram" [13 December 1873]

I-VIII [Eight untitled anecdotes and sallies. As far as I have been able to determine, the first seven had never before been printed. The eighth is an excerpt--with new introductory remarks--from Reyer's review of Les Désespérés, an opéra comique by François Bazin (CP feuilleton of 7 February 1858).]

_____. Quarante ans de musique. Compiled, with a preface and notes, by Emile Henriot. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1909. [Each item is reprinted from the JD feuilleton unless otherwise stated.]

Préface [by Henriot]

Ernest Reyer

"La Statue" [5 May 1878]

"Sigurd" [21 June 1885]

"Salammbô" [29 May 1892]

Wagner

"Tannhäuser" [CP feuilleton of 30 September 1857]

"Rienzi" [18 April 1869]

"Le prélude de Parsifal" [12 November 1882]

"Tristan et Iseult (premier acte)" [22 March 1884]

"Siegfried" [18 January 1891]

[Quarante ans de musique, cont'd]

"La Valkyrie" [13 May 1893]

"Les Maîtres chanteurs de Nuremberg" [21 November 1897]

"Le Vaisseau fantôme" [23 May 1897]

"Etudes classiques et wagnérisme" [10 January 1882]

Berlioz

"La Damnation de Faust" [13 March 1877]

"La Prise de Troie" [12 December 1879]

"Béatrix et Bénédict" [8 June 1890]

"A propos de Paul et Virginie" [25 November 1876]

Gluck

"Le centenaire de la mort de Gluck" [4 December 1887]

Liszt

"Liszt" [28 March 1886]

Weber

"Euryanthe" [CP feuilleton of 11 September 1857]

Félicien David

"Félicien David" [18 September 1876]

Gounod

"Faust" [CP feuilleton of 29 March 1859]

"Gounod et son oeuvre" [28 October 1893]

Georges Bizet

"La Jolie fille de Perth" [6 January 1868]

"L'Arlésienne" [10 October 1872]

"Carmen" [14 March 1875]

"Georges Bizet" [13 June 1875]

Verdi

"Otello" [11 February 1887]

Massenet

"Marie-Magdeleine" [23 April 1873]

[Quarante ans de musique, cont'd]

"Hérodiade" [25 December 1881]

"Manon" [26 January 1884]

"Werther" [22 January 1893]

Saint-Saëns
"Samson et Dalila" [9 November 1890]

Lalo
"Le Roi d'Ys" [13 May 1888]

Table chronologique des feuilletons d'Ernest Reyer parus dans le Courrier de Paris et le Journal des Débats (1857-1899) [by Henriot]

Endnotes

[1] H. Robert Cohen, "Musical Iconography in the Nineteenth-Century French Illustrated Press: A Method for Cataloguing and Indexing," in Report of the Twelfth Congress of the International Musicological Society, ed. Daniel Heartz and Bonnie Wade (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1981), p. 838. For detailed discussions of the nineteenth-century French musical press and the present state of research, see the following articles also by Cohen: "The Nineteenth-Century French Press and the Music Historian: Archival Sources and Bibliographical Resources," 19th-Century Music 7 (Fall 1983):136-42; and "RIPM: An Overview. A Paper presented at the Conference of the Music Library Association, 6 March 1985," Periodica Musica 3 (Spring 1985):31-32.

[2] The fifteen publications are cited in n. 18 of the Preface. I had learned of Reyer's affiliation with these publications while doing research at several libraries in North America and Paris: the libraries of the University of British Columbia and Université Laval (Canada); the New England Depository Library (Boston), the Widener Library and the Eda Kuhn Loeb Music Library of Harvard University, the Boston Public Library, and the New York Public Library; and the Bibliothèque Nationale as well as the Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève (Paris).

[3] Namely, an article for the RP of "mai 1852." This incomplete citation was from Georges Servières's "Les Relations d'Ernest Reyer et de Théophile Gautier," Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France, no. 24 (1917), p. 74. I located Reyer's article--a review of Halévy's Le Juif errant--in RP 8 (May 1852):150-61.

[4] "Une lettre-préface de E. Reyer" in Paris, souvenirs d'un musicien: 185 .-1870, by Henri Maréchal (Paris: Hachette, 1907). This citation appeared in The New York Public Library: Dictionary Catalog of the Music Collection, 2d ed., 45 vols. (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1982), 34:522. An examination of Maréchal's book revealed that Reyer's letter-preface was dated "9 décembre 1906."

[5] Servières, "Reyer et Gautier," p. 71.

[6] Ibid., p. 75n.

[7] These activities require explanation. The purpose of the page-by-page scrutiny of consecutive issues in October 1868 was to locate a letter which, according to Servières, Reyer wrote in response to Judith Gautier Mendès's "Richard Wagner et la critique." Servières cited the date of Mme Mendès's article (La Presse, 17 October 1868), but neglected to give the date of Reyer's response; see Wagner jugé en France (Paris: Librairie illustrée, 1887), p. 138. I therefore had to

examine La Presse page-by-page, beginning with the issue of 18 October, until I found Reyer's letter--or, rather, his letter-article--in the issue of 29 October.

As indicated in Chapter II (n. 5), Servières gave complete citations--consisting of the day, month, and year of publication--for only ten of the eighteen feuilletons which he attributed either wholly or in part to Reyer ("Reyer et Gautier," pp. 72-75). I verified these ten simply by examining the issues cited. Of the remaining eight feuilletons, four were uncovered by my investigation of the six-month periods described above on pp. 510-11. The other four could be found only by the examining of consecutive issues. Since Servières stated that three of these four feuilletons reviewed premieres of specific works, I first ascertained from other sources the date of each premiere, then checked La Presse from that date forward until I located the feuilleton in question. According to Servières, the fourth feuilleton was a review of a performance by the Maurin quartet, and was published in "janvier 1854" (ibid., p. 73). I therefore exmined consecutive issues, beginning with 1 January 1854, until I found the feuilleton.

The investigation of the periods July through December for the years 1852 and 1854 was undertaken to verify not only Servières's statement that the collaboration was anonymous, but also his assertion that Reyer's "copie" was "quelquefois même rejetée à la fin du feuilleton, avec un sous-titre, mais avant la signature: Théophile Gautier." (Ibid., pp. 79 and 79n.) The investigation yielded three feuilletons in which a section of music criticism does indeed appear with a subtitle but ahead of Gautier's signature (or that of his substitute, Louis de Cormenin). In all three feuilletons, the subtitle is "Chronique musicale."

[8] JD feuilleton of 1 November 1872 (obituary of Gautier); repeated almost verbatim in ibid., 20 March 1887 (review of Die Walküre in French translation at Brussels). Reyer's reason for recalling in 1887 the journey to Wiesbaden thirty years earlier was, evidently, to prove that he had supported Wagner "de la première heure."

[9] In 1857, when Reyer dispatched his anonymous review of Tannhäuser to L'Indépendance belge, he was already becoming known in Paris as music critic for the CP (in which, we may recall, he published a signed review of Wagner's opera as the feuilleton of 30 September 1857). His two-and-a-half-year career with this newspaper must have made his name familiar to much of the Parisian public, and it is therefore improbable that he ever looked to Brussels for an outlet for his writings.

[10] In his article "Théophile Gautier, music critic," Music and Letters 49 (January 1968):16n, Michael Spencer states that Reyer's anonymous review appeared in the issue of 30 September 1857.

[11] "Table chronologique des feuilletons d'Ernest Reyer parus dans le Courrier de Paris et le Journal des Débats (1857-1899)," in Quarante ans de musique, by Ernest Reyer, compiled, with a preface and notes, by Emile Henriot (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1909), pp. 401-29. The many flaws

in Henriot's bibliography--such as the omission of Reyer's feuilleton in the JD of 29 January 1882--were described in Chapter II (n. 82).

12 Among the items for which I made such spot-checks were "des Lettres" which Reyer sent to the JD "chaque année, de Monaco (en février-mars, depuis 1880)," according to Henri de Curzon, Ernest Reyer, sa vie et ses oeuvres (1823-1909) (Paris: Perrin, 1924), p. 191. As indicated in Chapter I (nn. 54 and 65), I discovered seventeen letters from the Riviera: fifteen were published as anonymous letter-articles, and two as signed feuilletons.

There was one stipulation concerning the spot-checking of consecutive issues of the JD for these letters and the other items whose existence had first become known to me through the Reyer literature: if I located the item after searching fewer than six issues, I made up this minimum total with non-consecutive issues chosen at random from other months.

13 The RP is a case in point. I noticed that its regular features --including Reyer's "Revue musicale"--disappeared from the tables of contents as of 15 September 1853. In the table for that issue, a generic title appeared: "Chronique de la quinzaine," for which no author was cited. When I examined each page of this "Chronique," I found that it consisted of Reyer's "Revue musicale" and the other regular features which had formerly been listed in the tables. By checking every "Chronique" for the rest of the RP's existence, I discovered that Reyer's last "Revue musicale" was published in the issue of 15 November 1854--more than a year after this feature had disappeared from the tables.

14 The complete citations of the three articles are: "Galerie du XIX^{e} siècle: IX. Hector Berlioz," L'Artiste, 6th ser., 2 (6 December 1857):209-14; "Berlioz. -- Souvenirs intimes," Le Monde musical 15 (30 November 1903):335; and "Benjamin Godard," Le Figaro, 22 November 1904, p. 1.

15 From the 1860s I chose four consecutive issues which, as I had hoped, yielded a letter that Reyer had sent also to the editors of the JD and La France. The decade 1870-79 was represented by the month of November 1876, which I checked in its entirety by reading sommaires and --if no sommaire was provided--by examining each page of a given issue. (I thought this month warranted investigation because on the eleventh day Reyer was elected to the Institut de France, succeeding to the chair left vacant by the death of Félicien David.) The decade 1880-89 was represented by a group of four issues selected at random: 17, 18, 19, and 20 October 1886. The spot-check for material dating from the final period of Reyer's tenure with the JD (1890-98) consisted of searches of consecutive issues in September 1895 and March 1896.

The year 1899--the first year of Reyer's retirement--was checked in two ways: (1) by verifying two letters which Adolphe Jullien had cut out of Le Figaro and had pasted, with a handwritten citation of each, into his copy of Notes de musique (apropos of the first letter--which is not listed in the bibliography--see below, n. 18); and (2) by examining

each page of the issues of 13-20 July and 17-20 October. (The July issues were chosen because in that month Reyer was promoted to the rank of Grand-Officier in the Légion d'honneur; the October issues were selected because Reyer's opera Erostrate, which had not been heard in France since 1871, was premiered at his native Marseille on 16 October.)

All of these spot-checks supplemented the search for the 1904 article and the subsequent application of the "four-year rule" (1900-03 and 1905-08; see Table I).

[16] Another volume in the RIPM series is also forthcoming: a catalog and index of La Chronique musicale. I have been advised that nothing signed by Reyer was either published or reprinted in this journal.

[17] Jacques-Gabriel Prod'homme, "Bibliographie berliozienne," La Revue musicale, no. 233 (1956), pp. 97-147.

[18] As indicated in the preface (n. 21), the only letters which can be counted amongst Reyer's critical writings are those addressed to editors or journalists and pertaining to his career as critic. The following bibliography therefore does not include letters concerned solely with Reyer's activities as composer. (An example is a letter to the editor, printed in Le Ménestrel 50 [18 May 1884]:198. Here Reyer corrected two errors that appeared in a notice--published in the preceding issue--about the success of Sigurd at Brussels.) Nor does the bibliography include personal letters which found their way into print (such as the letter congratulating the co-directors of the Opéra on their premiere of La Prise de Troie, published in the "Courrier des théâtres" column of Le Figaro, 23 November 1899, p. 4).

[19] I have encountered two such items. One is about Rose Caron, but is entitled simply "Un article d'Ernest Reyer," Musica 5, Reyer number (February 1907):31. The other is a reprint in translation, published in an American journal: "Hector Berlioz. Biographical Notes and Personal Reminiscences," The Century Magazine 47 (December 1893):304-10. This reprint was itself reprinted at least twice, with the addition of portraits, plates, and facsimiles: in The Century Library of Music, vol. 1 (New York: n.p., 1900), pp. 1-17; and in The International Library of Music for Home and Studio: Music Literature, vol. 1: The History of Music (New York: The University Society, 1925), pp. 163-78.

[20] Servières cited "26 décembre 1852" as the date of this review which he attributed to Reyer (see "Reyer et Gautier," p. 72n). My verification of Servières's citation revealed that the review appeared in the issue of 27 (not 26) December.

[21] This corrected printing of Reyer's article was reprinted as the preface (pp. i-iv) to the second volume of the three-volume collection Chants et chansons (poésie et musique) de Pierre Dupont [. . .] (Paris: A. Houssiaux, 1855-58; vols. 2 and 3 have imprint: Paris, Lécrivain et Toubon, 1858).

[22] The fact that Reyer's signature does not appear at the conclusion of this article is due to a printer's oversight, as is explained by the following notice in the next issue: "C'est par erreur que le nom de M. Reyer n'a pas été mis, dans notre dernier numéro, au bas de l'article sur la Tonnelli, p. 348, 1re col." (AthF 2 [16 April 1853]:369.)

[23] Servières cited "24 et 31 décembre 1854" as the dates of this two-part review which he attributed to Reyer (see "Reyer et Gautier," p. 75n). My verification of Servières's citation revealed that the review was published in the issues of 24 and 31 October (not December).

[24] This notice, which appears in Jules de Saint-Félix's column "Chronique parisienne," does not bear Reyer's signature but is introduced by the following remarks: "Notre confrère E. Reyer, qui, plus heureux que nous, assistait mercredi au début de Mme Barbot, dans le rôle de Valentine, des Huguenots, veut bien nous transmettre quelques détails sur le talent de ce prima-donna." (CP, 4 December 1858, p. 2.)

[25] The date on this feuilleton is misprinted: it reads "30 octobre 1869," whereas each page of the issue bears the date "31 octobre 1869." Other misprinted dates on Reyer's feuilletons in the JD are as follows: "15 mars 1870" (instead of "15 mars 1871"); "16 mars 1870" (instead of "16 mars 1871"); "26 mai 1883" (instead of "27 mai 1883"); "31 mai 1884" (instead of "1er juin 1884"); "16 octobre 1884" (instead of "16 novembre 1884"); and "18 janvier 1890" (instead of "18 janvier 1891"). In each case, the code given in the bibliography expresses the date on the issue.

APPENDIX B

OTHER WRITINGS BY REYER

The six writings which Reyer did not intend expressly for periodicals and newspapers fall into two categories: "Speeches" and "Component Parts in Books." In the list given below, each reference to a speech is followed by a citation(s) of the source(s) in which it was published.

Speeches

[Speech honoring the memory of Félicien David, delivered at a meeting of of the Académie des Beaux-Arts of the Institut de France, 17 November 1877]

"Institut de France, Académie des Beaux-Arts. Notice sur Félicien David, par M. E. Reyer, membre de l'Académie, lue dans la séance du 22 [sic] novembre 1877." Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris 44 (25 November 1877):370-72.

Institut de France. Académie des Beaux-Arts. Notice sur Félicien David, par M. E. Reyer, membre de l'Académie. Lue dans la séance du 17 novembre 1877. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1877.

[Speech for the inauguration of the statue of Berlioz at Paris, 17 October 1886]

"La Statue de Berlioz." Journal des Débats, feuilleton of 17 October 1886.

Institut de France. Académie des Beaux-Arts. Inauguration de la statue de Berlioz à Paris, le 17 octobre 1886. Discours de M. le V^te^ Delaborde . . . [et discours de MM. Charles Garnier et Reyer]. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1886.

[Speech for the inauguration of the statue of Berlioz at La Côte Saint-André, 28 September 1890]

"Inauguration de la statue de Berlioz." Journal des Débats, 29 September 1890, pp. 2-3.

[Speech for the inauguration of the Berlioz Memorial at Grenoble, 15 August 1903]

"Discours de M. Ernest Reyer." Le Guide musical 49 (23 and 30 August 1903):605-7.

"Discours de M. Ernest Reyer." Le Monde musical 27 (30 August 1903):245-46.

Component Parts in Books

"La Critique musicale: Castil-Blaze, H. Berlioz," In Le Livre du centenaire du "Journal des Débats," 1789-1889, pp. 427-40. Paris: Librairie Plon, 1889.

Preface ["Lettre en guise de préface, à Monsieur Henri Maréchal"] to Paris, souvenirs d'un musicien: 185 .-1870, by Henri Maréchal. Paris: Hachette, 1907.

* * *

As we observed in Chapter II, Souvenirs d'Allemagne is a special case: although ostensibly written for the French Minister of State, it was probably intended for publication in periodical and/or non-periodical literature. In fact, it was published in both, and should therefore be cited here as well as in Appendix A.

Souvenirs d'Allemagne. In Notes de musique, pp. 21-159. Paris: Charpentier, 1875.

[Originally published in Le Moniteur universel, feuilletons of 19 November 1864-22 January 1865.]