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Un Mélange Étrange

The Problem of *Éclectisme* in the Early Nineteenth-Century French String Quartet

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ABSTRACT

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Un Mélange Étrange: The Problem of Éclectisme in the Early Nineteenth-Century French String Quartet

Dissertation directed by Associate Professor of Musicology Dr. Carlo Caballero

While many French string quartets were composed between 1790 and 1848, the repertoire has generally been ignored. Some historians have stated that the period between the Revolution and 1870 represents a gap in the French chamber music tradition. Scholars have struggled to categorize the repertoire because it differs from generic expectations of the string quartet, expectations extending from nineteenth-century German ideals for “serious” instrumental music. The main difference is that French composers frequently incorporated aspects of other kinds of music, especially vocal music and concertos, into their string quartets. These aspects borrow heavily from Italian opera and orchestral traditions, and, to the modern ear, such mixture disqualifies the quartets as either “truly” French or as “truly” chamber music.

The eclectic nature of the quartets resembles other aspects of contemporary French culture. The most prominent French philosophy of the time was Victor Cousin’s *Éclectisme*, which attempted to synthesize elements of past and foreign philosophies. And eclecticism was a common feature of other French arts, most prominently painting. It is significant that the July Monarchy—with its eclectic summary ideal, the *juste-milieu*—recruited Cousin and creative artists to legitimize its authority. These aspects of French society have suffered in histories. As eclectic (and thus impure), each has been dismissed as a failure in French philosophy, art, or government. The quartet repertoire is a typically eclectic French product of the early 1800s, but it failed “the test of history” for similar reasons as these other French institutions: confusing because of their mixtures, the quartets represent a repertorial gap.

This dissertation places the string quartet output of four French composers—Pierre Baillot, Pierre Rode, Rodolphe Kreutzer, and Charles Dancla—in the context of French *Éclectisme* and its historical (historiographic) failure. Music historians have long granted special prestige to the string quartet, and this is especially true in German musicology which developed the string quartet’s modern “generic contract.” Since part of the French repertoire’s failure is that its eclecticism prevents it from fulfilling this “contract,” I also discuss the French repertoire within the ideological context of these German expectations.

To Kate and Asher

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Chapter 1

Introduction: Social History and the French String Quartet from the Revolution through the July Monarchy

The French string quartet of the early nineteenth century, aside from a few general commentaries, has largely escaped the historian's pen, and, for nearly two centuries in most cases, has evaded the string player's bow. Neglect of the music, however, cannot be entirely blamed on qualitative weakness or on lack of reportorial continuity. Whether or not many examples are inferior in construction, simplicity or even a general lack of quality or taste should not discourage historians. Besides, judgments of quality say as much about the historian's taste as about the actual quality of musical repertoires. Nevertheless, although value judgments do not justify a historical vacuum, negative aesthetical judgments (frequently involving certain kinds of assumptions) have been a central factor in our received history of European chamber music. Dealing with such assumptions is a major concern of this study.

Scholars and critics have long explicitly and implicitly claimed that the early nineteenth represents a gap in the French repertoire of string quartets (and chamber music in general), a belief that underscores what has become aesthetic expectation of the genre. When historians have acknowledged the works, they have tended to describe them as poorly executed attempts to emulate Viennese classics. But a French repertoire does exist, and the context of its existence is missed when it is dismissed as plagiaristic. It was, and remains, neglected, and this fact has complicated comprehension of the music itself and its place in history. To claim that complexity has played a role in this music's historical reception may surprise a reader who has some familiarity with the music, for a glance at a score or a brief, perhaps uncritical hearing of a

recording might seem to suggest that the music is simple, as in fact it is on some levels. But more than an understanding of the notes, rhythms, dynamics, and instrumentation is needed to comprehend what is happening musically and, especially, why the music is the way it is. Thus, the complexity I refer to applies more to the historical context of the quartets than to the music itself. The quartets to some extent reflect aspects of contemporary French cultural ideals, ideals that permeated French philosophy, art, and even government. As such, they are indeed a truly “French” repertoire, not merely second-rate Viennese music, thus it is useful to also investigate the values of the society that produced them.

Socio-cultural context, then, will be the first aspect of the early nineteenth-century French string quartet I will discuss in this chapter, and it will figure into the rest of this dissertation as well. The French quartets covered in this dissertation differ in some important respects from idealized contemporary Viennese examples, which are the string quartets from the era that have remained in the canonical repertoire and have contributed to modern generic expectations of the string quartet. The French quartets generally resemble vocal works in construction and are even frequently based on melodies borrowed from Italian opera. The texture usually consists of a songlike melody, most often played by the first violin, with accompaniment from the other three instruments. In part, this kind of construction testifies to, and is the product of, the immense popularity of vocal music in France during this period. But it also relates to another aspect of the voice, for contemporaries as well as modern scholars have tended to describe some of the quartets, especially examples that bear the indication *concertant*, as conversational and structured like French salon conversation. And, of course both opera and salon music were staples of upper-class entertainment in Paris. Therefore, I will also discuss some aspects of nineteenth-century French *civilisation*, which consisted of an eclectic mixture of nobility and

bourgeoisie. It was a *mélange* that was much more pervasive in France than in other European countries, and one that largely operated under older feudalistic societal constraints. Aesthetically, the quartets reflect these constraints and are, therefore, civilized (or *civilisé*, carriers of French *civilisation*). As each of these issues has affected the historical treatment of the quartets, I will frequently connect social and musical structure to ways the repertoire has been historicized.

My study will focus on the quartets of a few selected French composers from roughly the period of the Revolution (1789) through the July Monarchy (1830-1848). The composers I have chosen were primarily professional performing musicians, and they constitute the French Violin School—so called because they were violinists of the highest caliber. These composers, for better or for worse, have been remembered much more for their exploits as performing virtuosos and efforts as violin professors at the Conservatoire de Paris than for their compositions. The main three composers I will discuss were active in the earliest part of the century—that is, from the Revolution to about 1830—and include Pierre Baillot (1771-1842), Pierre Rode (1774-1830), and Rodolphe Kreutzer (1766-1831). I will also include a prominent violinist and chamber music composer from the next generation, Baillot’s student Charles Dancla (1817-1907), for he carried the practices of the other three composers to the beginning of the twentieth century.

Social Context

Carl Dahlhaus detected the residue of salon influence even in late nineteenth-century French chamber music. Dahlhaus offers Gabriel Fauré’s works as an example of how late nineteenth-century French chamber music is “inconsistent with the stylistic principles of

chamber music.”¹ Perhaps unintentionally, Dahlhaus’s observation follows what is now generic expectation of chamber music. Obviously, nineteenth-century French chamber music exists. The problem with Dahlhaus’s statement is the word “the.” Certainly French chamber music was not inconsistent with *French* stylistic principles of chamber music; therefore, instead of merely “the stylistic principles,” Dahlhaus evidently implies something else, perhaps “modern” or “German” principles.² Dahlhaus’s opinion, then, is an example of my earlier observation that historians’ judgments say as much about their own expectations as about quality of repertoires. Dahlhaus made this claim because he believed that it is too easy for the listener to “simply yield passively and mindlessly to [Fauré’s] cantabile,” which neutralizes, “turns into mere vagueness,” the sophisticated harmonic and rhythmic aspects of his works.³ Without careful listening, Dahlhaus notes, Fauré’s works “convey...the impression that they are near to salon music, a music composed of cantabile phrases over a backdrop of diffuse, kaleidoscopic sonorities.”⁴ In Dahlhaus’s view, the supposedly important and interesting parts of the work, harmony and rhythm, are shrouded and obscured by a less important but more seductive part, the melody: because Fauré “seems to ‘squander’ his music upon us,” only a highly sensitive and knowledgeable listener will be able to discern what is of value in Fauré’s music.⁵ Because he departed from chamber music’s supposed “stylistic principles” by foregrounding melody, Fauré’s works risk association with salon music, or aristocratic entertainment. For Dahlhaus,

¹ Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 291.

² The contextual development of historians’ generic expectations of the string quartet and “serious” music is explored further in Chapter Five.

³ Ibid. Dahlhaus here specifically refers to Fauré’s Violin Sonata in A Major, Op. 13 and his piano quartets, Opp. 15 and 45.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

such association with salon music did mean an actual risk because it represents a “compromise” in comparison to German expectations for chamber music.⁶ For him, chamber music that is “near to salon music” is somehow dangerous to individuals and to society—a German idea with roots that are contemporaneous to the string quartet repertoire discussed here, aspects of which will be explored in Chapter Five. And, if Fauré’s music was insidious by offering the impression of salon music, French string quartets of the early part of the nineteenth century, with their vocally oriented construction, were the enemy, for they actually were salon music.

Quartets represent one of the most prevalent European amateur instrumental music practices around the turn of the nineteenth century. Along with some other chamber music combinations, especially trios, it certainly was popular in France. String instruments (as well as some winds) were widely played by members of the upper classes (the nobility and the upper bourgeoisie). In a nation where nobles extensively intermingled with rich members of the bourgeoisie, quartet-playing frequently involved various cross sections of the classes. And discussion of these quartets should consider such extra-musical contexts. In the period surrounding the Revolution, string quartets in France generally were not intended as concert music or even as music to accompany social occasions. They functioned most often as private music, as themselves a social gathering. It was not until after 1814, when Baillot formed the first professional chamber music ensemble and concert series, that chamber music in France began to be seen as concert music, and even then the change was gradual.

Jean Mongrédien cites Édouard Monnais’s memoirs as indication of the extent to which quartet playing had permeated Paris by the period of the Directoire and Consulate (appr. 1795-

⁶ Ibid.

1804). Monnais recalled: “Who could count the thousands of music lovers who were part of this musical world without even leaving their salons or their rooms as they performed, more or less well, Haydn’s quartets or Mozart’s or even Pleyel’s?”⁷ Monnais’s rhetorical question indicates a private practice of quartet playing that, by Mongrédien’s estimation, was so extensive that now, two centuries later, it is impossible to accurately gauge its reach.⁸ Amateurs were constantly looking to form and join groups, and sometimes the groups involved a mixture of amateur and professional musicians and of social classes. An example is the Comte de Grandpierre who in 1802 formed a quartet with a rich bourgeois landowner, a cabinet-maker’s son, and the violinist Sébastien Pichard from the now-defunct Académie Royale de Musique.⁹ Grandpierre’s quartet is an example of how quartet playing in France was itself a social occasion, and was not limited to functioning as music to accompany such occasions. Grandpierre himself played first violin, while the professional, Pichard, played second violin. This is not to say that Grandpierre should not have been the first violinist—by Mongrédien’s account, Grandpierre was a player of some pedigree, and we do not know how he compared to Pichard—but it is interesting that their group’s structure mirrored French social structure. The group played for a few private audiences before retiring together to a member’s country estate just north of Paris, and they spent their later years playing music together.¹⁰

⁷ Jean Mongrédien, *French Music from the Enlightenment to Romanticism 1789-1830*, ed. Reinhard G. Pauly, trans. Sylvain Frémaux (Portland, Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1996), 237. Mongrédien’s source is Édouard Monnais, *Souvenirs de la vie d’artiste*, 1844, 302ff.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid., 238.

¹⁰ Ibid.

Musical Features

In the early nineteenth century, string quartets and other chamber music genres consistently featured melodic construction. Their melodic construction resembles the way that French society maintained a top-heavy system of social ranking. A high percentage of amateur string players were members of the upper classes, unlike larger ensembles, especially the symphony and opera, which were the domain of professionals.¹¹ Members of the nobility could not, first by law and later by expectation, specialize in any trade. Professional musicians plied a trade, and trade excluded nobles. It is understandable, then, that a high percentage of French nobles and the upper bourgeoisie participated in amateur music-making, especially participating in the playing of quartets (of various instrumentations) and chamber music in general.

So it is at least notable that the structure of Grandpierre's quartet mirrors societal order, as did the usual construction of the kinds of string quartets his group would have played. That the person of highest social standing in the group played the first violin, and those of lesser (though still high) standing played the other three instruments, would seem at least to reflect social structures as well as musical ones. In French string quartets of that period, the first violin part was usually much more prominent than the other parts. In certain quartets, ones usually indicated as *concertant*, players alternated solos. But in most string quartets, the task for the other three instruments was to provide texture and harmonic structure for the first violin to shine—frequently the first violin is called the solo violin. Mongrédien traces this trend to the

¹¹ The only counter example I have found (although there may have been others) is that of the Prince de Chimay, who organized an orchestra of Parisian virtuosos and placed himself within the first violin section alongside Rode, Baillot, and R. Kreutzer. But this example does not counter the larger point, for while the prince played in the orchestra he was not a professional musician. The example of the Prince also is perhaps atypical because he was a person with the means to afford a town house large enough to accommodate an ensemble of significant size (located on the Rue de Babylone), not to mention the desire and means to organize and fund an orchestra. See Mongrédien, 238.

Enlightenment, when Jean-Jacques Rousseau commented: “In a good quartet, the parts should always be played alternately because in any chord there are only two parts at the most that sing and can be distinguished by the ear. The other two are just fillers, and fillers have no place in a quartet.”¹² Considering that Rousseau was basically arguing that a quartet is not an ideal musical genre, it would be implausible to claim that he influenced the typical construction of the French string quartet; nevertheless, most French quartets from that period do privilege melody. It is easy to see how such preference, along with the popularity of opera, would lend prominence to the violin, the instrument thought most capable of mimicking the human voice. Notably, French violinists of the time used and taught the vocally informed practice of *portamento* (sliding between notes in a similar fashion to singing, a technique unpopular in most modern string pedagogy, which teaches students generally to avoid *portamento*), for they believed it heightened emotional expression.¹³ And such vocal association and melodic construction remained the norm for French quartets not only in the eighteenth century but throughout most of the nineteenth century, and traces of it remained even into the twentieth.¹⁴

Joël-Marie Fauquet agrees that, at least before 1870, vocal music was the most influential factor in the construction of the French string quartet.

In France the string quartet, from those of Cherubini to the single example by Debussy, is certainly the form [of chamber music] that takes on greatest significance. The entire concept of chamber music gravitates around it.... That quartet writing became progressively rarer after the eighteenth century is due to a number of causes, among which the one traditionally invoked—the reluctance of composers to approach a form raised to perfection during the Classic era and enlarged in an imprescribable manner by Beethoven—is not the chief reason.... Before 1870 the opera house set its mark upon the French quartet ...

¹² Ibid., 292. Mongrédien cites Rousseau’s article, “Quatuor,” in his *Dictionnaire de Musique*. For Rousseau, there is a touch of irony in the words “good quartet.” In reality, Rousseau disliked the quartet precisely because its construction lends itself to harmony (and necessarily always relegates at least two instruments to this role at any given moment), which he considered a musical auxiliary. To him, melody was the point of music.

¹³ Bruce R. Schueneman, *The French Violin School: Viotti, Rode, Kreutzer, Baillot and Their Contemporaries* (Kingsville, TX: The Lyre of Orpheus Press, 2002), 14.

¹⁴ Mongrédien, 291-2.

[and one] detects just as much the influence of the ballad or popular song in such works. This interpenetration of vocal and instrumental styles, so important to the art of a Chopin or a Liszt, has been little studied with regard to the string quartet. Is this perhaps a consequence of the moralizing artistic judgment that sets the vocal domain, which is deemed corrupted by Italianism, in opposition to the instrumental domain, the realm of “serious” or “learned” music, just as critics dub it? In reality these domains are not antipodal. Much to the contrary, they are linked by an interactive network of references, above all during the first half of the nineteenth century, when the first violin was still the keystone of the polyphonic structure elaborated by the four voices.¹⁵

Fauquet’s statement implies an important concept: perhaps form, a hallmark of Viennese influence, is the wrong criterion to use when categorizing the quartets. Yes, the quartets sometimes (but frequently not strictly) involve classical forms; however, their character and texture is vocal in nature, closer to opera and French salon songs than to Viennese chamber music, and rarely involves thematic development.

The main types of French string quartets from Rousseau’s era through that of Rode, Kreutzer, and Baillot that comprise such vocally inflected construction are usually titled *quatuor concertant*, *quatuor concertant et dialogué*, or *quatuor brilliant*.¹⁶ The generic meaning of the closely related *quatuor concertant* and *quatuor concertant et dialogué* was that all parts were (at least ideally) treated more or less equally, but in alternation. When the melody bearer is an instrument other than the first violin, it is usually given the indication *solo* on the score. These quartets were most likely named after the Italian *sinfonia concertante*, which features several virtuoso soloists.¹⁷ According to Mongrédien,

¹⁵ Jöel-Marie Fauquet, “Chamber Music in France from Luigi Cherubini to Claude Debussy,” in *Nineteenth-Century Chamber Music*, ed. Stephen E. Hefling (New York: Routledge, 2004), 291-2.

¹⁶ Robin Stowell, “Traditional and Progressive Nineteenth-Century Trends: France, Italy, Great Britain and America,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the String Quartet*, ed. Robin Stowell (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 250.

¹⁷ Mongrédien, 292. See also Barbara Hanning, “Conversation and Musical Style in the Late Eighteenth-Century Parisian Salon,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 22, no. 4 (Summer 1989), 512-28. Hanning points out that the *style concertante* originated in Italy but became quickly the vogue of Parisian musical salons. She connects aspects of the *style* present in string quartets to the French social practice of the art of conversation, which may relate to the violin’s supposed representation of the human voice.

the *concertant* style uses a clear and relatively emotionless language. Throughout thousands of pages of music, it is rare to find any latent tension, any fleeting anxiety or drama. Effects are rather obtained by the constant movement of each of four very individual parts, melodic lines endlessly crossing and re-crossing. It is a world that did not know—or pretended not to know—darkness or mystery. Hearing this music, the listener would think that there is nothing but grace, elegance, and joy on earth.¹⁸

Leaving aside that Mongrédien apparently does not associate joy with emotion, he describes a kind of music that would not meet what Dahlhaus calls “the stylistic expectations of chamber music” (again, meaning German expectations).¹⁹ Mongrédien points out that the title *concertant* was printed on many Parisian editions of quartets (Imbault, Sieber, and Pleyel) but was not included on the same quartets published in London or Vienna.²⁰ Such omissions might indicate that generic expectations were different in France than in England and German-speaking lands much earlier than the period with which Dahlhaus dealt. Moreover, despite the generic expectations associated with their titles, many quartets marked *concertant* did not actually involve equal treatment of parts. The first violin usually was the most prominent part. Mongrédien speculates that Parisian publishers’ usage of the ascription *concertant* was in part a marketing technique, one that made all players “consider themselves virtuosos.”²¹ He points out that these quartets were quite different from those of most Viennese contemporaries, being easier to play and conversational in nature.²² The concept of conversation offers another connection between the quartets’ construction and the human voice.²³ As Fauquet notes, operatic influences predominate in the French quartets, but the influence of salon songs is latent as well (perhaps popular song better suits the more conversationally oriented *concertant* quartets). French string

¹⁸ Mongrédien, 294-5.

¹⁹ Dahlhaus, 291.

²⁰ Mongrédien, 294-5.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid., 293-4.

²³ See Hanning, “Conversation and Musical Style.”

quartets of the period, like the popular songs, were music generally intended for private spaces and not usually intended for the stage (this aspect is also true of quartets based on operatic melodies).

Barbara Hanning observes that, around the beginning of the nineteenth century, professional players such as Rode, Baillot, and Kreutzer “reduce[d] the vogue of the *quatuor concertant*” (although they also contributed to it as composers, as we will see) by making the first violin dominant, favoring virtuosity. This shift is perhaps demonstrated by Baillot’s practice of standing during performances by his quartet while the other three players sat.²⁴ The *quatuor brillant*, as these were called, however, retained the sweet songlike qualities of the *quatuor concertant*. Rode, Baillot, and Kreutzer called the quartet a “genre featuring a charming dialogue, not unlike a conversation between friends,” but the first violin leads the discussion.²⁵ Each of these three composers wrote several such *quatuors brillants*. The other types were the *quatuor d’airs connus*, which is an arrangement of a popular tune, and its counterpart, the *quatuor d’airs variés* (also frequently called *thèmes variés*), which uses a popular tune as a theme and presents variations on it. Mongrédien observes that *quatuors d’airs* were led by the first violin, but they did not involve as much virtuosity as the other kinds of contemporary quartets.²⁶ However, I have not found support for his observation, for Baillot’s *airs variés* in particular, but also Rode and Kreutzer’s, usually include variations that are highly virtuosic (some of these works are discussed in Chapter Four). These composers apparently saw such

²⁴ Mongrédien, 296.

²⁵ Ibid. Mongrédien takes this statement from Rode, Baillot, and Kreutzer’s *Méthode de violon*, published for violin instruction at the new Conservatoire de Musique.

²⁶ Ibid., 297. Mongrédien notes that *quatuors d’airs* may have contributed to the spread of opera throughout France, for thousands of such quartets were published after the premiere of a successful opera.

violin-dominated texture as the model construction for chamber music (or, to borrow Dahlhaus's rhetoric, to them such construction was perfectly consistent with the "stylistic principles of chamber music"). And preference for such texture is found in their instrumental pedagogy. Baillot, for example, in his *Méthode de violoncelle*, describes proper cello playing (in the context of chamber music) as submissive and regular: as the "principal part," the first violinist is allowed liberties of execution, but the others, especially the bass accompaniment (referring to the cello, the "fundamental part"), must not be allowed any "alterations"; it must function in the "same manner as the left hand must maintain balance in the execution of a piano sonata" (translation mine).²⁷

I have thus far made a point of discussing quartets in a mainly French context, but Viennese influence of course existed in Paris. Haydn's quartets, especially his early ones, were played by amateurs and professionals alike, and they fit rather well with Parisian tastes.²⁸ His influence, however, was less a force for change than fraternal. Notably, just as French *concertant* quartets were printed in Vienna without the designation *concertant*,²⁹ Haydn's collection published as String Quartets, Op. 1 in Vienna, were published in Paris as *Six symphonies ou quatuors dialogués* in 1764.³⁰ Considering that the music is identical in both the Parisian and Viennese publications, publishers were

²⁷ "[L]a basse d'accompagnement, dont la fonction est de déterminer la marche des accords ne doit se permettre aucun équivoque, aucune irrégularité, aucune expression particulière qui lui ferait quitter son caractère et qui rendrait la musique diffuse en lui ôtant le partie fondamentale.... [L]a basse doit servir de régulateur dans un morceau d'ensemble de la même manière que la main gauche doit maintenir l'aplomb dans l'exécution d'une sonate de piano." See Pierre Baillot, *Méthode de violoncelle et de basse d'ac[c]ompagnement*, Méthodes instrumentales les plus anciennes du Conservatoire de Paris, vol. 6 (1804 ; repr., Geneva: Minkoff Reprint, 1974), 140.

²⁸ Mongrédien, 238. An example is Grandpierre's quartet who, as Mongrédien notes, performed two quartets by Haydn in their first concert on 25 March, 1802.

²⁹ Ibid., 294-5.

³⁰ Hanning, 519.

apparently marketing quartets in ways they believed would appeal to their respective customers. In other words, generic expectations of string quartets differed between Paris and Vienna.

Beethoven and Mozart played a greater role than did Haydn in changing the Parisian chamber music scene. The influence of Viennese music was felt most heavily by professionals, but it affected amateurs as well. It was responsible for two main effects on French quartet practice. First, professional players began to perform the chamber works of Mozart and Beethoven in concert (Baillot's concert series that began in 1814 was the most prominent vehicle), and these composers' works were perhaps intimidating enough to make amateur French players reluctant to try to compete in the quartet genre.³¹ Second, amateur practice diminished in the face of the demanding Viennese chamber music, dropping off significantly after 1830. Fauquet states:

Fétis's remarks on the abandoned state of chamber music, on a lost tradition, reflect another reality: the important mutation that came to fruition during the 1830s. Amateurs, discouraged by the difficulties of instrumental music and particularly of that of Beethoven, stopped being performers to [instead] become listeners willing to pay musicians of skill capable of attaining a perfection still beyond the scope of their own abilities.³²

These two effects demonstrate a shift in performing expectations. Quartet-playing and chamber music more generally (traditionally the realm of amateurs) were diminishing in private practice, becoming a fixture of the concert stage (the realm of professionals).

³¹ Fauquet, 287-8. See also Mongrédien, 249.

³² Joël-Marie Fauquet, "La Musique de chambre à Paris dans les années 1830," in *Music in Paris in the Eighteen-Thirties*, ed. Peter Anthony Bloom (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1987), 310. "Les réflexions de Fétis sur l'état d'abandon de la musique de chambre, sur une tradition perdue, reflètent une autre réalité: la mutation importante qui achève de se produire durant les années 1830. Les amateurs, découragés par les difficultés de la musique instrumentale et particulièrement de celle de Beethoven, vont cesser d'être des exécutants pour devenir des auditeurs qui paient des musiciens de métier susceptibles d'atteindre à une perfection désormais hors de leur portée" (translation mine).

Thanks to this shift, the Parisian musical public gradually became more self-conscious, more aware of where their own abilities stood in relation to the possibilities of this art, and such consciousness seems to have discouraged their “*dilettanti*” participation. Beethoven’s chamber music, along with Mozart’s, began to be played by French professionals as standard repertoire, and by the 1830s this fact had contributed to a shift away from amateur and towards professional standards for chamber music.³³ However, this shift did not mean that French composers suddenly began composing works in the Viennese style. As Fauquet observes, composers such as Baillot, Rode, and Kreutzer continued composing soloistic and *concertant* quartets that borrowed heavily from vocal styles.³⁴ And they, Baillot most prominently, regularly performed their own soloistic and virtuosic works alongside those of Beethoven and Mozart; thus, French musicians’ eagerness to play Viennese music did not necessarily mean that they emulated it in their own compositions.³⁵

A conflict, then, was emerging in French chamber music. For perhaps the first time, awareness of musical possibilities—whether of technical execution (virtuosity), harmonic complexity and density, or, potentially most importantly, emotional expression (in short, Dahlhaus’s German expectations for chamber music)—interfered with French chamber music’s traditional purpose, its *sociabilité*. But perhaps it would be better to call

³³ Fauquet, “Chamber Music in France,” 288. Citing what Leo Schrade dubbed “a French Religion” (of Beethoven), Fauquet points out that indication of the shift is found in the fact that ensembles began to be formed for the specific purpose of playing Viennese works. One of Fauquet’s examples is Delphin Alard’s quartet, which was founded in 1835 mainly to offer quality performances of Beethoven’s chamber music.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 291.

³⁵ That the French quartet tradition existed in knowing separation from the idealized Viennese will be covered in more detail in Chapter Four.

it an artistic dichotomy than a conflict. The older approaches did not suddenly disappear in the 1830s. Nor did newer, more strictly bourgeois, sensibilities suddenly annex all compositional output. It certainly did not govern quartets, for the quartets of the next generation of French composers, such as Charles Dancla and Adolphe Blanc, still usually involved the older, vocally informed construction (even though their generic titles began to be standardized in the familiar ways).³⁶

Société and Civilisation

While some of the quartets, specifically the *quatuors concertants* (including *dialogués*), advertised a democratic melodic distribution, in reality the first violin still usually dominated. Such melody-dominated and conversational construction resembles aspects of the society in which it emerged in the eighteenth century. According to the social historian, Norbert Elias (1897-1990), the concept of *civilisation* was central to the self-identity of nineteenth-century French *société*.³⁷ The word *civilisation*, along with the adjectival form *civilisé*, first appeared in literature in the writings of the elder Mirabeau,³⁸ a landowning (by marriage) member of the upper bourgeoisie, in the 1760s.³⁹ Mirabeau, a Physiocrat, used the term to criticize the values and behavior of the nobility, which he

³⁶ Fauquet, “Chamber Music in France,” 291.

³⁷ *Société* refers specifically to the aristocratic classes (the nobility and the upper bourgeoisie), not to the lower classes.

³⁸ Victor de Riqueti, Marquis de Mirabeau (1715-1789), was the father of the “great” Honoré, Comte de Mirabeau which is why he is generally referred to as the “elder” Mirabeau.

³⁹ Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 35.

saw as frivolous and shallow. But he was inverting the term. It had been in common usage in conversation to contrast refined French “social manners, their ‘standard,’ to the manners of simpler and socially inferior people.”⁴⁰ Mirabeau was not redefining the term but was instead saying that nobles, who were supposedly the embodiment of *civilisation*, were failing as *hommes civilisés*. *Civilisation*, then, was an ideal standard but not a current reality for Mirabeau.

In a situation unique to France, the upper bourgeoisie and the nobility existed in very close proximity. Elias observes that thanks to such proximity,

as early as the eighteenth century, there was no longer any considerable difference of manners between the leading bourgeois groups and the courtly aristocracy. And even if, with the stronger upsurge of the middle class from the mid-eighteenth century onward—or, stated differently, with the enlargement of the court society through the increased assimilation of leading middle-class groups—behaviour and manners slowly changed, this happened without rupture as a direct continuation of the courtly-aristocratic tradition of the seventeenth century. Both the courtly bourgeoisie and the courtly aristocracy spoke the same language, read the same books and had, with particular gradations, the same manners.⁴¹

To the last sentence, I would add “shared the same musical practices.” In any case, after the Revolution, “when the bourgeoisie became the nation,” the manners of behavior—“the high regard for courtesy, the importance of good speech and conversation, articulateness of language and much else”—that were characteristics bred in the earlier court society, became the character of the country.⁴² By the nineteenth century, the terms offered by Mirabeau, *civilisé* and *civilisation* were being used to describe the refinement of manners that were cultivated by the nobility and assimilated by the upper

⁴⁰ Ibid., 34.

⁴¹ Ibid., 31-2.

⁴² Ibid.

bourgeoisie.⁴³ The term *civilisation* came to mean, like French *société* itself, a combination of the nobility and upper bourgeoisie, but, again, the two were so intertwined by that time that distinguishable differences in appearances, behavior, and manners of speech between them had ceased.⁴⁴

But intermingling of classes and assimilation of behavior did not mean that differences of social rank were discontinued in France. Traditional differences were still minutely observed, for adherence to rank was a crucial part of what it meant to be *civilisé*. Although Mirabeau's concept of *civilisation* originated within a reformist context in the early eighteenth century, it was not put forth as an alternative to the existing system and its cultural expectations; it instead was a criticism that aimed to reform the country within the traditional bounds of the system.⁴⁵ In a manner of speaking, then, Mirabeau's use of the term *civilisation* to criticize the system was itself *civilisé*. The re-appropriation of the term to apply to French *société* in general by the time of the Revolution demonstrates the intertwined nature of the French upper classes. Not only had the bourgeoisie absorbed noble behavior, but the nobility, reciprocally, had appropriated aspects of the middle class. Elias describes the interpenetration of French classes thus: "The social pride of the French aristocracy was always considerable, and the stress on class differences never lost its importance for them. But the walls surrounding them had more openings; access to the aristocracy (and thus the assimilation of other groups)

⁴³ Ibid., 34.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 35. Elias, notes that this was not without exception, for some reformers, such as Rousseau, (unsuccessfully) did call for a change in the basic social order.

played a far greater role here than in Germany.”⁴⁶ For this reason, even the “bourgeois Revolution of France, though it destroyed the old political structure, did not disrupt the unity of traditional manners.”⁴⁷ Not disrupting “the unity of traditional manners” was foundational to *civilisation* and being *civilisé*, and this is important to remember when considering the socio-aesthetic context of early nineteenth-century French string quartet.

French *civilisation* was a social system controlled from the top.⁴⁸ In Mirabeau’s concept of the term, and its resultant connotations in the following century, those who were *civilisé* knew and adhered to their proper rank in the social hierarchy. And the order was not to be challenged, even though one might participate in an event as nationally (and continentally) seismic as the Revolution, upward mobility, when it was to be had, still involved appealing to those of superior status rather than forging one’s own way through achievements. Such adherence to rank is the definition of courtesy, a behavioral requirement for French *civilisation*.⁴⁹

Even Napoleon Bonaparte operated within the constraints of courteous *civilisation*. While he did offer new titles of nobility, especially to his officers and advisors, he also generally honored titles from the old regime and kept an even more splendid court than had the Bourbons, and, as emperor, he controlled it all from above; thus, in the name of republicanism (at least originally) Napoleon capitalized on

⁴⁶ Ibid., 20.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 42.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 39.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 7. “Courtesy” also descended from a courtly context; it meant knowing one’s place and taking care to be agreeable to superiors, the only way gain and maintain status, as one would be expected to do in court society.

traditional French preferences for monarchy.⁵⁰ While plenty of resistance to the social order existed in France (especially among the lower classes), *société* still preferred the old structures, and at that point they held most of the power. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, what it meant to be French was not particularly questioned among the upper classes. French *société* was finally *civilisé*. The French saw *civilisation*—of course meaning *French* civilization (as well as its manifestation in cultural products)—as self-evident because it had existed for so long.⁵¹ The French, a people with a long history and a resultantly massive cultural self-assurance, were thus not generally overtly nationalistic regarding creation and consumption of cultural products. They had no reason to worry themselves with whether an art product carried distinctly French markers. As a long-established society, they could assume that their own preferences were representative of universally good taste and behavior.

⁵⁰ In France, even some revolutionaries, remained monarchists; that is, in that they adhered to the old system, they were a kind of *civilisés*. For this reason, Napoleon and later monarchs of the century regularly tried to capitalize on the French desire to recover the monarchical glory lost in the Revolution and, especially, in the Terror. See Robert Tombs, *France 1814-1914* (London and New York: Addison Wesley Longman Limited, 1996), 326-431. For a history of the role of French courts during this period, see Philip Mansel, *The Court of France, 1789-1830* (Cambridge, New York, New Rochelle, Melbourne, and Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

⁵¹ Elias, 7. Elias juxtaposes the French concept of *civilisation* with its German counterpart *Kultur*, which instead “places special stress on national differences and the particular identity of groups” precisely because German unity and national boundaries consolidated centuries later than they did in France, and even until recently have demonstrated degrees of fluidity. *Kultur*, for Germans, meant (and still means) achievements, intellectualism, and cultural products that are of worth because they have merit. It demarcates what is German by limiting access to outsiders. It exists in contradistinction to French *civilisation*, which valued externality, pleasure, fine conversation, and sensuality. *Civilisation*, then, because it no longer questions what is French, assumes its own universality, while *Kultur* separates German-ness from the rest of the world; what is German is still in question. This juxtaposition will be discussed further in Chapter Five.

Société, and Historicizing the String Quartet

The assumptive nature of the French concept of civilization played a constitutive role in the historiography of the French string quartet of the early nineteenth century. The French quartet was a civilized genre. I submit that the quality of being *civilisé* accounts for its absence from historical accounts of chamber music. As Elias states, the French assumed that their *civilisation* held universal value.⁵² French string quartets of this period, then, are the products of a society that did not see any need to place obvious national or cultural markers and signifiers in the music.⁵³ Thus, modern historians' and even contemporary critics' inability to find "Frenchness" in the quartet repertoire is a false problem. It was *civilisé*, and French composers did not try to break it from its traditional role as salon entertainment: because they carried the French assumption that their *civilisation* and its products were universally viable, they had no reason to question the value and purpose of their music; thus, like Mirabeau's societal critique, the quartets' "French-ness" is found in their creators' assumption of their art's universality.

History has not shared the assumption. No detailed histories of the French repertoire exist. In the general histories of the string quartet, and of chamber music as a whole, it barely receives acknowledgment, and when it does, it is not as a "truly" French repertoire. Any acknowledgment given is always dismissive, which discourages further inquiry. Scholars as prominent as Robin Stowell have negated the repertoire by stating that "*no distinctively French* string quartet tradition developed until the late 1880s, when

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ In Germany, placement of such markers, and creation of terms of discussion that intentionally framed certain kinds of music in nationalistic roles, was intentional and carefully crafted, as we will see in Chapter Five.

César Franck (1822-90) and his circle of composers contributed to a native quartet tradition in France.”⁵⁴ Even the prolific Joël-Marie Fauquet, while he defends the presence of a continual French repertoire, does not regard French quartets from the early nineteenth century to be “serious.”⁵⁵

Stowell (and his opinion of the quartets is typical) is too concerned with composers’ intentions. Although composers did not necessarily concern themselves with including (or creating) nationalistic traits within their string quartets, the repertoire, in light of Elias’s analysis of French *civilisation*, is truly French.⁵⁶ But it is a French-ness that has been forgotten. The music is not simplistically derivative of Viennese classics, as many commenters have suggested. If it is weak, other criteria than Viennese comparison must be used to justify such a judgment. It is a music that resembles aspects of the Parisian society that produced it. It is a music that contains a uniquely French, hybridity of (what now appear to be ironic and conflicting) national and historical musical styles. In part, the quartets reflect the tastes and expectations of a society that lost a Western cultural war. They are the vestiges of a misunderstood society, one in limbo between monarchical rule and bourgeois value systems and government, a hybrid system of sorts. The quartets are, in a word, eclectic. As eclectic, or stylistically hybrid, the quartets have been misunderstood as cheap attempts to imitate Viennese classicism, as continuation of the *galant* style (the style of the monarchy and nobility since the Enlightenment, seen as passé or at least very conservative), or as a sluggish or reluctant Romanticism (the style

⁵⁴ Stowell, 250 (emphasis mine).

⁵⁵ Fauquet, “Chamber Music in France,” 287-314.

⁵⁶ And, as will be discussed in Chapter Five, quintessential national traits have usually been applied in retrospect by those who have motives for employing them.

of the bourgeoisie, who valorized novelty). But French composers were fluent in many musical styles, and they combined these styles in various ways in their string quartets, as we will see in Chapter Four.

It is useful here to recall another contemporary French institution, the government. The French government, like the arts, was also affected by social hybridity. In large part thanks to the hybridity of French society, the revolutionary government did not stick. And by 1850, France had undergone a veritable parade of governments since the Revolution of 1789: it saw the end of the *ancien régime* (Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette were guillotined in January, 1793), the Terror, the First Republic, Napoleon Bonaparte's Consulate, the Napoleon's First Empire, the Restoration (of the Bourbon dynasty), Louis-Philippe's July Monarchy, and the beginning of the Second Republic. And after 1850 these governments were followed by Napoleon III's Second Empire, followed finally by the Third Republic, which endured until the Second World War.

Nevertheless, the shifts in governments should not be taken as an indication that French social values were vacillating. Rather, French governmental instability underscores the lack of power consolidation by any of the leading political groups, some bourgeois republican, some bourgeois elite, some monarchical, but all involving some mixture of both bourgeoisie and nobility. Bourbon-supporting monarchical legitimists, republicans, Bonapartists, and constitutional monarchists all jockeyed for power throughout much of the century, and some exist (in name at least) even until today.⁵⁷ Even individuals and individual institutions were eclectic: Napoleon, for example, was a

⁵⁷ Tombs, 353.

member of the bourgeoisie who had monarchical aspirations; Louis XVIII and Charles X had to keep a large number of bourgeois republicans (left over from Napoleon's popular Empire) in high government positions in order to (attempt to) maintain stability; and Louis-Philippe's *juste-milieu* régime represented itself as an eclectic bourgeois monarchy modeled on British constitutional rule.⁵⁸

Ironically, the French governmental fluctuations thanks to the inability of any single group to consolidate power indicates a high degree of societal fixity. But the fixity was one of hybridity between social classes. Hybridity had served as a comfortable state of things for society itself, but it proved to be detrimental to the ability of any of the groups represented in the hybrid society to retain governmental power for long. Whether republican (bourgeois) or monarchical (noble), any side taking power disturbed social balance, weakening governmental stability and raising the possibility of rabble uprising. From the standpoint of government, the question of what should be French was more than debatable; it was viciously contested. But in matters of taste, as in matters of conversation and public behavior, hybridity and eclecticism were natural and comfortable to early nineteenth-century French *société*, for both bourgeois and noble *élites* shared similar lifestyles and perspectives. But as it applies to the French string quartet, hybridity has proven to be a problem for historians. The early nineteenth-century French string

⁵⁸ Ibid, and *ibid.*, 13. Incidentally, in nineteenth-century France, both noble and bourgeois feelings of stability revolved around degrees of fear of revolutionary uprisings from the lower classes. This point of commonality indicates that for much of the country's history, "France" has comprised *civilisation*, meaning only the upper classes. The lower classes, especially while the Terror remained a recent memory, constituted a threat to societal peace, that is, to France itself. While the Revolution itself was widely viewed (or appropriated) in retrospect as one "for justice and liberty," low-class revolutionaries (and the idea of revolution in a generic sense) were often associated with the Terror and regarded as a threat to French liberty and social order, and to *hommes civilisés*, the "true" French. *Société* comprised people of high rank who operated under civilized constraints. They were usually disinclined to break social ranks, unlike "the vicious criminal poor" who were subject to impulse and passions and were capable of disturbing the order of society at any time (p. 13).

quartet is not fully one thing or the other: it is neither exactly the music of the *ancien régime* (noble) nor that of the individualist Romantic generation (bourgeoisie). But, because it is homophonic and melody-driven virtuosic music, it has been misidentified as unsuccessful versions of both. Such has been its ironic historical existence. Its particular eclecticism distinguishes it as French, but, at least in part, its eclecticism has kept it from being categorized as “truly French.”

That Mozart’s music was slow to gain traction in Paris offers some insight into French musical attitudes of the period. Mozart’s music was frequently stigmatized by French critics, most notably Géo ffroy, as harmonically driven, as having lost that musical element closest to nature, melody, which is able to speak to the human heart.⁵⁹ According to Mongrédien, this kind of criticism indicates the presence of “late supporters of the Enlightenment’s aesthetics” in France. Mongrédien aptly describes French musical aesthetics of the period as “a clever and discreet fade-out.”⁶⁰ While bourgeois Romanticism was gaining traction, Enlightenment aesthetics still held a great deal of influence among more conservative people, meaning the upper classes who were musicians’ primary employers. Mongrédien observes that “[i]n contrast to literary authors, musicians do not seem to have really wanted to shake the dust off the old wigs. There was no attempt at a total break [from the *galant* style of the Enlightenment].”⁶¹ In Mongrédien’s view, the reason why the *galant* style still persisted in the nineteenth

⁵⁹ Mongrédien, 340. The example Mongrédien uses is Géo ffroy’s article on *Così Fan Tutti* from February 6, 1809. Géo ffroy acknowledges Mozart’s “special talent and rare aptitude for harmony,” but “if he had been born with the true spirit of his art, he would have opposed this humiliating and destructive revolution that could only favor mediocrity by corrupting the public taste with seductive and dangerous new styles.”

⁶⁰ Ibid., 346.

⁶¹ Ibid., 344.

century in France is that it accorded with the Enlightenment philosophy that, of all musical elements, melody comes closest to imitating nature, which is the ideal aim of all true art.⁶² Géoffroy, and others like him, did not make much distinction between texted and purely instrumental music, for the frame of reference for instrumental music in France was that it should be vocal in orientation. But perhaps the aesthetical opinions at play here saw vocal and instrumental music as interrelated, or at least as symbiotic. As Bruce Schueneman puts it: “[in the music of the French violin school] [t]he characteristic sound of the voice was never far from their conception, and a singing style was their ideal... [T]he instrumental blended with the vocal both during concerts and in the music itself. Both had their proper spheres, but instrumental and vocal music existed as an organic whole.”⁶³

In addition to the string quartet repertoire, French instrumental music of the early nineteenth century in general has endured some curious commentary. In a statement that resembles Stowell’s glossing of the string quartet, Mongrédien states of the symphony: “It is clear that without a distinctively French frame of reference, that is, without a contemporary national repertoire, the [late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century French and German] critics were more or less obliged—as they still are today—to base their judgment on the great German ‘models.’”⁶⁴ The trouble with Mongrédien’s statement is that French composers composed symphonies in that period. So what does he

⁶² Ibid., 264.

⁶³ Schueneman, 5. Schueneman connects such “interpenetration of vocal and instrumental styles” (to borrow Fauquet’s words) to musicians’ aspiration to follow nature, but he fails to acknowledge the connection to Enlightenment ideology. He instead connects it to Romanticism (p. 6).

⁶⁴ Mongrédien, 269.

mean by “a distinctively French frame of reference”? He is looking for something more distinct than a symphony composed by a Frenchman. As with the string quartet, French symphonies from the period exist, but Mongrédien apparently does not see the symphonies of Méhul, Martin, Gossec, and others as constituting a repertoire. And perhaps statements like Mongrédien’s have encouraged the rhetoric of scholars such as Stowell, but such statements are either misinterpretation of facts or indication that Mongrédien holds particular notions of what constitutes a repertoire.

Stowell, as noted above, denies the existence of a “distinctively French string quartet tradition” in the early nineteenth century. With an irony typical of scholarship on this music, he allows for a French “tradition” only when the “tradition” (which, remember, according to him did not yet exist) came to resemble German quartets (as in the music of Franck) after about 1870. Here, the terms “national repertoire” (Mongrédien) and “French tradition” (Stowell) are interchangeable. Mongrédien allows that the symphonies of Méhul were among the few examples that existed in France from the Revolution until about 1830, but his comment about the lack of a frame of reference in France means that he sees a reportorial gap. Stowell, I must assume, was aware of the many French string quartets composed in the period, but, like the nineteenth-century critics Mongrédien mentions, he refuses to accept these as “French.” And Mongrédien, despite his discussion of French examples, is guilty of the “error of perspective” that he himself identifies.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Ibid. Mongrédien uses some of Méhul’s music to rebut the “error,” but he states that “[u]nfortunately, Méhul’s symphonic output was too small to result in a specific ‘French style.’”

Thus, Stowell and Mongrédien, like the French critics of the early nineteenth century, curiously disqualify two repertoires on grounds that they do not properly “belong” to a nation. Obviously, French musicians, such as Baillot, Rode, and Kreutzer, composed string quartets. Why, then, is it held that their compositions fail to constitute a French repertoire? For such scholars and critics, that a quartet was composed in France by a French composer is not enough to qualify it as actually French. The limited examples that music scholars have bothered to consider apparently do not contain the stylistic traits and compositional techniques that they consider necessary for music to constitute a truly national repertoire. Or perhaps it is better to say that certain criteria and generic expectations for chamber music frequently predetermine the nature of scholars’ engagement with musical repertoires.

Jeffrey Kallberg dubs such expectations a “generic contract...between composer and listener.”⁶⁶ According to Kallberg, genre is a concept that speaks more of expectation than of actual musical techniques and structures:

While often construed as a concept inherent in musical compositions themselves, genre is better perceived as a social phenomenon shared by composers and listeners alike. The distinction is basic. The literature abounds with efforts to define particular genres according to the music itself. Usually, such studies purport to answer questions like “What is a sonata?” or “What is a motet?” by providing either a history of the use of the term, or a description of the apparent contents of the class. That is, they seek to define the genre according to those characteristics shared by all of its members, mistakenly assuming that shared characteristics inevitably form part of any definition. The result often is a category so attenuated as to be virtually useless or one so broad as to embrace entire epochs.... Genre exerts a persuasive force. It guides the responses of listeners.... The choice of genre by a composer and its identification by the listener establish the framework for the communication of meaning.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Jeffrey Kallberg, *Chopin at the Boundaries: Sex, History, and Musical Genre* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1996), 5.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 4-5.

Kallberg observes that such a generic “contract may include notions of what cannot appear in a genre as well; such constraints can tell us a great deal about what is permissible in a genre.”⁶⁸ He also notes that works that do not align with generic expectations, whether early examples of a genre or those that “lie on the edge of it,” “expose the flaw behind viewing genre only as a classifying concept.”⁶⁹ In other words, a “generic contract” is one that is superimposed in retrospect, but it is nevertheless a powerful one. The French composers of string quartets covered in this dissertation did not sign, as it were, its modern “generic contract,” the one shared by modern listeners and scholars alike.

Scholars informed by this “contract” have dismissed certain traits as lower or less serious, as conservative or populist. French composers and critics (and presumably audiences), as noted above, frequently preferred melody. Nearly all of the French quartets are homophonic. Thus, the music’s artistic grounding differs from that of German quartets (or at least from the generic expectations of them), especially those of Mozart and Beethoven, whose quartets were and are usually described as harmonically driven, meaning contrapuntal.⁷⁰ French quartets tends to be tonic-oriented and melody-centered, these are not the traits reserved for supposedly “serious” music. Harmonic complexity and daring, contrapuntal (simultaneously democratic) treatment of parts, and textural

⁶⁸ Ibid., 5.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 7.

⁷⁰ Of course these ascriptions of traits are only generalizations, for both German composers, while their music is perhaps more tonally daring than that of the French, cannot be seriously described as neglecting melody as Géoffroy complained of Mozart. Perhaps Géoffroy’s observation testifies that, to the French, “melody” refers specifically to vocal and vocally informed music, not simply to any kind of single line of music. The conditions in Germany that led to the generic expectations of the string quartet, and how these transferred into modern musicological systems, are the topic of Chapter Five.

density have tended to be the requisite criteria for “seriousness” in nineteenth-century string quartets. In other words, the qualities valorized in some of Mozart’s (and a few of Haydn’s) late quartets and most of Beethoven’s became the standard, the “generic contract,” for “serious” string quartets.

Thus, Stowell’s opinion actually comments more on his own aesthetic preconceptions than on the conditions actually prevailing in early nineteenth-century France. By banning melody-driven quartets from the historical canon on grounds that they are frivolous, conservative, or populist, Stowell dismisses the traits that are most intrinsically French; thereby, he circularly reasons that a French string quartet repertoire from the early nineteenth century does not exist. He shows, by his terminological choices (and in his minimal prose dedicated to the subject), not that French quartets are poorly composed and lacking in spirit, but that he subscribes to a “generic contract” that expects certain traits idealized by Germans. It is a strange irony: France is denied a historical national repertoire because its works that might constitute one are not German enough.

That French string quartets have existed in both the amateur and professional realms has also contributed to their being misunderstood. As an amateur activity, an extensive practice of chamber music emerged after the Revolution, one in which a large portion of the upper classes participated. Fauquet, citing Pierre Baillot’s testimony, calls it “a privileged mode of sociability, diverse in practice, that brought together amateurs and artists as well as bourgeoisie and aristocrats.”⁷¹ A high percentage of the population played string (and wind) instruments in France, much higher than in Germany “where the

⁷¹ Fauquet, “Chamber Music in France,” 287.

pianoforte reigned supreme,” and only after 1830 did much of the French public become proficient in piano playing.⁷² And, thanks mostly to the French practice of publishing transcriptions of all kinds of songs, opera numbers, and symphonic excerpts, “the chamber music repertoire includes thousands of works” that “reveal the extent of amateur musical practice.”⁷³

The quartets written to feed this massive amateur consumption generally had to be easy to play. And perhaps correlation between quartets (and chamber music in general) and amateurism dissuaded professionals from making them a point of emphasis. Baillot, Rode, and Kreutzer produced relatively few, and the ones they did produce were for their own performance, not for the ravenous amateur appetite.⁷⁴ Boccherini, on the other hand did contribute string quartets for amateurs. And Boccherini’s 1799 correspondence with his Parisian publisher Pleyel indicates that some professionals were indeed wary of being associated with amateurism. The composer was reluctant to comply with the publisher’s request that he provide chamber music easy enough for Paris’s “*dilettanti*” to play, for he feared that his reputation as a serious composer would be damaged by avoiding modulations, thematic development, and difficult tempos.⁷⁵ He proposed that Pleyel

⁷² Mongrédien, 290-91. Mongrédien wonders whether the fact that a much higher percentage of the German musical public played the piano, an instrument of great harmonic capability, than in France contributed to the notion that Germans prefer “full and rich harmony.” French amateurs more often played strings or wind instruments, possibly contributing to their (supposed) preference for melody (he acknowledges that this intuitive “explanation may or may not be valid”).

⁷³ Ibid., 291.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 290. Mongrédien cites Fétis’s account of an enigmatic person named Abraham who, around 1800, arranged countless “overtures and arias from the latest operas for absolutely any combination of instruments.” Mongrédien also names Blasius (a conductor and violinist) and A.-L. Blondeau (who was known for arranging piano works by Haydn and Beethoven as playable quartets) as participants in the tradition of arranging music for amateurs.

⁷⁵ Germaine de Rothschild, *Luigi Boccherini: His Life and Works*, trans. Andreas Mayor (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 132-33. Mongrédien also discusses Boccherini’s letter on pp. 293-4.

allow him to compose “two quartets...in my [more difficult] style and manner and four as you wish them to be.” Trepidation such as Boccherini’s might help to explain the relatively low output of quartets by highly trained professionals, who themselves preferred to play those of Boccherini himself, Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven.⁷⁶

Eclectic Music for an Eclectic Society

As Mongrédien points out, Enlightenment-era aesthetics remained a strong force in early nineteenth-century French *société*, they continued to influence French taste alongside (not instead of) newer Romantic aesthetics. While Mongrédien does not offer any sociological explanation for this aesthetic dichotomy, his observation coalesces with Elias’s observations of the interconnectivity of French social classes. Elias, as noted above, points out that by the nineteenth century, thanks to the constant interaction of the Parisian upper bourgeoisie with the nobility, it was difficult to distinguish appearances and behavior between these upper classes. Just as the French bourgeoisie assimilated noble characteristics over time, to the point of becoming *civilisé*, it took time for the socially hybrid nineteenth-century French society, one informed by aristocratic taste, to appropriate (Romantic) bourgeois musical emphases. Thus, despite the bourgeois Revolution,⁷⁷ the older French (and more specifically Parisian) value system remained largely intact even through it was a relic of the earlier, feudalistic court society. And

⁷⁶ Fauquet, “Chamber Music in France,” 287-8.

⁷⁷ “Bourgeois Revolution” can be a misleading term, for many nobles played influential roles in the Revolution. A famous example is the Marquis de LaFayette, a noble by birth but a revolutionary republican in practice (Tombs, 355). That many nobles participated thus in the Revolution underscores the extent of the interaction between the aristocratic classes and the bourgeoisie that Elias discusses.

nobles, who congregated mostly in the wealthy Faubourgs Saint-Germain and Saint-Honoré when they returned after the Terror, retained much of Parisian power, money, and influence. Their artistic preferences remained intact as well, continuing to guide composers, especially in certain instrumental genres, long after the bourgeoisie began to assume positions of power in French society.

Carlo Caballero observes that aristocratic taste continued to linger in Paris even through the middle of the nineteenth century. Caballero points out that pre-bourgeois compositional techniques, exemplified by the style of Haydn, were “still a *living style* in Paris in 1855.”⁷⁸ In the genres of the symphony and string quartet, this style “was still fundamentally sound and modern” to mid-century audiences.⁷⁹ An example of such Parisian opinion, Caballero notes, is found in the criticism of Léon Escudier, who praised two Haydnesque movements from Gounod’s First Symphony, which were premiered in 1854, a month before the work as a whole. Escudier called Gounod “a musician with fresh and original ideas ... who brings and incontestable novelty of form and originality to art.”⁸⁰ According to Caballero, Joseph d’Ortigue held a more historically aware opinion than Escudier, commending Gounod for remaining within the bounds of good taste in his symphony. Caballero notes that no Parisian critics “heard the work as a pastiche,” and even though d’Ortigue’s comments came closest to hearing the work in context of historicism, his opinion of it was altogether positive.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Carlo Caballero, “Elias, Adorno, and the ‘Kitsch-Style’” (lecture, University of California, Berkeley, April 28, 2006), 12 (emphasis Caballero).

⁷⁹ Ibid., 11.

⁸⁰ Ibid. Caballero’s source is a review by Léon Escudier in *La France musicale* (11 February 1855), 44.

⁸¹ Ibid., 11.

Although Parisians were familiar with more “progressive” music (such as Berlioz’s), it was not at all shocking that Gounod would compose a symphony that from a modern perspective would seem to be very conservative. That his work was so favorably received demonstrates that two systems of musical expectation existed together in Paris. Aristocratic generic expectations, or conservative taste, continued to be a foil for compositional originality and creativity. Caballero also points out a significant nuance of the situation: composers did not necessarily relegate themselves to one system or the other.⁸² For example, Gounod’s dramatic music (Caballero’s example is *Faust*) differed greatly from the musical language of his symphony, employing highly complex (Romantic) harmonies and more daring tonal excursions. Caballero states that within French expectations for instrumental music, a text or program would have been needed to justify daring harmonies. To employ such complexity and chromaticism in a purely instrumental work would have been unjustified in a musical climate where “laws of genre were incredibly strong” and likely would have been derided as “excessive or even deranged.”⁸³

The issues of originality and creativity resurface in the context of this artistic dichotomy. Both sides of the French musical spectrum, aristocratic and bourgeois, or conservative and progressive, emphasized these terms. But the sides differed in the ways they employed the terms. As Caballero notes, a large portion of the French musical public agreed with Escudier’s glowing assessment of the (conservative) Gounod symphony as “fresh and original.” Aristocratic taste informed this particular notion of originality:

⁸² Ibid., 10.

⁸³ Ibid.

originality was expected of a new work, but it was contained within the bounds of tried and true forms and techniques. Originality, in this context, does not mean the individualism praised by bourgeois Romantics. This kind of originality pertains to the composer's ability to create something fresh within the boundaries prescribed by good taste. In the same vein as Mirabeau's critique of society, it does not seek to shake off traditional constraints. It seeks novelty in nuances within these constraints. This kind of originality is, in a word, *civilisé*.

The kind of originality on the other side of the dichotomy is the much more individualistic bourgeois notion. Norbert Elias couches this ideal, and indeed capitalist bourgeois aesthetics in general, under the term "kitsch."⁸⁴ "Kitsch," for Elias, is not pejorative. "Kitsch" describes the uncertainty of taste characteristic of bourgeois aesthetics, which rejects models and reliance on "good taste," relying instead on the individual taste of the artist. Bourgeois aesthetic products, therefore, tend to be described "in relation to the single creative individual, or at most to various schools and tendencies."⁸⁵ By eschewing the certainty of models and tradition, kitsch presents the possibility of artistic failure, but, as Caballero observes, "Kitsch is itself not that failure; it is a precondition of all modern art, the potential for *that particular kind of failure*."⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Norbert Elias, "The Kitsch Style and the Age of Kitsch," in *The Collected Works of Norbert Elias* vol. 1, *The Early Years*, ed. Richard Kilminster, trans. Edmund Jephcott, (Dublin, Ireland: University College Dublin Press, 2006), 85-96.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 86.

⁸⁶ Caballero, 5. Caballero notes that while Elias's essay "The Kitsch Style and the Age of Kitsch" dates from very early in Elias's career (1935), musicologists have generally failed to notice it, tending to rely more on Theodor Adorno's use of the term "kitsch" as pejorative (p. 2). Although Elias and Adorno both belonged to the famed "Frankfurt School" of sociology at the University of Frankfurt along with Max Horkheimer, Karl Mannheim, and Erich Fromm, the two scholars appear to have had little contact, and Adorno shows no evidence of familiarity with Elias's work (pp. 2-3).

Without the assurance of long formalized traditions of taste (the presence of a model), the artist, relying on her or his own discernment, runs the risk of an art object's failing, a concern that did not affect older courtly art traditions. But, while it risks failure, "kitsch" also offers the "potential for truly spectacular development...in those works created out of a radical originality unconstrained by prescribed tastes and traditions."⁸⁷ Elias's definition of "kitsch," then, is not derogatory. It does not offer terms of valuation (or devaluation); rather, it is a categorical term. It provides a large, inclusive context for describing aesthetic products and movements instead of critical argument over the value of individual works of art.

In Elias's construction, "kitsch" is the artistic antithesis of courtly (aristocratic) forms. Courtly art minimizes risk, relying on the constraints of forms and the assurance of good taste. The artist's ability to create something original is idealized in both systems: in courtly art, originality lies in nuance within prescriptions, but the originality of bourgeois, or "kitsch," art extends to the vehicles, or "forms," as well. The courtly-aristocratic system, then, finds originality and artistic value within the prescribed bounds of the vehicle while the "kitsch" system treats the vehicle itself, not only its content, as part of the art object. The different aims of originality between the respective systems explains why we see expansion (even to the point of bursting), and dissolution and discarding, of forms in Romanticism and modernism. It is also why Gounod's aristocratically informed Parisian audience, which included members of the bourgeoisie, found his music "fundamentally sound and modern," as Caballero puts it.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 4.

According to Elias, these two sides of the dichotomy are a fundamental difference between characteristic European art forms of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries respectively.⁸⁸ Eighteenth-century aesthetics clung to the courtly vestiges of feudal society. But in the nineteenth century bourgeois artistic preferences and sensibilities became prominent. But these categorical characteristics are only generalizations, for the bourgeois (“kitsch”) system surfaced in certain fields and certain locations at least as early as the eighteenth century. Elias states:

In the fields of literature and philosophy it was possible, in Germany in the second half of the eighteenth century, to liberate oneself from the court-aristocratic canon of taste. People working in these sectors could reach their audience through books; and as there was a fairly large and growing reading public among the bourgeoisie in Germany in this period, class-specific cultural forms were able to emerge relatively early there.⁸⁹

And, as we have seen in the example of string quartets and the symphony, French art systems did not suddenly shift emphases from aristocratic to bourgeois values: courtly assurances remained a significant force in France in the nineteenth century despite uncertainties in forms of government and a growth of bourgeois taste. Thanks to France’s “continuous tradition over many centuries, the form-creating power of court society was extraordinarily strong,” and has lasted even beyond the nineteenth century.⁹⁰ As Caballero puts it, “In France, the *ancien régime* faltered as a political system after 1789, but its stored power as an arbiter of taste and long-standing traditions persisted into the age of kitsch.”⁹¹

⁸⁸ Elias, “Kitsch,” 86.

⁸⁹ Norbert Elias, *Mozart: The Sociology of a Genius*, in *The Collected Works of Norbert Elias*, vol. 12, *Mozart and Other Essays on Courtly Art*, eds. Eric Baker and Stephen Mennell, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Dublin, Ireland: University College Dublin Press, 2010). 65.

⁹⁰ Elias, “Kitsch,” 89.

⁹¹ Caballero, 4.

Conclusion

In 1862, Victor Hugo wrote in *Les Misérables*: “Il ne faut être ni dilettante ni virtuose: mais il faut être artiste” (“One must be neither dilettante nor virtuoso; one must be an artist”).⁹² Hugo’s statement is telling: “dilettante” and “virtuoso” refer to the artistic practices of the aristocracy. Hugo’s “artist” defies both the amateurism of the dilettante and the empty showiness of the virtuoso: offered as an antidote to aristocratic art practices, the artist is bourgeois.⁹³ That Hugo would make such a distinction testifies to the dichotomy between aristocratic and bourgeois art systems discussed above. But even more importantly, his prescriptive statement also testifies that both still persisted through the middle of the nineteenth century, a situation he felt needed to be rectified. Observed in the above-discussed differences in art and art values between nations, social classes, and eras, this dichotomy offers perspective on two historically pervasive assumptions: first, that music lagged behind other art forms (because literature and philosophy, not music, emerged as early manifestations of bourgeois aesthetic products) and second (and more important for my purposes), that Germany represented the vanguard of cultural and artistic (especially musical) evolution. Precisely because bourgeois values and products emerged there first (and gained prominence rather quickly), they became representative of German culture more generally.

These assumptions, especially the latter with its particular emphases on creativity and originality, are significant to the history of the French string quartet repertoire at

⁹² Victor Hugo, *Les Misérables*, part v, book 1, chapter xx (Brussels: Lacroix, Verboeckhoven & Ce, 1862) (translation mine).

⁹³ The virtuoso tradition’s affiliation with aristocratic entertainment is discussed in Chapter Five.

hand.⁹⁴ Though it was composed by bourgeois musicians (people of the present), the repertoire testifies to the continued aristocratic governance of taste in Paris (musical tastes of the past), for it caters to both amateurism and virtuosity. Thus, it represents a particularly French synthesis: the repertoire is a music that met noble taste, but ironically could be played only by virtuosos (professionals or someone of professional-level skill) who were almost exclusively of the bourgeoisie. It was an apt reaction to the eclectic conditions in France. But to those informed by more recent bourgeois Romantic ideals, this repertoire can appear to have missed the ticket to artistic evolution. But evolution implies directed change, and as the aesthetic dichotomy in France indicates, no clear break from courtly art had occurred in that country. Enlightenment aesthetics bred in the court society did not quickly give way to bourgeois idealism. Aristocratic values did not suddenly break down before the “inevitable” onslaught of kitsch, and creativity, for those informed by the taste of the former, were expected to be exercised within the bounds of good taste and the assurance of older forms. Not only was the dilettante-oriented French string quartet in the early nineteenth century the main vehicle of an extensive amateur chamber music practice, the virtuosic version continued to function as serious artistic expression for professional violinists such as Baillot, Rode, Kreutzer, and Dancla. While these musicians continued to compose such aristocratically geared music, they, especially Baillot, were among the greatest contributors to the popularizing of (what can be considered “kitsch”) chamber works by Viennese composers among the Parisian musical public. These professionals navigated the courtly-kitsch artistic dichotomy with apparent fluency, a fact that indicates that a conflict of art worlds is perhaps more readily

⁹⁴ See Chapter Five.

perceived in retrospect. For these composers, it does not appear to have presented any conflict. It was simply their world.

The repertoire of string quartets studied in this dissertation holds implications for some of the well-known European musical traditions of the nineteenth century. While thoroughly investigating such implications are not the point of this dissertation, the repertoire provides insight into the Parisian musical world experienced by many important musicians. When Frédéric Chopin arrived in Paris in the late 1820s, he regularly attended Baillot's chamber music series, and some features of Chopin's music, such as *tempo rubato*, have precedent in Baillot's violin technique and pedagogy. This study also contributes to our understanding of instrumental virtuosity in the nineteenth century. It offers context for Franz Liszt's virtuosic compositional practices, especially his transcriptions, for Baillot, Rode, and Kreutzer (as well as the next generation of Parisian musicians, including Charles Dancla) composed many transcriptions (their *airs variés* or *thèmes variés*) of operatic numbers as well as of folk tunes and popular instrumental works. Baillot's concert series, in which he nearly always performed such a work, was frequented by professional musicians. Liszt's teacher Reicha regularly attended Baillot's sessions (Baillot frequently performed works by Reicha), and Liszt himself most likely attended some of them as well. Liszt's transcriptions were not anomalous, but, rather, they fit nicely into an existing musical milieu. Also, the repertoire investigated here shows that virtuosity extended beyond familiar genres, such as the concerto and solo piano music, and into a vehicle previously untapped by music historians, that of chamber music. As will be discussed in Chapter Four, the string quartets of Baillot, Rode, Kreutzer, and Dancla include elements that scholars have only studied in instrumental concertos, an important contribution of this dissertation. Although it has

long been forgotten, early nineteenth-century French chamber music represents a rich and important opportunity for musical research, one that has certainly not been thoroughly examined.

Chapter 2

Éclectiques: French Composers of String Quartets in the Early Nineteenth Century

W. A. Mozart, Norbert Elias notes, was a person in limbo between two worlds, bourgeois and aristocratic: on the one hand, he was a person with a close up view of the workings of aristocratic society thanks to his precocious musical genius; on the other, he was a “bourgeois outsider” who, thanks to living in a society where status was determined by birth, had no chance of gaining equal acceptance among aristocrats.¹ According to Elias, Mozart is a difficult figure to categorize because “we are used to operating with static concepts. Was Mozart, we tend to ask, a musical representative of rococo or of the bourgeois nineteenth century? Was his work the last manifestation of a pre-Romantic ‘objective’ music, or does it already show signs of the rising ‘subjectivism’?”² Mozart lived in a time of social shift. If we try to categorize him as an example of one of these two (ironically predetermined in posterity) “static concepts,” he ultimately fails to be either. Significantly, Mozart the adult is frequently portrayed as a failure, if not musically then at least financially and professionally.

In the late 1770s, Mozart left Salzburg to pursue positions with various aristocratic houses, eventually trying to gain employment in Paris. Paris especially proved to be a disappointment for the young Mozart, for “he waited in vain, an increasingly embittered man, in

¹ Norbert Elias, *Mozart: The Sociology of a Genius*, in *The Collected Works of Norbert Elias*, vol. 12, *Mozart and Other Essays on Courtly Art*, eds. Eric Baker and Stephen Mennell, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Dublin, Ireland: University College Dublin Press, 2010). 64.

² *Ibid.*, 63.

the antechambers of influential ladies and gentlemen of the nobility.”³ The Parisian nobility treated him as they regarded him, not as a lowly servant, for he was a masterful musician, but as a servant nevertheless.⁴ But Mozart was conscious of his own abilities as well as the merits of the nobles to whom he was expected to grovel. Elias states: “Although he was the socially dependent subordinate of court aristocrats, his awareness of his extraordinary musical talent made him feel equal, if not superior to them.”⁵ His annoyance with the Parisians “who irritated and humiliated him” led him to realize that “the whole social world in which he lived was somehow wrong.”⁶

Mozart seems to have had intuitions of the bourgeois notion that his abilities and accomplishments should determine his value as a person, and he resented the fact that the aristocrats whose world he navigated would never accept him as an equal on grounds of merit. He was angered and disappointed by high society’s treatment of him, and he chose to fight against it by forging his own way as a freelance musician, a struggle he was destined to lose in the late 1700s because nobles still held a controlling interest in European society.⁷ Thus Mozart, the bourgeois musician, failed in aristocratic society and in Paris, where even the bourgeoisie had absorbed noble *civilisation* and had itself become *civilisé*. To be *civilisé*, as discussed in Chapter One, meant that a person adhered to his social rank.⁸ But Mozart was not *civilisé*. Mozart fought against the constraints of his ranking. As a person whose notions of merit were based on accomplishment and ability, he could not accept the place accorded him in service of *société*. He

³ Ibid., 67.

⁴ Ibid., 71.

⁵ Ibid., 71-2.

⁶ Ibid., 72.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ See p. 15.

believed that his social superiors were not his equals in terms of merit, and he did not accept a life of service to them.

As Elias states, Mozart's genius was a factor in his frustration with the social structure, but because his genius was informed by the bourgeois German notion that human worth rests in individual accomplishment, he fundamentally struggled against his social rank. Mozart appears to have inherited social dissatisfaction from his father Leopold. He, like his son, was dissatisfied with a second-rate status.⁹ Although he had learned the groveling manner of the courtier, Leopold Mozart detested it and would not tolerate it from Wolfgang.¹⁰ But despite his unhappiness, Leopold "bowed, unwillingly, to circumstances he could not escape."¹¹ While he disliked his lot in social life, he "was still fairly rooted" in it, and he consistently tried to coax his son into conforming as well.¹² That is, while Leopold Mozart expressed struggles privately, realizing that the aristocratic system that tethered him was unjust, he also realized that he had to be *civilisé* for he was a court musician. And he consistently tried to convince Wolfgang to do so as well, even securing him court positions (which the younger Mozart regularly squandered). Wolfgang surely knew that his father privately protested his social strictures, but his father was also the person trying to convince him to conform to his own (and understandably so, for to do so meant financial stability). These were trying times for the young Mozart, and his observations of his father's private struggles almost certainly contributed to his unwillingness to comply with his father's wishes or to accept his social position.

⁹ Elias., 66.

¹⁰ Ibid., 115-16.

¹¹ Ibid., 66.

¹² Ibid., 73.

This chapter, while dealing with a period slightly later than Mozart's Parisian experiences, covers the lives and careers of four musicians in Paris. After some discussion on the context of their careers, I will outline the accomplishments of Pierre Baillot, Pierre Rode, Rodolphe Kreutzer, and Charles Dancla individually. I will then offer some observations on ways these musicians needed to navigate both bourgeois and aristocratic expectations in order to be successful in Paris. As we will see, that these composers were bourgeois musicians responding to aristocratic expectations is crucial to understanding their string quartets.

These four men were violinist-composers who had to navigate social constraints similar to the ones Mozart faced. Like Mozart, these composers were bourgeois instrumental virtuosos who had to deal with the expectation that their music must serve the upper classes. But in a previously noble society that was shifting toward bourgeois control, albeit later than German lands did, they also had to be versatile. They balanced careers as performers (sometimes as touring virtuosos), as professors at the new Conservatoire, as employees of rulers, as entrepreneurs, and more. But, unlike Mozart, they were *civilisés*. As Frenchmen in Paris, they certainly had some advantages over the Austrian Mozart, and they achieved different results. Had Mozart been a Frenchman, that is, if he had had *civilité* built into his social development, his career might have looked very different. He might have been more willing to comply with social expectations of a bourgeois musician, taken a permanent court appointment, and had more stable finances.

Whether positively or negatively, I do not mean to musically compare the music of the French composers considered in this chapter to Mozart's music. I rather wish to observe that their reactions to the social situation allotted them differed remarkably from his. They did not struggle against the strictures of *société*, at least not openly, and their quiescence was a mark of

being *civilisé*. In part, the *civilisé* aspect of their lives is reflected in the kind of string quartets they composed. Because their chamber music involves a mixture of Italian operatic elements, vocal music in general, and features of virtuosic solo playing, it met the expectations of an aristocratic society, not a bourgeois one. In retrospect, such eclecticism was their historical undoing. They failed to meet what would become the bourgeois expectation that string quartets should remain separate from (supposedly) frivolous aristocratic entertainment.

Pierre Baillot (1771-1842)

The most comprehensive biographical work on Baillot is Brigitte François-Sappey's article "Pierre Marie François de Sales Baillot (1771-1842), par lui-même: Étude de sociologie musicale."¹³ Most of the other sources on Baillot are lexicon entries that either draw from the same sources as François-Sappey (mostly Baillot's memoirs and critical writings like Fétis's), or, as is the case for entries published later than 1978, extensively rely on her article.¹⁴ For that reason, much of my information comes from François-Sappey's article, which comprises selections of Baillot's memoirs interspersed with commentary by François-Sappey. Baillot's family donated a sizable amount of material to the French national library in the hope that a scholar would write his biography (one has yet to be written). The materials include his

¹³ Brigitte François-Sappey, "Pierre Marie François de Sales Baillot (1771-1842), par lui-même: Étude de sociologie musicale," in *Recherches sur la musique française classique* 18 (1978): 127-211.

¹⁴ Such as Paul David, Manoug Parikian, and Michelle Garnier-Bute, "Baillot, Pierre (Marie François de Sales)," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 2, ed. Stanley Sadie (New York and London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001), 490-1.

correspondence, *livrets des familles*,¹⁵ and much more.¹⁶ Baillot's memoirs have not been published in their entirety, so, without consulting the Baillot archives, François-Sappey's article is the most comprehensive version of them available.

Despite contributing significantly to the development of violin technique, establishing the Conservatoire's system of violin pedagogy, and being a true virtuoso and composer, Baillot has been largely forgotten today, a fact François-Sappey attributes to his great modesty.¹⁷ She believes that had his humility not held him back from self-promotion, Baillot, who also "appears to have been the first [person] to use ... the term 'chamber music' in its modern sense,"¹⁸ would be as remembered along with such "egocentrics" as Berlioz, Chopin, and Wagner.¹⁹ François-Sappey's statement might seem odd considering that Baillot's compositional output was not nearly as extensive as these three composers; after all, he did not focus so much on composing as on playing. Perhaps, then, her statement applies more to his performing abilities, for she states that he was the virtuosic equal of Paganini and Liszt.²⁰ Nevertheless, he was loved and

¹⁵ The *Livret de famille* is an official booklet held by all legal French families. It entails a civil registry of births, deaths, marriages, etc. It is a legal form of identification and is required for official matters such as enrolling children in school and purchase of property.

¹⁶ A full inventory of the Baillot archives has been written by Cécile Reynaud, the director of the music department of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (hereafter BnF), and her article includes some of his correspondence. See Cécile Reynaud, "Les fonds consacrés à Baillot au département de la Musique de la Bibliothèque nationale de France," in *Musique, Esthétique et Société au XIX^e Siècle: Liber amicorum Joël-Marie Fauquet*, eds. Damien Colas, Florence Gétreau, and Malou Haine (Wavre, Belgium: Mardaga, 2007), 37-52.

¹⁷ François-Sappey, "Pierre Marie François de Sales Baillot," 127.

¹⁸ Joël-Marie Fauquet, "Aspects de la musique de chambre au XIX^e Siècle: L'Instrument et le musicien," in *Instrumentalistes et Luthiers Parisiens: XVII^e-XIX^e Siècles* (Paris: La Délégation, 1988), 239. "Baillot paraît avoir été le premier à utiliser, dès 1805, le terme de 'musique de chambre' dans son acception moderne" (translation mine).

¹⁹ François-Sappey, "Pierre Marie François de Sales Baillot," 127-8.

²⁰ Ibid., 127-8. "On objectera que Baillot ne bénéficiait peut-être pas du renom de ces artistes [Berlioz, Chopin, and Wagner], ce qui n'est pas un argument valable—et Liszt alors?—et s'avère faux de surcroît. S'il l'avait voulu, Baillot aurait pu jouer les 'divas' du violon à l'égal de Paganini et faire retentir l'Europe de ses humeurs" (p. 128).

appreciated by his contemporaries, who recognized his immense talents and affable personality.²¹ Notably, Boris Schwarz offers a different opinion of Baillot's talents: Schwarz states that "Baillot was not so much a virtuoso as a versatile musical personality: soloist, quartet player, composer, writer, pedagogue, he seems at home in every field of musical endeavor."²² He also states, "Baillot's natural talent for the violin was not as strong and inborn as that of Rode and Kreutzer; yet, through intelligence and perseverance, he developed into one of the 'most perfect' players."²³ Doubtless, part of Schwarz's first statement is true—Baillot certainly was a versatile musician—but the historical record also indicates that he was indeed a true virtuoso who drew comparisons to Paganini, Chopin, and Liszt. Schwarz's statement shows Schwarz himself to be reluctant to accept virtuosity as a serious musical activity, choosing instead to focus on Baillot's "intelligence" and hard work, for he realized that Baillot was indeed a significant figure.²⁴

Baillot was born in Passy to Nicolas and Antoinette Perreau Baillot. His early childhood was spent in Paris, where he began his violin studies with the Florentine violinist Polidori, followed by a Frenchman named Sainte-Marie.²⁵ Nicolas Baillot was a lawyer employed by the French government. He died in 1783 immediately after moving the family from Paris to Corsica: on 14 November, twelve-year-old Pierre wrote in his diary, "J'ai perdu mon père, mon meilleur

²¹ Ibid.

²² Boris Schwarz, *Instrumental Music in France between the Revolutions (1789-1830)* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1987), 203. His book is an expanded and (purportedly) updated version of Schwarz's 1950 Columbia University dissertation.

²³ Ibid., 205.

²⁴ Such dichotomies as the one encountered here between workmanship and virtuosity will be explored further in Chapter Five.

²⁵ François-Sappey, "Pierre Marie François de Sales Baillot," 131.

ami” (“I’ve lost my father, my best friend”).²⁶ As his mother could not support him, the young Baillot was taken in by Claude de Boucheporn, Louis XVI’s steward of the newly annexed



Figure 2.1. Pierre Baillot (1771-1824). https://www.musicologie.org/biographies/b/baillot_pierre.html.

Corsica, who raised Pierre with his own children.²⁷ After Baillot’s mother and sister returned to the French mainland in 1784, he was sent to Rome with the Boucheporn children, where he received First Communion in June, 1784 and studied the violin with Pollani.²⁸ While still under Boucheporn’s care, he left for Bayonne in November 1785, where he made the decision to pursue violin as a career.²⁹ In 1791, feeling responsible for his family’s well-being during such troubled times, Baillot rejoined what was left of his family (his mother and younger sister) in

Paris.³⁰ In Paris, he quickly received acclaim as a violinist: he was taken on as Viotti’s student, and Viotti placed him in the first violins of the orchestra of the Théâtre Feydeau (Théâtre de Monsieur); it was here that he met Pierre Rode, a fellow student of Viotti and member of the

²⁶ Ibid., translation mine.

²⁷ Ibid., 132. Boucheporn and his family were friendly with the Bonaparte family, who were also from Corsica. Claude’s son René de Boucheporn would eventually become first prefect of the king’s palace when Napoleon named his brother Louis Bonaparte king of Holland. Another Boucheporn son, Louis, held the same title under Jérôme Bonaparte after he was named king of Westphalie (ibid.).

²⁸ Ibid.,

²⁹ Ibid., 133.

³⁰ Ibid., 134.

orchestra, who would be one of his closest colleagues and a lifelong friend.³¹ Unfortunately, Baillot had to leave off his violin activities after five months in order to support his mother, sister, and grandmother.³² For a time, he worked for the French Minister of Finance while fearing the repercussions of the Revolution: at heart, Baillot supported the revolutionaries, but he hated the bloodshed of the Terror, fearing that lawlessness would win out.³³

Baillot was conscripted to fight in the revolutionary armies in 1793. He fought in several battles against the English in northwestern France over the course of the next two years. He returned to Paris in 1795, where conditions were desperate, and he nearly starved while searching for work.³⁴ Fortunately, and “despite his extreme modesty,” Baillot’s violin playing impressed the Parisian musical public, and he was named professor of violin at the newly-founded Conservatoire de musique late in 1795.³⁵ The appointment was fortunate on two accounts: not only could he now support himself, but it likely saved him from being conscripted into the army again. Interestingly, there is some doubt about the exact date that Baillot became a professor at the Conservatoire, for he did not receive the official title of professor until 1799, leading some to believe that he did not occupy a position there until that time; however, on 22 December, 1795, he wrote in his diary, “J’ai été nommé membre du Conservatoire de musique” (“I’ve been named a member of the Conservatoire de musique”), and he confirmed in a letter the

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid., 135 and Schwarz, 205.

³³ François-Sappey, 135.

³⁴ Ibid., 137-8.

³⁵ Ibid., 139. Sappey states: “En dépit de son extrême modestie, qui lui faisait dire il y a peu qu’il ne savait plus jouer du violon, cet ‘amateur’ n’en avait pas moins, à son retour de l’armée, fortement impressionné le milieu musical parisien.”

following February that he had taken the position.³⁶ Doubt regarding the exact date of his appointment appears to stem from the Conservatoire staff's keeping incomplete records at that time.

His early years at the Conservatoire testify to Baillot's characteristic humility, for Baillot, apparently realizing a deficiency in his musical formation, took advantage of his proximity to other highly accomplished musicians by taking composition lessons from his colleagues Reicha, Catel, and Cherubini.³⁷ As a new institution, and as a response to the revolutionary need for state musicians, the Conservatoire was in a precarious position in the last five years of the century, but thanks to the efforts of figures like Baillot, Rode, and Kreutzer, who served faithfully despite unstable circumstances, it survived.³⁸ By 1802, along with Rode and Kreutzer, Baillot had completed a pedagogical plan, the *Méthode de violon*, followed in 1804 by his own *Méthode de violoncelle*. These works established the Conservatoire's teaching approach, which would provide the foundation for many great artists and even today are considered to be staples for string players.³⁹ In July 1802 Baillot also joined the orchestra of Napoleon's private chapel, serving as leader of the second violins, a court appointment he would retain throughout the Empire and the Restoration, retiring from it only in 1830.⁴⁰

³⁶ Ibid., translation mine.

³⁷ Ibid., 141-2.

³⁸ Ibid., 142-3.

³⁹ Ibid., 143. The *Méthode*, along with Baillot's 1834 *L'Art du violon*, are officially considered by the Conservatoire as its foundational violin pedagogy. See Anne Penesco, "Pierre Baillot et l'école Franco-Belge de violon," in *Le Conservatoire de Paris: Deux cents ans de pédagogie*, ed. Pierre Zech (Paris: Buchet/Chastel, 1999), 91.

⁴⁰ François-Sappey, 144. Baillot's son-in-law, Eugène Sauzay, stated that the orchestra's director, Habeneck, considered Baillot to be his violin soloist, but the title of leader of the second violins apparently had some advantages for him; see Brigitte François-Sappey, "La Vie musicale à Paris à travers les mémoires d'Eugène Sauzay," *Revue de musicologie* 60, nos. 1-2 (January 1974): 195.

Baillot began to supplement his career at the Conservatoire by offering solo concerts in 1803. His first ones were given in Paris, followed by the provinces, then an international tour. After his initial Paris concerts, Baillot gave concerts in Caen, Normandy in 1803 and in Bordeaux in 1805.⁴¹ Anticipating a “grande aventure,” Baillot left for Russia in August 1805 at the invitation of his friend, the cellist Lamare, though it especially pained him to leave his mother. En route, he stopped for about two weeks in Vienna, where he met Haydn and Beethoven and spent time with his colleague Cherubini.⁴² Baillot arrived in Moscow on 9 November, initially planning only to spend one winter giving concerts there, but he ended up staying in Russia for three years, touring to great acclaim.⁴³ Over the course of his stay, he gave seventeen *séances* of quartets and quintets for impressed aristocratic audiences.⁴⁴ Baillot also played with various philharmonic societies and in May 1808, gave a private concert for Tsar Nicholas I in St. Petersburg.⁴⁵ He was offered the prestigious position of director of the Grand Theatre of Moscow, a position he refused because he wanted to return to Paris, as he did late in 1808.⁴⁶

Upon returning, Baillot resettled in Paris and resumed his duties at the Conservatoire. These were generally happy times for him, and he married his cousin Antoinette Raincour in 1809. During his absence, his family had unfortunately accrued some substantial debts, a strain

⁴¹ François-Sappey, “Pierre Marie François de Sales Baillot,” 144.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid., 144-5.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 146. These were very well-attended sessions, for around two hundred subscriptions were purchased by aristocrats, many of whom also invited Baillot to perform in their homes.

⁴⁵ Baillot traveled to St. Petersburg because he did not want to miss the opportunity to visit with his friend Boieldieu, who lived there from 1802-1810. While there, Baillot gave a variety of chamber performances and solo concerts (ibid).

⁴⁶ Ibid.

he acutely felt when he and his wife began to have children. Always honorable, he did not try to avoid his familial responsibilities and apparently paid off the debts, possibly with money received from a tour of the French south in 1812, which was a great success.⁴⁷ After the Restoration, on 12 December 1814 Baillot “inaugurated” the activity for which he is perhaps best known today other than his pedagogical writings, his public chamber music series. Baillot’s ensemble, the first professional chamber music group in France, performed regularly from that date until 1840 when his health declined.⁴⁸ François-Sappey wonders if Baillot’s timing in initiating his *séances* had to do with the political climate of 1814 because, after the Restoration of the Bourbon dynasty, “aristocrats constituted an important part of [Baillot’s] public.”⁴⁹ When it is mentioned by historians, Baillot’s series usually is credited for its role in introducing the Parisian public to the chamber music of Beethoven and Mozart (and continuing Haydn’s already strong presence). It did do so, but Baillot and his ensemble also featured the music of French and Italian contemporaries (including works by Boccherini, Cherubini, Onslow, Rode, Kreutzer, Viotti, and more) along with older works, including those of J. S. Bach, Handel, and Corelli.⁵⁰ Baillot’s former student and son-in-law, the violinist Eugène Sauzay, stated that Baillot surrounded himself with wonderful musicians and played quartets by masters of the idiom.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Ibid., 147-8.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 149. See also Jöel-Marie Fauquet, “Chamber Music in France from Luigi Cherubini to Claude Debussy,” in *Nineteenth-Century Chamber Music*, ed. Stephen E. Hefling (New York: Routledge, 2004), 287-8.

⁴⁹ “Le 12 décembre 1814, sous la première Restauration de Louis XVIII—hasard ou non ? les aristocrates constituant une partie importante de son public—le musicien inaugure ses séances publiques de musique de chambre” (François-Sappey, “Pierre Marie François de Sales Baillot,” 149, translation mine).

⁵⁰ All of the programs performed by Baillot’s series are listed in Jöel-Marie Fauquet’s, *Les Sociétés de musique de chambre à Paris de la Restauration à 1870* (Paris: aux Amateurs de livres, 1986), 293-331.

⁵¹ Brigitte François-Sappey, “La Vie musicale à Paris,” 192.

Sauzay also recalled that Baillot ended each of his sessions with one of his *airs variés* which were composed to feature his virtuosic abilities.⁵²

Thanks to events surrounding the Restoration, the Conservatoire, with its revolutionary origins, was closed for a while in 1815 and 1816. During that time, Baillot toured Belgium, the Netherlands, and England, also to great acclaim. The tour probably materialized from practical need, for he likely needed the income.⁵³ Thus, Baillot's fame as a violinist continued to spread throughout Europe. He enjoyed a good deal of stability for the rest of his life, maintaining a very active career of performing, teaching, composing, and directing various ensembles. In the 1820s, Baillot led the orchestra of the Opéra, directed the orchestra of the Chapelle Royale, contributed to Habeneck's Concerts du Conservatoire, and in 1833 toured Italy and Switzerland.⁵⁴ The next year, he completed his pedagogical work, *L'Art du violon*, an elaboration of his earlier collaboration with Rode and Kreutzer and a "[f]ruit d'une longue méditation."⁵⁵ This manual, François-Sappey states, established his reputation as the greatest pedagogue in Europe.⁵⁶ Even late in life, Baillot continued an impressive slate of performances, collaborating with Chopin, Hiller, Kalkbrenner, and John Field among many others.⁵⁷ In the early years of the July Monarchy, he also frequently played alongside Sauzay with Louis-Philippe's *Musiciens du Roi*

⁵² "Baillot finissait-il chacune de ses séances par un de ses airs variés dans lesquels il faisait admirer sa virtuosité" (ibid.). Sauzay's memory was correct, for Baillot nearly always ended each session with variations, usually composed by himself (see the list of programs in Fauquet's *Les Sociétés de musique de chambre*, 293-331).

⁵³ François-Sappey, "Pierre Marie François de Sales Baillot," 150.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 151-4. Notably, the *New Grove* article on Baillot calls this Baillot's final tour (see David, Parikian, and Garnier-Bute, 491), but Baillot described in his memoirs "une grande tournée" of Belgium in February and March of 1837. While on that tour, Baillot participated in several events in Brussels with Fétis (François-Sappey, "Pierre Marie François de Sales Baillot," 155).

⁵⁵ François-Sappey, "Pierre Marie François de Sales Baillot," 154.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid. He and Field performed together in the Papal salons in 1833.

in the Tuileries palace. Baillot was a friend of Paër, the king's music director, who frequently solicited his services as soloist and quartet leader, and, Sauzay recalled, he was a favorite accompanist of Madame Adélaïde (Louis-Philippe's sister) when she played the harp.⁵⁸ Although he had already been suffering from liver disease for about a year, Baillot's final performance took place in Cherubini's house in July 1841, and he finally succumbed to the disease in September 1842.⁵⁹ Three of Baillot's students—Mialle, Elwart, and Charles Dancla—spoke at his graveside service in the Montmartre cemetery. In Mialle's emotional tribute to his teacher, he called Baillot “la gloire des Beaux-Arts, le modèle et l'orgueil de ses disciples” (“the glory of the fine arts, the model and pride of his disciples”).⁶⁰ Baillot was recalled warmly by those who knew him best: Sauzay and Dancla always remembered him in very fond terms, and a few months after Baillot's death, his close friend Montbeillard wrote that if he were himself ever honored with an epitaph, it would simply read, “il fut l'ami de Baillot” (“he was Baillot's friend”).⁶¹

Pierre Rode (1774-1830)

For a period of his life, Pierre Rode enjoyed a reputation as one of Europe's finest

⁵⁸ François-Sappey, “La Vie musicale à Paris,” 195

⁵⁹ François-Sappey, “Pierre Marie François de Sales Baillot,” 155-6. Baillot's final performance was attended by his and Cherubini's friend, the eclectic painter Dominique Ingres, who painted the oil portrait of Cherubini housed in the Louvre: see Fauquet, “Aspects de la musique de chambre au XIX^e Siècle,” 239.

⁶⁰ François-Sappey, “Pierre Marie François de Sales Baillot,” 156 (translation mine).

⁶¹ Ibid. (translation mine). See also Charles Dancla's many fond recollections of Baillot (as well as of Rode and Kreutzer) in Dancla's *Notes et Souvenirs*, edited and with an introduction by Étienne Jardin (Venice: Palazzetto Bru Zane, 2012).

violinists. The notoriously hard-to-please Louis Spohr, for example, recalled him as a brilliant player on par with Viotti: Spohr observed that Rode was even greater than his own teacher Eck,



Figure 2.2. Pierre Rode (1774-1830). <https://www.alc-hetron.com/Pierre-Rode>.

and that hearing Rode inspired him to apply himself to a greater degree.⁶² Although Rode's popularity faded along with his abilities late in his career, he is still remembered as one of the great virtuosos of his day. Fewer biographical sources, especially published ones, exist for Rode's life and career than for Baillot's. Most coverage of Rode and his music applies to his violin concertos, with only a few comments on his quartets. Unlike for Baillot, there are no complete archives dedicated to Rode, although

the Bibliothèque nationale de France (hereafter BnF) holds over three hundred archived items

relating to his music and life. The most detailed and extensive published document on Rode's life is Arthur Pougin's 1874 *Notice sur Rode: Violoniste français*,⁶³ which has thankfully been reprinted and translated with some commentary by Bruce R. Schueneman.⁶⁴ Other than Schueneman's work and some very short lexicon entries, no scholarly work has been devoted

⁶² Bruce R. Schueneman, *The French Violin School: Viotti, Rode, Kreutzer, Baillot and Their Contemporaries*, ed., William Studwell (Kingsville, TX: The Lyre of Orpheus Press, 2002), 47-8.

⁶³ Arthur Pougin, *Notice sur Rode: Violoniste français* (Paris: Pottier de Lalaine, 1874).

⁶⁴ Arthur Pougin, *The Life and Music of Pierre Rode containing An Account of Rode, French Violinist*, translated and with a Foreword by Bruce R. Schueneman (Kingsville, TX: The Lyre of Orpheus Press, 1994). Schueneman has also published a short book on Rode, Baillot, and Kreutzer that amounts mostly to a discussion of their violin concertos (see footnote 55).

exclusively to Rode since Hans Ahlgrimm's dissertation in 1929, which is a discussion of Rode's violin concertos.⁶⁵ The sketchy nature of the details of Rode's life is evident in most summaries of the composer. A typical example is the Oxford Music Online entry by Sarah Hibberd, which is short enough to provide here in its entirety:

French violinist and composer. He studied with Viotti and made his debut in Paris in 1790; five years later he was appointed professor of violin at the Conservatoire. He toured extensively in the Netherlands, Spain (where he met Boccherini), Germany (where Spohr was captivated by his playing), and Russia (where he was solo violinist to the tsar). In 1812 he gave the premiere of Beethoven's Violin Sonata op. 96 in Vienna and two years later settled in Berlin. Acknowledged as the leader of the French violin school, he injected a new brilliance into Viotti's classicism. His compositions include 13 violin concertos, models of the French style, a number of extremely popular *airs variés*, and 12 *quatuors brillants*.⁶⁶

As Schueneman notes, even when we combine all available sources on Rode, some years are still missing from the record, and some accounts compete on minor details.⁶⁷ Schueneman has written or contributed to three documents that contain summaries of information on Rode's life (the translation of Pougin's *Notice* and two others that summarize it), and I will lean on his work in this short account of Rode.

Jacques Pierre Joseph Rode was born in Bordeaux in February 1774.⁶⁸ His father was a perfumer who provided his son with lessons from a local violinist named Flauvel.⁶⁹ Flauvel took Rode to Paris at the age of thirteen to attend the *Concert spirituel*.⁷⁰ He probably heard Viotti

⁶⁵ See Ahlgrimm's "Pierre Rode: Eine Beitrag zur Geschicht des Violonkonzerts" (PhD diss., University of Vienna, 1929). Ahlgrimm's dissertation is something of a performer's guide to Rode's concertos and adds nothing to Pougin's biographical account.

⁶⁶ Sarah Hibberd, "Rode, (Jacques) Pierre (Joseph)," www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

⁶⁷ Bruce R. Schueneman, "The Search for the Minor Composer: The Case of Pierre Rode," *Music Reference Services Quarterly* 3, no. 1 (January 1994): 38.

⁶⁸ Schueneman's accounts disagree about the exact year of Rode's birth. In "The Search for the Minor Composer" (p. 38), he names the year as 1770, but all the other sources, including Pougin's, agree that Rode was born in 1774.

⁶⁹ Schueneman, "Minor Composer," 38.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

(Marie Antoinette's favorite violinist) at that time, and he also likely played for the master, for soon afterward Rode became Viotti's student and did not return to Bordeaux.⁷¹ By 1790, he had joined the violins of the Théâtre Feydeau orchestra, which Baillot would soon join as well. He made his solo debut that year, probably between acts at the Opéra.⁷² After Rode's performances at the 1792 *Concert spirituel*, where he performed five of Viotti's concertos as well as an obbligato violin duo with Rodolphe Kreutzer in accompaniment of the soprano Madame Morichelli, he was established as one of the great violinists of Paris.⁷³ Rode retired from the orchestra of the Théâtre Feydeau later that year around the time Baillot also did.⁷⁴

The record of Rode's following years is hazy: he composed his first violin concerto; he was named, along with Baillot and Kreutzer, as violin professor at the Conservatoire; and he embarked on a tour of the Netherlands, and visited the court of Frederick Wilhelm II of Prussia as well as England (the dates and exact order of countries are uncertain).⁷⁵ Trying to pin down the exact date of Rode's appointment to the Conservatoire de musique mirrors Baillot's: he certainly started working there around 1795, but no official Conservatoire record shows Rode as professor until 1797, when he returned from the tour.⁷⁶ After the tour, Napoleon named Rode

⁷¹ Schueneman, *The French Violin School*, 43.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid. Viotti, meanwhile, left France in 1792. Though he supported the Revolution, he feared he would face the guillotine for his association with Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette. He went first to England, but then had to live in Germany for a while (see Schueneman, "Minor Composer," 40).

⁷⁴ Schueneman, *The French Violin School*, 43.

⁷⁵ Schueneman, "Minor Composer," 38-9. Pougin apparently had an unnamed source (that he did not consider altogether reliable) who believed that Rode returned to France because he feared that he would be placed on the death list if he remained abroad.

⁷⁶ Ibid. It seems to me that the earlier date is when Rode received his appointment. Schueneman notes that records of only two of Rode's students prior to 1819 are known. Certainly he had many more, but there is a lack of documentation by the Conservatoire before 1819 (Schueneman, *The French Violin School*, 46-7). Considering this fact regarding students, it is likely that the Conservatoire simply did not record the time that Rode (along with Baillot and Kreutzer) joined the faculty, which was late in 1795.

solo violinist of the *musique particulière du Premier Consul*, and he served as soloist at the Opéra just before the turn of the century as well.⁷⁷ In 1799, Rode toured Spain and premiered his Sixth Violin Concerto, which he dedicated to the Queen of Spain.⁷⁸

Rode figured into some salacious Paris gossip during this period. He was reported to have had an affair with one of Napoleon's mistresses, the Italian *prima dona* Madame Grassini, whom Napoleon brought back to Paris after his victory at Marengo in 1800.⁷⁹ According to Pougin, in 1800 Rode had married Mlle. Cécile Saint-Aubin, the "elder daughter of the celebrated singer of that name," who worked at the Opéra-Comique.⁸⁰ I have found no information regarding the fate of Rode's marriage to Saint-Aubin, but the timing of events raises the possibility that Rode's affair with Grassini effectively ended his marriage (regardless, it must have ended sometime before he remarried in 1814). Pougin doubted that the gossip was true, but some of Napoleon's biographers note that Grassini did have an affair with Rode, which ended her relationship with Napoleon.⁸¹ Notably, Rode dedicated his Eighth Violin Concerto to Grassini.⁸²

Rode, along with his colleagues Cherubini, Kreutzer, Méhul, Boïeldieu, and Isouard, also was involved in running a publishing firm. The *Magasin de musique*, which was started in 1802, descended in part from the similarly named *Magasin de musique à l'usage des fêtes nationales*

⁷⁷ Schueneman, *The French Violin School*, 46.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ Pougin, 30.

⁸¹ Schueneman, "Minor Composer," 40, 47 (endnote) and Pougin, 35. See also Frances Mossiker, *Napoleon and Josephine: The Biography of a Marriage* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1964), 239.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 40.

(all but Isouard were involved with the earlier state-run institution as well).⁸³ The composers' aim was to publish as much music as possible, but also to publish and promote their own works.⁸⁴ A large part of their profits came from printing numerous instrumental arrangements of recent stage works.⁸⁵ In order to guarantee distribution, they sold subscriptions, a common practice at the time.⁸⁶ Rode apparently had less involvement in the operations of the firm than the others, at least in part because he stayed in Russia for approximately five years just after establishing the firm.⁸⁷

Rode embarked on a very successful tour of Russia in either 1801, 1802, or 1804, and, like Baillot, he stayed there until 1808.⁸⁸ If 1801 is accurate, it is possible he feared Napoleon's revenge for his affair with Grassini and hurried to leave, but this is only conjecture on my part (and Rode did return to France during Napoleon's reign as emperor).⁸⁹ While in Russia, Rode served as court violinist to Tsar Nicholas I and toured throughout much of the country to great acclaim, apparently earning enough to remain financially stable for the rest of his life.⁹⁰ It is

⁸³ Bruce R. Schueneman and María de Jesús Ayala-Schueneman, "The Composers' House: Le Magasin de musique de Cherubini, Méhul, R. Kreutzer, Rode, Nicolo Isouard, et Boïeldieu," *Fontes Artis Musicae* 51, no. 1 (January-March 2004), 54-5. The earlier firm became the official publishing arm of the Conservatoire and was the house that initially published the *Méthode de violon* authored by Rode, Baillot, and Kreutzer (p. 57).

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 58.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 60.

⁸⁸ Schueneman (in *The French Violin School*, 48) names the year as 1804, but David Charlton states that it was 1801; see David Charlton, "Rodolphe Kreutzer," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 13, ed. Stanley Sadie (New York and London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001), 904. Also, Schueneman notes that some Parisian newspapers announced that he left in 1802 (see Schueneman, "Minor Composer," 40).

⁸⁹ Pougin believed that Grassini was in Russia at the same time as Rode, but he could not verify that this was indeed accurate (see Pougin, 35).

⁹⁰ Demonstrating his wealth, Rode purchased at least one chateau near Bordeaux when he retired, and he likely owned another as well (see Schueneman, *The French Violin School*, 51).

unclear whether Rode and Baillot were together at any point during these shared years in Russia. Surely they were, for Baillot, the reader may recall, played a concert for the Tsar. Pougin states that Rode and Baillot returned to Paris together in 1808, but I have found no documentation that the two violinists toured together or shared appointments.⁹¹ Unfortunately, Rode lost his former facility on his instrument by the time he returned to France. Spohr, who had been dazzled by Rode's artistry before the Russia tour, found his playing "cold, and full of mannerism."⁹² And Rode's first concert after returning from Russia was a disaster: he vowed never to perform publicly again in Paris, a promise he broke only very late in his life.⁹³ Explanations for the decline of his performing abilities range from a "moral and physical decline" while in Russia to his developing stage fright, but the exact cause is not known.⁹⁴

Most likely because Rode seldom performed in public after the decline of his facility, but also thanks to the Conservatoire's lack of documentation, not much record exists of his activities from 1808-1819. He presumably taught at the Conservatoire after returning from Russia, and he still played in private gatherings such as the Prince de Chimay's orchestra mentioned in Chapter One.⁹⁵ Rode departed France in 1811 and probably did not return until 1819. During his travels, he stayed in Vienna at the end of 1812, where he premiered Beethoven's Violin Sonata Op. 96 with Archduke Rudolph as pianist.⁹⁶ Beethoven apparently considered sending the score to Rode so that the violinist could practice it, but, understandably, he feared that to do so would offend

⁹¹ Pougin, 40.

⁹² Schueneman, *The French Violin School*, 48.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 48-9.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 49.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 50. See also Schwarz, 186.

the violinist.⁹⁷ Beethoven also noted that Rode's input shaped the work itself, for the violinist objected to a virtuoso *finale*, which Beethoven had originally planned, so the composer adjusted it for him. Unsurprisingly, the performance was not considered a success.⁹⁸ But, as Schueneman points out, Beethoven's asking Rode to premiere the work, and his dedication of a violin sonata to Kreutzer, shows his admiration for the French violinists.⁹⁹

Rode spent most of his time in Berlin from 1814-1821, marrying there in 1814.¹⁰⁰ While there, he and his wife Wilhelmina met and became close to the Mendelssohn family, and he dedicated the two quartets of his Op. 24 to the young Felix.¹⁰¹ Rode participated regularly in the Mendelssohn family's musical salons, and when the Rodes left Berlin, Lea Mendelssohn (Felix's mother) wrote that they were sorely missed.¹⁰² In 1821, Rode moved near to his birthplace of Bordeaux, living in virtual retirement other than some composing. Felix Mendelssohn and his father visited Rode in 1825, reporting that the violinist had aged but retained his fiery personality.¹⁰³ Inexplicably, Rode, despite a lengthy absence from the concert stage (and his vow never again to play there publicly) gave a concert in Paris in 1828.¹⁰⁴ This concert was as disastrous as the one twenty years earlier had been, and the effect on Rode was reportedly terrible: Pougin blamed it for hastening Rode's death, writing that Rode "was not able to quit the

⁹⁷ Schwarz, 186-7.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 187.

⁹⁹ Schueneman, *The French Violin School*, 50.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. I have not found Wilhelmina Rode's maiden name in any accounts of Rode's life.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid, 51.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 53.

violent shaking which caused him this last and cruel defeat.”¹⁰⁵ Whether or not the concert was truly to blame for his decline, Rode died November 26, 1830 in the Château de Bourbon, which he probably owned.¹⁰⁶

Rodolphe Kreutzer (1766-1831)

Until recent times, even less biographical attention has been devoted to Kreutzer than Baillot or Rode. The last French-language biographical work on Kreutzer was written in 1910, and it covers only his younger years in Versailles.¹⁰⁷ A more comprehensive biography was published in German a century later by Ingrid Isola, a substantial work (623 pages) that includes musical discussion and an attempt to catalog his 276 works, identifying some previously unknown autographs.¹⁰⁸ But even Isola’s substantial work covers Kreutzer’s activities only up to 1799. No English-language biography of Kreutzer has been published or translated. In comparison to Baillot and Rode, Kreutzer was certainly a more prolific composer.¹⁰⁹ While the other two mostly focused on instrumental works, works intended for their own performance, Kreutzer, especially late in his career, focused on stage music, composing many operas and ballets. He also composed a significant amount of chamber music, including more than fifty

¹⁰⁵ Pougin, 50.

¹⁰⁶ Schueneman, *The French Violin School*, 53-4.

¹⁰⁷ See Joseph Hardy, *Rodolphe Kreutzer: sa jeunesse à Versailles, 1766-1789* (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1910).

¹⁰⁸ Ingrid Isola, *Rodolphe Kreutzer: Komponist, Virtuose und Violinpädagoge—Der Weg zum Erfolg (1766-1799)* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2010). This book grew from Isola’s 2009 Ph.D. dissertation from Karl-Franzens-Universität, Graz, Austria.

¹⁰⁹ The selective list in the article on Kreutzer in the *New Grove Dictionary* includes 178 pieces: see Charlton, 905.

string quartets, most of which were likely completed before 1810. Nevertheless, like Baillot and Rode, Kreutzer is usually glossed as an excellent violinist but as an insignificant composer of simple music. His reputation in modern times is limited to his relationship with Beethoven, an interaction that has damaged his reputation: he famously never played the “Kreutzer” Sonata, and he resisted Berlioz’s requests to present Beethoven’s symphonies at the Opéra concerts in the 1820s.

A typical summary of Kreutzer’s style is found in the Kreutzer article in *New Grove* by David Charlton:

Much of Kreutzer’s chamber music dates from the 1790s and reflects the style of his teachers. Concentrating later on stage productions, he achieved a measure of originality without ever producing a work of lasting value. His harmonic language is not without variety, but too often his musical thinking does not progress beyond simple melody and accompaniment.¹¹⁰

This statement is impressive in its vagueness. What exactly does Charlton mean by “reflects the style of his teachers,” “achieved a measure of originality,” “work of lasting value,” and “harmonic language is not without variety”? His short article reads more like a bullet list of Kreutzer’s basic achievements with short prose fillers, as is commonly the case in descriptions of these three composers. Such glossing aside, Kreutzer, in addition to his compositional achievements, was considered one of the best violinists in Paris, and many considered him to be Rode’s rival.¹¹¹ It is doubtful, however, that Kreutzer and Rode held feelings of rivalry, for they frequently performed together and worked together with Baillot to write the *Méthode de violon* for the Conservatoire, and no accounts offer any indication of animosity or jealousy between the

¹¹⁰ Charlton, 904.

¹¹¹ Schwarz, 195.

two violinists.¹¹²

Rodolphe Kreutzer was born in Versailles in November 1766. Rodolphe's father, Jean-



Figure 2.3. Rodolphe Kreutzer (1766-1831). Portrait by Carl Traugott Riedel, 1809. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Rodolphe_Kreutzer_by_Riedel.jpg.

Jacobe Kreutzer, a wind player and sometime violin teacher from Breslau who played in the band of the Swiss Guards of the Duke of Choiseul, was his first teacher.¹¹³ At a very young age, he began his violin studies with Anton Stamitz, a Mannheim violinist in the orchestra of the *Chapelle du Roi*, and was performing publicly in Versailles by the age of twelve.¹¹⁴ Kreutzer debuted at the *Concert spirituel* in 1780, first heard Viotti in 1782,

and premiered his own first Concerto for Violin in 1784.¹¹⁵ His father and mother

died in 1784 and 1785 respectively, leaving Rodolphe in charge of his five surviving younger siblings.¹¹⁶ Around this time, he was noticed by Marie Antoinette and the Comte d'Artois (later Charles X), who, according to Charlton, probably played a role in Kreutzer's joining the violins

¹¹² Ibid., 194.

¹¹³ Charlton, 903.

¹¹⁴ Schueneman, *The French Violin School*, 67-8. Schueneman states that Anton Stamitz was “apparently unrelated” to the famous Johann Stamitz of Mannheim. However, Anton was actually Johann’s son; see Eugene K. Wolf and Jean K. Wolf, “Stamitz,” <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

¹¹⁵ Schueneman, *The French Violin School*, 68.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., and Charlton, 903.

of the *Chapelle du Roi* in 1785.¹¹⁷ In 1788, Kreutzer married Adélaïde-Charlotte Foucard, the eighteen-year-old daughter of d'Artois's *valet de chambre*, a marriage that required a dowry from her father. Schueneman observes that the dowry meant that "Kreutzer was part and parcel of the aristocratic world he and his father served."¹¹⁸ By the end of the decade, he was well established as a composer and especially as a virtuoso.¹¹⁹

When the royal family was moved from Versailles to the Tuileries Palace at the onset of the Revolution in 1789, Kreutzer and his wife went to Paris as well.¹²⁰ He received the appointment of solo violinist at the Théâtre Italien and had his first opera (*Jeanne d'Arc*), a great success, premiered in 1790.¹²¹ Despite his ties to the royal family, Kreutzer seems to have weathered the Revolution rather well: he was an initial professor of violin at the Conservatoire de musique, having been hired at its forerunner, the revolutionary Institut national de musique, in 1793, and he remained there in various capacities until 1830.¹²² He toured Italy in 1796.¹²³ While on another tour in 1798, Kreutzer met Beethoven in Vienna (he was accompanying General Bernadotte, who was serving as French ambassador to Vienna), and Beethoven was highly impressed with Kreutzer's playing, which prompted him to dedicate the Violin Sonata, Op. 47

¹¹⁷ Charlton, 903.

¹¹⁸ Schueneman, *The French Violin School*, 68-9.

¹¹⁹ Charlton, 903.

¹²⁰ Schueneman, *The French Violin School*, 69.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Charlton, 904

¹²³ Ibid. Schueneman gives the year as 1797 for the Italy tour and notes that the tour included Germany and the Netherlands as well (Schueneman, *The French Violin School*, 70).

(the “Kreutzer” Sonata) to the violinist in 1803.¹²⁴

As noted above in the account of Rode, Kreutzer also participated in starting a publishing firm in 1802 along with Rode, Cherubini, Méhul, Boïeldieu, and Isouard. Kreutzer would remain involved to a greater degree than the others, as his wife Adélaïde was named proxy to the firm in 1811 when all of the composers apparently tired of dealing with such affairs.¹²⁵ When Rode left for Russia (in 1801, 1802, or 1804, as noted above), Kreutzer replaced him as violin soloist at the Opéra, a position he retained until he was named assistant director of the orchestra there in 1816.¹²⁶ An accident apparently ended Kreutzer’s career as a soloist: in one account, he broke his arm in a carriage accident in 1810; in the other account, he broke the arm, but in 1825, ending his teaching career at the Conservatoire.¹²⁷ The latter scenario is most likely accurate: 1825 coincides with the time Kreutzer abruptly stopped teaching violin at the Conservatoire; also, Kreutzer was known to participate in chamber music sessions after 1810, and he appears to have performed publicly until at least 1817.¹²⁸ Throughout his career, Kreutzer held many honorable positions: he was named *premier violon* of his Majesty, Emperor Napoleon I; he was appointed *maître de la chapelle du Roi* for Louis XVIII after the Restoration in 1815; he became chief conductor of the Opéra from 1817-1824, giving up this post only when he became a *Chevalier de*

¹²⁴ Charlton, 904. Famously, Beethoven’s dedication was not taken seriously by Kreutzer who likely never played it. And perhaps the dedication was ironic, for Kreutzer was known to prefer to play *legato*, keeping the bow in contact with the string, quite different from the many *staccato* passages of the sonata: see J. G. Prod’homme, “Souvenirs of Beethoven and Other Contemporaries: Baron de Trémont,” *Musical Quarterly* 6, no. 3 (July 1920), 366-91 (cited in Schueneman, *The French Violin School*, 70).

¹²⁵ Schueneman and de Jesús Ayala-Schueneman, 64.

¹²⁶ Schueneman, *The French Violin School*, 70.

¹²⁷ Charlton states that the accident occurred in 1810, but he does not name a source (Charlton, 904). Schueneman dates the accident to 1825, and his source is evidently Pougin (Schueneman, *The French Violin School*, 71).

¹²⁸ Schueneman, *The French Violin School*, 71.

la Légion d'Honneur and was named as overall director of the Opéra (Habeneck replaced him as conductor).¹²⁹ Kreutzer's health began to decline in 1826, and he died in retirement in Geneva in January 1831.

Charles Dancla (1817-1907)

Very little biographical information has been published on the last composer covered in this chapter, Charles Dancla. Most of my information comes from the *New Grove* article dedicated to him, which has been gleaned from scant resources such as short writings published by the composers. A student of Baillot and admirer of Henri Vieuxtemps, Charles Dancla (1817-1907) was the most prominent member of the Dancla musical family.¹³⁰ No biography of Dancla exists, and the most substantial document on his life is his own *Notes et Souvenirs*, which was published in 1893.¹³¹ Né Jean Baptiste Charles Dancla in Bagnères-de-Bigorre, he studied violin as a child with a local named Dussert. He was presented to Rode, then in virtual retirement in Bordeaux, at the age of nine. Rode, highly impressed with the boy's playing and sight-reading, wrote letters of recommendation for him to Baillot, Kreutzer, and Cherubini. Dancla attended the Conservatoire de Paris from 1828 to 1840, studying violin with Baillot and Paul Guérin. He also studied counterpoint and fugue with Halévy and composition with Berton (his fellow students

¹²⁹ Charlton, 904.

¹³⁰ Unless indicated otherwise, my information on Dancla is taken from Albert Mell and Cormac Newark, "Dancla. French Family of Musicians," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 6, ed. Stanley Sadie (New York and London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001), 914-15. Mell and Newark's article summarizes the small amount of biographical information in Dancla's memoirs (see footnote 127).

¹³¹ Étienne Jardin has recently reprinted this document: see Charles Dancla, *Notes et souvenirs*, ed. and with an introduction by Étienne Jardin (Venice: Palazzetto Bru Zane, 2012). Dancla dedicated a good amount of prose to reminiscing about the greatness of Baillot, Rode, and Kreutzer. In all, his *Notes et Souvenirs* are less strictly biographical than reminiscent.

included Gounod and Franck). He won the *premier prix* for violin in 1833 and played in various theater orchestras in Paris, eventually being named first violinist at the Opéra-Comique. In 1840,



Figure 2.4. Charles Dancla (1817-1907). Portrait by Marie-Alexandre Alophe, ca. 1815. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Public Domain. <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=3493555>.

Dancla was awarded second place in the 1840 *Prix de Rome* competition.¹³² During his time at the Conservatoire, he also played regularly with Habeneck's Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, eventually serving as the leading violinist of the series from 1841-1863.

Aside from his appointment at the Conservatoire, Dancla is known today mostly for his activities as a player of chamber music. With two of his brothers, Arnaud Phillippe and Léopold, and his sister Laure, he formed a family chamber music group in 1839.¹³³ They regularly

performed during the Paris chamber music seasons. He hoped to succeed Baillot as principal professor of violin at the Conservatoire, but he was not offered the position. In 1848, Dancla was offered the position of assistant conductor at the Opéra-Comique, but he turned it down because of the dangerous conditions in Paris during the Revolution of 1848. He took a job as postmaster in Cholet, returning to Paris in the early 1850s as an official in the postal administration. In 1855, he was finally offered a position at the Conservatoire in 1855 and was named an official

¹³² *Le Quatuor à cordes en France de 1750 à nos jours*, no ed. named (Paris: Association Française pour le Patrimoine Musical, 1995), 246.

¹³³ Arnaud Phillippe was a cellist; Léopold was a violinist and cornetist; and Laure (m. Laure Délihard) was a pianist. Charles supported them in the 1830s and was able to get them accepted into the Conservatoire.

professor of violin in 1860. He held this position until he retired (unwillingly) in 1892, and he continued to perform regularly in public even at the age of seventy-five. He died in Tunis in 1907. Dancla did not tour, but aside from this fact, his career especially resembles Baillot's, for he was a constantly active as a chamber musician and soloist and was long a stalwart of the Conservatoire's violin instruction. As he carried the approach of Baillot and his contemporaries until the twentieth century, Dancla "may be regarded as the last exponent of the classical French school of violin playing."¹³⁴

Conclusion

While this survey deals with some of the most prominent figures in the world of nineteenth-century French chamber music, it does not constitute a comprehensive list of all relevant figures. The careers and music of composer-performers such as the violinist Henri Vieuxtemps (1820-1881), violinist Adolphe Blanc (1828-1885), pianist Léon Kreutzer (1817-1868),¹³⁵ pianist Henri Reber (1807-1880), and the cellist Pamphile (Léopold) Aimon (1779-1866) certainly deserve attention as well. But the point of this chapter has not been to cover all possible composers or to offer complete biographies for them. The point has been to establish a sense of what kinds of careers composers of this body of chamber music had to forge in a period of social and political flux in France. As discussed in the previous chapter, despite the shifting social conditions, French social and behavioral expectations remained remarkably constant thanks to the bourgeoisie's assimilation of aristocratic traits. Mozart, with his apparently middle-

¹³⁴ Mell and Newark, 914.

¹³⁵ Léon Kreutzer was Rodolphe Kreutzer's nephew.

class German insistence that human worth comes from individual accomplishments and abilities, had struggled to accept his status in such an aristocratic environment. He found the expectation to do so insulting. Such was not the case with the musicians discussed above. Baillot, Rode, and Kreutzer navigated their social ranking and roles particularly well. Each of them served nobles and royalty in some capacity, but the Revolution and what followed did not allow them to remain in such service exclusively. Had they not been *civilisés*, had they struggled against the established social system as Mozart had, they might have had miserable careers, for their world required acute social caution. Their careers and music, as a result, were eclectic: they pursued both aristocratic service and bourgeois ventures, and, as we will see, they composed music with aspects of older styles for current tastes.

Baillot, along with Rode, served in the orchestra of the Théâtre Feydeau, also known as Théâtre de Monsieur (in reference to Monsieur, Comte de Provence, who would become Louis XVIII). Baillot's tour and stay in Russia largely centered on aristocratic service. Baillot, as observed, served as a violinist and section leader for Napoleon's chapel (although the Emperor was not exactly old aristocracy), retained that position under Louis XVIII and Charles X during the Restoration, and aided Louis Philippe's *musiciens du Roi* in the early years of the July Monarchy. Altogether, Baillot spent nearly forty years in some capacity of royal service. Rode's career also involved such service. In addition to his time at the Théâtre Feydeau, Rode also served as Napoleon's official solo violinist (and apparently mistress thief). During his time in Russia, he served as court violinist to Tsar Nicolas I and, as Baillot did, contributed to aristocratic entertainments as a chamber musician. After returning from Russia, Rode, despite his diminished skill, played in the Prince de Chimay's orchestra. It is likely that Rode would have continued serving in similar capacities had he not lost his former abilities and retired to the

Bordeaux area. Having been born in Versailles to a father employed in aristocratic service, Kreutzer's had perhaps the deepest aristocratic connections of all these musicians. He was noticed by Marie Antoinette and the future Charles X, who may have aided him in joining the *Chapelle du Roi* as a young man. He was named solo violinist to Napoleon and served as *maître de la chapelle du roi* for Louis XVIII.

In other capacities, these three musicians also appear to be bourgeois. Rode and Kreutzer were involved in starting a publishing firm. They all toured as virtuosos, creating a source of income that could offset the loss of royal patronage and the temporary closing of the Conservatoire (and even prove lucrative, as it did for Rode). All were active in chamber music concerts (Baillot particularly), a well-attended entertainment in the Paris of their day. And all contributed to the Conservatoire as teachers, authors of the *Méthode*, and as players. Baillot's, Rode's, and Kreutzer's careers demonstrate how French life was affected by the shifting political situation in the years following the Revolution. And it is remarkable how well they seem to have navigated the changes. Though employees of royalty and aristocrats, they were sympathetic (explicitly in the case of Baillot) to revolutionaries: all three served at the Conservatoire, a revolutionary institution; they served Napoleon; they served the monarchs of the Restoration (and Baillot lived long enough to serve Louis-Philippe). It is in their capacity for royal service that these violinists most often appear *civilisés*. Along with the growing necessity for bourgeois undertakings, they readily served those of higher social ranking.¹³⁶ Unlike Mozart, they do not seem to have concerned themselves with whether the social system was fair or legitimate.

¹³⁶ Notably, Sauzay fondly remembered his and Baillot's service to Louis-Philippe as one of the most satisfying periods of his career, much more than his service during the First Republic: see François-Sappey, "La Vie musicale à Paris," 195-204.

Because they operated within the constraints of expected behavior, they met the challenges of a changing, yet still aristocratically informed, world.

These musicians' careers resemble the context of Elias's discussion of "kitsch" art discussed in Chapter One. Their careers unfolded in a time in which older models began to fail. Early in their careers, they lost the assurance of aristocratic support, and no model existed for how to deal with such changes. Because French artistic taste in general descended from the aristocracy, even these composers' bourgeois ventures—such as working at the Conservatoire and touring as virtuosos—had to account for aristocratic musical expectations. Two of the main kinds of music generally associated with aristocrats, as will be discussed in Chapter Five, were opera and virtuoso instrumental music. A significant part of the virtuoso tradition of the day involved variations on opera numbers and songs popular with aristocrats. I submit that the main reason why the chamber music of these four composers is constructed like vocal music, even when it does not explicitly employ a song melody as its basis (which it often does), is because they understood what kinds of music their audiences expected and preferred. Historians have often taken for granted that these composers' music is part of a reckoning with Viennese chamber music: they composed string quartets, and string quartets from around 1800 and thereafter were supposedly composed with Mozart and Beethoven's works in mind, the composers whose works have perhaps most informed the string quartet's modern "generic contract."¹³⁷ But Baillot, Rode, Kreutzer, and Dancla signed no such "contract," as it were. The Parisian "generic contract" that they followed agreed that music, even instrumental music, centered on vocal genres, a reflection of aristocratic musical preferences. Thus, their chamber music was not "kitsch" in the categorical sense offered by Norbert Elias discussed in Chapter

¹³⁷ See the discussion of Jeffrey Kallberg's term "generic contract" in Chapter One, pp. 27-9.

One. In their chamber music, as informed by vocal music as were their concertos, they produced what amounts to aristocratic art products. “Kitsch” art, the reader may recall, is art that reflects the loss of aristocratic assurance of taste when bourgeois values took precedence. It is art that foregrounds individual expression more than long-held assumptions. It is the music of Beethoven and much of Mozart’s. But, although they were themselves members of the bourgeoisie, these musicians did not have the option of composing and playing only “kitsch” music. They had to earn a living in Paris (and integrate themselves in aristocratic circles, such as those in Russia), and, although they did appreciate and play Beethoven and Mozart’s works, they composed music for Parisians. And Parisians, whether actually aristocrats or bourgeoisie, retained aristocratic manners and artistic preferences and practices.¹³⁸ As bourgeois musicians in such an environment, these composers had to be versatile, and they had to be eclectic.

¹³⁸ See Chapter One, 16-17.

Chapter 3

Éclectisme: The Politics of Failure

Within great memories great lessons shall be found for those who know to study history ... and from it they shall learn that moderation in all things is the true source of the happiness and prosperity of nations.

Louis-Philippe¹

In his volume *Nineteenth-Century Music*, Carl Dahlhaus makes a curious statement about Camille Saint-Saëns's reception in Germany: "Saint-Saëns faced accusations of 'eclecticism,' of technical perfection applied to a stylistic patchwork."² Such "technical perfection," Dahlhaus explains, meant that "Saint-Saëns is known ... merely as a virtuoso of the composer's trade, capable of assimilating any style because he possessed none of his own."³ Dahlhaus presents his analysis as a middle ground between indicting Saint-Saëns and defending him: "Instead of countering these accusations with useless rebuttals, we should try to understand what constitutes high-quality eclecticism in the first place."⁴ Dahlhaus, nevertheless, ends up agreeing with the German opinion that he cites. He identifies instances of eclecticism in the last movement of the composer's *Symphony in C Minor*, specifically noting that Saint-Saëns unsuccessfully employed

¹ Eugène Paignon, ed., *Code des rois: Pensées et opinions d'un prince souverain sur les affaires de l'état* (Paris : Librairie de Jurisprudence de Cotillon, 1848), 127. "Dans les grands souvenirs doivent se trouver de grandes leçons pour ceux qui savent étudier l'histoire ... et ils doivent y apprendre que la modération en toutes choses est la véritable source du bonheur et de la prospérité des nations" (translation mine and Robert Tombs); partially quoted in Robert Tombs, *France 1814-1914*, (London and New York: Addison Wesley Longman Limited, 1996), 354.

² Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 289.

³ Ibid. Dahlhaus's source appears to be Jacques Handschin, *Musikgeschichte im Überblick* (Lucerne: Rüber, 1948). Dahlhaus's assessment of Saint-Saëns as "merely a virtuoso" seems to be his own distillation of German opinion. Handschin's evaluation of Saint-Saëns is positive; he does describe the composer as a master of compositional technique, but such eclecticism does not appear to have bothered Handschin. Handschin elaborates much further on Saint-Saëns's life and work in *Camille Saint-Saëns* (Zurich: Orell Füssli, 1930).

⁴ Ibid.

the Lisztian technique of thematic transformation within an “absolute” musical genre. He states, “while thematic transformation is fully warranted in Liszt, where the abrupt rhythmic contrasts are harnessed in support of a program, it appears strangely wan and disembodied in Saint-Saëns, as though robbed of its *raison-d’être*.... There is a *rift* between the architecture and the logic of this work, a rift that seems symptomatic of the *failure* to which, in the final analysis, any *eclecticism is condemned*.”⁵ To Dahlhaus, Saint-Saëns’s eclecticism results in musical “failure,” a weak “façade,” and a lack of “internal coherence,” despite the composer’s obvious command of compositional technique.⁶ While Dahlhaus further explains what he means by the term “eclecticism,” his choice of the word seems significant. Eclecticism refers to much more than simply compositional technique or a dictionary definition; in France, and regarding French subjects, the word carries the freight of a long history of usage and was frequently employed as a pejorative. In Dahlhaus’s statement, the term “eclecticism” is less descriptive than evaluative.

While the previous two chapters have provided sociological context for artistic tastes present in early nineteenth-century Paris, examination of both French and German historiographic tendencies is also in order. My intent is not to prove that a “state of things” caused particular musical events and compositional techniques that can be found in early nineteenth-century French string quartets. I intend instead to provide a general ideological context for the term eclecticism, which correlates with aspects of the music and its historiography. With correlation rather than causation in mind, much may be learned from the French and German art worlds that have valued and recorded the histories of certain repertoires instead of others. At least for French chamber music, such revisionist historiography has

⁵ Ibid., 290 (emphases mine).

⁶ Ibid.

distracted from study of actual contemporary practice. I am dealing, then, with value systems that have affected historicizing the quartets as well as the contemporary national contexts in which the music appeared.

In this chapter, I will discuss the concept of *Éclectisme* in nineteenth-century France and its relationship to the country's arts and political history. Ideological context is what is important in this discussion: instead of fleshing out the merits or flaws of *Éclectisme* as a philosophy, I will instead discuss similarities between the historical fate of French institutions contemporary with the string quartet repertoire—namely politics, philosophy, and painting—which share connections to *Éclectisme*. After discussing these institutions, I will relate their historical treatment to that of the early nineteenth-century French string quartet.⁷ This chapter's discussion of *Éclectisme* provides the ideological context for the musical discussion in Chapter Four.

The Philosophy of *Éclectisme*

As a philosophical term, *Éclectisme*⁸ is most frequently associated with the July Monarchy (1830-1848) and its representative philosopher and “intellectual apologist,” Victor Cousin.⁹ As it applies to a “state of things,” however, the term *éclectisme* was not limited to the

⁷ The German side of the issue is discussed in Chapter Five; thus, chapters three and five are related. Chapter Five argues that German ideologies that have generically posited the string quartet as “serious” music have excluded works by French composers. I will also argue that, intentionally or not, application of the German concept in musical histories has been responsible for much of the revisionist historiography of string quartets.

⁸ I have encountered the word spelled as it appears above as well as without the “e” at the end (*éclctism*). For the sake of continuity, and because it appears as such in É. Littré's 1883 *Dictionnaire de la langue française*, I will adhere to the former spelling except in certain quotations.

⁹ Doris S. Goldstein, “‘Official Philosophies’ in Modern France: The Example of Victor Cousin,” *Journal of Social History* 1, no. 3 (Spring 1968): 259.

period of Louis-Philippe's reign. Conceptually, it is difficult to avoid when studying the social, political, and artistic climate in nineteenth-century France. During Louis-Philippe's reign, it was



Figure 3.1. Photograph of Victor Cousin from the 1850s. Photographed by Gustave le Gray. <http://www.getty.edu/art/gettyguide/artobjectdetails?artobj=44795>.

generally, but not universally, seen in a positive light, an ideal to attain in culture, society, and in art. But in subsequent generations, the term took on negative meanings, and was used to pejoratively gloss an era of French politics, thought, and art. Again, I do not mean to say Cousin's *Éclectisme* affected musical or artistic features. It likely did affect them, but it is difficult to find direct proof, and, besides, that is not my point. As a philosophical approach it entails an attempt by Cousin to distill contemporary French societal values, an attempt which operated as a positive revision of national

history. And French mention of *éclectisme*, as it appeared in music criticism in the nineteenth century, does relate to Cousin's body of work, as we will see in Fétis's writing.

Cousin was a philosopher who rose to prominence teaching at the Sorbonne during the Restoration (to this day, the pedestrian mall at the Sorbonne is named Rue Victor Cousin). During the July Monarchy, the period of his greatest influence, he served as Louis-Philippe's minister of education and director of the École Normale (France's institution for training

professors, administrators, and all sorts of intellectual élites). Cousin did not name his philosophy “*Éclectisme*,” preferring instead to call it “*spiritualisme*.”¹⁰ He described it thus:

Eclecticism is persistently represented as the doctrine to which men deign to attach our name. We declare that eclecticism is very dear to us, for it is in our eyes the light of the history of philosophy; but the source of that light is elsewhere. Eclecticism is one of the most important and useful applications of the philosophy which we teach, but it is not its principle. Our true doctrine, our true flag is spiritualism, that philosophy as solid as generous, which began with Socrates and Plato, which the Gospel has spread abroad in the world, which Descartes put under the severe forms of modern genius, which in the seventeenth century was one of the glories and forces of our country, which perished with the national grandeur in the eighteenth century, which at the commencement of the present century M. Royer-Collard came to re-establish in public instruction, whilst M. de Chateaubriand, Madame de Staël, and M. Quatremère de Quincy transferred it into literature and the arts. To it is rightly given the name of spiritualism, because its character in fact is that of subordinating the senses to the spirit, and tending, by all the means that reason acknowledges, to elevate and ennoble man.¹¹

Cousin’s insistence that his system was “spiritualism,” not eclecticism, is not important for my purposes, for, as he states, his spiritualism appropriates aspects of past systems of thought, which is a crucial tenet of eclecticism. But his description hints at something else significant to the topic at hand: he saw his philosophical system as a reincarnation of French glories of the past. Cousin’s philosophy was a stated attempt to recover national stability and dignity after the Revolution and the Terror, which loomed large over French (and pan-European) consciousness.¹² He wished to “renew the history of philosophy” and create a philosophical system that would be

¹⁰ Noel Verzosa notes that Cousin’s insistence that his philosophy was actually *spiritualisme* connects him with the religious side of nineteenth-century French thought, specifically monarchical Catholicism. Verzosa explores this connection to flesh out secular and religious connotations of the term “absolute” as it was used by nineteenth-century French musicians and critics. See Noel Verzosa, “Intellectual Contexts of ‘the Absolute’ in French Musical Aesthetics, ca. 1830-1900,” *The Journal of Musicology* 31, no. 4 (Fall 2014): 471-502.

¹¹ Victor Cousin, *Lectures on the True, the Beautiful and the Good*, trans. O.W. Wright (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1875), 9.

¹² Rosalie Schellhous, “Fétis’s ‘Tonality’ as a Metaphysical Principle: Hypothesis for a New Science,” *Music Theory Spectrum* 13, no. 2 (Autumn 1991): 222. Robert Tombs states: “What the Holocaust and Gulag are for us, the violence of the French Revolution was for the nineteenth century: events that alter our understanding of politics and indeed of human nature. The lynching of aristocrats on street lamps, celebrated in the popular song ‘Ça Ira’, sung by the Left throughout the century; the parading of heads on pikes; the ritual of the guillotine; executions by drowning at Nantes in 1793 ... the September Massacres of 1792, that butchery of prisoners in Paris with blade and bludgeon, which seemed to be the distillation of human savagery” (Tombs, 9).

above reproof thanks to exhaustive historical inquiry.¹³ Rosalie Schellhous describes Cousin's philosophy thus:

Eclecticism was a method of inquiry based on a theory of reason and a systematic search for truth through the history of philosophy. Its primary tenets were that all knowledge is a unity and that the reconciliation of what is truthful—that is, what serves that unity—in all systems of knowledge is the way to a sound philosophy. The eclectic method must be understood as an attempt to recover and sort out a lost past in order to create a philosophy for the future. Its technique consists in the systematic critical examination of historical and contemporary texts.¹⁴

To achieve such a perspective, one must first sort out what is right and wrong from each period of history, then create a synthetic system out of what was right from all cultures and periods of thought. Looking to the past, Cousin found truth in “all systems of knowledge,” as Schellhous notes. Truth from every time and place is connected, for all truth contributes to sound philosophy. Cousin's system, then was not evolutionary; it was instead relativistic. He argued that truth in any era, in any location, is equal to the truth found in his and any future systems of thought because all contribute to the same unified end. For Cousin, then, *Éclectisme* was a natural choice for the true philosopher.

Cousin validated his philosophy by associating it with historical psychology. But he never limited it to science, separating it from empiricism which he saw as limited by human reason.¹⁵ He rooted his system in psychology because he believed psychology (predating Freud's theories and more empirical studies, of course) to be the link between philosophy and human history: he saw the history of philosophy as the comprehensive manifestation of the human mind,

¹³ Cousin, 37.

¹⁴ Schellhous, 221.

¹⁵ Edward H. Madden, “Victor Cousin and the Commonsense Tradition,” *History of Philosophy Quarterly* 1 no. 1 (January 1984), 93-109.

revealed throughout the ages.¹⁶ By considering all epochs together, the observer of philosophical history can see the complete workings of the mind, the conglomerate constituting a singular whole of human thought. Cousin also reasoned that a relationship, conversely, exists between psychology in the present and philosophy throughout history: the human mind contains all of history in microcosm, while the history of philosophy reveals the functions of the mind.¹⁷ A weakness in Cousin's philosophy that might have been a strength had he acknowledged it (as his philosophical opponents pointed out) is that philosophical errors in retrospect might represent weaknesses of the human psyche. That is, erroneous philosophies of the past can shed light on human psychological weakness. But Cousin did not concern himself with errors. He wished to acknowledge only the "correct" parts of philosophies of the past in his system, for his priority was to formulate a universally sound philosophy, not map the workings of the human mind.¹⁸

Eclectic emphases—such as learning from the past, synthesizing positive aspects of history, and assimilating positive aspects of other cultures—extended well beyond the field of philosophy in nineteenth-century France. Eclectic ideals also appeared in branches of the arts, especially in painting but also in music and architecture, as well as in politics and education (French politics and education most visibly bore marks of Cousin's influence, thanks to his jurisdiction over both). In terms of political philosophy, *Éclectisme* is most visibly present in the

¹⁶ Cousin, 8, and W.M. Simon, "The 'Two Cultures' in Nineteenth-Century France: Victor Cousin and Auguste Comte," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 26, no. 1 (Jan.-Mar. 1965): 47.

¹⁷ Simon, 47.

¹⁸ I do not claim, or wish, to offer a comprehensive study of Cousin's philosophy or of *Éclectisme* in general. For further study of historical adaptations of the philosophy, including Cousin's, see Jacques Billard, *Que sais-je? L'éclectisme* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1997). Billard traces the philosophy from antiquity (Plato and the Alexandrian School and its application in medical practice) through Diderot and Voltaire in the eighteenth century, Cousin in the nineteenth (the section covered most extensively), and its fate after Cousin. See also Madden, 93-109. Madden places Cousin's thought in context of his disagreements with Kant, Locke, and empiricism, which Cousin countered with "common sense." He saw "common sense" as better than empiricism, which he believed to be limited to human reason.

July Monarchy's ideal of the *juste-milieu*. But societally, *éclectisme* had already been in practice for a while, widespread if not in name then certainly in principle. We have already encountered social eclecticism in France in Chapter One as Norbert Elias described hybridity within and between French social classes and, relatedly, political factions. The élite interconnectivity, in varying degrees, of the nobility and bourgeoisie was a kind of eclecticism. Cousin's *Éclectisme*, then, relates to this social mélange: as Cousin hinted, during the period he was formulating his system, the Terror continued to stigmatize French society; his philosophy was an attempt to distill and justify the socio-ideological structure of early nineteenth-century France, not an attempt to create a new one. Cousin reasoned that an appeal to historical truth might extricate France from its stigma.¹⁹ *Éclectisme* was not radical. It was a selective historical approach that aimed to boost the morale of an injured nation. It is better seen, then, as an appeal to popular and hopeful sentiment rather than a radical departure from current thought.

Uses of the term eclecticism to describe French culture and cultural products, such as Dahlhaus's application of it to Saint-Saëns's music, must be considered within the context of the complex history of *Éclectisme*. It is a term that at first had positive connotations, but, like the period in which it flourished, it quickly fell out of favor with following generations. As a term, it operated as something of a de facto representation of French society itself: in Cousin's time as an attempt to positively distill French cultural essence, later as a pejorative reduction of French failures. Dahlhaus's observation (and condemnation) that Saint-Saëns's compositional practices were eclectic was not isolated or random. As we will see, his is only one instance among many in

¹⁹ For further study of Cousin and his extensive effect on French society from his time until the present see Jan Goldstein, *The Post-Revolutionary Self: Politics and Psyche in France, 1750-1850* (London, England and Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005).

which the term was used to condemn or dismiss various aspects of nineteenth-century French arts and society.

Éclectisme and the Arts

Like philosophy, French visual art of the earlier part of the nineteenth century also offers perspective on applications (and accusations) of eclecticism.²⁰ Application of the term to painting particularly gives weight to the idea that the term eclecticism has operated less as a disinterested description than as a negative criticism. According to Michael Paul Driskel, it is arguable that at least since the Renaissance, Western art and artists have generally been eclectic in practice.²¹ However, the July Monarchy self-consciously used eclecticism for the purpose of self-justification. As state policy, the July Monarchy “fostered ... and gave [artistic eclecticism] official sanction.”²² And thanks to this sanction, historical associations between eclecticism and that particular French government are now cemented, despite eclecticism’s virtually universal presence in Western artistic practice.²³

The *juste-milieu*—the July Monarchy’s official social, artistic, and political policy—as Cousin’s philosophy did, aimed to “reject no system and to accept none entirely, to neglect this

²⁰ For my purposes it will suffice to consult painting. But it would perhaps be as useful to consider eclectic architecture. For a discussion of eclectic architecture and architects’ connections with Cousin, see Barry Bergdoll, “Of Crystals, Cells, and Strata: Natural History and Debates on the Form of a New Architecture in the Nineteenth Century,” *Architectural History* 50 (2007), 1-29 (see especially pp. 15-20). See also Michael Paul Driskel, “An Introduction to the Art,” in *The Art of the July Monarchy: France: 1830-1848* (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1990), 49-79.

²¹ Driskel, 52.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

element and take that, to select from all what appears to be good and true, and consequently durable.”²⁴ By implementing the *juste-milieu*, the government attempted to mitigate the extremes of both noble patriarchy and revolutionary insurrection (meaning the Jacobins).²⁵ While the Revolution of 1789 itself was nostalgically viewed as a positive factor, even a matter of national pride, revolutionaries and the possibility of current revolution were usually seen as a threat to social order (meaning the upper classes).²⁶ Louis-Philippe was aware of such sentiments and tried to appease Bonapartists, legitimists, and republicans alike. His tactic was to reinvent his regime as the natural culmination of past national glories (rather than the compromise that it was), trying to balance his image somewhere between Napoleon’s conquests, great kings of the *ancien régime*, and with popular aspects of the Revolution.²⁷ The *juste-milieu*, then, entailed an encompassing social, political, and artistic application of *Éclectisme*, one the government enacted in an attempt to recover national pride and encourage public loyalty to Louis-Philippe.

It was at this juncture that artistic practice, in addition to political policy, directly interacted with *Éclectisme*. Louis-Philippe’s government discouraged artists from pursuing dogmatic extremes, encouraging them to employ a mixture of various styles.²⁸ And *éclectiques* frequently competed in state-sanctioned contests, producing eclectic paintings commissioned to portray the glory and legitimacy of the Monarchy. Painters who participated in the movement

²⁴ Albert Boime, *Art in an Age of Counterrevolution, 1815-1848* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), 295. This quotation is Cousin’s, taken from his *Fragmens philosophiques* (Paris, 1833), xiii.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Tombs, 13.

²⁷ Ibid., 355-357. Tombs points out that one way Louis-Philippe tried to appeal to all factions was by honoring noble titles from the *ancien régime* and by allotting new ones to some of Napoleon’s officials as well as to notables from the Revolution.

²⁸ Driskel, 49.

damaged their reputation among some contemporaries and some historians of later generations, as we will see.²⁹ The July Monarchy's prescription of stylistic mixture was not merely an artistic goal; it was means to specific political ends. According to Albert Boime, the artistic currents leading up to the July Monarchy are frequently misunderstood, or at least misattributed. The Revolution, the Empire, and the Bourbon Restoration each carried various artistic emphases, effectively fragmenting any attempts at consolidating French artistic style. Thus, by 1830 many stylistic options were available to French artists. But such variety of viable artistic styles had very little to do with Romantic notions of individuality, as is often assumed.³⁰ Boime notes, for example, that Romantics' "exaltation of the artist and poet as supreme representatives of humanity" is frequently tied to reaction against loss of their traditional patronage, which supposedly resulted in more emphasis on individual creativity.³¹ Boime states that such assumptions do not reflect the reality of the contemporary situation: the elevated status of the artist and emphasis on individual creativity, from a practical standpoint, stemmed instead from Napoleon Bonaparte's employment of culture and the arts "as an agent for reestablishing social order and masking the need for compromise (with republicans, Bonapartists, radicals, and liberals in general),"³² a practice that Louis-Philippe eagerly adopted.

Louis-Philippe tried to gain political popularity by capitalizing on the strengths of both bourgeois Romanticism and older monarchical classicism. Louis-Philippe was not the first monarch to employ the arts in this way for political purposes; thus, artists' roles became vital in

²⁹ Driskel, 49.

³⁰ Boime, 2.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid., 3.

this political undertaking. Political leaders of France's recent past, and most prominently Napoleon, used art and artists to evoke new pride in a re-invented past. In fact, what is now generally referred to as French Romanticism was as much a conscious revision of cultural, political, and military history as it represented a purely artistic movement. Romanticism was not the sole carrier of this new past. Various artistic-aesthetic approaches were utilized by the state:

The [politically-motivated] critical language formulated conflicts between "classics" and "romantics," who in turn would be opposed by the "realists." In France, these struggles were often articulated as a rivalry between the state-sponsored Académie des Beaux-Arts—which controlled the Salon juries and official art school—and independent producers, but it is clear in retrospect that romanticism, classicism, and realism carried specific political connotations. France's political revolutions generated corresponding aesthetic ideologies, which decisively contributed to the formation of the language of art criticism.³³

Initiated by Napoleon and continued by the kings of the Restoration, the French practice of using the arts to legitimize the government reached a point of culmination under the July Monarchy. According to Boime, Louis-Philippe's regime took advantage of Romanticism's popularity among the bourgeoisie by making the classical approaches of the academy of fine arts (monarchists' preferred style) only an option, not the state's official style: the Monarchy's official style was one of mixture, of eclecticism, the *juste-milieu*.³⁴ In order to "justify his usurpation," the regime retold French history through eclectic art and architectural projects such as the Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile, the Église St.-Geneviève's pantheon of heroes, and the conversion of the palace of Versailles to a history museum.³⁵

Eugène Delacroix's painting *Liberty Leading the People* (1830) offers a famous example of this kind of state-sanctioned eclecticism, although it is now usually described as Romantic

³³ Ibid., 6.

³⁴ Ibid., 270.

³⁵ Ibid., 271.

(Figure 3.2).³⁶ A painting that involves various artistic techniques and depicts a mélange of



Figure 3.2. *Liberty Leading the People* (1830) by Eugène Delacroix. Musée du Louvre, Paris. <http://library.artstor.org>.

French social classes and political groups, it was commissioned as propaganda attempting to legitimize the July Revolution and Louis-Philippe's ascension to the throne. Delacroix carefully combined various figures clad in Napoleonic, aristocratic, and commoners' garb rallying under the revolutionary *Tricolore*. Freedom and unity between the classes figuratively march forward

³⁶ Delacroix's works in general are a good example of Boime's observation that the artistic movement now called French Romanticism was actually eclectic and involved political aims as much as purely artistic ones.

upon slain heroes and enemies alike.³⁷ Delacroix's painting, then offers an idealistic and eclectic scene in which all classes and political factions of France unite to follow Liberty. Liberty and unity here are depicted under the rubric of Louis-Philippe's *juste-milieu*, eclecticism. Ironically, such legitimization involved separation from Napoleon the fallen monarch (a recent French failure) and re-appropriating him as a general (part of France's past glories), as part of an attempt to forget the Terror.³⁸ Thus, Louis-Philippe attempted to capitalize not only on Napoleon's military glories but also on his failures as a monarch.

Although it was not officially state-sanctioned, Thomas Couture's painting *Romans of Decadence*, which won the 1847 Salon, offers us another example of a painting that "relies on a thoroughly eclectic scheme" (Figure 3.3). According to Boime, the painting represents the culmination of Couture's artistic convictions as an *éclectique*.³⁹ He observes that Couture presented "the *juste-milieu* position ... with a vengeance as *the* national stylistic tendency. The painting is an elaborate orgy scene, one that involves no single point of focus, no "pivotal action or reference point," and it presents a mixture of sexualized Romantic content and classical figures in a classical scene.⁴⁰ Despite recognizing that it belonged to the failing *juste-milieu*, critics generally found the painting to be appealing. They saw it as a valuable use of eclecticism that did not bow to the consumerist tendencies of bourgeois society.⁴¹ But Couture's apparent

³⁷ For further discussion of the symbolic elements in the painting, as well as its reception and contemporary interpretation see Boime, 236-63.

³⁸ Ibid., 294-295.

³⁹ Ibid., 394.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid., 396-397.

desire to salvage *juste-milieu* values also hints that he realized the July Monarchy was in a state of decay, and indeed it fell the following year.



Figure 3.3. *Romans of Decadence* (1847) by Thomas Couture. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. <http://library.artstor.org>.

Louis-Philippe also appropriated aspects of the musical practices of Napoleon's palace for his own court. In his memoirs, Eugène Sauzay, describing his (and some of Baillot's) time with Louis-Philippe's *musiciens du Roi*, recalled that before every concert, a secretary presented the king with a handwritten program of the evening's music; the program was given only to the king himself, a practice taken from Napoleon's court.⁴² And, in Sauzay's description, the musical preferences of Louis-Philippe's court were eclectic to the point of being difficult for the

⁴² Brigitte François-Sappey, "La Vie musicale à Paris à travers les mémoires d'Eugène Sauzay," *Revue de musicologie* 60, nos. 1-2 (January 1974): 196.

musicians to manage. In Sauzay's words, "Despite the intimacy of these gatherings, the programs were rather difficult to put together because they had to satisfy [so many] different tastes."⁴³ The king himself preferred "the music of his youth," Grétry and Gluck; his sister, Madame Adélaïde, herself a harpist, requested Rossini and various Italian overtures (even though Rossini left Paris disgusted by the July Monarchy's lack of pomp⁴⁴); other members of the royal family called for overtures from the Opéra-Comique; the idealist Habeneck, leader of Louis-Philippe's orchestra, insisted on playing fragments from Beethoven's symphonies.⁴⁵ Because of so many diverse requests, Leborne, *guardian de la musique du Roi*, always kept notebooks around so that the musicians could make note of the musical preferences of each member of the royal family.⁴⁶ One is tempted to say that, as Louis-Philippe's court consumed so many different kinds of music, it possessed no singularly distinctive taste, a typical criticism of eclecticism.

As the philosophy of *Éclectisme* is inextricably connected with Victor Cousin, eclecticism in music criticism and pedagogy tends to be associated with the Belgian music critic, professor, and composer François-Joseph Fétis (1784-1871). Although he was born in Belgium, Fétis played a prominent role in French musical aesthetics and instruction. Beginning in 1800, he studied at the newly-founded Conservatoire during the Consulate. He was later appointed professor there during the Restoration (1821). At the request of Leopold I, Fétis left Paris in 1833 to return to Belgium and take a post as director of the Royal Conservatory of Brussels.⁴⁷ His

⁴³ "Malgré l'intimité de ces réunions, les programmes étaient assez difficiles à établir parce qu'ils devaient satisfaire des goûts différents" (Ibid., translation mine).

⁴⁴ Philip Mansel, *The Court of France, 1789-1830* (Cambridge, New York, New Rochelle, Melbourne, and Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 191.

⁴⁵ François-Sappey, 196.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ For biographical information on Fétis, see Robert Wangermée, *François-Joseph Fétis: musicologue et compositeur. Contribution à l'étude du goût musical au XIX^e siècle* (Brussels: Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des Beaux-arts, 1951). Only recently has another biography been published: Rémy Campos, *François-Joseph Fétis:*

main contribution to French musical thought while living in Paris was the periodical *La Revue musicale de Paris*, which he produced from 1827-1833.⁴⁸ After leaving Paris, he continued to



Figure 3.4. François-Joseph Fétis (1784-1871) ca. 1840. Artist unknown. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/françois-joseph_fétis#/media/File:Francoisjoseph_fetis.jpg.

contribute to intellectual musical discourse in Paris through various publications, including a series of theoretical treatises from 1827 through 1844 and essays in the *Revue musicale*'s successor *La Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris*.⁴⁹

As far as I have been able to determine, Fétis was the first music critic to explicitly use the term *éclectisme* to prescribe approaches to musical composition and music historicizing. It is not surprising that he would do so, considering that he and Cousin were close acquaintances, and

Fétis's thought frequently resembles Cousin's philosophy.⁵⁰ As noted above, Cousin believed that truth can be found in the philosophy of any era; therefore, old systems are not to be forgotten

Musicographe (Geneva: Droz, Haute École de Musique de Genève, 2013). Campos's is an extensive volume discussing Fétis's life and work in a sociological context. It includes detailed analysis of his prose works as well as an account of the contents of his library.

⁴⁸ Fétis's son Édouard took over the *Revue musicale* after Fétis relocated to Brussels in 1833 until its close in 1835. Peter Bloom's dissertation "François-Joseph Fétis and the Revue Musicale (1827-1835)" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1972) remains the most comprehensive study of Fétis's periodical.

⁴⁹ Katharine Ellis details the general histories of both periodicals, highlighting Fétis's role as contributor as well as opposition to his views. See Katharine Ellis, *Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France: La Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris, 1834-80* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). *La Revue Musicale* merged with *La Gazette musicale de Paris* in 1835, effectively ending Fétis's involvement.

⁵⁰ Verzosa, 486.

as new ones appear. Thus, he did not see truth as evolving because a given era's philosophical truth is as valid as the truth of the era that follows. Fétis's musical thought resembles Cousin's philosophy on this point: as Cousin did in philosophy, Fétis sought in music unifying principles that could be synthesized from all (Western) traditions of the past and present, as Noel Verzosa and Rosalie Schellhous have noted.⁵¹ Fétis (in Verzosa's words) believed "that the appearance of new styles will not necessarily obviate old ones but will grow alongside them, eventually producing a plurality of styles representing, in true Cousinian fashion, the best of each age, coexisting in a trans-historical ideal of music."⁵² Fétis's musical application of Cousin's systematic combing of the past contributed to the revival of early music in France. According to Katharine Ellis,

[Fétis] did for historical musicology what Castil-Blaze did for opera criticism: he helped give it the status of a professional activity. To do so he had to overcome several obstacles ... which hampered the acceptance of early music, whether as a repertoire or as a subject worthy of academic study.... [T]here was indeed an incipient debate about canon and posterity emerging in the early nineteenth-century press; [and] it was Fétis who first placed such debates on a firm philosophical footing.⁵³

Just as Cousin prescribed the study of philosophies of the past, Fétis prescribed the study of early music (he meant music predating Gluck). He saw it as "a source of truth and renewal," as a repository of inspiration for contemporary composers as well as a needed addition to the concert repertoire.⁵⁴

Again, as Cousin attempted to do in his philosophy, Fétis attempted to ground his musical

⁵¹ Schellhous, 222, and Verzosa, 486-487.

⁵² Verzosa, 486. Verzosa cites Fétis's article: "Du sort future de la musique," *Revue musicale* 9 (Oct. 2, 1830) : 225-229.

⁵³ Ellis, 34-35.

⁵⁴ Fétis's legacy is most visible in the latter category, for he played an important (and visible) role in changing perceptions of early music (ibid., 35-36, 55-76).

views in the science of psychology, but in an even more peculiar way than Cousin did. As Schellhous notes, Fétis's musical philosophy involved a particular combination of science and metaphysics.⁵⁵ Schellhous states: "Although the idea is based on an outmoded psychological model, that of the faculties, and could not survive the nineteenth century on that basis, it is the first modern cognitive theory of music." Fétis's model, then, might be foreign to us, and may perhaps even seem bizarre, but it would have been familiar to his intellectual peers. Schellhous continues:

The reliance on faculty psychology can pose some problems for the modern reader. It is a model of mind as old as Western thought and it survives in common parlance today. Formally, it is a theory of the dynamic interaction of different functions of the mind, such as memory, understanding, judgment, intelligence, imagination, and will. Over the years, descriptions have varied widely in terms of the particular faculties included, the way some of them are subordinated to others, what each faculty is supposed to accomplish, and how they all interact. Fétis mentions several theories, most notably those of René Descartes (1598-1650), Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716), and Étienne Bonnot de Condillac (1715-1780), but the scheme he adopts bears a greater resemblance to Kant's. It should be noted that the questions once dealt with by metaphysical speculation were given over to the developing field of psychology in the course of the nineteenth century.⁵⁶

For Fétis, then, music was by nature both metaphysical and scientific (a reasonable combination in his world) because of the overlap between metaphysics and psychology, and he believed that "it is the aspect of human mental process that makes musical thought, from perception to creation to scholarly study, possible."⁵⁷

Fétis, to his credit, practiced his prescription of eclecticism. He not only championed past composers, he also supported some of his contemporaries. He was perhaps Meyerbeer's most significant public supporter, praising him as the best modern example of a composer who was

⁵⁵ Schellhous, 221.

⁵⁶ Ibid. (footnote).

⁵⁷ Ibid., 221.

“adept at moulding different styles into a new, coherent whole.”⁵⁸ He incorporated eclecticism into his own compositions and used it in his music theory and performance methods.⁵⁹ But his eclectic ideal was not always perfectly Cousinian: for a time he also embraced aspects of Auguste Comte’s philosophy, which opposed Cousin’s in that Comte saw truth as evolving, and civilization as progressing, rather than as universally relevant from age to age (as Cousin argued).⁶⁰ Ellis observes that Fétis’s development as a music theorist betrays something of an internal Cousin-Comte conflict. Fétis came up with a theoretical tonal system that he dubbed *ordre omnitonique*, which was his prediction of (if not quite a prescription for) future deviation from the laws of tonality. In its formulation, it appears to be based on evolutionary Comtian ideals of progress; however, Fétis ended up rejecting the notion of Comtian evolutionary inevitability, claiming that his theories were instead founded in relativistic eclecticism. He did not dismiss tonality and earlier modal systems, stating that it would be “erroneous” to think that the rise of the *ordre omnitonique* meant that tonal systems of the present and past would of necessity be rejected or ignored.⁶¹

So, despite Fétis’s prediction of music’s future he was not quite a progressive, for he (unlike Wagner, Liszt, and many others) did not prescribe his tonal prediction as the standard for contemporary and future composers. As with Cousin’s vision of philosophy, Fétis saw music’s historical progression as intrinsically connected by a thread of musical truth that transcended

⁵⁸ Ellis, 36.

⁵⁹ Ibid. Ellis provides a quotation of Fétis, taken from the preface of his *Méthode des methodes de piano*, co-authored with Ignaz Moscheles in 1840, which is a paraphrase of Cousin’s basic principles: “To sum up everything good which has been produced to date, in each case to supply the opinions and the principles of the most celebrated masters, to make a reasoned analysis of them and to apply them with discernment; this is now the only way to produce a work which is of universal utility; this is the only way of replacing prejudice with reason” (translation Ellis).

⁶⁰ Ibid., 37-38.

⁶¹ Ibid., 39.

time. For him, musical truth of the past, present, and future are all equal; therefore, a proper musical system is eclectic. And Fétis's own musical taste did not allow him to embrace entirely his *ordre omnitonique* (or any sort of “music of the future,” as it were), so he “retreated into a *juste-milieu*” represented by Mozart, who in his view properly proportioned tonality (*ordre pluritonique*) and daring tonal excursions (*ordre omnitonique*).⁶²

Eclecticism figured into Fétis's theory of rhythm as well: he argued that the symmetry of antecedent-consequent relationship (what he called “*carrure*”) is a virtual law of nature, a belief that hindered the acceptance of his predictive theory of *ordre omnitonique* (critics of his predictive theory believed, correctly, that if tonality disappeared rhythmic regularity would dissipate as well).⁶³ Ellis, summarizing Fétis's work, notes that he “never entirely escaped Comtian notions of progress in music,” for he reduced modal music (his *ordre unitonique*) to an inferior status relative to subsequent tonal systems. But he also could not bear the avant-garde bent of contemporary Romanticism (as in Berlioz's music), so he instead opted for an eclectic “view of history...in which Mozart stood as the peak of two centuries of achievement flanked by decadence on the one hand and music based on an incomplete harmonic system on the other.”⁶⁴

Just as Cousin is not to be credited with founding *Éclectisme*, Fétis should not be assumed to have initiated musical eclecticism. His musical aesthetics should rather be seen as an attempt to distill the essence of French musical values, much as Cousin's philosophy was an attempt to distill (and recover) French socio-cultural values through historical inquiry. And, like

⁶² Ibid., 40.

⁶³ Ibid., 40-41.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 44-45. Fétis had planned to write a comprehensive systematic philosophy of music, but he started it too late in life, leaving behind only a topical outline of it (Schellhous, 220). Summary knowledge of this project, unfortunately then, relies on the work of modern scholars. Fétis's topical outline is reproduced in Wangermée's *François-Joseph Fétis*, 319-324.

Cousin, he was the most visible figure in his field to do so. But like society itself, the French musical scene had been eclectic well before Fétis published his series of musical treatises. Unlike Fétis, his immediate predecessors in French music criticism were less interested in creating a national philosophy of music and were not experts in the art to the level he was. The most prominent writer of the previous generation of French music critics was Julien-Louis Géoffroy. While Géoffroy was not primarily a music critic, he was nevertheless an important figure in the early stages of music criticism in the Parisian press. As a theatre critic for the *Journal des débats* from 1800-1814, Géoffroy saw music as a decorative art, fickle and subject to the vague fluctuations of public taste.⁶⁵ Probably because he was not trained musically, he did not cover any purely instrumental music. He believed that music's place is to operate as subject to poetry (which he saw as the pinnacle of the arts), and the impact of his views was likely significant considering that the *Journal* boasted around 10,000 subscribers.⁶⁶ Géoffroy, like Fétis, called for the maintenance of older musical traditions in order to benefit modern tastes. Ellis notes that Géoffroy's opinion on this matter demonstrates his reach within French music criticism: "his importance as a music critic lies in the fact that his few objects of enthusiasm were justified by an appeal to arguments [such as Fétis's eclecticism] which were to become dominant later in the century."⁶⁷ In other words, Fétis's eclecticism restated (in much more comprehensive and eloquent terms) French criticism that had begun to be voiced a generation before his influential writing.

Eclecticism was found not only in the realm of criticism. The eclectic prescriptions of

⁶⁵ Ellis, 9, 14.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 14.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 13-14.

critics such as Géoffroy and Fétis resembled aspects of a musical scene already in action. An example of slightly earlier Parisian musical eclecticism is the series of concerts put on by Pierre Baillot. The violinist, as noted in Chapter One, started a public concert series in 1814 that exclusively featured chamber music. The series, which was largely subscribed to by aristocrats (“wealthy enlightened amateurs”), lasted until 1840, not long before Baillot’s death.⁶⁸ When Baillot’s concerts are mentioned today, it is usually, and understandably, to credit the series with introducing the Parisian public to Viennese music, especially that of Beethoven and Mozart. But Baillot and his chamber ensemble introduced an eclectic variety of music to his subscribers. In addition to the Viennese giants, he frequently programmed works by himself, Boccherini, and (after 1820) Reicha, Onslow, Hummel, and especially Cherubini, whose first six string quartets were composed for and premiered by Baillot’s group.⁶⁹

Cherubini, particularly, can be considered an embodiment of foreign presence in French eclecticism: he was Italian, but he worked in Paris as director of the Conservatoire. Earlier he had been a conductor, composer, and director of the Tuileries chapel during the Restoration.⁷⁰ Cherubini’s presence in the Parisian musical scene nicely matches Cousin’s prescription for foreign inclusion (though his presence predates Cousin’s career). The French appetite for foreign music was not limited to chamber music enthusiasts alone: similar sentiments motivated the

⁶⁸ Jean Mongrédien, *French Music from the Enlightenment to Romanticism, 1789-1830*, ed. Reinhard G. Pauly, trans. Sylvain Frémaux (Portland, Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1996), 248-9.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 249, and Jöel-Marie Fauquet, “Chamber Music in France from Luigi Cherubini to Claude Debussy,” in *Nineteenth-Century Chamber Music*, ed. Stephen E. Hefling (New York: Routledge, 2004), 293. Fauquet calls Cherubini’s string quartets “the fruit of a rigorous collaboration between the composer and ... Baillot and his partners.” He also notes the breadth of time over which Cherubini’s quartets were premiered by Baillot and his ensemble: it encompassed virtually the entire lifespan of his concert series. The First Quartet was premiered in 1814 and the Fifth in 1836 (the Sixth was likely not played in public). For more on Baillot’s series as well as extensive study of the Parisian chamber music scene in general, see Jöel-Marie Fauquet. *Les Sociétés de musique de chambre à Paris de la Restauration à 1870* (Paris: Aux Amateurs de Livres, 1986).

⁷⁰ See Mongrédien’s book. Aspects of Cherubini’s life and career appear throughout the book’s various sections, testifying to the diverse and prolific nature of Cherubini’s musical endeavors.

regular audience of the Théâtre Italien, people who sought a greater scope of “aesthetic emotions” than that provided by contemporary French music.⁷¹ And the Théâtre Italien, like the foreign chamber music that was performed alongside French in Baillot’s series, existed alongside venues producing French operas. The French musical environment truly was a *mélange étrange*, an eclectic mixture of foreign and domestic music. Such foreign presence in the French musical scene foreshadows Fétis’s writings on musical eclecticism, and it indicates that, similarly to Cousin in his project for French philosophy, Fétis was perhaps not as concerned with creating a new French musical scene as distilling desirable elements from what already existed.

Baillot’s concert series played a significant role in growing Parisian interest in professional chamber music, especially quartets, and attendance records of his concerts demonstrate the growth. The initial number of subscriptions was around 150 in 1814 (at 16 Rue Bergère), but by 1830 Baillot had to move the series to the Saint-Jean room at city hall which sat about 700.⁷² Such growing enthusiasm did not go unnoticed by Fétis, who glowingly described one of the 1827 concerts in terms not only of the music, but also of the audience’s feelings of rapture: “Our great violinist had the opportunity to display his talent with such varied and delicate nuances and such colossal dimensions that the whole audience breathed admiration and enthusiasm for the entire two and a half hours, and at the end one heard only the words: ‘Perfect! Sublime!’”⁷³ According to Mongrédien, “Nothing of this kind had ever before been seen in the

⁷¹ Mongrédien, 250.

⁷² Ibid., 248-249. Notably, Boris Schwarz points to an 1817 report in the *Wiener Musikzeitung* as indication that the Parisian public was “apathetic” toward quartets: the report noted that a concert in Baillot’s series only drew about fifty people during the height of the winter season. Schwarz, however, apparently did not look any further than that single review in a Viennese journal, and he did not follow up on the growth of Baillot’s subscriptions over the course of the next two decades. See Boris Schwarz, *French Instrumental Music between the Revolutions, 1789-1830* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1987), 206.

⁷³ Jean-François Fétis, *Revue Musicale de Paris*, 1827, 190. I first encountered this statement in Mongrédien’s book, p. 250. The translation, therefore, is Frémaux’s.

history of concert-going in France. These public music concerts had a determining influence after the Restoration and aroused interest in a whole new repertoire.”⁷⁴ Significantly, Baillot’s concerts provoked interest in questions of musical-historical context and their ramifications for interpretation of musical works.⁷⁵ As they were exposed to a wider variety of foreign and domestic works, the growing numbers of Parisian connoisseurs started to realize that such matters could (and should) affect music performance and audiences’ experience of it.⁷⁶ And perhaps the performance practice issues brought up by Baillot’s series influenced Fétis’s eclectic prescriptions concerning early music as well.

Relatedly, some of the music composed for Baillot’s group involves mixture of historical and national styles. It does not appear to be coincidental, in light of the nature of Baillot’s concerts, that Cherubini’s string quartets (which, as noted above, were composed in collaboration with Baillot’s ensemble) involve a mixture of elements of a French past (itself something of an appropriation of Italian style) and a Viennese present. Fauquet notes that all of Cherubini’s quartets “bear traces of the *concertante* quartet and *quatuor brilliant* in the manner of Viotti, whereby the first violin predominates and stylistic features culled from opera are apparent.”⁷⁷ But his quartets also show Beethoven’s influence in “the exceptional fullness of their writing,” some extensive polyphony, chromaticism, and cyclical approaches.⁷⁸ Baillot’s own compositional contributions to his group’s *séances* were particularly eclectic. As noted in

⁷⁴ Mongrédien, 249.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 250.

⁷⁶ In Mongrédien’s words, “[the public] began to understand that Mozart should not be played in the same way as Beethoven, nor Handel like Boccherini, but that each composer has his own manner (or even several over different periods of life) and that the performer has to understand this if he is to play in a way that is historically accurate. This was a new idea that French critics had not realized up until now” (ibid.).

⁷⁷ Fauquet, “Chamber Music in France,” 294.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

Chapter Two, Eugène Sauzay, his son-in law, nostalgically recalled that Baillot finished each of his chamber music sessions by performing one of his *airs variés*, which were meant to feature his own dazzling virtuosity.⁷⁹ His *airs variés* always feature the first violin (himself) with accompaniment: sometimes the accompaniment constitutes the rest of a string quartet, or a trio or quintet, or simply the piano. Many of these pieces are variations on opera arias, frequently Italian opera, and some are based on German and well-known French and Russian tunes. Baillot's *airs russes variés* date from during and soon after his sojourn in Russia from 1805-1808; they were probably originally composed for the delight of his Russian audiences, but his Parisian public apparently found them pleasing as well (and perhaps exotic), for he frequently performed them in his series. Baillot's *airs variés*, then, are the veritable definition of musical *éclectisme*. These pieces involve mixing foreign tunes into domestic chamber music sessions, using Italian opera melodies as a basis for chamber music, and sometimes even involved old tunes treated in a new way (the *air varié* op. 25, on the tune "Charmante Gabrielle" which dates to the early 1600s, for example).

Thus, the eclectic musical practices of the Parisian chamber music scene resemble Cousin's philosophical tenets of historical and intercultural inquiry. Furthermore, eclectic practices were already in action when Cousin and Fétis formulated their respective thoughts on eclecticism. Fétis's prescriptions for music, particularly, almost seem to have projected from the bows of Baillot's ensemble, for Baillot had already put into practice some of Fétis's prescriptions for historical performances and eclectic composition well before he ever articulated them. But it would be perhaps simplistic or naïve to chalk up all of this eclecticism to intentional philosophical adherence, especially considering that French musical eclecticism predates Fétis's

⁷⁹ François-Sappey, 192.

(and Cousin's) prescriptions. A more realistic view is one that echoes Driskel's point on visual art: that eclecticism has long been not only present, but has been the rule in Western art. It certainly was present in the French chamber music scene.

While in many respects this period gave momentum to ideas of a musical canon connecting the past and present, such happenings are not unique to France and the early nineteenth-century chamber music scene in Paris. Obviously, foreign influences, stylistic mixtures, and degrees of historicism were present in the music scenes of other European centers. One need only consider the popularity of Italian music in London, Vienna, and the German cities, and the general European practice of justifying arts and culture by classical models (or at least the perception of Greco-Roman models), to see that Driskel's point applies to other cultures' music and to other arts as well. Why then does French eclecticism matter? What was it about its particular manifestation of eclecticism that differed from other European cultures and has stigmatized a period of French history? The significance lies first in what has already been discussed: in France, unlike in the rest of Europe, *Éclectisme* was adopted for a period as official state policy and was offered as a distillation of the culture in general. Secondly, along with the period of French history to which it was officially applied, *Éclectisme* has suffered a negative historical treatment. Whether political, cultural, or artistic, *Éclectisme* came to be associated with failure.

The Historical Fate of French *Éclectisme* in Politics, Visual Art, and Music

The fate of *Éclectisme*, whether as a doctrine of philosophy or as a feature of art products, is closely related to the historical treatment of its political carrier, the July Monarchy, which in

Tombs's words "has few friends among historians."⁸⁰ And the relationship goes beyond mere parallels; the historical fate of the regime and the term are intertwined. Common perception is that Louis-Philippe's *juste-milieu* monarchy failed because it was eclectic; however, the regime was actually weakened by economic troubles caused by cholera and crop failure and by political errors such as limitations imposed on representation and suffrage (which amount to failing to live up to the expectations of a constitutional monarchy).⁸¹ Louis-Philippe and his advisors naïvely underestimated the power of dissenting political factions, which saw him as a symbol of national, moral, and philosophical compromise and failure. I will not trace these events here, for others have done so thoroughly.⁸² For my purposes, *perceptions* of the July Monarchy's failure are more relevant.

Much of its failure was and is blamed on its eclecticism, and the perception was (and often still is) that "moderation" meant national weakness.⁸³ But by modern standards the July Monarchy succeeded on many fronts:

Few regimes have been run by such remarkably intelligent men: its politicians' writings still repay reading, for this was the Indian summer of French political thought. No other nineteenth-century French regime had perspectives that seem, from the end of the twentieth century [or the early part of the twenty-first], so "modern": to protect the individual, to maintain international peace and to foster economic growth. But a system similar to that which prevailed in most of north-western Europe failed in France, politically, intellectually and morally.⁸⁴

While perceptions of the July Monarchy's shortcomings are frequently simplistic, perception, perhaps as much as its policy, played a significant role in its decline and fall. According to

⁸⁰ Tombs, 354. Tombs notes also that Louis-Philippe's July Monarchy was modeled on what was perceived to be a positive aspect of a foreign society, the British constitutional monarchy. Thus, it follows a tenet of Cousin's *Éclectisme* (my observation, not Tombs's).

⁸¹ Ibid., 354-376.

⁸² See Tombs, 354-75 (Chapter 18, "The July Monarchy, 1830-48"). See also Patrick Bury, *France, 1814-1940*, 6th ed. (New York and London: Routledge, 2003).

⁸³ Tombs, 376.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 354.

Boime, the July Monarchy failed in part because Louis Philippe founded his legitimacy on untenable pretensions, presenting himself as the means to both peace and glory for France, a “*juste-milieu* utopia.”⁸⁵ Louis-Philippe promoted himself as simultaneously a legitimate heir to the Bourbon dynasty (he was a descendant of Louis XIII), as a Republican (he, along with his father, had supported the Revolution), and as bearer of Napoleon’s glorious legacy.⁸⁶ It is perhaps more apt, then, to call Louis-Philippe an *éclectique* than to call him by his misleading and contemptuous moniker, the “bourgeois monarch.”

Louis-Philippe’s project to capitalize on (and sometimes fabricate) Napoleon’s glorious legacy is particularly visible in his artistic and architectural projects. Louis-Philippe commemorated Bonaparte’s triumphs in commissions of sculpture, architecture, and art, even entombing the ashes of the deceased Emperor under the Dôme des Invalides (after completing a massive renovation of the building) in 1840, over nineteen years after his death in exile on the island of St. Helena. Commenting on Louis-Philippe’s practice of self-legitimizing through art, Albert Boime remarks: “The July Monarchy offers a case study of the politics of history, memory, and forgetting.”⁸⁷ Louis-Philippe embraced the image of the warrior Napoleon of the

⁸⁵ Boime, 317.

⁸⁶ That Louis-Philippe, himself a noble and Bourbon, would have supported the Revolution may seem surprising from a twenty-first-century perspective, considering the tragic fate of so many nobles during the Terror, but the nobility played a significant role in overthrowing the old monarchy. It is in fact a common misperception that the Revolution was entirely the work of the lower classes, for the nobility, not these classes, is where respect for the monarch diminished during the years leading up to the Revolution; see Mansel, 13. Mansel notes that love of grandeur by the nobility was always to credit for the remarkable strength and durability of the court of France (p. 25). The court served the purposes of the nobility more even than those of the royal family. Its purpose was “to satisfy feelings such as ambition, vanity and love of splendour” among nobles (p. 35). The old monarchy weakened because Louis XVI lost the support of many nobles, who saw him and his court as inadequate in matters of pomp. Incidentally, inattention to courtly splendor played a role in weakening Louis-Philippe’s regime as well (pp. 191-4). Louis-Philippe’s father, commonly known as Philippe Egalité, had participated in the revolutionary Convention and supported the execution of Louis XVI, “whom he subsequently followed to the guillotine” (Tombs, 355). Ironically, despite his service with the revolutionary armies, Louis-Philippe nevertheless had to flee the Terror (ibid.).

⁸⁷ Boime, 270.

past, while clamoring for peace in the present and pursuing the opposite approach to Napoleon's in foreign relations, at least with near European neighbors.⁸⁸

For many Frenchmen, especially those with money and political influence, Louis-Philippe's attempt to achieve a *juste milieu* represented failure because peace did not generate glory, nor did Louis-Philippe's reputation as the "bourgeois monarch" (which he embraced). One reason for Louis-Philippe's decline in popularity was his approach to the court itself. Unlike Napoleon—who grew the size of the French court to an unprecedented splendor—and the two kings of the Bourbon Restoration, Louis-Philippe did away with the court altogether, becoming the first French king to reign without one.⁸⁹ He mistakenly believed that all of France shared his own resentment of the excesses of a royal court, not realizing that perceptions of glory were needed to maintain support for a monarchy. The Restoration may have been hated by many, but the July Monarchy aroused much more contempt because it favored rationality, a middle ground, over splendor.⁹⁰

The dream of a bourgeois monarchy was one that had to strike a precarious balance in order to survive. Louis-Philippe, again a Bourbon descendant, ascended the throne reluctantly on the shoulders of republican revolutionaries, not monarchist aristocrats.⁹¹ His "middle ground," then, was at first one that tried to manage the demands of the lower classes and the bourgeoisie. But lower classes do not offer a monarch much in the way of glory. He feared the very circumstances that gave him the throne: Revolution. Further into his reign, he tried to distance

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Mansel, 181.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 194. Mansel notes here that Gioachino Rossini left Paris in the very early years of the July Monarchy because he was disgusted with Louis-Philippe's distaste for pomp and splendor.

⁹¹ Boime, 273.

himself from republicans, relabeling the results of republicanism as “anarchy,” “disorder,” and “popular power.”⁹² Thus, Louis-Philippe shifted his *juste-milieu* to a middle ground between the bourgeoisie and monarchical nobles, and in the end “marched straight back to absolutism under the rubric of *juste-milieu*.”⁹³ But this particular balance was unattainable because it ultimately did not appeal to either faction and did not adequately account for growing republican power. Thus, the middle-ground, the dream of an eclectic constitutional monarchy, failed in perception and in reality: it contributed to an actual failure of regime.⁹⁴ In retrospect it is not difficult to see why. Monarchy does not occupy a middle ground; it rules from the top. The *juste-milieu* principles by which the July Monarchy tried to legitimize itself ended up, ironically, nullifying it. France was still a proud nation: it was one still largely dominated by elite factions of nobles and upper bourgeoisie who fondly (and selectively) remembered past national triumphs and courtly grandeur. To them, the *juste-milieu* and its lack of pomp missed the point of having a monarchy: it took away their source of national pride, the government’s glory and splendor. Thus, the July Monarchy came to be perceived as a government that was no actual system of governing, and by appeasing all it appealed to few.

Éclectisme, as a philosophy, shares a similar fate with the eclectic July Monarchy. As early as the mid-1830s, Cousin’s attempt at a national philosophy met with resistance. One of his prominent opponents at the time was Pierre Leroux (1797-1871). A socialist and Saint-Simonian, Leroux published a series of articles in the Paris press, which also soon appeared in book form,

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Tombs, 358.

denouncing *Éclectisme* and its “pope” Cousin.⁹⁵ Leroux (and his arguments typify oppositions to *Éclectisme*) saw Cousin’s state-sanctioned philosophy as destructive to French society. He believed that Cousin’s *juste-milieu* “anesthetized or asphyxiated” society through philosophical neutrality.⁹⁶ In his view, *Éclectisme* was no philosophy at all, but rather a paucity; therefore, *éclectiques* were philosophers without a philosophy.⁹⁷ Leroux’s resistance to *Éclectisme* offers a dual insight into the relationship of Cousin’s philosophy with French society: obviously, it shows that French intellectuals were not unanimously behind Cousin’s attempted consolidation of cultural values; but, ironically, his concern for its failures also indicates that *Éclectisme* had extensively permeated French thought. Leroux’s aims were in some ways similar to Cousin’s: he too wished for a strong, unified France, founded on the unity of universal principles, but he could not accept Cousin’s way of consolidating the past and relying on the systems of others. Leroux argued that the philosophy of a nation and an epoch must be original, stating that “every thinker has had a system.”⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Pierre Leroux, *Réfutation de l’éclectisme* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1979), Foreword (no pagination). The Foreword is by Jean-Pierre Lacassagne.

⁹⁶ Ibid. Lacassagne states: “Leroux entend la dénoncer et montrer que la philosophie de Cousin et de ses séides n’est que capitulation devant le pouvoir installé, ce ‘juste-milieu’ qui détruit la société ou plus exactement l’anesthésie ou l’asphyxie.” “Leroux meant to denounce it and to show that the philosophy of Cousin and his followers is only surrender to the installed power, this ‘juste-milieu’ that destroys society or more precisely anesthetizes it or asphyxiates it” (translation mine).

⁹⁷ Ibid., and *ibid.*, 1. “L’absence et la négation de toute philosophie a pris aujourd’hui la place de la philosophie sous le nom d’éclectisme” (Foreword). “On appelle *éclectiques* ... les philosophes qui, *sans adopter de système*, choisissent les opinions les plus vraisemblables. Cette définition est exacte: les éclectiques, en effet ... étaient des philosophes qui n’avaient pas de système, des philosophes dénués de ce qui constitue toute vraie philosophie” (p. 1). “The absence and negation of all philosophy today has taken the place of philosophy under the name éclectisme.” “We call *éclectiques* ... philosophers who, *without adopting any system*, choose the most probable opinions. This definition is exact: éclectiques, in effect ... were philosophers who had no system, philosophers devoid of what constitutes all true philosophy” (translation mine).

⁹⁸ Ibid., 12-21. The phrase “Tout penseur a eu un système” is taken from p. 12. Leroux’s refutation of Cousin’s supposedly unoriginal thought involves pointing out original elements in the work of a long list of philosophers of the past.

The bitterness against Cousin on the part of detractors such as Leroux appears to have stemmed as much from his empowerment by the government as from their objections to actual weaknesses in his philosophy. With the advantage of hindsight in 1877, the psychologist and philosopher Théodule Ribot allowed that Cousin had indeed succeeded in founding an official French philosophy. But Ribot's admission is sardonic, for he clarifies that Cousin's philosophy was only "official" because it was the one "which the State guaranteed ... [and] it determined the spirit and the programme."⁹⁹ Ribot pointed out that several powerful figures in the French government, including Guizot, had assisted in Cousin's political ascent.¹⁰⁰ He called *Éclectisme* "a doctrine without originality, and standing absolutely aloof from the discoveries of science" because its "fundamental principle" was that "nothing new remains to be said; the age of systems is past."¹⁰¹ Ribot happily recalled that the July Monarchy's fall in the Revolution of 1848 "struck a fatal blow at Eclecticism."¹⁰²

Rhetoric clearly connects criticisms of the July Monarchy as a system of government and the doctrine of *Éclectisme* as a philosophy. The "bourgeois monarchy" was mocked as no true monarchy at all, lacking the splendor and international glory of legitimate regimes. Of course as a monarchy, it could never truly be bourgeois either. Thus, it was frequently criticized as nothing more than a political compromise and as comprising no actual system of government. Although Louis-Philippe tried to legitimize himself by creating connections to aspects of France's past, such fabricated hybridity in fact contributed to perceptions of him as weak and illegitimate.

⁹⁹ Théodule Ribot, "Philosophy in France," *Mind* 2, no. 7 (July, 1877), 366-367.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 366.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 367.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 368.

Likewise, as we have seen in Leroux's refutation and in Ribot's recollection, *Éclectisme* came to be seen by many as no philosophy at all because it held to no single system; the philosophical arm of the *juste-milieu* was dismissed as empty, as lacking substance, as a failure.

Government and philosophy were not the only institutions to suffer accusations of failure thanks to association with eclecticism. French arts also suffered. Painters of the July Monarchy era were especially targeted as eclectic. It is important to recall that, as Driskel noted, most artists of the past several hundred years have practiced eclecticism in various ways. Nevertheless, it is the eclecticism of painters of this particular era in France that has been stigmatized. Critics of the weak July Monarchy painted with a wide brush, as it were, and its artists, like its philosophers, were not immune to vitriol caused by French cultural shame for the era. In part, the artists' reputations were tainted by their employment by the July Monarchy. Artists, along with Cousin and his philosophers, were frequently recruited by the government to create propaganda for the French state (recall Ribot's criticism of Cousin for using political connections to institutionalize his philosophy and grow his influence). Labeling the government as weak and the philosophy of *Éclectisme* as null was also echoed in criticism of the era's art.

By the *fin de siècle*, French criticism of eclectic art had become particularly biting. As an example, Driskel cites the French art critic and historian Léon Rosenthal's condemnation of the July Monarchy's painters. Chastising Vernet as a prominent example of the era's painters, Rosenthal dismissed these artists' works as failures because they were eclectic.¹⁰³ Driskel observes:

[as Rosenthal] wielded them, the terms, *juste-milieu* and *éclectism* were interchangeable, and both carried undisguised pejorative meanings. They signified a personal failing, a refusal to take a stand or to embrace a

¹⁰³ Driskel, 49.

well-defined aesthetic position, such as those of Delacroix and Ingres.... For him, a *juste-milieu* method of painting produced an absence of “style.” Commitment to a well-defined modality of painting in his scheme of values was both a precondition to stylistic integrity and an expression of individuality.¹⁰⁴

As Baillot and eclecticism by Parisian chamber music composers predate Fétis’s prescriptions, Vernet had developed his eclectic painting techniques well before the July Monarchy came to power, but he was not spared the stigma of his association with the regime.¹⁰⁵ Driskel traces Rosenthal’s opinion to Charles Baudelaire, who as early as 1844 condemned the artists of the *juste-milieu*, especially Vernet, competing in that year’s Salon. Baudelaire “likened eclecticism to a contagious disease, one caused by doubt, ‘which is today the primary cause of all morbid affections in the moral world.’”¹⁰⁶ Driskel also cites a similar viewpoint from an 1839 article in *L’Artiste*, a prestigious art periodical, that denounced artists “who practiced the principle of fusion, or ‘bastard eclecticism,’” and “the *juste-milieu* ... as impotent in matters of art as in matters of social doctrine.”¹⁰⁷ Although Baudelaire’s view, which was shared with the author of the article in *L’Artiste*, was probably not yet the majority opinion, it does indicate a growing discontent for the July Monarchy and its artistic ideology insofar as it had one. And it is important that the article traces both French artistic failure and socio-political failure to a common source, the July Monarchy’s *juste-milieu*. Such connecting of eclecticism to failure became more common later, after the fall of the July Monarchy. Many contemporaries, by

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. Driskel’s source is Léon Rosenthal, *Du Romantisme au réalisme: La peinture en France de 1830 à 1848* (Paris: H. Laurens, 1914), 203. It is worth noting that Ingres was a friend of both Baillot and Cherubini, and he painted Cherubini’s portrait housed in the Louvre. His friendship with the musicians was “fertile in artistic exchanges.” Ingres apparently was a talented violinist in his own right. He gave art lessons to Cherubini and played Cherubini’s first quartets (the ones dedicated to and premiered by Baillot) with Baillot; see Joël-Marie Fauquet, “Aspects de la musique de chambre au XIX^e Siècle: L’Instrument et le musicien,” in *Instrumentalistes et Luthiers Parisiens: XVII^e-XIX^e Siècles* (Paris: La Délégation, 1988), 239.

¹⁰⁵ Driskel, 51.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 49-51. Driskel’s source is Charles Baudelaire, “Salon de 1846,” in *Œuvres complètes de Charles Baudelaire*, vol. 2, ed. Théophile Gautier (Paris: Calmann-Levy, 1889-1904), 167.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 52.

contrast, found eclecticism to be a marker of individuality and originality precisely because it entailed a refusal to conform to a school of style; notions of originality, then, depended on who was framing the terms.¹⁰⁸ Thus, the general state of opinion about artistic *éclectisme* was itself eclectic.

Fétis's musical thought, so close in spirit to Cousin's philosophy, suffered similarly. His contemporary personal reputation remained strong despite resistance to his philosophy. His musical theories, which combined science and metaphysics, however, suffered at the hands of historians and theorists later in the century. Rosalie Schellhous reasons that "the growing ranks of scientific positivists" who called for empirical evidence for such theories, rejected Fétis's views on grounds that metaphysics "could have no place in an empirical inquiry."¹⁰⁹ Fétis's system, which was too conservative to be Romantic or avant-garde, retreated into a theoretical *juste-milieu* that synthesized elements of the past (his "pluritonique") rather than looking toward the future ("omnitonique") and contributing to musical evolution.¹¹⁰

Fétis's reliance on past systems became ever more problematic to his critics as the century wore on. In part, his thought was affected by cultural fallout after the Franco-Prussian War. Thanks to the devastating effects of the war (both infrastructural and psychological), France underwent extensive self-evaluation. Many thinkers and leaders saw the events of the earlier parts of the century as indicative of French decadence and decline. How else could they have lost a war to provincial Germany? The French, whether secular republican or monarchical Catholic (the two main groups jockeying for power late in the century), struggled with feelings

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 51.

¹⁰⁹ Schellhous, 219.

¹¹⁰ Ellis, 40-1.

that the country had declined, and both eventually concluded that what was wrong in France was what was right in Germany: Catholics credited German piety (Lutheran moderation), and secular republicans credited German secularism, which embraced scientific advancement.¹¹¹ As Jann Pasler asserts, progress (a calling card of German secular progressivism) became a central tenet for nationalistic idealists of the Third Republic, and it became a French musical ideal as well.¹¹² *Éclectisme* had long been connected to monarchism, at least to constitutional monarchism; thus, *Éclectisme* was not seen as conducive to progress, for it was conservative and represented a decayed past littered with weak monarchs. Cousin and Fétis's work was generally dismissed in the latter part of the century at least in part for this reason, as Peter Bloom has discussed.¹¹³ Republicans finally won the French culture war, and conservative monarchical eclecticism failed to meet the new nationalistic aims of the Third Republic, which wished to not only avoid but also to disavow the symbols and relics of nineteenth-century French weakness.¹¹⁴

It is important to remember that we are dealing as much with perception as with reality. Despite resistance to eclecticism, late-century France was still eclectic in many respects. According to Pasler, the French were “a hybrid people with eclectic interests, the product of both assimilation and resistance to various invader cultures.”¹¹⁵ Thus, French culture itself resembled Driskell's observation on Western art; eclecticism, whether acknowledged or not or intentional

¹¹¹ See Karine Varley, *Under the Shadow of Defeat: The War of 1870-71 in French Memory* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008). The late-century power struggle between monarchical Catholics and secular republicans in France is also discussed at length by Frederick Brown in *For the Soul of France: Culture Wars in the Age of Dreyfus* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2010).

¹¹² Jann Pasler, *Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2009), 698.

¹¹³ Peter Bloom, “François-Joseph Fétis and the Revue Musicale (1827-1835)” (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1972), 370.

¹¹⁴ Ibid. See also Verzosa.

¹¹⁵ Pasler, 696.

or not, was the norm. The presence of eclecticism was itself not exactly the problem for Fétis's work: the problem was more that the eclecticism of a certain era was perceived to be associated with France's recent history of impotent governmental systems and international weakness. It was not difficult to extend such perceptions to art and music as well. Despite the eclectic state of French society after 1871, *éclectisme*, neatly packaged as a moment in history, could be dismissed in the name of progress as archaic and unoriginal.

In recent times Fétis has been treated better, but the breadth of his influence, depth of his thinking, and the insights into nineteenth-century French culture and music that his thoughts offer are still frequently overlooked.¹¹⁶ It is worth, in this context, returning to some of Fétis's musical predictions. While certainly his attempts to combine science and metaphysics are troubling from the standpoint of modern empiricism, his predictions of the future of music were on some points remarkably accurate. Non-tonal music of course appeared relatively soon after Fétis's prediction of "omnitonique" music, as in some of Franz Liszt's works (including a "Prélude omnitonique"¹¹⁷), some of Modest Musorgsky's, and, later, the non-tonal music of Arnold Schoenberg and his followers. But Fétis "retreated into a *juste-milieu*." He was not a progressive; he predicted that tonal music would still be the rule, governed, he hoped, by Mozartian models.¹¹⁸ In short, he predicted that progressive and conservative musics would coexist. His prediction did not fit with later, more popular constructions of nineteenth-century

¹¹⁶ Schellhous, 219. Schellhous notes too that, on the positive side, Fétis's "contribution to the field of comparative musicology has been acknowledged and criticized, his theory has been interpreted, and an excellent biography [Wangermée's] has been written."

¹¹⁷ Liszt apparently based his "Prélude," composed in 1844, on Fétis's theories; he had attended a lecture series by Fétis in 1832; see Alan Walker, *The Final Years, 1861-1886*, vol. III, *Franz Liszt* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1996), 440. Presumed lost for more than a century and a half, the piece has recently been rediscovered.

¹¹⁸ Ellis, 40.

musical narratives, which saw music as evolutionary and progress as inevitable. Such narratives, of course, ignore music that did not represent some rung of the ladder of progress, as it were.¹¹⁹ But Fétis's projection of the musical future, it turns out, has been closer to reality than a supposed "evolution" would suggest. To this day, his eclectic musical model resembles what is heard in concert halls and studied in universities.

Conclusion

Whether or not he was aware of it, Dahlhaus's judgment of Saint-Saëns's Symphony in C Minor as a musical failure descends from negative nineteenth-century rhetoric on French eclecticism. Dahlhaus extended his judgment of failure beyond the work and to the composer, whom he called "a virtuoso of the composer's trade, capable of assimilating any style because he possessed none of his own."¹²⁰ Dahlhaus's judgment of possessing no style at all does not merely resemble Rosenthal's condemnation of eclectic painters, Baudelaire's connecting the failures of eclectic art with the July Monarchy's failed *juste-milieu*, and Leroux and Ribot's critique of Cousin's *Éclectisme*; it is rhetorically identical to these examples. While its historically minded command of a variety of past and present systems offered its practitioners dazzling technique and command of a "trade," to its detractors, eclecticism could never apply to anything of real worth. To them, it meant a surface-level existence, lacking depth and "internal coherence," forming only a deceptive "façade" of true art (Dahlhaus's words in quotations). As can be surmised from the previous chapter, and as we will see in the next chapter, Baillot, Rode, Kreutzer, and Dancla

¹¹⁹ For further study of such narratives and their consequences, see Scott Messing, *Neoclassicism in Music: From the Genesis of the Concept through the Schoenberg/Stravinsky Polemic* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988).

¹²⁰ Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth Century Music*, 289.

indeed possessed dazzling technique. But their string quartets' function is more akin to a workman's toolbox than to a scientist's journal. They aimed much more to show the featured player's skill than to provide scores for later theorists to study; the score is not the point. But, as Dahlhaus has shown us, to have command of the musician's trade, to assimilate the styles and techniques of others to the point of conquering them, could signify artistic failure. In Dahlhaus's paradigm, art is not a trade: and eclectic music that serves a trade fails.

The fate of early nineteenth-century French string quartets is related to that of the political regime, philosophy, and other arts. As noted in Chapter One, the contribution of perhaps the foremost expert on nineteenth-century French chamber music, Joël-Marie Fauquet, to Routledge's volume *Nineteenth-Century Chamber Music* serves as a defense of even the *presence* of a repertoire. That Fauquet would produce such a defense indicates that he realized that the repertoire "has few friends among historians," to borrow Tombs's words. I also noted that the string quartets of the early part of the century, when even acknowledged by historians, are usually described in dismissive terms. Because they are usually homophonic and melody-centered, they are seen as conservative, as not contributing to the evolution of the genre. The quartets frequently include foreign elements as well, especially melodies in Italian opera styles ("in the manner of Viotti," as Fauquet notes of Cherubini's string quartets). As we have seen, these quartets have been dismissed as derivative and unoriginal, as failed attempts to replicate the style of Beethoven and Mozart. The repertoire's dismissal as derivative and unoriginal resembles the dismissal reserved for *Éclectisme*, French eclectic painting, and Fétis's writing. In the few instances this quartet repertoire is mentioned in histories, it is seldom by "friends."

Chapter 4

French String Quartets: The Repertoire of *Éclectiques*

A term of Italian origin, applied ... to a player who excels in the technical part of his art. Such players being naturally open to a temptation to indulge in their ability unduly at the expense of the meaning of the composer, the word has acquired a somewhat depreciatory meaning, as of display for its own sake. *Virtuosität*—or virtuosity, if the word may be allowed—is the condition of playing like a virtuoso. Mendelssohn never did, Mme. Schumann and Joachim never do, play in the style alluded to. It would be invidious to mention those who do.

—Sir George Grove¹²¹

This chapter turns to the music itself. Despite the negative historical treatment of *Éclectisme*, that the repertoire covered here has not received much historical attention is curious considering the stellar reputations of the composers during their lifetimes. Baillot, Rode, and Kreutzer particularly, but also Dancla, were important historical figures in some of the great French musical institutions, such as the Conservatoire nationale de Paris and the Opéra. Nevertheless, their significant contributions to the worlds of music performance and pedagogy have not sufficed to prompt attention to any part of their compositional output, especially their chamber music. At least to some extent, predetermined expectations of what string quartets (and chamber music in general) “should be” have discouraged investigation into these composers’ quartets.

Boris Schwarz’s reluctant coverage of the repertoire is an example of such idealism. Schwarz, writing one of the first attempts in English at a history of French instrumental music

¹²¹ Sir George Grove, “Virtuoso,” in *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. IV (London: Macmillan, 1889), 313. I encountered Grove’s statement in Žarko Cvejić’s *The Virtuoso as Subject: The Reception of Instrumental Virtuosity, c. 1815-1850* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016), 1.

between the Revolution and the July Monarchy, could not resist the temptation to evaluate French chamber music as much as describe it:

Gossec, the most prolific French composer between 1750 and 1780, wrote a number of string trios and string quartets which, without being singularly original, preserved the *intimacy and balance so essential for true chamber music*. Yet the following generation could not resist the general trend toward *virtuosity*. In the hands of violinist-composers like Rode and Kreutzer, the string quartet became a display piece for the first violinist while the remaining three string parts were relegated to an accompanying role. This fad was by no means limited to France; even a solid musician like Spohr contributed to the *hybrid* genre of the *quatuor brillant*.... Violin virtuosos of those days took advantage of such opportunities [to show off their skill] with eagerness, and we have contemporary reports describing performances of some Haydn or Mozart quartet by a famous virtuoso (occasionally standing on stage) accompanied by three unnamed players.¹²²

Some important concepts are at play here. The first sentence appears innocuous enough, at least if we accept that in order to be “true,” chamber music must have balance. But in the following sentences, Schwarz states that composers like Rode and Kreutzer eschewed balance for showiness. Schwarz’s observation forms a dichotomy: he distinguishes between democracy of parts (“balance”) and violin dominance, between intimacy and showiness, and (most importantly) between “true chamber music” and something “hybrid.” His vague treatment of the last part, something “hybrid,” shows that Schwarz either cannot categorize it or (more likely) he cannot accept it as legitimate chamber music. For him, “true chamber music” cannot be hybrid. And, perhaps the French tradition’s greatest transgression, the musicians who participated in this “hybrid genre” also are guilty of musical heresy by treating even Viennese works as virtuosic solo works with accompaniment. On the surface, Schwarz may not seem negative towards the music, but his words nevertheless amount to an evaluative report. Schwarz’s idealistic expectation of what true chamber music “is,” his evident immersion in German musicology,

¹²² Boris Schwarz, *Instrumental Music in France between the Revolutions (1789-1830)* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1987), 255 (emphases mine). Mongrédien’s account of Parisian chamber music accords with Schwarz’s. Mongrédien notes that in Parisian quartet playing, the first violinist frequently stood, highlighting that instrument’s importance in relation to the others. Significantly, his example is Baillot, perhaps the foremost Parisian purveyor of Beethoven and Mozart’s chamber music of the early nineteenth century; see Jean Mongrédien, *French Music from the Enlightenment to Romanticism 1789-1830*, ed. Reinhard G. Pauly, trans. Sylvain Frémaux (Portland, Oregon: Amedeus Press, 1996), 296.

prevents him from being objective.¹²³ Schwarz's evident distaste for the virtuoso focus of this period of French chamber music makes it surprising that he wrote about it at all. He appears to allow for some historicizing as long as this repertoire is properly subjugated to Viennese Classicism. I do not wish to appear to target Schwarz unfairly here; however, his comments must be contextualized, for scholars who have dealt with this repertoire (including Mongrédien and Bruce R. Schuenemann) cite him regularly. To be fair, Schwarz is not alone in this kind of historicizing. His writing perpetuates a long tradition in musicology of treating "serious" composers and compositions as history while ignoring "performers [and their art] as agents of music history," as Žarko Cvejić has recently put it.¹²⁴ The tradition referred to by Cvejić is the one Sir George Grove so emphatically represented in his statement on "virtuosity" quoted above, in which he would not even allow himself to name the transgressors.

After the comments discussed above, Schwarz continues: "on the whole, the *quatuor brillant* had only an ephemeral existence, limited to the early decades of the 19th century; and none of the works written in this genre achieved any widespread popularity."¹²⁵ He briefly mentions Rode's (supposedly only five¹²⁶) string quartets as "typical examples of virtuoso quartet writing," which he purports is a "musical style ... *derived* from the Viennese tradition of Haydn and Mozart, though diluted and deprived of all emotional intensity, flowing along smoothly and fluently without offering anything of particular interest or *originality*"; such flaws, he states, "prevented [Rode] from dealing effectively with the difficult medium of the string

¹²³ Emphases of German musicology and connotations for the repertoire in question will be discussed at greater length in the next chapter.

¹²⁴ Cvejić, 3.

¹²⁵ Schwarz, 255.

¹²⁶ Rode actually composed at least twenty-three string quartets (see p. 142).

quartet.”¹²⁷ Schwarz is only slightly more generous to Kreutzer. Although he admits that Kreutzer “was a composer of serious accomplishments and deserves to be remembered,” Schwarz emphasizes Kreutzer’s German heritage, calling his music “more rugged and powerful, warmer and more daring” than Rode’s, whose works are “typically French—sparkling, polished, elegant, brilliant, yet somewhat cool and detached,”¹²⁸ Schwarz, however, notes that Kreutzer’s music is still derivative of “the Haydn-Mozart tradition which seems to paralyze French instrumental composers into a kind of frozen conventionalism as late as the 1830s.”¹²⁹ Of Baillot, Schwarz simply states: “The chamber music works by Baillot, insignificant in number and quality, need not detain us here.”¹³⁰

In this chapter, Baillot’s chamber music, and the similar output of the other composers covered in chapter two, will “detain us.” I suspect that Schwarz’s belief that French composers’ chamber music was paralyzed by a reckoning with Viennese classicism stems from an unfamiliarity with it. Indeed, even finding copies of the music presents challenges for the researcher. In order to view most these composers’ string quartets and chamber music in general, I had to consult archives housed in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF). A few digitized examples are accessible online, but several of these are incomplete, often missing parts or movements. As was the common practice in the early nineteenth century, these string quartets were published in parts, not in full score. It is easy to see how some of the digitized examples might be missing parts. They were published for use by string players. Each part can be

¹²⁷ Ibid., 255-6 (emphases mine).

¹²⁸ Ibid., 193.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 256.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 257.

individually removed from the packet and be misplaced. It is also not hard to see how Schwarz and others might misidentify musical aspects of the quartets. Because very few full scores of these quartets exist, many aspects of the music—especially texture, which is a vital aspect of this repertoire, as we will see—are easily missed. While I did not set out to disprove Schwarz’s description of the music when I began to combine the parts into full score, I quickly became aware that his dismissals of Baillot, Rode, and Kreutzer’s chamber music as derivative of Viennese chamber music is inaccurate (for reasons we will see shortly).

The eclecticism of Baillot, Rode, Kreutzer, and Dancla’s chamber music—supposedly “derived from the Viennese tradition,” but mixing showy virtuosity into a properly “intimate” musical genre—is what makes it fail as “true chamber music” for Schwarz. But even if Schwarz were right, even if such eclecticism makes this music fail to be “true,” is that sufficient reason to dismiss it as he has done?¹³¹ Is the music’s only value the experience it provides for us, the consumers of modern times? Schwarz’s is a self-centered, or at least “presentist,” approach to musical value. That is, for him music’s function is formalistic; its value is as an immediate, ephemeral experience to the listener or player more than as a historical artifact. Apparently the supposed “ephemeral existence” of Baillot and his contemporaries’ music, a presence that did not transfer to the concert halls of the twentieth century, is indication enough for Schwarz that this music has relatively little value.

A factor that Schwarz does not properly acknowledge—and his is only one example of the typical commentary on this music—is the degree of its popularity with the Parisian musical

¹³¹ It is worth pointing out that Schwarz’s book, in its time considered to be one of the most comprehensive discussions of French music between the Revolution and July Monarchy, only dedicates one sentence to Baillot’s chamber music (cited above), one paragraph to Rode’s, and about one page to Kreutzer’s (see *ibid.*, 255-7). Schwarz does dedicate more attention to Cherubini and Onslow’s chamber music.

public. As noted earlier in this dissertation, Baillot's chamber music series grew to the point that its subscriptions exceeded 700 by the 1830s.¹³² Baillot's *séances* were regularly attended by some prominent musicians, including Frédéric Chopin (Chopin's use of *tempo rubato*, allowing for tempo flexibility and rhythmic and expressive freedom in the melody while the accompaniment remains in time, is a practice he would have encountered hearing Kreutzer and Baillot's eclectic *airs variés* and *nocturnes*).¹³³ Although I may mention of imply some aspects of influence (such as on Chopin), the point of this chapter is not to explore influences (though this chapter, I hope, creates some space for such exploration). I will first build on the previous chapter's discussion by connecting these musicians with both the formal term *Éclectisme* as well as eclectic practices in general. That section will be followed by a discussion of the string quartets (defined somewhat more loosely than the usual generic title to include *airs variés* and some arrangements) of Baillot, Rode, Kreutzer, and Dancla. I will include specific musical examples which expose textural and formal aspects of the quartets, connecting them with the concerto tradition rather than Viennese classicism.

¹³² See p. 96.

¹³³ As noted in Chapter Two, Baillot typically ended his *séances* with one of his many *airs variés*; see Brigitte François-Sappey, "La Vie musicale à Paris à travers les mémoires d'Eugène Sauzey," *Revue de musicologie* 60, nos. 1-2 (1974): 195. Baillot also composed some *nocturnes* for violin with piano accompaniment (the accompaniment could also easily be realized by three string instruments). Chopin almost certainly encountered these at some point. A likely instance was 28 January, 1834 in the 130th *seance*, which included Baillot's *nocturne*, "Le Songe," Op. 25, no. 2. The program for that session is published in Joël-Marie Fauquet's *Les Sociétés de musique de chambre à Paris de la Restauration à 1870* (Paris: aux Amateurs de livres, 1986), 323. Chopin regularly attended Baillot's series between 1832 and 1836. Fauquet notes that Baillot's allowing rhythmic and expressive flexibility in the melody and using the bass parts as textural balance anticipates Chopin's pianism. Although Fauquet does not use the term directly, and I have not (yet) encountered it in any writings by Baillot, Fauquet is referring to *tempo rubato*; see Joël-Marie Fauquet, "Aspects de la musique de chambre au XIX^e siècle: L'Instrument et le musicien," in *Instrumentalistes et luthiers parisiens: XVII^e-XIX^e siècles* (Paris: La Délégation, 1988), 242-3. Relatedly, Kreutzer also published six *Nocturnes concertans* Op. 49 for violin and harp in 1822.

Éclectisme and Chamber Music

The previous chapter involved exposition and discussion of the term *Éclectisme* and its application to politics, philosophy, visual art, and music (mostly music criticism). Admittedly, I have not encountered much direct application of the term to the music and composers in question; nevertheless, indication that the repertoire and the composers were connected with *Éclectisme* exists. As noted in Chapters Two and Three, Baillot and Henri Reber were friends with Dominique Ingres, the eclectic *juste-milieu* painter. Ingres, in fact, took violin lessons from Baillot, played Cherubini's music with Baillot, and attended many of his performances, including his final one at Cherubini's home in July, 1841.¹³⁴ Ingres, an artist "sensitive to ancient music" (an aspect resembling Cousinian historical inquiry) also regularly attended sessions of Reber's historically informed chamber works in Eugène Sauzay's home.¹³⁵ Ingres, as noted in Chapter Three, has been treated by some art historians as a failure, as having no style of his own, because he was an *éclectique*.¹³⁶ Ingres's friendship with Baillot and Reber of course does not necessarily mean that the two musicians would also have been labeled as *éclectiques*, but the nature of their interaction does indicate some degree of artistic amity. Regardless, Ingres certainly had an affinity for the two composers' music.

¹³⁴ Joël-Marie Fauquet, "Aspects de la musique de chambre," 239 and Brigitte François-Sappey, "Pierre Marie François de Sales Baillot (1771-1842), par lui-même: Étude de sociologie musicale," in *Recherches sur la music française classique* 18 (1978), 155. Fauquet does not note that this performance at Cherubini's house was Baillot's last, and François-Sappey does not note that Ingres was present; however, the date and location of the performance are the same in both accounts, so I presume that both authors are discussing the same performance.

¹³⁵ Joël-Marie Fauquet, "Chamber Music in France from Luigi Cherubini to Claude Debussy," in *Nineteenth-Century Chamber Music*, ed. Stephen E. Hefling (New York: Routledge, 2004), 299.

¹³⁶ Michael Paul Driskel, "An Introduction to the Art," in *The Art of the July Monarchy: France: 1830-1848* (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1990), 203.

One of the opening statements in Baillot's 1835 treatise *L'Art du violon*¹³⁷ aligns these composers with *Éclectisme* more explicitly than his relationship with Ingres does, for it connects Baillot with *Éclectisme*'s greatest ambassador, Victor Cousin. Baillot wrote that the true artist of the nineteenth century is "a man with a passion for everything that is beautiful, for everything that is true. He always has *good* as an object in his works, and the *beautiful* as a model."¹³⁸ The reader may recall that Cousin's philosophical manifesto is titled *Du Vrai, du beau, et du bien*, or [*Lectures on*] *the True, the Beautiful, and the Good*, which comprises a series of lectures he gave during the Restoration.¹³⁹ Considering Cousin's importance in France when Baillot compiled his pedagogical manual, Baillot's choice of the words "true," "beautiful," and "good" seems very deliberate. The connection between Baillot's words and Cousin's title would not have been missed by observant readers in the 1830s. Baillot's statement hints that his book's aim was to develop artists who embodied Cousin's ideal for France, *Éclectisme*.¹⁴⁰ He might as well have proclaimed, "the true artist is an *éclectique*." If Baillot hoped his book would produce *éclectique* violinists, he by extension offered himself as an example of musical *Éclectisme*, for he and his playing were the visible and audible models of his book's aim. Baillot was himself already the embodiment of his book's approach.

It may be objected that even if Baillot associated himself and his violin method with

¹³⁷ *L'Art du violon* is Baillot's expansion of his, Rode, and Kreutzer's 1804 treatise *Méthode de violon*.

¹³⁸ Pierre Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*, ed. and trans. Louise Goldberg (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1991), 13 (emphases Baillot's).

¹³⁹ See Victor Cousin, *Lectures on the True, the Beautiful and the Good*, trans. O.W. Wright (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1875).

¹⁴⁰ Bruce R. Schueneman also discusses Baillot's statement, but he does not observe a connection with Cousin. He instead attributes it to Baillot's participation with French Romanticism, which is a legitimate observation and does not counter any affiliation with Cousin's philosophy. See Bruce R. Schueneman, *The French Violin School: Viotti, Rode, Kreutzer, Baillot and Their Contemporaries*, ed., William Studwell (Kingsville, TX: The Lyre of Orpheus Press, 2002), 5-6.

Éclectisme, his chamber music may not necessarily be eclectic. Such an objection may be valid, for some pieces might not obviously project eclecticism; however, Baillot's *L'Art du violon* was a manual intended guide violin students towards the level of Baillot's own artistry (and, by extension, of Rode and Kreutzer, for they also contributed to its original version). Baillot wished to give students the opportunity to gain the requisite skill to play pieces like his and his associates' *quatuors* as well as the works of Beethoven, Mozart, Haydn, and others. As discussed in Chapter Three, Baillot nearly always included one of his own compositions (frequently *airs variés*, but also any of his melody-oriented chamber works) at the end of his chamber music *séances*, featuring himself as soloist, as the programs for his series indicate.¹⁴¹ The body of chamber music composed by Baillot, Rode, Kreutzer, and others associated with them represents the musical manifestation of the *éclectisme* to which Baillot aspired, and the specific words of his text aligned his artistic approach with Cousin's philosophy.

While the term *éclectique* has not frequently been applied explicitly to Baillot, Rode, and Kreutzer, the generation of French chamber musicians that followed them has been described as eclectic. These musicians directly modeled aspects of their musical activities on those of these three composers. The chamber music societies that succeeded Baillot's frequently referred to themselves as "classical"; however, the "classicism" in their reckoning did not refer only to Viennese approaches. As Joël-Marie Fauquet argues, these societies should actually be categorized under the rubric of eclecticism. He observes that the musical variety of their programs, intended to be attractive to the public during the July Monarchy, represents musical *Éclectisme*. Sessions involved interpolations of vocal music as well as a good amount of older

¹⁴¹ The list of all of the programs for Baillot's chamber music series is published in Fauquet's *Les Sociétés de musique de chambre à Paris*, 293-331.

music, French and foreign. Such “*rétrospectif*” practice, Fauquet notes, followed the popular terminology of the time.¹⁴² At least one of the societies, the *Société musicale*, invited Baillot to play with them (he apparently was unable to do so), and many of the societies comprised musical descendants of Baillot and his associates, including Dancla.¹⁴³

According to Fauquet, one of the members of the *Société musicale*, the violinist Philémon de Cuvillon—“[a] remarkable interpreter of chamber music, closely connected with Berlioz, Saint-Saëns and Gounod”—was one of the people most responsible for conserving and continuing the tradition of Viotti, Baillot, Rode, and Kreutzer.¹⁴⁴ Fauquet traces a lineage of *éclectique* chamber music societies, beginning with the *Société musicale* (itself a virtual offshoot

¹⁴² “Bien que le classicisme qualifie deux des sociétés susnommées [la Société de musique classique et les Séances de musique classique et historique de Lebouc], la variété de leur répertoire et aussi le fait qu’elles intègrent à ce répertoire des pièces de musique vocale justifient qu’elles fassent l’objet d’une rubrique spéciale [the rubric Fauquet refers to here is *Éclectisme*, which is the title of the chapter to which this paragraph serves as the opening]. Les deux Sociétés musicales que se sont succédé entre 1834 et 1840 [la Société musicale I et la Société musicale II] y figurent pour les mêmes raisons.... [E]lles nous montrent des artistes qui, en se regroupant, cherchent à mieux défendre leurs intérêts et à essayer des formules de concerts qui soient attractives pour le public, sous un régime—la monarchie de Juillet—où la condition sociale du musicien est particulièrement difficile. On sera surpris du caractère novateur des programmes de la Société de musique classique qui crée en peu de séances quantité d’œuvres nouvelles ou jamais entendues en France et réserve une place non négligeable à J. S. Bach. En comparaison, l’intérêt des séances Lebouc est surtout ‘retrospectif’ suivant la terminologie de l’époque” (ibid., 189).

“Although classicism characterizes two of the above-named societies [the Société de musique classique and the Séances de musique classique et historique de Lebouc], the variety of their repertoire and also the fact that they integrated examples of vocal music into their repertoire justifies that they be made the object of a special rubric [the rubric Fauquet refers to here is *Éclectisme*, which is the title of the chapter to which this paragraph serves as the opening]. The two successive Sociétés musicales between 1834 and 1840 [the Société musicale I and the Société musicale II] figure into [the rubric] for the same reasons. They show us artists who, as a group, looked to better defend their interests by trying out concert formulas that would be attractive to the public, under a régime—the July Monarchy—where the musician’s social condition was particularly difficult. The innovative character of the programs of the Société de musique, which only played a limited number of sessions, is surprising in the quantity of new works and works never previously heard in France and reserved a non-negligible place for J. S. Bach” (translation mine).

¹⁴³ Ibid., 190.

¹⁴⁴ “Remarquable interprète de musique de chambre, très lié avec Berlioz, Saint-Saëns et Gounod, le violoniste Cuvillon est considéré comme ‘un de ceux qui [a] le mieux conservé les traditions de la belle école fondée en France par Viotti, illustrée ensuite par Rode, Kreutzer, Baillot et Lafont’” (ibid., and endnote p. 204; the quotation is from a statement by A. Farrenc in 1856, published in *France Musicale*).

of Baillot's sessions), through the *Société Saint-Saëns et Sarasate* (1864-1865).¹⁴⁵ Although most of its existence predates the July Monarchy, Baillot's ensemble was as eclectic as any that followed it. As Fauquet insists, the societies that followed Baillot's fit the "rubric" of *Éclectisme*, specifically because they continued Baillot's practice of contributing to the musical present by resurrecting works of the past while also playing new and foreign works. These societies' practice of programing a *mélange* of vocal and instrumental idioms (following the manner of Baillot's group) also resembles another aspect of Cousin's philosophy: as discussed in Chapter Three, Cousin argued that a proper (French) philosophy must entail a synthesis of elements from all systems of thought, past and present. That Baillot's group, and subsequent chamber music societies synthesized the music of so many times, places, styles, and idioms at least indicates a kinship with the eclectic ideology of the *juste-milieu*.

Although he does not use the terms "eclecticism" or "eclectic" explicitly, Schwarz specifically finds the music lacking because it is "hybrid" and "derived." His is a typical way to historicize the chamber music of Baillot, Rode, and Kreutzer, and it resembles the historical treatment of other eclectic French entities of the era in too many ways to ignore. As discussed in the previous chapter, historical criticisms of the July Monarchy, *juste-milieu* painters, and Cousin's *Éclectisme* share a remarkable continuity, which centers on the concept of absence. Louis Philippe's regime, the political arm of the *juste-milieu*, has been treated dismissively by historians because of its hybridity; by attempting to brand itself as both a bourgeois government and a monarchy, it was criticized as entailing no true system of governing at all.¹⁴⁶ Cousin's

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 190-203. Fauquet notes that the society of Camille Saint-Saëns and the violinist Pablo de Sarasate was as eclectic as those in the 1830s—programming (among much more) Schumann, J. S. Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Haydn, and the French *clavecinistes*—but apparently did not favor virtuosity as much as the earlier ones (p. 202).

¹⁴⁶ See Chapter Three, pp. 100-3.

philosophy, as an attempted synthesis of other systems was criticized as no philosophy at all.¹⁴⁷ Vernet, Ingres, and Delacroix and other *juste-milieu* painters were criticized as having an absence of style, for by adhering to no single style (being derivative or eclectic), they (supposedly) lacked any style of their own.¹⁴⁸ I submit that it is partly because the string quartets of Baillot, Rode, Kreutzer, and Dancla are eclectic, as were the composers' careers in some respects, that such French works of the era have been neglected. As Schwarz's comments reveal, their eclectic string quartets have not been seen as "true" chamber music. Apparently, for historians such as Schwarz, a "true" repertoire must be both original and comply with generic expectations; therefore, for them, a gap exists in the French repertoire.

The String Quartets of Pierre Baillot

Baillot's compositional œuvre includes forty opus numbers and an assortment of unpublished works, some of which were unfinished. No printed catalog of Baillot's complete works exists, but Jean-Marc Warszawski's article on Baillot contains a complete list of Baillot's published works (it leaves out some of his unpublished works).¹⁴⁹ Paul Geoffrey Gelrud's catalog of Baillot's works, from his 1941 dissertation, only includes thirty-nine opus numbers and leaves out opp. 5, 11, 19, 23, 24 (and of course 40).¹⁵⁰ Gelrud's dissertation usefully includes

¹⁴⁷ See Chapter Three, pp. 103-6.

¹⁴⁸ I refer here specifically to Léon Rosenthal's comments on the painters. See Rosenthal's *Du Romantisme au réalisme: La peinture en France de 1830 à 1848* (Paris : H. Laurens, 1914), 203 (discussed in Chapter Three, p. 107). I do not mean that these painters and their works have suffered the same historical neglect as the string quartets. Rather, I am pointing out that a shared negative rhetoric was used to criticize different French institutions.

¹⁴⁹ Jean-Marc Warszawski, "Pierre Marie François de Sales Baillot," https://www.musicologie.org/Biographies/b/baillot_pierre.html.

¹⁵⁰ Paul Geoffrey Gelrud, "A Critical Study of the French Violin School (1782-1882)" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1941), 410-36.

incipits and excerpts of several of the works. More of Baillot's unpublished works are listed in Franz Pazdírek's *Universal-Handbuch der Musikliteratur*, but this resource is missing opp. 1, 2, 8, 9, 28, 32, 33, 37, and 39.¹⁵¹

Of Baillot's body of works, at least fourteen pieces were either titled as string quartets or published as pieces by various titles for that combination of instruments, and a manuscript of at least one more exists (See Appendix, p. 222, Table 1).¹⁵² The *Air russe*, Op. 11, may have been the earliest of Baillot's string quartets, as it is the lowest opus number and dates to ca. 1810. The *3 Aires français variés*, Op. 15 (also ca. 1810), were originally scored for violin and orchestra, but a version for string quartet exists as well. Also possibly from 1810 is the *Air russe varié*, Op. 37. The *Romance variée et air russe*, Op. 23, dates to 1813. The three *Airs russes [variés]*, Op. 20, date to 1814 (at least that is the year Pleyel first published it). It is not coincidental that Baillot's *airs russes* appeared in these years, for he had returned from his sojourn in Russia in 1808 and had also composed several *airs russes* for violin and orchestra while there. 1814, the year Baillot started his series, is the year the *air varié*, Op. 25, "Charmante Gabrielle" was published (and this piece must have been a favorite, for Baillot regularly performed it in his chamber music *séances*). The *Air d'Handel varié*, Op. 31, appeared in 1818.¹⁵³ In 1821, Baillot published his

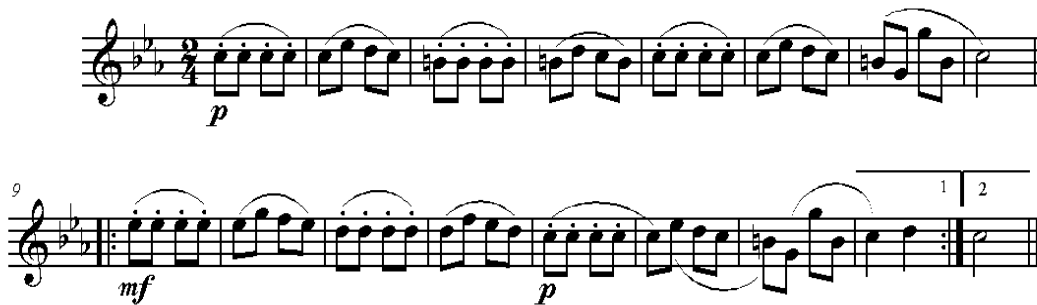
¹⁵¹ Franz Pazdírek, *Universal-Handbuch der Musikliteratur*, vol. I (Hilversum, Netherlands: Frits Knuf, 1967), 515-17.

¹⁵² It is possible that Baillot scored more works for string quartet (such as his *airs variés* for violin and orchestra) that remain undocumented, for several of his works were published for multiple instrumental arrangements (for example, the *3 Aires français variés*, Op. 15).

¹⁵³ Op. 31 is an interesting number in Baillot's œuvre: in most instances (such as in Gelrud's catalog), Op. 31 is titled *3 Aires variés* (for violin with string quartet accompaniment); Gelrud identifies each of the three pieces as nos. 1, 2, and 3. However, I found another single work ascribed Op. 31 in the archives of the music department of the BnF (also an *air varié* but scored for string quartet). Warszawski's catalog identifies it as Op. 31, no. 2, but no such ascription exists on the score. And if it were a no. 2, either the *3 Aires variés* should collectively be no. 1, or the single (quartet version) *air varié* should be no. 4. It appears that Op. 31 was inadvertently used by different publishers. The houses André and Heugel both originally published the quintets as Op. 31, and Editions Maurice Senart published the quartet under the same number much later in 1921.

only quartets directly titled as such, the 3 *Quatuors*, Op. 34, and this set constitutes his last published quartets.¹⁵⁴ A manuscript of at least one more quartet, titled *Romance (Andante con moto)*, exists in the Baillot archives of the BnF.¹⁵⁵ Five more pieces are closely related to Baillot's quartets in that the instrumentation is for violin with string quartet accompaniment (Appendix, p. 223, Table 2). These pieces include: the *Air russe*, Op. 24 (1807), which also was scored for violin and orchestra; the *Air varié* on a theme from Weigel's *La Famille Suisse*, Op. 28 (1815); and the 3 *airs variés*, Op. 31 (1818), discussed above in footnote 33. Baillot's twenty-one works for string trio are musically close in nature to his quartets as well, and these also frequently bear the title *air varié* (Appendix, p. 223, Table 3). The trios occupy opp. 1, 4, 5, 9, 19, 33, and 39 as well as at least two left unpublished.

A typical example of Baillot's quartet settings is the *Air russe varié*, Op. 37. After playing the theme, a simple melody (Example 4.1), the first violin embarks on a series of variations.



Example 4.1. Pierre Baillot, *Air russe varié*, Op. 37, Theme, Violin 1.

¹⁵⁴ These three quartets may have been composed much earlier, for Gelrud cites a version of no. 1 that was published (supposedly) in 1805 without an opus number (he provides no further publication information). As I have been unable to locate a copy of this score, I suspect Gelrud may have been mistaken.

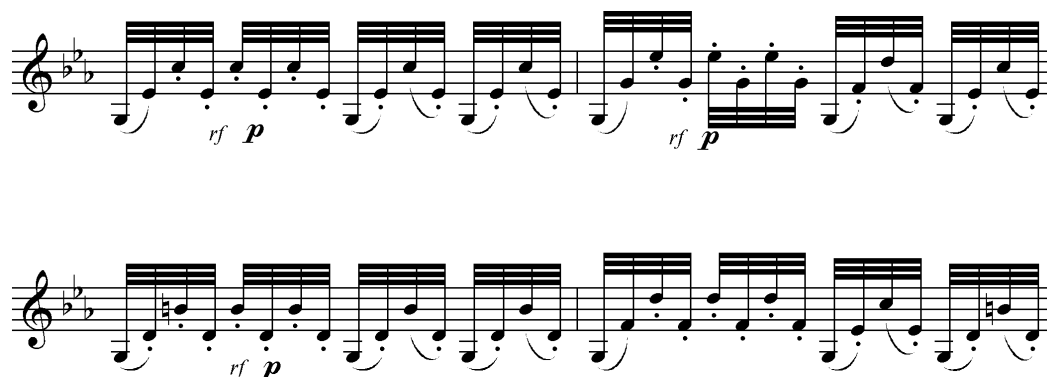
¹⁵⁵ The *Romance* was composed in 1813 for Baillot's mother, but the quartet version—which is structured like the opening themes of his *airs variés*—probably was arranged in the mid-1830s, for in the manuscript it directly follows a song titled *Romance à deux notes*, signed 1836.

By variation 2, the violin melody is more active, featuring arpeggios in 16th notes (Example 4.2).



Example 4.2. Pierre Baillot, *Air russe varié*, Op. 37, Var. 2, mm. 1-8, Violin 1.¹⁵⁶

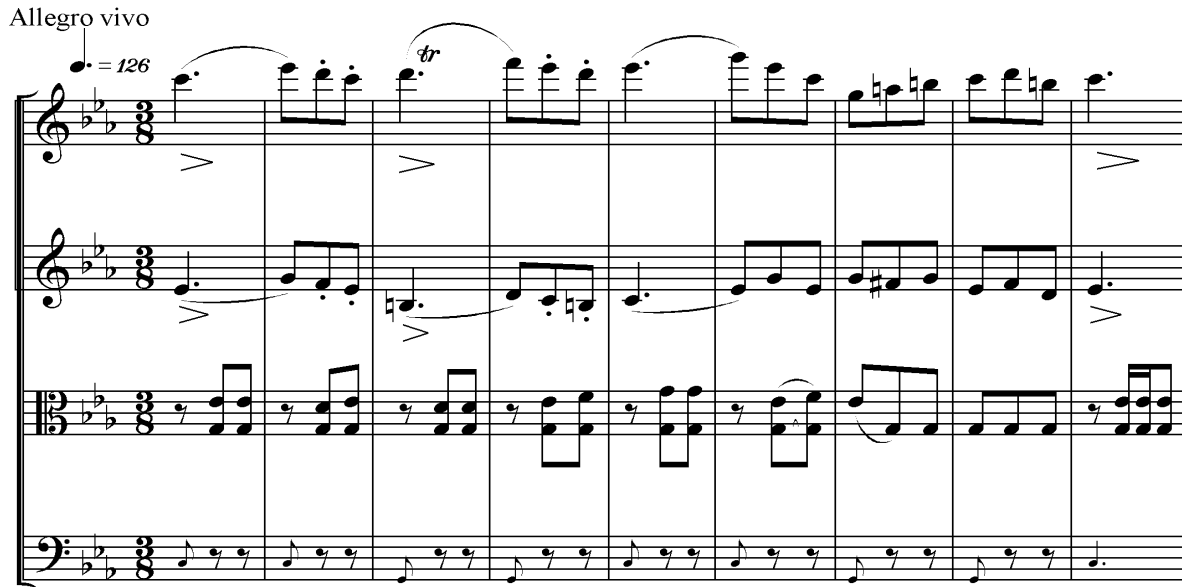
Variation 10 is the brilliant climax of the variations involving arpeggios in 32nd notes. The theme is implied in the highest note of each arpeggio (Example 4.3). The numbered variations end after variation 11. The rest of the piece is an *Allegro Vivo* movement in 3/8 based on the theme. In



Example 4.3. Pierre Baillot, *Air russe varié*, Op. 37, Var.10, mm. 1-4, Violin 1

this movement, the two violins play a duet against a very simple accompaniment in the viola (the cello part is missing, but I have provided a possible rendering in a smaller font) (Example 4.4).

¹⁵⁶ Presumably, Baillot intended F-sharp, not F-natural in the last beat of each of the first two measures of this example, but I have provided the example as it appears in the score published by André (ca. 1810).



Example 4.4. Pierre Baillot, *Air russe varié*, Op. 37, *Allegro vivo*, mm. 1-9. Cello part lost, postulated by the author.

The *Air varié* “Charmante Gabrielle” (Example 4.5) is another typical example of Baillot’s variation technique. After the theme is initially presented, often one part or another continues to play the theme while the violin plays the virtuosic part. For example, the second violin takes up the theme (originally played by the first violin) in Var.1 after the repeat (mm. 23-32). The viola then plays the theme in its entirety in Var. 2 (mm. 33-48). This piece, like the previous example, is also a good demonstration of Baillot’s usually highly virtuosic treatment of the first violin. It is sometimes florid, sometimes in arpeggios, sometimes broken-chord, but it is virtually always the focus of the piece. It is also typical for Baillot to choose a theme that repeats a short section for his *airs variés*: usually either the opening bars (as in “Charmante Gabrielle”) or the last half (as in the *Air russe*, Op. 37) is repeated. As these repeats would recur in every variation as well, Baillot might have taken the liberty to improvise, for the repeats certainly offer the opportunity to do so.

Tema ♩ = 58 Andantino

The musical score is presented in two systems. The first system, labeled 'Tema ♩ = 58 Andantino', contains the main theme. The second system, labeled 'Var. 1 ♩ = 72 Un poco di moto', contains three variations. The variations are marked with 'p' (piano) and 'tr' (trill). The score is written for a single melodic line on a grand staff (treble and bass clef).

Example 4.5. Pierre Baillot, *Air* "Charmante Gabrielle" *varié*, (theme with first 3 variations).

Musical score for measures 21-25. The score is written for four staves: Treble 1, Treble 2, Bass 1, and Bass 2. Measure 21 begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The melody in Treble 1 is marked with a crescendo (*Cresc.*) and a forte (*f*) dynamic. The bass parts provide harmonic support with sustained notes and moving lines.

Musical score for measures 26-30. The score continues from the previous system. Measure 26 begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The melody in Treble 1 is marked with a crescendo (*Cresc.*) and a forte (*f*) dynamic. The bass parts provide harmonic support with sustained notes and moving lines.

Example 4.5 cont'd.

43

43

47

Var. 3

♩ = 96 Un poco Allegro

48

48

52

Segue.

Segue.

Example 4.5 cont'd.

51

51

Cresc.

f

55

55

Example 4.5 cont'd.

Example 4.5 cont'd.

While several of Baillot's string trios follow the sonata cycle, of his works for string quartet, only the three *Quatuors*, Op. 34 are of this variety. The movement order of Op. 34, no. 1 (in B Minor), is *Allegro non troppo*, *Menuetto à l'Espagnole et Trio*, *Larghetto*, *Allegro vivace*. The order of no. 2 (in B-flat Major) is *Allegro con moto*, *Andante*, *Menuetto (Allegro vivo, ma non troppo)*, *Presto non troppo*. No. 3 (in D Minor) is ordered *Allegro*, *Minuetto canon et Trio (Moderato assai e con molta espressione)*, *Marche (Andante con moto)*, *Allegro vivo*. These three quartets, while they do not deviate from Baillot's practice of showcasing the first violin, are not generally so virtuosic in nature as his *airs variés*. As was typical in the early 1800s, Baillot's string quartets, like those of Rode and Kreutzer, were published in separate parts, and his

quartets frequently contain an important feature that I discovered only when I began to combine the individual parts into full score. Several of his movements open with the strings in unison and octaves (such as the long opening passage in octaves of the *Menuetto à l'Espagnole* of no. 1), and this texture returns at various points throughout the movements. Other than these unison sections, the first violin almost exclusively carries the melody, and the other parts provide a homophonic texture (an exception is the short *Minuetto* second movement of Op. 34, no. 3, which includes a canon at the octave).

A typical example of such textural treatment in Baillot's quartets is found in the first movement of *Quatuor* Op. 34, no. 3, *Allegro*. In the opening bars, the instruments are in close homophony (the cello joins in m. 4) (Example 4.6), which is an important feature as we will see.

The musical score for Example 4.6 shows the first five measures of the first movement of Pierre Baillot's String Quartet Op. 34, no. 3. The score is written for four staves: Violin I, Violin II, Viola/Cello, and Bass. Measures 1-3 show the initial homophonic texture with dynamic markings of forte (f) and pianissimo (pp). Measure 4 shows the cello joining in. Measure 5 shows the parts converging in unison and octaves.

Example 4.6. Pierre Baillot, String Quartet Op. 34, no. 3, mvt. 1 (*Allegro*), mm. 1-5.

Four measures before the repeat, the parts converge in unisons and octaves (the two violins are in unison one octave above the viola and cello, which are also in unison). This unison/octave passage of course leads immediately into the repeat of the homophonic opening bars. The

movement is in sonata form, so these unison-like sections recur (the first measures of the recapitulation are provided in Example 4.7). The movement, then, also suggests another form,



Example 4.7. Pierre Baillot, String Quartet Op. 34, no. 3, mvt. 1 (Allegro), mm. 184-8.

and this one is even more telling of Baillot's style than the simple fact that the movement is in sonata form. The alternation of a homophonic "tutti" with passages focused on the first violin recalls the ritornello form commonly employed by Viotti and his students in their violin concertos. In the context of sonata form, the homophonic opening returns after the repeat at the end of the exposition, again at the recapitulation, and it closes the movement. As each of these homophonic recurrences "frame" a violin solo, the presentation of this movement resembles the alternating *tutti* and *solo* sections of a concerto in ritornello form. Baillot, then, combined the properties of a sonata-form movement with a form developed for soloistic display. His string quartet is a hybrid that incorporates elements of the concerto within the genre of the string quartet. Baillot's treatment of form in this movement resembles what James A. Hepokoski and Warren Darcy have labeled a "Type 5 Sonata," which "combines ritornello formats and procedures passed down from earlier eighteenth-century concerto and aria traditions (dramatized

tutti-solo alternations) with aspects of sonata form.”¹⁵⁷ However, Hepokoski and Darcy do not identify the form with chamber music, understandably focusing on concertos.

A similar approach is found in the first movement of Baillot’s String Quartet, Op. 34, no. 1 in B Minor (*Allegro non troppo*), in which all of the instruments begin in unison before splitting into homophonic harmony in m. 3 (Example 4.8). Such an introductory passage is



Example 4.8. Pierre Baillot, String Quartet Op. 34, no. 1, mvt. 1 (*Allegro non troppo*), mm. 1-4.

reminiscent of Beethoven’s early string quartets, with which Baillot was certainly familiar.¹⁵⁸ As repetition of the exposition is usually found in a sonata-form movement, this unison opening recurs, like a *tutti* section, framing *solo* sections featuring the first violin. This quartet also

¹⁵⁷ See James A. Hepokoski and Warren Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory: Norms, Types, and Deformations in the Late-Eighteenth-Century Sonata* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 430-68. The quotation is taken from p. 430.

¹⁵⁸ The first movement of Beethoven’s String Quartets, No. 1 (Op. 18, no. 1) and No. 2 (Op. 18, no. 2) feature virtually the same kind of introductory material, unison rhythms at the octave. Nearly all of Beethoven’s early quartets have at least one movement involving a similar opening, with all instruments either in unison or in homorhythm. Notably, Baillot performed all six quartets of Beethoven’s Op. 18 (some of these several times) in his chamber music series (see the list of programs in Fauquet’s *Les Sociétés de Musique de Chambre*, 293-331).

includes an eclectic feature. The second movement is styled as a “Spanish” minuet, so Baillot incorporates, at least in name, another foreign element. The minuet melody, played in unison in the opening measures, is used as a cyclical element in this quartet (it returns in the last movement, *Allegro vivace*), and the unison *tutti* returns three more times in the minuet, framing violin solos.

As a whole, Baillot’s œuvre is remarkably consistent. The several *airs variés* for violin and orchestra relate to Baillot’s violin concertos in the same way his *airs variés* for string quartet relate to his *quatuors*: musically they are similar, but the *airs variés* (of any instrumentation) involve only a single piece, not (usually) multiple movements.¹⁵⁹ All of these are very similar in nature to his works for violin and piano. Every published piece composed by Baillot features the violin as a solo voice with some sort of accompaniment, whether a single string instrument, duo, trio, quartet, piano, or orchestra.¹⁶⁰ It is curious, then, that scholars like Schwarz observe that Baillot’s music is “firmly anchored in the musical heritage of Haydn and Mozart” (and implicitly Beethoven).¹⁶¹ Baillot obviously saw the value of these composers’ music, for he consistently performed their music in his chamber music series. Thus, they influenced what he programmed and performed, but Baillot does not appear to have tried to emulate them in his compositions. Despite resemblances with Beethoven’s string quartets in some of the opening sections of

¹⁵⁹ The *Air russe varié*, Op. 37, which comprises variations and an *Allegro vivo* movement seems to be an exception among Baillot’s works for string quartet. I have not yet reviewed all of his *airs variés* for violin and orchestra, so it is possible that some of these contain multiple movements.

¹⁶⁰ A few unpublished songs (*Romances*) exist in Baillot’s archived manuscripts and do not appear in any of the attempts to catalog his works. Baillot dedicated at least one *Romance* each to his mother, wife, and daughter respectively, but these were not published as far as I can tell.

¹⁶¹ Schwarz, 211. Schwarz does, however, allow that Baillot, “strangely enough” is not quite as influenced by Viennese classicism as Kreutzer (p. 210). Perhaps this is strange to Schwarz because his own frame of reference is to look for such influence. That is, the goal of his investigation of the works of French composers is apparently to find Viennese influence.

Baillot's quartets, Op. 34, Baillot's string quartets are closer in nature to concertos than to the chamber music of Viennese composers. His entire body of compositions involves hybridizing instrumental music and vocal styles, varying foreign and domestic melodies in his familiar way, and taking new and old tunes and making them "sing" in new ways through his instrument. While certainly some of the Viennese composers' chamber music is melody-centered, fusing vocal and instrumental genres is generally not the focus of their bodies of instrumental music. This practice, however, is not merely an occasional occurrence in the chamber music of these French composers; it is their fundamental approach.

It is possible that many of Baillot's works represent an attempt to provide contrast to Beethoven, Mozart, and Haydn's. But by "contrast," I do not mean opposition, for, again, Baillot and his ensemble nearly always played Viennese chamber music in their series. I mean that Baillot's concerts featured stylistically contrasting musics. He programmed his own works alongside those of Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven. As we have seen, most of Baillot's *séances* programmed one or more works by Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven (sometimes all three), Boccherini, or Cherubini and finished the evening with a virtuosic piece featuring Baillot himself. Usually, the piece was one composed by Baillot, but he also played virtuosic works by his friends Rode and Kreutzer (and others). In one such session (the 71st *séance*, 16 March 1822), Baillot's group performed a trio by Beethoven, a quintet by Mozart, a quartet by Haydn, a quintet by Boccherini, and ended with Baillot's own *Air russe varié*, Op. 37.¹⁶² That evening's program was not unusual for Baillot's series; it is a typical example.¹⁶³ Baillot apparently saw his

¹⁶² Fauquet, *Les Sociétés de musique de chambre*, 309.

¹⁶³ See footnote 18.

own works as a proper cap to an evening of dense works, as an *encore* of sorts that fit nicely alongside, and as a contrast to, the works of the Viennese composers.

Baillot's body of compositional work, then, demonstrates a particular practicality of his life: he was first and foremost a violinist, and he composed chamber music to serve his career as a player. These compositions are not the work of an idealist who self-consciously composed for posterity. They are the work of a person who understood that his audiences enjoyed songs—whether traditional, foreign, or operatic—and he mixed song melodies into instrumental works, creating a dazzling display of instrumental virtuosity. His works refer to the past and to other nationalities, but always to serve the purpose of the present. Baillot's works were the tools of his trade, and they served him well.

The String Quartets of Pierre Rode

While it is difficult to compile a catalog of works for Baillot, it is even more difficult to do so for Rode. Two attempted catalogs do exist, but these are incomplete, for several opus numbers are missing altogether. One difficulty is that different pieces by Rode often share opus numbers. For example, an *air varié* for violin and piano was published by Costallat as Op. 9, but other houses published the Violin Concerto No. 7 as Op. 9 as well. Relatedly, some single pieces appear under multiple opus numbers (Violin Concerto No. 8 has been listed as opp. 11, 12, and 13). Considering such problems with numbering, my working list of Rode's string quartets is probably not without some omissions and perhaps errors.

Rode's highest opus number is 28, and, as is the case with Baillot's, all of his works are composed specifically for the violin (including, of course, the *quatuor,s* all of which heavily

favor the violin). Rode's string quartets constitute a greater proportion of his work than Baillot's. I have identified twenty-three string quartets composed by Rode (Appendix, p. 224, Table 4).¹⁶⁴ Of these, two are *airs* (or *thèmes*) *variés*. Interestingly, Rode's variations of this sort are numbered consecutively regardless of instrumentation. For example, the *Air allemande*, Op. 25 is listed as *Thème varié* no. 6 when the only quartet of the *varié* variety that predates it is the *air varié*, Op. 10.¹⁶⁵ Rode's other quartets are of the multi-movement variety—whether *quatuors brillants*, *quatuors ou sonates (brillants)*, or simply *quatuors*—and were generally published in groups of two or three. Because Rode's string quartets usually appear in groups, some confusion appears to exist about Op. 18. The compilation *Le Quatuor à cordes en France de 1750 à nos jours* lists three quartets, Op. 18, nos. 1-3.¹⁶⁶ Three works do exist as Op. 18, but only one is a string quartet; the other two are sets of duos.

Additionally, I have identified seven of Rode's thirteen violin concertos arranged for string quartet (Appendix, p. 225, Table 5). That his concertos were arranged as quartets is hardly surprising, given the soloistic nature of Rode's quartets in general. And it is likely that quartet arrangements exist for Rode's other six of violin concertos as well but remain unidentified. As with Baillot's compositions, Rode's string quintets are very similar in nature to his quartets and deserve mention here. I have identified four of his works for string quintet: the *Andante varié*,

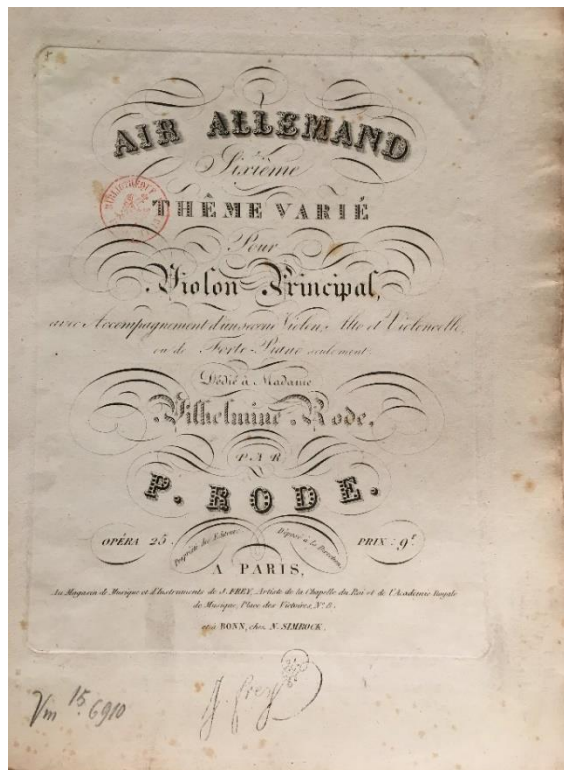
¹⁶⁴ Schwarz only identifies five quartets by Rode, stating that Kreutzer was “more productive,” having composed fifteen quartets (Schwarz, 256). In fairness to Schwarz, Kreutzer did compose more string quartets than Rode did, but the number is not fifteen; Kreutzer composed at least fifty-seven of them.

¹⁶⁵ For Rode, *air varié* and *thème varié* appear to mean the same thing, for the numbering is continuous regardless of the difference in title. Other *airs* or *thèmes variés* by Rode are scored for trio, violin and piano, or string quartet.

¹⁶⁶ See *Le Quatuor à cordes en France de 1750 à nos jours* (no ed. named) (Paris: Association Française pour le Patrimoine Musical, 1995), 236.

Op. 16; the *Thème varié* no. 7, Op. 26; and the 2 *Quintuors ou sonates brillantes*, Op. 28 (Appendix, p. 225, Table 6).

A typical, yet notable, example of Rode's variations is the *Air allemand* (*Thème varié* no. 6), Op. 25. While I have not been able to positively identify the year Rode composed it, clues



exist on the title page (Figure 4.1) that indicate a general time frame for it. The first clue is the title *Air allemande* (German air); secondly, Rode dedicated it to his wife, Madame Wilhelmine Rode, a Berliner whom Rode married in 1814. Wilhelmine's nationality probably explains Rode's choice of a German air as the theme for this piece. Perhaps the song was a favorite of hers. Rode stayed mostly in Berlin between 1814 and 1821, so the piece was likely composed during this time, possibly in 1814 as wedding present to his wife.¹⁶⁷

Figure 4.1. Title page of *Air allemand* (*Thème varié* no. 6) Op. 25 by Pierre Rode. Paris, BnF, Vm¹⁵-6910.

Unsurprisingly, Rode's *Air* closely resembles Baillot's *airs variés*. Like Baillot's

works of this nature, it is a piece for violin solo with the remaining members of the quartet as

¹⁶⁷ Bruce R. Schueneman believes that the *Air allemand* is "partial proof that Rode was married in Berlin"; see Arthur Pougin, *The Life and Music of Pierre Rode* containing *An Account of Rode, French Violinist*, edited and translated and with a foreword by Bruce R. Schueneman (Kingsville, TX: The Lyre of Orpheus Press, 1994), 50. I see the dedication and title less as proof of where Rode married than as indication of a likely time of composition. But it is also possible that Rode composed it for Wilhelmine later, from nostalgia for the Berlin years, when the Rodes moved to Paris and then to Bordeaux in the early 1820s. Supporting the latter possibility is the fact that the piece was published in Paris by Frey as Op. 25, and there is indication that Rode's *Thème varié* Op. 26 was published around 1825.

accompaniment. While the theme of Rode's *Air allemand* contains no written repeats, as is the case with most of Baillot's, it is repetitive. It consists of four phrases, each four measures in length, the first two of which and the fourth are virtually identical (Example 4.9). Again, the repetitive nature of Rode and Baillot's themes raises the possibility that they improvised throughout these *airs variés* (in addition to the fact that variations in general lend themselves well to improvisation). Perhaps the published versions are merely sketches of what these violinists played when they performed the pieces, a means to market their works to the amateur public.

As in Baillot's works, the violin part becomes immediately virtuosic in the first variation, featuring multiple trills and sixteenth-note passages, while the other three parts become even less active (Example 4.10). Such *airs variés* might have functioned as études of sorts as well, for many such works (by several other composers as well as himself) are cited throughout Baillot's *L'Art du violon* to demonstrate various violin techniques. The variations do feature a variety of techniques, such as the continual double-stops in the second variation of this *Air allemand* (Example 4.11). Notably, Baillot performed Rode's *Air allemand* in his ensemble's penultimate session of 1827 (their 98th *séance*).¹⁶⁸ Perhaps Baillot had received word that Rode was preparing for his (disastrous) return to the Parisian concert stage in 1828 and programmed the work to promote his friend's concert. Such a scenario is likely, for not long afterwards, Baillot and his ensemble also performed Rode's *Quatuor ou sonate brillant*, Op. 28, no.1 in their opening session of 1828 on 22 January (their 99th *séance*).¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸ Fauquet, *Les Sociétés de musique de chambre*, 315.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 316. Early in 1828, Habeneck appears to have been promoting Rode as well, for he programmed "a new concerto of Rode" in the inaugural concert of the *Société des concerts du Conservatoire* on 9 March. Habeneck had hoped to solicit Baillot's services, but, as he was "indisposed," Sauzey played it instead (Pougin, 60).

Thème $\bullet = 112$
Comodo.

Violin

p

f

mf segue.

f

mf segue.

Example 4.9. Pierre Rode, *Air allemande*, theme. The violin 2, viola, and cello are reproduced here as piano reduction (as those parts appear in the score published by Frey, which is my source).

Example 4.9 cont'd.

Example 4.10. Pierre Rode, *Air allemand*, Var. 1, mm.1-4.

Example 4.11. Pierre Rode, *Air allemand*, Var. 2, mm. 1-4.

Paul Gelrud offers the following description of the string quartets of Rode and his violinist compatriots: “The quartet of the virtuoso violinist, of which Rode is an example, was no more than what would now be considered solo performing with the accompaniment of three sympathetic string players.... [T]he quartets of Rode fall without exception into this category.”¹⁷⁰ Most of Rode’s string quartets support Gelrud’s description. The statement is certainly true of the *airs variés* and all of the *quatuors brillants*, as the titles indicate. Most of Rode’s multi-movement *quatuors*—such as opp. 11, 14, 15—also heavily feature the first violin, with several of the quartets containing a theme and variations movement. However, at least one exception exists among Rode’s works. The *Quatuor* Op. 18, no. 1, in G Major is by no means a violin concerto for smaller forces. While the first violin is most important, this movement treats all four instruments with a high degree of importance.

The first movement of Op. 18, no. 1 opens with a slow *Adagio* introduction, in which the instruments are in unison (followed by chordal homophony). The movement’s opening is similar to the openings of the Baillot quartets discussed above (Examples 4.6 and 4.8), which resemble Beethoven’s early quartets; however, as in the Baillot example, it is not Beethoven’s influence that shapes this work. While the title does not indicate it, this work is akin to the earlier *quatuor concertant* discussed in Chapter One. The first violin certainly “leads the conversation,” as it were, but in each of the three movements (*Adagio-Allegro moderato*, *Siciliano*, and *Allegretto*) of this quartet, all four instruments exchange solo sections. *Solo* is indicated on the score when a part takes the main melody except in the case of the first violin (perhaps because the first violin as soloist is taken for granted). The *concertant* quartet, as noted in Chapter One, descends from the Italian *sinfonia concertante*, which is basically a concerto that features multiple soloists. This

¹⁷⁰ Gelrud, 183.

string quartet resembles such Italian concertos not only in its *concertant* treatment of the instruments, but also in the ordering of the movements' tempos (fast-slow-fast).¹⁷¹

The second movement of this quartet is particularly Italianate. Besides its title, “*Siciliano*,” it comprises alternating solo sections with a recurring section where all instruments play together. Thus, it resembles the *ritornello* form of the earlier *concerto grosso*, which involves alternation of *solo* (in a *concerto grosso* meaning several soloists or a small group of instruments, the *concertino*) and *tutti* sections.¹⁷² The movement, in E minor, opens with a section twelve measures in length that functions as a *tutti*; the first four measures of the section feature the first violin, but it is not as prominent in the following eight (Example 4.12). After three statements of the *tutti*, the first violin plays an accompanied *solo* (mm. 40-47), followed by a rapid succession of solos by all four instruments in mm. 47-52 (Example 4.13). A varied *tutti* section follows in mm. 53-65, in which the first violin is the most active part. The cello follows with a *solo* in mm. 66-71 (Example 4.14), followed by a varied *tutti* section to conclude the movement. The first violin is certainly the most important instrument in this movement, especially for its role in the *tutti* section, but the other instruments do not merely provide support. Virtuosity is required of each player, and interest in all instruments is consistent throughout.

¹⁷¹ Admittedly, *Allegretto* is not the “fastest” tempo marking for a movement, but it follows the slow *Siciliano*, which is a slow genre in compound meter; see Meredith Ellis Little, “Siciliana (siciliano),” <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>. The ordering, then, contributes to the impression that the quartet is of the traditional fast-slow-fast ordering of the Italian concerto.

¹⁷² Charles-David Leher observes that many of the violin concertos of Baillot, Rode, and Kreutzer are in *ritornello* form, a practice that he believes is the result of Viotti’s influence. Lehrer notes that Rode in particular favored it, using it in several of his concertos; see Charles-David Lehrer, “The Nineteenth Century Parisian Concerto” (PhD diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 1990), 7. It is perhaps unsurprising, then, that Rode and Baillot might use it also as the structure of a string quartet. I first encountered Lehrer’s dissertation in Schueneman’s *The French Violin School*, 7-11.

Siciliano

p pizz. *p* arco

p pizz. *p* arco

p pizz. *p* arco

p pizz. *p* arco

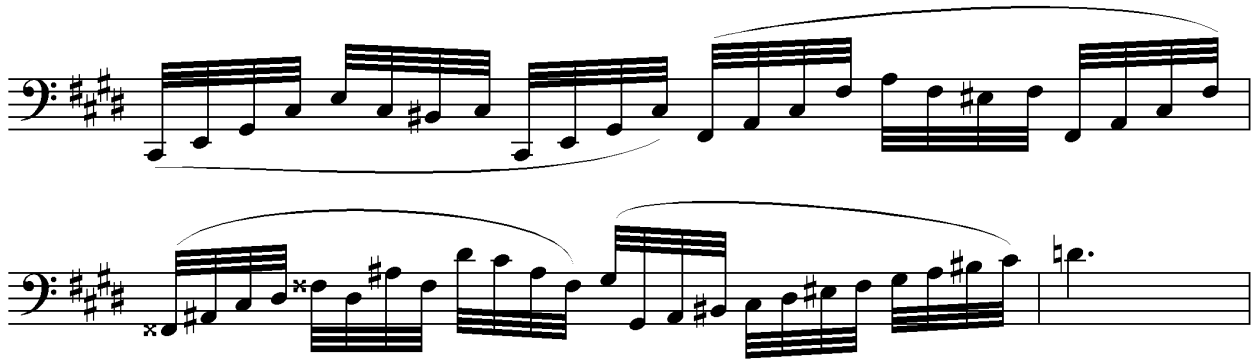
sf

sf

sf

Example 4.12. Pierre Rode, *Quatuor* Op. 18, no. 1 *Siciliano*, mm. 1-12.

Example 4.13. Pierre Rode, *Quatuor* Op. 18, no. 1 *Siciliano*, mm. 47-52.



Example 4.14. Pierre Rode, *Quatuor* Op. 18, no. 1 *Siciliano*, Cello, mm. 70-72.

As it relates to the earlier Italian concerto and *sinfonia concertante*, the *Siciliano* from Rode's *Quatuor* Op. 18, no. 1, represents an assimilation of foreign elements as well as attributes of an earlier tradition, resembling what Fétis would later prescribe for compositional practice. The *Siciliano* relates to opera as well. Usually a slow piece in compound meter, the *Siciliano* (or *Siciliana*) was a common genre in Italian opera (and in ballet) from the late 1600s through mid-1700s.¹⁷³ Within this single movement, then, is a *mélange*, a combining of musical elements from the past, a foreign land, and opera that re-appropriates all of these features within the context of a string quartet.

Rode's body of compositions, like Baillot's, is consistent in that it is melody-driven and is the work of a musician who mostly composed music for his own use. Also like Baillot's, Rode's quartets are the compositions of a working virtuoso, and they do not frequently involve the democracy of parts expected in Viennese string quartets. As in the example of the *Quatuor*, Op. 18, no. 1, the texture of Rode's string quartets is generally not contrapuntal even when the

¹⁷³ Alessandro Scarlatti, particularly, favored it for arias in pastoral scenes. François Couperin also composed several "Ciciliano" movements, and even as late as 1898 Gabriel Fauré incorporated a *Siciliana* in the third entr'acte of his incidental music for *Pelléas et Mélisande*. See Little, "Siciliana (siciliano)."

parts are treated more democratically. His is a body of works that relies heavily on vocal genres as the basis for virtuosic instrumental music, whether concertos or chamber music. Rode frequently borrowed from foreign traditions (especially Italian) in other ways than the concerto-ritornello form. The *Siciliano* is not the only example of such a foreign title among his works. Much as Baillot borrowed (in name, at least) from Spanish music when he composed a quartet movement *à l'Espagnole*, so Rode also used foreign titles. An example is the Polish generic title *Polacco* (or *Polonaise*) used for one of the movements of his *Quatuor* Op. 11, no. 1 (dedicated to Prince Louis Ferdinand of Prussia), a title he also used for at least one of his concerto movements.¹⁷⁴

The String Quartets of Rodolphe Kreutzer

Thanks to the trajectory of his career, Rodolphe Kreutzer's body of compositional work is much more diverse than Baillot's and Rode's. Kreutzer, as discussed in Chapter Two, stopped touring as a violin virtuoso (and began performing less frequently locally as well) earlier than the other two violinists. He was appointed *Maître de la chapelle du Roi* for Louis XVIII in 1815, and he served as director of the Opéra (first of the orchestra, then of the entire institution). Understandably, his compositional output reflects his diverse appointments and entails many musical genres, including operas and ballets. Nevertheless, Kreutzer's music has proven as resistant to bibliographic control as Rode's. Franz Pazdírek's *Universal-Handbuch der Musikliteratur* includes only nine of Kreutzer's (at least) 107 opus numbers, although it does

¹⁷⁴ The last movement of Rode's Violin Concerto, no. 10 also ends with a *Polacco*. Pougin recalled enjoying this concerto, which "ends with an adorable Polacca finale" (Pougin, 57).

include a significant body of works that elude numeric ordering.¹⁷⁵ The catalog in Paul Geoffrey Gelrud's dissertation is more useful in that he grouped Kreutzer's works by genre because so many works were never assigned a number. But neither of these catalogs is close to exhaustive. Thus, Kreutzer's string quartets have presented for the compiler similar problems as Baillot's and Rode's. Ingrid Isola has made the first attempt at an exhaustive catalog of Kreutzer's compositions, and she identifies 276 works; however, it appears that her catalog is not successfully exhaustive, for several of the string quartets that I have identified are not included in it (the undated works and works with approximated dates in the Appendix, p. 226, Table 7 do not appear in Isola's catalog).¹⁷⁶

Kreutzer composed at least fifty-five multi-movement string quartets and two *airs variés* for quartet (see Table 7).¹⁷⁷ An *air varié* (*Air des Pyrénées, varié*) by Kreutzer may be for string quartet as well, for it was performed by Baillot and his ensemble 15 January 1827 (the 93rd *séance*),¹⁷⁸ but I have been unable to obtain this work. While I can identify only the years of composition for some the sets of quartets that were published under an opus number, it is likely that nearly all of Kreutzer's string quartets were composed between 1790 and 1810, the years he was most active as a virtuoso and chamber musician. Considering the case of Rode, it is likely

¹⁷⁵ Franz Pazdírek, *Universal-Handbuch der Musikliteratur*, vol. VI (Hilversum, Netherlands: Frits Knuf, 1967), 725-6.

¹⁷⁶ Ingrid Isola, *Rodolphe Kreutzer: Komponist, Virtuose und Violinpädagoge—Der Weg zum Erfolg (1766-1799)* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2010).

¹⁷⁷ *Le Quatuor à cordes en France de 1750 à nos jours* lists fifty-five string quartets by Kreutzer, and I have not identified any regular (multi-movement) quartets in addition to this list. Some of these quartet sets share opus numbers but are actually different sets. My list, then, includes all of Kreutzer's works for string quartet listed in *Le Quatuor à Cordes*, which covers the ones found in Isola's catalog, Pazdírek's catalog, and those I have located in the BnF.

¹⁷⁸ Fauquet, *Les Sociétés de Musique de chambre*, 314. Baillot's group did not play many quintets, focusing mainly on quartets and trios.

that some of Kreutzer's violin concertos were arranged as string quartets as well, although I have not identified any. It is also probable that more quartets, especially *airs variés* exist, but at any rate it is evident that Kreutzer's quartet output is significant. Schwarz is right to state of Kreutzer's chamber music, "Kreutzer was a composer of serious accomplishment and deserves to be remembered."¹⁷⁹

Kreutzer's quartets, while nearly always dominated by the first violin and highly melodic, generally do not require as much virtuosity from this instrument as do Baillot and Rode's. The number of movements among his quartets is inconsistent: some of his quartets, including all of the 6 *quatuors concertans*, Op. 1, consist of two movements, while many others have three or four. Two-movement quartets appear most frequently in Kreutzer's earlier repertoire. His later quartets (such as the 3 *quatuors* dedicated to Prince A. Radeziwill, 1805) usually contain four movements, and the movements are generally of greater length than those of the earlier quartets.

The ordering of Kreutzer's string quartet movements also tends to be inconsistent. Several of the three-movement quartets (such as Op. 2, no. 5, in G Major¹⁸⁰) are ordered slow-fast-slow. The finales of his quartets in general are frequently movements of either slow or moderate tempos (several bear the indication *Andante*). Occasionally, his movements consist of a theme-and-variations: an example is the *quatuor concertant* Op. 1, no. 1, which is titled *Romance con Variazioni*, in essence an *air varié*. Like Baillot and Rode's, Kreutzer's quartets can involve informal variations rather than thematic development even in movements that are not properly labeled as variations

¹⁷⁹ Schwarz, 257.

¹⁸⁰ The tempo markings of the three movements are *Adagio*, *Allegro Agitato*, and *Grazioso*.

The middle movement of Op. 2, no. 5, *Allegro Agitato* (Example 4.15) is a typical example of the fast movements of Kreutzer's string quartets. This movement, which follows a lyrical *Adagio*, is in G minor and opens in the manner of many of Kreutzer, Baillot, and Rode's quartet movements. All four instruments start in rhythmic unison (at the octave), remaining strictly in strict for twelve measures, culminating in a cadence in measure seventeen. The opening unison serves as a strong establishment of the tonic key (G minor), a similarity shared with Baillot and Rode's works as well. After the unison, the first violin takes prominence, featuring a melodic motive characterized by a leap followed by three repeated notes (mm. 17-24).

The first twenty-five measures provide the musical material for the rest of the movement. While the movement fits the definition of the common sonata-form variety (it modulates to the relative major, explores a variety of keys in the development, and recapitulates in the tonic key), it also relates to another form: as in Rode's *Siciliano* (Op. 18, no. 1) and the movements of Baillot's quartets discussed above, the unison opening returns regularly as a *tutti*-like frame to *solo* sections (interestingly, all solos feature the first violinist, despite the quartet's advertisement as being *concertant*), resembling a solo concerto in *ritornello* form. A unison texture returns in m. 112 as a short codetta (in the relative major of B-flat) three measures before the repeat (Example 4.16, mm. 112-114). Thus, accounting for the repeat, this unison texture is connected to the opening unison texture of the beginning, forming a *tutti*-like section. The unison texture of the codetta also is connected to a unison after the repeat in mm. 115-27, which is nearly an exact statement (with an added measure) as mm. 1-12, but in the relative major (Example 4.16, mm. 115-17). Mm. 115-139 are, in fact, closely based on mm. 1-16 after the repeat, but this section

Allegro Agitato

f

5

10

f *f* *f* *f*

Example 4.15. Rodolphe Kreutzer, *Quatuor concertant*, Op. 2, no. 5, *Allegro Agitato*, mm. 1-25.

15

f *f* *f* *f* *p*

20

p *p* *p* *p* *p*

Example 4.15 cont'd.

112

Example 4.16. Rodolphe Kreutzer, *Quatuor concertant*, Op. 2, no. 5, *Allegro Agitato*, mm. 112-17.



Example 4.16 cont'd.

begins the tonal exploration of a development in m. 128, which lasts through m. 159. The recapitulation occurs in m. 160, but it restates the section that begins in m. 17 (see Ex. 4.15), not the opening unison texture of the beginning. Thus, the development constitutes a section of tonal exploration that occurs between sections based on mm. 1-16 and the thematic material that begins in m. 17. The recapitulation occurs in mm. 160-218, followed by a short coda in mm. 219-26. A *tutti*-like section is included in the recapitulation (mm. 183-98), and the coda provides a *tutti* ending to the movement.

A possible formal analysis of the movement, then, is: *Tutti* (1st theme), mm. 1-12—*Solo* (end of 1st theme, modulation to the relative major), mm. 13-111—*Tutti* (codetta and repeat of opening), mm. 112-12—*Solo* (end of 1st theme, modulation to relative major), mm. 13-111—*Tutti* (codetta and beginning of development), mm. 112-27—*Solo* (development and beginning of recapitulation), mm. 128-182—*Tutti* (late in recapitulation), mm. 183-98—*Solo* (remainder of recapitulation), mm. 99-218—*Tutti* (coda), mm. 219-26. Certainly, it is viable to analyze this movement as a monothematic sonata (for all of the musical material is derived from the first twenty-five measures included in Example 4.15), but the recurring unison section recalls the

Italian concerto, a fitting way to present a virtuoso violinist. As in the movements by Baillot and Rode, this movement perhaps shows familiarity with the Viennese tradition, but it is not an attempt to replicate it. While the repeat and modulations fit sonata form, the textural alternations indicate a dual treatment of form. Kreutzer's quartet is not a cheap, poorly-executed attempt at motivic development, as Schwarz judged of Baillot, Rode, and Kreutzer's works). It is a *mélange* of distinct traditions: it is a hybrid of the sonata form typical of chamber music and the *ritornello* form of the earlier Italian concerto.

Kreutzer's 3 *quatuors* (ca. 1805-1810) dedicated to Prince Antoni Radziwill, a Polish noble who lived in Berlin are also notable.¹⁸¹ These quartets are in many respects similar to the rest of Kreutzer's quartet output, but with a notable exception: the basso (cello) part throughout these three quartets is much more virtuosic than most of Kreutzer's quartet output, frequently alternating as soloist with the first violin (as in Example 4.17). The second movement of

Example 4.17. Rodolphe Kreutzer, 3 *Quatuors* (ded. A. Radziwill), no. 1, *Andante*, Violin 1 and Cello, mm. 15-25.

¹⁸¹ The dedication reads, "Dédiés au Prince A. Valentin Radeziwill [sic], son Elève, par R. Kreutzer, Premier Violon de sa Majesté l'Empereur Napoléon 1^{er}." ("Dedicated to the Prince A. Valentin Radeziwill [sic], his student, by R. Kreutzer, Solo Violin[ist] of his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon the 1st," translation mine). Notably, Radziwill was also the dedicatee of Chopin's Piano Trio, Op. 8 (1829), and Chopin composed his *Introduction and Polonaise for Cello and Piano*, Op. 3 for him as well.

Quatuor no. 1 is a *Polonaise* and *Trio* (Example 4.18 includes the entire *Polonaise* section).

According to the dedication, Prince Radziwill was a pupil of Kreutzer's, and he must have been a cellist of some pedigree, for the basso part is not easy.¹⁸² Radziwill was an enthusiastic patron of musicians, composers, and the arts, hosting at his Berlin palace Beethoven, Chopin, Goethe, and Paganini, among many others. Radziwill was married to a niece of Frederick the Great and was a lesser ruler under the Prussian monarchy. He was an enemy of Napoleon and attempted to rouse resistance in Poland to Napoleon's invading armies in 1806, a failed attempt that cost him his rule when Napoleon's forces defeated Prussia. His relative, Maciej Radziwill, notably composed many Polonaises in the years prior to 1800, the period when the genre became a musical symbol of Poland.¹⁸³

That Kreutzer dedicated the set of string quartets to Radziwill around the time of Napoleon's invasion, and that the quartets contain a Polonaise, may suggest political symbolism by Kreutzer. Notably, Rode's Op. 11 (1798), dedicated to Prince Louis Ferdinand of Prussia, also contains a Polonaise (*Tempo di Polacca*). It is possible that Kreutzer and Rode both secretly opposed Napoleon during their service with the musicians of the Emperor (or Consul, depending on the years). Rode spent the years (ca.) 1804-1808 in Russia, leaving (perhaps coincidentally) just after his affair with Napoleon's mistress. The dual prominence of the first violin and cello throughout these three quartets by Kreutzer may symbolize a comradeship between himself and

¹⁸² Most of the string quartets by the French composers covered in this dissertation indicate the lowest part as simply *Basso* or *Basse*. It appears that the cello is expected to play the *basse* part, just as the viola plays the *alto* part. In his pedagogical manuals, Baillot's use of the terms violoncelle and basse appear to be interchangeable, for he refers to the cello as playing the bass accompaniment or "fundamental part." See Pierre Baillot, *Méthode de violoncelle et de basse d'ac[c]ompagnement*, Méthodes instrumentales les plus anciennes du Conservatoire de Paris, vol. 6 (1804 ; repr., Geneva: Minkoff Reprint, 1974), 140. Kreutzer's 3 *Quatuors* offer indication that the generic term basso probably was expected to be realized on a cello. The lowest part bears the indication *basso* while the set was dedicated to Prince Radziwill, a cellist.

¹⁸³ See Steven Downs, "Polonaise," <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

Polonaise

The image displays a musical score for a piece titled "Polonaise". It consists of two systems of four staves each. The first system includes dynamics such as *p* (piano) and trills (*tr*). The second system begins with a measure number "5" and continues with similar musical notation, including trills and slurs. The score is written in a key signature of three flats and a 3/4 time signature.

Example 4.18. Rodolphe Kreutzer, *3 Quatuors* (ded. A. Radziwill), no. 1, *Polonaise*.

The musical score consists of two systems of four staves each. The first system covers measures 9 to 12, and the second system covers measures 13 to 16. The key signature is B-flat major (two flats) and the time signature is 3/4. The notation includes various rhythmic values, trills, and slurs. The piece concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots at the end of measure 16.

Example 4.18 cont'd.

Radziwiłł. Whatever Kreutzer's motives were, his dedication and inclusion of the Polonaise is striking in the context of the political situation, and it indicates that in this instance his musical choices might have been politically motivated rather than simply artistic preference.

As noted above, Kreutzer's body of compositional work is more prolific and diverse than either Baillot's or Rode's. This fact fits the nature of his career, as the narrowness (by comparison) of the output of the other composers did theirs, for he was active as an orchestra and opera director in addition to his being a violinist and teacher at the Conservatoire. Nevertheless, as is the case with the other two violinists, his chamber music (including string quartets) consistently highlights the first violin. Although his string quartets do not feature variations as frequently as Baillot's or Rode's, his predominant style is virtually the same as theirs. He relies heavily on vocal music and vocal styles as the basis of his instrumental idioms, and his string quartets represent a hybrid between chamber music and the concerto.

The String Quartets of Charles Dancla

The quartet output of Charles Dancla mirrors that of his predecessors Baillot, Rode, and Kreutzer in most respects. Dancla was the person who perhaps contributed most to carrying the eclectic approach of the French Violin School through the rest of the nineteenth century. As noted in chapter two, he saw himself as Baillot's successor: he had wished literally to succeed Baillot as professor of violin at the Conservatoire, a wish that was finally fulfilled in the mid-1850s. It was, then, most likely thanks to Dancla's long service at the Conservatoire that the pedagogical work of Baillot, Rode, and Kreutzer remained the staple of that institution's violin instruction until well into the twentieth century. But Dancla carried on not only their pedagogical methods; he also carried on their stylistic emphases, especially Baillot's, in his violin playing and compositions.

Although he also composed symphonies, the bulk of Dancla's at least 223 opus numbers is chamber music, and the focus of this output is the violin. Dancla's chamber output is impressive, not only in the number of works, but in its generic scope as well. He composed many string duos, string trios, piano trios, quartets, quintets, works for violin and piano, *airs variés* for violin and various instrument combinations, and much more. Dancla's string quartets are numbered 1 through 14, but he additionally composed a set of three quartets (Op. 188) that elude numbering (Appendix, p. 227, Table 8).¹⁸⁴ Continuing Baillot's legacy, Dancla also composed three works for string quartet based on songs, and he composed dozens more for other combinations of instruments.¹⁸⁵ Works of this kind for string quartet include his *Air varié* no. 3, the *Romance et Bolero*, Op. 50, the *Rêverie*, Op. 66, and *Le Carnaval de Venise*, Op. 119 (for four violins). The *3 Pieces for 4 Violins* relate to these works as well: this set comprises three (possibly commemorative) movements titled "Le Départ," "L'Arrivée," and "Le Retour" ("The Departure," "The Arrival," and "The Return"). Dancla additionally arranged his first three symphonies as well as his *Symphonie concertante*, Op. 98, as string quartets.

Dancla's string quartets closely resemble those of his predecessors, the three stalwarts of the French Violin School; therefore, generalization of Dancla's works will suffice. He commonly based his instrumental works—whether duos, trios, and works for violin and piano, as well as his string quartets—on popular songs and opera. He also borrowed from (or at least alluded to) foreign musical traditions, composing Tarantellas, Polonaises, *Le Carnaval de Venise*, Op. 119, among many other works. Dancla's string quartets also frequently involve a mixture of

¹⁸⁴ I wonder if this set is not included in the numbered quartets because it is scored for four violins instead of the usual four string instruments. He scored it for string trio as well (also Op. 188).

¹⁸⁵ Although it is not a quartet, Dancla's *Air varié*, no. 1 (Op. 1) is dedicated to Baillot. The dedication of an *air varié* was a proper gesture for his teacher, the master of that genre.

ritornello-type textural features into sonata-cycle movements. The *Final* of his String Quartet no. 12, Op. 142, in E-flat Major (1883), *Adagio sostenuto-Moderato con spirito*, is a typical example. Though composed a century after Viotti worked for the French royal court, the movement involves alternating sections that resemble the *tutti* and *solo* sections of eighteenth-century concertos (although in general, the sections are not as consistent and clearly-defined as those in the quartets of Baillot, Rode, and Kreutzer). Dancla's String Quartet No. 14, Op. 195, in D Major (1900) opens with three of the instruments in unison, a feature that regularly returns to frame *solo* sections throughout the first movement. This nod to the *ritornello* is a remarkably passé gesture in a work that appeared ten years after Franck's string quartet, seven years after Debussy's string quartet, and predates the Paris premiere of Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du Printemps* by a mere fourteen years. Thus, Dancla carried the eclecticism of the French Violin School through the *belle époque* and the *fin de siècle*.

Conclusion

As I have argued, the string quartet repertoires of Baillot, Rode, Kreutzer, and Dancla are eclectic. But this observation requires more perspective. Is French instrumental music from the early nineteenth century *the* musical repertoire that is quintessentially eclectic? And is it the work of particularly eclectic people from a particularly eclectic time and place? No. Do not many other repertoires also exhibit varied influences, whether of earlier eras, other nations, or many differing style traits within the same piece? Or within the same composer?

Is not the eighteenth-century *galant* deviation from unity of "Affect" eclecticism? Even Beethoven, the veritable "giant," as Hanslick famously called him, and patron saint of serious

music, himself mixed styles, traits, and techniques, even very late in life when he composed some of his least populist works. Eclecticism is a feature of his String Quartet in C-sharp Minor, Op. 131 (1826), which Baillot's ensemble performed 24 March, 1829.¹⁸⁶ Perhaps the most famous of his late chamber works, this colossal seven-movement work of course involves Beethoven's characteristically masterful ability to develop thematic material and to cyclically connect the many movements; however, it also involves some rather simple sections of homophony (as in the opening measures of the second movement), some chorale-like texture (see the beginning of the *Adagio ma non troppo e semplice* that starts in m. 187 of the fourth movement), virtuosic cadenza-like passages by the first violin that resemble operatic runs (the *Adagio* section starting in measure seven of the third movement and sections of the fifth movement), and, most famously, the fugue that serves as the first movement. It is worth noting that for this quartet, innovative in its length and daring in the choice of a fugue and sonata-rondo as the two opening movements (usually these are associated with finales), Beethoven employed eclectic techniques. However, unlike the French composers' works, this quartet is never described as anything less than serious and has even been considered as avant-garde. That a single work (or movement) should involve contrasting themes, each incorporating different styles, is a form of eclecticism. But again, eclecticism as a pejorative has been a French cultural marker and therefore not applied to Beethoven.

Eclecticism, as Michael Paul Driskel notes of visual art, has in fact been so prevalent that it is arguable that it is *the* characteristic of Western music.¹⁸⁷ Eclecticism is not itself, then, a

¹⁸⁶ Fauquet, *Les Sociétés de musique de chambre*, 319.

¹⁸⁷ Michael Paul Driskel, "An Introduction to the Art," in *The Art of the July Monarchy: France: 1830-1848* (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1990), 52.

marker of failure or unoriginality; however, the term eclecticism has been frequently associated with various kinds of failures. It is not a particularly descriptive term in a practical sense. But, thanks at least in part to the term's association with a French period that was viewed dimly by later ages, eclecticism is also a cultural marker. It has functioned as a pejorative, as a reason to devalue certain nineteenth-century French cultural products, especially philosophy and visual art, but also music.

Based on my analysis, the contextual expectations of the string quartets of Baillot, Rode, Kreutzer, and Dancla should be shifted towards the concerto and away from Viennese chamber music. The generic expectation that a string quartet should properly follow sonata form (as is common in works from the so-called classical canon) fails to account for the ritornello-type features of these composers' string quartets. As far as I can tell, this distinguishing feature of their string quartets has not been observed by other scholars. It is an aspect of their chamber music that is easily missed because the pieces were originally published in parts and have not been published in full score for scholarly study. Formal analysis of sonata forms in general tends to emphasize elements such as motivic development, contrasting themes and theme groups, and degrees of daring in tonal exploration. Measured by these criteria, the string quartets in question might seem to be feeble compositional attempts. But if other features are expected—such as extended songlike or virtuosic solo sections for the first violin, strong sections of instrumental unison, sudden mutations to the parallel mode, or a continually varied melody—these string quartets will meet expectations. If the expectation is that these French quartets are eclectic, the expectation will be met; but if eclecticism is artistic failure, as it has so often been deemed, these quartets fail in scope, aim, and significance.

Historians have employed the term “eclectic” not as much to describe the early nineteenth-century string quartet as deride it; therefore, they have discouraged study of the repertoire. They have assumed that these works are cheap versions of Viennese classicism composed by charlatans. The claim that these composers’ music is “derived from the Viennese tradition of Haydn and Mozart, though diluted and deprived of all emotional intensity ... without offering anything of particular interest or originality,” as Boris Schwarz does, fails to account for some important facts.¹⁸⁸ Such claims do not leave room for the possibility that factors other than Viennese influence might be at play within these French quartets; therefore, historians have missed the variety of other, stronger influences at play in the repertoire, especially Italian opera, popular song, and the concerto. For historians like Schwarz, the requisite criteria for a work (or a repertoire) to be considered successful chamber music are that it must be purely instrumentally conceived music, offer equality of parts, and be original in conception (but also must somehow succeed in emulating Mozart or Beethoven). In this “generic contract,” chamber music that deviates from these criteria by mixing in other elements, such as virtuosic solos or vocal styles, fails its medium.

Within the idealism of traditional musicology, that of the tradition that Schwarz and others who share his views represent, and one tied particularly to German notions of nation and class, chamber music’s mission is human cultivation.¹⁸⁹ To mix (supposedly frivolous) entertainments such as the virtuosity of a concerto-like setting as well as vocal idioms into music that carries such a serious mission, then, is “invidious” (to borrow from Sir George Grove’s comment quoted at the beginning of this chapter) and a typically French transgression. In this

¹⁸⁸ Schwarz, 255-6.

¹⁸⁹ The concept of chamber music as human cultivation is the topic of the next chapter.

ideological model, chamber music that is eclectic not only fails to be “serious” music, it poses a danger to personal and cultural development. The supposed failure of the early nineteenth-century French string quartet repertoire, then, is a specific one. Its failure in Schwarz’s evaluation is not purely a musical one; it fails to meet expectations: expectations to be Viennese and to cultivate rather than entertain. But if its expectations are refocused, perhaps this string quartets repertoire can be judged differently, and perhaps it does not fail.

Chapter 5

The German Ideal of Instrumental Music and Historicizing the Early Nineteenth-Century French String Quartet

In truth, the famed rationality of the French intellect does not extend to music, for the abstraction of a self-contained, rationally constructed art form has little appeal. French music is sensuous, pictorial, elegant, allusive, decorative, imaginative, ritualistic, poetic and many other things besides, but scarcely ever rational. And it all goes back to wine.

—Hugh MacDonald, *Beethoven's Century*¹

Since the nineteenth century, particular notions of what qualifies a string quartet as “real” or “true” have persisted. As discussed in previous chapters, the quartet in early nineteenth-century France has not been considered as having met the requisite qualifications. This fact is demonstrated by the relative paucity of its scholarly coverage, prompting Joël-Marie Fauquet to pen a de facto defense that an unbroken, continuous French chamber music repertoire has indeed existed. Such idealized notions of string quartet existence relate to larger and enduring questions of music’s abilities and responsibilities to affect people and cultures, questions that particularly gained traction in German lands throughout the nineteenth century. Because the quartets do exist, the real question is not one of existence but one of ideology. The problem is that the French tradition did not meet German qualifications of “serious” music, or music that is capable of contributing to the cultivation of individuals and cultures. “Serious” music has been relegated mostly to the realm of purely instrumental music, a qualification that the French repertoire has not always met because of its association with vocal genres, especially opera.

¹ Hugh MacDonald, *Beethoven's Century: Essays on Composers and Themes* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2008), 132.

Admittedly, there is a difficulty with my evaluation of the situation: the French repertoire has received so little attention, even negative attention, by historians that in retrospect it is truly hard to determine why it has been ignored. We are left, to some extent, to piece together its historical reception. But, if we consider the moment at which historians have granted France a “true” tradition of quartets and chamber music in general, we gain some indication of the ambivalence towards French chamber music composed prior to that time. After establishing the continuity of the French chamber music tradition, focusing on string quartets as “an ideal genre,” Fauquet points out that it is curious that France is suddenly granted a “renewal” of the tradition around 1870.² He notes: “In reality, the feeling that a renewal ... emerged only after 1870 can be explained by the crisis of conscience into which losing the Franco-Prussian War had thrown the French nation.”³ Some prominent French musicians, notably César Franck and Edouard Lalo, blamed the supposed decline of French arts and actual decline of French military power on decadence and cultural impurity, and they called upon French composers to imitate German musical ideals. During the Second Empire, Lalo had, in fact, claimed Germany as his “true musical native country.”⁴ Fauquet states that their idea of “‘French’ renewal would essentially rely on formal models and subjects of inspiration that were German: it consecrates Beethoven as the absolute aesthetic touchstone and finds in the work of Richard Wagner a source of expressive

² Joël-Marie Fauquet, “Chamber Music in France from Luigi Cherubini to Claude Debussy,” trans. Stephen E. Hefling and Patricia Marley, in *Nineteenth-Century Chamber Music*, ed. Stephen E. Hefling (New York: Routledge, 2004), 302. Fauquet notes that Romain Rolland was, among historians, an early example of the belief that the 1870s constituted a national musical renewal. Fauquet cites Rolland’s, *Musiciens d’aujourd’hui* (Paris, 1908), 212. Robin Stowell is a more modern example, as I mention in Chapter One. See Robin Stowell, “Traditional and Progressive Nineteenth-Century Trends: France, Italy, Great Britain and America,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the String Quartet*, ed. Robin Stowell (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 250.

³ Fauquet, 303.

⁴ Ibid. Fauquet cites Lalo’s letter to Ferdinand Hiller, 27 October, 1862, in his *Correspondance*, ed Joël-Marie Fauquet (Paris, 1989), 77.

and harmonic enrichment.”⁵ While Fauquet’s observation is apt that German musical ideals were consciously adopted by culturally insecure composers as rebuttal to supposed French artistic decadence, German idealism was not limited to Beethoven and Wagner. I will follow another thread of influence regarding German socio-musical thought and its potential connotations for French string quartets, that of J.S. Bach’s reception history in nineteenth-century Germany.

In this chapter, I submit that early nineteenth-century French string quartets have historically failed to attract attention at least in part because of the idealistic nature of musical canonization, one that has been closely tied to specific emphases of nationalistic German writers. Most quartets that have been accepted into the canon exhibit a relative equality of parts achieved by careful contrapuntal treatment, and most of these works have been by German composers. But to say that all German quartets feature equal treatment of instruments would of course be incorrect; one need only look at some of Haydn’s, and even Beethoven’s, earlier works to see otherwise. It would be equally mistaken to assume that French quartets composed prior to 1870 never involved “learned” counterpoint; even Pierre Baillot composed a canon at the octave in the *Minuetto* from his *Quatuor*, Op. 34, no. 3. A more defensible stance is that a particularly strong and prevalent vein of German musical idealism has promoted chamber music that features counterpoint. Consequently, German quartets gained the reputation of equal contrapuntal treatment while the French quartets have the reputation of light homophony, and German quartets gained a reputation as “serious” music while French ones have been ignored. German quartets have been granted status as ideal music, supposedly granting all players equal rights, as it were. The French tradition does not fit this bill, for it usually features a songlike, treble-heavy

⁵ Fauquet, 303.

treatment of the genre. The former emphasis has retained a place in the canon while the latter has not, and the French quartets have largely been forgotten.

I do not wish to oppose the reputation of the French quartets as populist and non-contrapuntal in style. They usually are. I instead will argue that cultural emphases have slanted quartet historiography against populism and virtuosity. I will trace a short history of musical emphases of middle-class musical writers in nineteenth-century Germany. An exhaustive study of this subject is not my aim; Celia Applegate, Sanna Pederson, and David Gramit, have already covered it, and I will lean on their work for general information and background. By relying on aspects of their work and that of other scholars, I will provide grounding and circumstantial evidence for why the early nineteenth-century French string quartet has been forgotten. I will also point out a similarity between musical counterpoint and the German principle of *Bildung* and will argue that an ideological similarity exists in both. I will then juxtapose the German connection between quartet texture and *Bildung* with a connection between French social structure and melody-driven music, for each of these connections has, in some ways, served to categorize German and French string quartets and chamber music in general in terms of socio-national distinctions.

Music in German National Discourse

That music has long held a place of perhaps disproportionate importance among cultural products in German lands, at least in comparison to other regions, is no secret. Albrecht Riethmüller describes the situation thus:

The notion of ‘the sacred art of music’ at the heart of proclivities and convictions that support the concept of art religion has remained a specialty of German-speaking countries up to today. Such an attitude is

encountered far less, if at all, in European cultures more to the west and south. The devotion (by necessity pseudo-religious) bestowed on music through the rituals of art religion not only reflects a bourgeois approach to music but serves to requisition the domain of music for Germany, just as Hegel's arguments did for philosophy.⁶

Music's importance to Germans is sometimes assumed to be a natural product (or byproduct) of the region. This popular and romantic narrative holds that German preoccupation with discussing beauty and musical aesthetics in general came naturally thanks to the presence and heritage of so many great composers. But the narrative is incorrect, or at least too simplistic.

As a movement, German writers' preoccupation with music did not take initiative from composers or from music itself.⁷ Rather, the importance of musical discourse comes from the social position of German writers that emerged in the eighteenth century. German lands at the time were divided into many smaller duchies and kingdoms ruled by a cosmopolitan aristocracy, a class that held very little in common with their subjects. The aristocracy generally spoke French, not German, and did not often participate in the exchange of ideas involving pan-Germanic culture. Such discourse was instead the realm of writers from the German-speaking bourgeoisie, including Kant, Herder, Schiller, and Goethe. The literary culture of such writers, although divided among the various cities and duchies of Germany, became a main bearer of German-ness, of a national culture in the absence of an actual unified state.⁸ Literacy and literate culture in Germany for our purposes, then, refers to the German middle-classes; and literacy (in the German language) served as the common connection among networks of writers. Literacy and literature were a means to cross barriers, whether natural or governmental, between isolated

⁶ Albrecht Riethmüller, "'Is That Not Something for *Simplicissimus*?!' The Belief in Musical Superiority," in *Music and German National Identity*, Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter eds. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 291.

⁷ Celia Applegate, *Bach in Berlin: Nation and Culture in Mendelssohn's Revival of the St Matthew Passion* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2005), 46.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 48-9.

population centers and were used by the bourgeoisie to separate themselves from the illiterate “rabble” below and the cosmopolitan aristocracy above.⁹ German writing about music emerged in this context as a significant discourse on national-cultural self-identity, and not merely because great composers lived there and produced great music that attracted writers’ attention.

By around 1800, thanks to a continual diffusion of music journals that started in 1728, the German literate public had amassed a working knowledge of music and musical issues emphasized by writers, issues that intermingled with understandings of German cultural identity.¹⁰ Among these issues, a particular theme was especially prominent after the turn of the century: German writers—such as E. T. A. Hoffmann, A. B. Marx, and Johann F. Reichard (among many)—argued that music is a powerful art capable of influencing individuals, cultures and nations. But with such power came danger: the wrong kinds of music might have a negative impact. A great deal of responsibility, writers cautioned, fell upon musicians and composers and extended as well to consumers. They argued that Germans should focus on producing, performing, and consuming “serious, powerful art,” not “pleasing, superficial music.”¹¹ Their movement reflected actual current cultural problems, for it was founded on the goal of “rescuing [German] music from the dominance of Italian and French music in the [German] princely courts.”¹² Such a goal related to real and legitimate fears of foreign occupation and imposition, whether military or cultural, for the German middle classes were deeply concerned with the insecurity of non-consolidated nationhood as well as the political and military weakness of their

⁹ Ibid. See also Norbert Elias *The Civilizing Process* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 5-29.

¹⁰ Applegate, *Bach in Berlin*, 83.

¹¹ David Gramit, *Cultivating Music: The Aspirations, Interests, and Limits of German Musical Culture, 1770-1848* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2002), 5.

¹² Applegate, *Bach in Berlin*, 5.

ruling courts.¹³ Even early in the eighteenth century, middle-class writers began warning against “all things foreign” embodied by courtly culture.¹⁴ The movement was fueled by intellectuals such as Johann Gottfried von Herder, who called on Germans to find cultural essence (genius) in their own folk culture and to practice “creative disregard of other nations.”¹⁵ Occupation by French revolutionary armies in the 1790s—and the subsequent decline and fall of the Holy Roman Empire—validated German concerns over occupying foreign music as well. Many musical positions traditionally populated by Germans were lost, and the fallout affected native German musicians much more than the French and Italian “stars” who held top court positions.¹⁶

Celia Applegate points out that German musical writers emphasized three major themes by 1800: first, music began to be treated as an art, as a worthy “concern of all cultivated people,” not as simply a craft, practiceable by any apprentice; second, as artistic elites, musicians needed to acquire humanistic development (*Bildung*); and third, music, especially instrumental music, was a German national distinction.¹⁷ The influence of the musical press was becoming evident: music, like the other arts, was ascribed a cultural purpose, and its purpose was *Bildung*.¹⁸ *Bildung*, the German concept of human formation and cultivation (totality of experience and education), was not only a personal concept; it was also a national one. It was specifically “the property of men who lived as part of a nation, which is to say, as part of a cultural and ethical community. Thus art, nation, and *Bildung* stood together and intertwined, as the markers of a

¹³ Ibid., 48.

¹⁴ Ibid., 51.

¹⁵ Ibid., 53.

¹⁶ Ibid., 66-7.

¹⁷ Ibid., 69.

¹⁸ Ibid., 294.

distinctive elite with aspirations to represent something greater than themselves.”¹⁹ Carl Friedrich Zelter, among others, saw music education as a necessary cog in *Bildung*; he argued musical study, unlike learning a craft or skill, is self-realization and the very embodiment of *Bildung*.²⁰

Many writers contributed to the most prestigious German-language music journal of the time, the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (hereafter, *AMZ*). The *AMZ* boasted an impressive stable of writers: more than a hundred people from more than fifty cities contributed to it.²¹ These writers included Friedrich Rochlitz (the journal’s founder), E. T. A. Hoffmann, Eduard Hanslick, Robert Schumann, Johann Nikolaus Forkel, and Zelter, as only a few of the more prominent contributors. These men were “advocates of a culture of serious music [who] consciously sought to transcend” differences between the various German-speaking states, and their project was to create, grow, and maintain pan-German musical-cultural consciousness.²² The journal contributed to keeping such connections between music and human cultivation prominent in German discourse, and, thanks to the many territories represented by its contributors, it also portrayed Germans, who were geographically separated, as a singular nation united by commonalities of language and shared musical culture.²³

The *AMZ* writers (as well as others, such as A. B. Marx in Berlin) frequently warned against the cultural dangers of consuming Italian and Italianate music, attributing its continued

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid., 151.

²¹ Ibid., 91-2.

²² Gramit, 21.

²³ Ibid.

presence in German-speaking lands to ignorance on the part of German audiences.²⁴ Invasion and occupation by French revolutionary armies had exacerbated their hatred for such aristocratic culture, galvanizing their socio-political nationalism: Rochlitz particularly hated the French, blaming them for Mozart's struggles, a disgruntlement that appeared frequently in his writing.²⁵ The writers' insecurity concerning international music was justified, for, in addition to the presence of foreign music and musicians, many journals with less "serious," or more cosmopolitan (or internationalist), aspirations also were widely disseminated. These journals existed to promote the musics that the *AMZ* stable opposed, largely publishing gossipy news of operas and concerts by traveling virtuosos. As such journals existed for common appeal rather than appeal to a cultivated audience, what they "gained in accessibility, they lost in consequence," as Applegate puts it. The *AMZ* was more carefully presented and gained more significance over time and in retrospect because it covered and contributed to more "serious" German musical matters.²⁶

Throughout the nineteenth century, German writers continued to emphasize music's cultivating abilities and cultural responsibilities. Beethoven, famously, was reinvented by following generations of Germans (memorably by such writers as Franz Brendel) as a symbol of national-cultural superiority.²⁷ A. B. Marx, writing in 1855, worried that Germans might be losing vigilance in matters of music's cultural task. He warned that if Germans did not engage in and support serious musical and artistic culture, socio-cultural development would "come to a

²⁴ Applegate, 110-14.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 96.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 102-3.

²⁷ Riethmüller, 291.

standstill.”²⁸ Even the volatile arguments between Eduard Hanslick and Richard Wagner in the Viennese press indicate the importance of music in German lands by 1850, for while they strongly disagreed over what kinds of music were appropriate, they at least shared the conviction that music’s “proper purpose” was *Bildung*.²⁹ In 1863, A. B. Marx traced the progress of German culture throughout the previous century, arguing that Beethoven’s music and the revival of J. S. Bach’s were not only indication of cultural progress but causal factors in it.³⁰ Bach played a distinctive role by late in the nineteenth century, and he was held alongside such figures as Goethe and Beethoven as proof of German cultural greatness.³¹

In the twentieth century as well, although perhaps not so intentionally in many cases, connections were made between music and German greatness. Traditional musicology and grew up within the German art-music ideology that emerged in the nineteenth century. Such immersion has frequently led musicologists to deem music and musicians that fall outside the prescribed Germanic spectrum as deficient.³² Musicologists’ insistence on the preeminence of the German canon, connecting “great” or “serious” music to Germany (and musical deficiency and inferiority to foreign or Jewish composers and musicians), “mark[s] [them] as a product of the [German] cultivating project.”³³ Even until recent times, musicologists have been so

²⁸ Applegate, *Bach in Berlin*, 243-4. Applegate’s source is Marx’s *Die Musik des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts und ihre Pflege: Methode der Musik*. Leipzig, 1873, 12 and 16.

²⁹ Gramit, 22. For further discussion of this aspect, see (Gramit’s source) Lydia Goehr, *The Quest for the Voice: Music, Politics, and the Limits of Philosophy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 94.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 244.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 252.

³² Gramit, 162. Gramit notes that Theodor Adorno is an example of such thought. He does not see Adorno’s thought as necessarily intentional, however. He sees it as a remarkable insight into the extent of German idealism’s reach, as something that came naturally and unquestioningly to Adorno thanks to his cultural upbringing.

³³ *Ibid.*, 163.

immersed (usually uncritically) within the discipline's insistence on cultivated attendance to music that they have not perceived the social circumstances that form their own basis (and bias).³⁴ As Gramit puts it, "The problem is not willful disregard but rather a failure to perceive that the social situation of scholarship has so nearly duplicated that of the culture of classical music that the very issue of social position has seemed uninteresting. The result has been yet another duplication ... musicology has, in effect, assumed the universal validity of central practices of the musical culture in which it originated."³⁵

Celia Applegate cautions that the growth of nationalism during this time among a literary public does not mean that "the nationalizing impulse was either central to or even present in" German writers' turn towards instrumental music as ideal music.³⁶ She worries that other scholars, namely Sanna Pederson and Stephen Rumph, retrospectively "discover" German nationalism in writings on instrumental music by early nineteenth-century music critics.³⁷ She

³⁴ Gramit offers Charles Rosen's 1972 study *The Classical Style* as an example of such uncritical immersion by scholars within the German cultivating project, noting that it "is heavily (although inexplicitly and perhaps unknowingly) indebted to the German musicological tradition's construct of the classical style as an ideal synthesis" (p. 91). According to Gramit, Rosen's indebtedness is evident in the way he connects popular elements with serious music as a way to employ populism for higher artistic goals, but he fails to acknowledge "the possibility that popular elements could equally serve both aristocratic ideologies and those of musicians themselves" (p. 92). For further discussion of German contribution to and influence upon the field of historical musicology, especially in the twentieth century, see also Pamela M. Potter, *Most German of the Arts: Musicology and Society from the Weimar Republic to the End of Hitler's Reich* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

³⁵ Gramit, 164. See also Sanna Pederson, "On the Task of the Music Historian: The Myth of the Symphony after Beethoven," *Repercussions* 2, no. 2 (Fall 1993): 29. Pederson notes that Carl Dahlhaus is an example of such practice in relatively recent times, and she categorizes his book *Nineteenth-Century Music* as "part of an effort to return to a history with which Germany could unequivocally identify."

³⁶ Celia Applegate, "'How German Is It?' Nationalism and the Idea of Serious Music in the Early Nineteenth Century," *Nineteenth-Century Music* 21 (Spring 1998): 287.

³⁷ Ibid., 278. Applegate names Sanna Pederson's "A. B. Marx, Berlin Concert Life, and German National Identity" *19th-Century Music* 18, no. 2 (Autumn 1994): 87-107, and Stephen Rumph's "A Kingdom Not of This World: The Political Context of E. T. A. Hoffmann's Beethoven Criticism," *19th-Century Music* 19, no. 1 (Summer 1995): 50-67. Her protest is based more on the two scholars' identification of German bias in Carl Dahlhaus's work than in a significant ideological contention. Pederson and Rumph specifically take on Dahlhaus's, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989). Her more recent work is in a rather similar vein to theirs.

states that rather than trying to build an ideological German nation and culture, writers were only trying to take music away from “the decoration of a moribund court culture or the accompaniment of equally moribund liturgical and provincial ceremonials” and win the respect of “educated elites.”³⁸ While Applegate’s caution is perhaps prudent, lack of intentionality on the part of the writers does not remove them from playing a part in nationalistic discourse, a discourse that did help to shape the self-consciousness of the German middle class as “German.” Furthermore, “moribund court culture” refers to the cosmopolitan aristocracy (which was international by nature), and a class of “educated elites” refers specifically to the German bourgeoisie. Many writers were themselves educational reformers and associated with universities, and they widely influenced German cultural thought.³⁹ They were, as she states, trying to distinguish themselves from lower classes and from cosmopolitanism, but such an aim was not nation-neutral; a desire to be separate from the (often nation-neutral) cosmopolitan aristocracy was what distinguished them *as* nationalists.⁴⁰ In criticizing Pederson and Rumph for (literally) reading too much into writers’ intentions, Applegate fails to acknowledge that writers’ drawing of cultural lines between themselves (middle-class literate Germans) and non-national cosmopolitan aristocrats contributed to the German nationalizing project. Intentionally or not (and much was intentional), German writers played important roles in centralizing musical discussion within German consciousness, even connecting certain kinds of music to German-ness itself. Applegate herself allows that for more than two hundred years, “preoccupation with music’s connection to German identity or character” has been practiced by individuals from

³⁸ Ibid., 286.

³⁹ Gramit, 9.

⁴⁰ See Elias, 17. Norbert Elias points out that even with writers as early as Kant “one finds the development of general basic principles which were, in part, in direct opposition to the prevailing conditions” (divided duchies ruled by cosmopolitan aristocrats) and represented an educated middle-class desire for “a new united Germany.”

virtually every walk of life, a distinction of a literary public influenced by generations of writers who were persistently preoccupied with musical discussion.⁴¹

Counterpoint: Ideal Music for an Ideal Nation

As mentioned, musical discussion by middle-class Germans took on particular significance during times of cultural and political insecurity. Albrecht Riethmüller observes that in Germany, music repeatedly has surfaced as an affirmation of cultural superiority in times of national-political weakness or defeat. He states that despite external vulnerability, “notions of dominance with respect to music, the art form of feeling, was able to be preserved internally.”⁴² That is not to say, however, that such feelings emerged uniformly among all Germans. Such “notions of dominance” began to take form in the middle-class intelligentsia of the early eighteenth century, including some the writers discussed above, but the cosmopolitan, French-speaking aristocracy and the illiterate lower classes did not necessarily share such feelings of national and cultural possessiveness.⁴³

Real foreign military occupation overlapped with cultural and artistic occupation by the nobility. German courts were populated with cosmopolitan aristocrats who spoke French, borrowed French manners, were interconnected with European courts modeled on Versailles,

⁴¹ Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter, “Germans as the ‘People of Music’: Genealogy of an Identity, in *Music and German National Identity* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 2, 13. The quotation above is from p. 2, and the connection of this preoccupation to literary public is mine.

⁴² Riethmüller, 296.

⁴³ Elias, 11-15.

and consumed Italian opera in the manner of the French upper classes.⁴⁴ Unlike the French upper bourgeoisie, who were intimately involved in the workings of the courts, the German middle classes had little interaction with this part of society. By the end of the eighteenth century, when the middle class rose to prominence in Europe, these differences in class interaction between France and Germany resulted in some stark differences in their respective national characters. French society in general absorbed the traits of the aristocracy (conversation, delicacy of taste, which German intellectuals generally viewed as frills), but German society absorbed the values of their literate middle class (“seriousness,” university training, *Bildung*, etc.—basically the backbone ideologies of meritocracy).⁴⁵

Just as, and likely because, Italian opera was so popular in Paris, it, as well as French opera, was also popular at the French-speaking German aristocratic courts. According to nation-minded German writers, opera did not merit consumption by true Germans, or, more directly, the German spirit had no use for the cosmopolitanism found in opera and spread by virtuosos. They emphasized music outside (or, rather, in opposition to) the Italian paradigm of operatic vocal music and vocally inflected instrumental music, which they associated with the court, noble (or French) taste, and the “melodic-sensual,” as Bernd Sponheuer calls it.⁴⁶ They called instead for German language opera and more emphasis on German music in general. That German writers

⁴⁴ For a more detailed account of German middle class views of their own aristocracy, see James Allen Vann, *The Making of a State: Württemberg 1593-1793* (London: Cornell University Press, 1984). Vann traces growth of German national identity in the middle classes. He notes that the German middle class, during the late 1700s, developed a distaste for aristocratic behavior, manners, and taste. They correlated such frills with not only cosmopolitan aristocracy as such, but specifically with “Frenchified court mores,” sentiments that lasted well into the nineteenth century (p. 178).

⁴⁵ Elias, 31-35.

⁴⁶ Bernd Sponheuer, “Reconstructing Ideal Types of the ‘German’ in Music,” in *Music and German National Identity*, Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter eds. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 48.

took aim at aristocratic opera meant that they drew conscious distinctions between themselves and their own culture and what they saw as foreign cultural occupation. Dichotomized views of German music emerged: German writers began to portray German music either as better versions of French or Italian music (as better at encompassing universal musical ideals) or as deep, thoughtful, and thorough as opposed to shallow, cheap, or virtuosic.⁴⁷

Extending from such dichotomies, by the late 1700s German musical writers generally supported what they saw as the musical opposite of cosmopolitanism: the paradigm of German instrumental music, or “pure” music, which they saw as a product of the bourgeoisie and of intellectualism, as “challenging and profound, and as properly German.”⁴⁸ Applegate describes it thus: “a reinterpretation of musical meaning brought the riches of instrumental music to the fore, gave music more than enough ideal content to satisfy the serious-minded connoisseur, and tethered its newly perceived artistic powers to the national project itself.”⁴⁹ The situation betrays a lovely yet powerful irony: by means of many words, literary culture ascribed to instrumental music, music without words, cultural meaning and the power to cultivate humans.⁵⁰

Some of the rhetorical choices encountered in German musical dichotomies resemble Kant’s in his 1764 book, *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime*. For Kant, sensual, frivolous art is dangerous. He warns that “as charming as the impressions of the delicate feeling may be, one still might have cause to be on guard in its refinement, lest by excessive

⁴⁷ Ibid., 44.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 48.

⁴⁹ Applegate, *Bach in Berlin*, 57.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 59-60.

sensibility we subtly fabricate only much discontent and a source of evil.”⁵¹ In Kant’s world, charm, sensuality, and frivolity are shallow, childish, feminine, and characteristic of all things low on the scale of human development, whether personal or cultural. Kant was not describing (at least ideal and “proper”) German culture in these terms, but rather the cosmopolitan aristocracy and its products. Furthermore, Kant assigned these categorical values not only to art products but to nations as well. He stated (or “observed,” if we trust his title) that, of European nations, Germans were ideal, for they embodied the proper combination of masculine strength and nobility (in a general, not aristocratic, sense) with an appreciation of beauty. The French were too feminine and entranced by frivolity, and the English too rigid to properly appreciate beauty.

The German has a feeling mixed from that of an Englishman and that of a Frenchman, but appears to come nearer to the first, and any greater similarity to the latter is only affected and imitated. He has a fortunate combination of feeling, both in that of the sublime and in that of the beautiful; and if in the first he does not equal an Englishman, nor in the second a Frenchman, he yet surpasses both so far as he unites them ... [for] he expresses moderation and understanding.⁵²

In this “observation,” Kant, then, basically claims that the virtue of Germans was that they were properly eclectic. Unlike French *Éclectisme*, which was discussed in Chapter Three, the German eclecticism noted by Kant is one more closely tied to national distinction. French *Éclectisme* was cosmopolitan in nature. It involved, ideally at least, synthesis of various international and inter-epoch truths and traits. In the nineteenth century, as a philosophy, it entailed part of an attempt to return France to moral correctness, to regain cultural uprightness lost in the Terror. French *Éclectisme* was nationalistic in some sense, then, but not as distinctly as Kant’s German

⁵¹ Immanuel Kant, *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime*, trans. John T. Goldthwait (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1960), 91. Originally published as *Beobachtungen über das Gefühl des Schönen und Erhabenen* (Königsberg, 1764).

⁵² Ibid, 104.

eclecticism. The French version formed part of an attempt to regain French decency by investigating and adhering to supposed “universal” standards of uprightness, but Kant’s marked a Germany that was distinct from the rest of the universe. French *Éclectisme* was open, inclusive, and international, but Kant’s eclecticism was closed, demarcated, and distinctly German. The former was not an attempt to define what is French, but was instead an attempt to make what is French decent. The latter is precisely an attempt to define what is German.

Perhaps counterintuitively, Kant played a role in shifting German attention to instrumental music. Kant, famously, associated music in general with entertainment and basic enjoyment. Unlike other high art forms like literature and painting, he did not see it as a factor in human cultivation.⁵³ In light of his views on sensuality, it is easy to see why Kant would be suspicious of music, for his world was (literally) ruled by aristocratic structures and was musically governed by Italian and French opera. Applegate notes, however, that, despite the fact that he did not rank it highly among the arts, the simple fact that Kant discussed music, and focused on instrumental music, ironically raised its status among middle-class Germans.⁵⁴ While his rather dim views of music might appear to have been an obstacle to the cultural-intellectual status of instrumental music, the next generation, led by the *AMZ* contributors, may have seen his views as a challenge, for they pushed it to the forefront of German intellectual discourse. Furthermore, they connected certain kinds of instrumental music with the national traits that Kant “observed.” That is, the writers began to ascribe to instrumental music traits that reflected typical tropes of middle class values. They began to differentiate German music from cosmopolitan (i.e. aristocratic, French), and their terminological choices are significant. The

⁵³ Applegate, *Bach in Berlin*, 56.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 56-8.

writers described “true” German music as thorough, deep, profound, effortful, difficult, and based in harmony. They juxtaposed these terms against opposites such as thoughtless, shallow, superficial, easy, melodic, and showy, the typical traits, in their view, of aristocratic music.⁵⁵

Each of these opposites juxtaposes necessary human cultivation against entertainments that are potentially dangerous to personal and cultural development, essentially juxtaposing what is German against what is cosmopolitan or French. Among the effects of this relatively new claim that middle-class artistic values are superior to aristocratic tastes was that, by the early nineteenth century, public instrumental concerts and choral societies had begun to displace aristocratic patronage in German-speaking Europe, both as cultural focus and as sources of employment for musicians.⁵⁶ Such institutions featured music that did not cater to “fashion or empty virtuosity” and promoted their concerts as an antidote to aristocratic operas.⁵⁷ That they would promote certain kinds of music in this way, meant that instrumental and choral societies were invested in and committed to an aesthetic of depth and seriousness, marks of high standing among the German middle classes.⁵⁸ Germans, literally did invest in it, participating heavily in attending and supporting concerts of idealized “serious” instrumental music, an arena of art “free of outside interests and influences.”⁵⁹

Idealized “German” traits did not only operate in the realm of rhetoric. They encompassed actual musical features. German “thoroughness” translated to harmonically

⁵⁵ Ibid., 76.

⁵⁶ Gramit, 8.

⁵⁷ Gramit, 6, 8.

⁵⁸ Gramit, 18. Gramit cites Pierre Bourdieu’s, *The Logic of Practice*, transl. Richard Nice (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 67.

⁵⁹ Gramit, 26.

oriented instrumental music, “learned” music (as opposed to *galant*), and so forth.⁶⁰ Gramit notes that German writers such as Rochlitz, who were pushing art music’s to the forefront of German culture, insisted “that music contributed crucially and uniquely to the cultivation that was essential to the development of humanity, and that the music that could do so was ... sophisticated, harmonically-based art.”⁶¹ German writers’ choice of harmonically based instrumental music was not random. One way they validated their stance was to connect harmony with (supposed) Classical, especially Greek, musical models.⁶² Most importantly, though, they connected harmony with what they saw as the essence of German character, opposed it to cosmopolitanism, and held it as evidence of a valid German cultural history.

Goethe contributed to a German turn towards using historical music to serve cultivating purposes. In 1797, he wrote that music was most suitable among the arts for public (dilettante) cultivation, but he warned that amateur taste and expression needed to be properly constrained. Thus, he recommended Bach’s *Art of the Fugue* as exemplary music that offered the proper structure for cultivating dilettantes.⁶³ That does not mean that Goethe, or the many others who contributed to the revival of Bach’s music throughout the nineteenth century in Germany, saw Bach’s music merely as cultivating, for certainly the Bach revival was the work of people who truly loved his wonderful music. More importantly for my purposes, supporters of the Bach revival were literate Germans who “translate[d] their consciousness of the past into progress in the present,” as Applegate puts it.⁶⁴ As noted above, Beethoven and Bach’s music, later in the

⁶⁰ Sponheuer, 40.

⁶¹ Gramit, 41.

⁶² Ibid., 49.

⁶³ Applegate, *Bach in Berlin*, 127.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 240-1.

nineteenth century, were considered not only as evidence of German national and cultural progress but as causal factors in it.⁶⁵

Eduard Hanslick's promotion of Brahms in his criticism fits into this movement as well. Much of Hanslick's reasoning centers on the idea that a German musical past contained the proper examples to guide current composition. Brahms's preference for harmonically challenging music and his habit of basing significant portions of his compositional output on past models, especially Bach and Beethoven, made him an exemplary composer in Hanslick's view.⁶⁶ Of course not all of Brahms's music is contrapuntal (although it is prevalent); nevertheless, Hanslick's musical ideology was part of a system that held counterpoint in high regard as a musical embodiment of German musical superiority and essence.

Nineteenth-century German views on national musical essences resemble Kant's "observations" on national character. Gramit summarizes the prevailing opinion, stating that according to nineteenth-century German writers, "German music is powerful, serious, and inwardly directed; French music is imposing and polished, but it never achieves more than elegance. Italy's music ... is lively and passionate [at least prior to Rossini's appearance]."⁶⁷ The inward aspect valorized by German intellectuals summed up in the concept of *Sein* (being, actuality, or existence), frequently opposed in Hegelian dialectics to *Schein* (appearing to be,

⁶⁵ Ibid., 244.

⁶⁶ See the many entries on Brahms in *Hanslick's Music Criticisms*, Henry Pleasants ed. and transl. (New York: Dover Publications, 1988). A famous example of Brahms's historical mindedness is his *Variations for Orchestra on a Theme by Joseph Haydn* (based on Haydn's "Chorale St. Antoni"). Richard Taruskin observes that this work makes "Haydn shake hands with Bach, by treating Haydn's theme in a manner no longer practiced in Haydn's time but of even more ancient and honorable pedigree ... [and] connected the German present to a generalized German past, a synthesis that identified him in the eyes of many as the preeminent German master of the present." See Richard Taruskin, *Oxford History of Western Music*, vol. 3, *Music in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 716-17.

⁶⁷ Gramit, 54.

ornamental, illusory, or non-existential).⁶⁸ In the context of German musical thought, this dialectic appears as a dichotomy between harmonically based music and melodic music: counterpoint, or harmonically based music, is an appeal to and an expression of innerness, truth, and actuality; it is *Sein*. Melodic music is surface, decorative, based in feeling or sensual, but it is not substance, truth, or reality; it is *Schein*. Counterpoint is something truly German; it is serious, substantial, and deep. Melody-driven, *galant* style, and virtuosic music has no true substance. It is mere ornamentation; like the romance of youth it is pleasant and sometimes necessary, but it is not real. It is a façade without a building, frosting without cake; it is Italian cuisine, the diet of spoiled cosmopolitan Frenchmen.

In this model, contrapuntal music contains the essence of German-ness. It is the late instrumental music of Beethoven and the music of Brahms, inwardly reflective, absorbing and exhibiting J. S. Bach's influence. German idealizing of counterpoint represented a shift from the fashionable aesthetics of the aristocratic Enlightenment towards a "bourgeois re-appropriation" of the arts of the past.⁶⁹ Such re-appropriation involved the description of some music as "Gothic." "Gothic," a pejorative implying archaism (polyphony) through much of the eighteenth century, became a romanticized "quality of wonder" (as Berndt Sponheuer puts it) by the nineteenth.⁷⁰ Sponheuer observes that German Romantics, looking to legitimize German culture in the early nineteenth century, "were ... [especially] interested in the instrumental composer

⁶⁸ For a recent discussion of the history of this dialectic, see Eero Tarasti, *Sein und Schein: Explorations in Existential Semiotics* (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 2015).

⁶⁹ Sponheuer, 50

⁷⁰ Sponheuer, 48. Sponheuer notes that a move toward historicism as ideality might seem "counterintuitive," but "the same characteristics that helped German music achieve its hegemony simultaneously threw it back into the 'Gothic age of dark contrapuntal music'" (Sponheuer's source is E. L. Gerber, a major contributor to the *AMZ*).

Bach. The ‘mysterious shudder’ and ‘inner horror’ evoked by the ‘mystical rules of counterpoint’ in Bach’s music belong to the same ‘inner spiritual realm’ ... [as] Beethoven’s symphonies.”⁷¹ To intellectuals, such as A. B. Marx, Bach embodied the synthesis of all aspects of the complex, inward, intellectual German character thanks to the “learned” nature of his music, heralding “musical complexity ... as much a part of being German as was the German language itself.”⁷² Thus, Bach embodied the wonder of a (by that time) distant Gothic past, one distant and hazy enough for Germans to appropriate for the present.

Perhaps evidently, all of this musical prescription is ironic. The idealism of writers does not reflect much of the actual musical situation in Germany. That they called for public consumption of particular kinds of music meant that they looked to solve what they saw as current German musical problems. They, in fact, feared populism. They promoted music that was not necessarily reflective of popular consumption, and they did not hide their fear. In 1820, for example, Friedrich Kanne wrote in the *AMZ* that “current taste in music” should be feared. He offered a solution, however: “what is the greatest bulwark against the ruin of music? Counterpoint!”⁷³ Counterpoint was aligned with appropriate formal and generic vehicles. Advocates, such as Gustav Keferstein in the 1840s, saw sonata form, with its developmental properties, as ideal for serious instrumental genres. Genres included the symphony, overtures, trios, quartets, and similar instrumental idioms, and all were presided over by Beethoven, at this point a great historical German.⁷⁴ Unlike frivolous popular music, such genres offered

⁷¹ Sponheuer, 50. Sponheuer’s quotations come from *E. T. A. Hoffmann’s Musical Writings: “Kreisleriana,” The Poet and the Composer,” Music Criticism*, ed. David Carlton, transl. Martyn Clarke (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 104.

⁷² Applegate, 119.

⁷³ Gramit, 137.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 135.

opportunities for human cultivation. Intellectually challenging music, music worthy of careful score study, was offered as the antidote to cheap musical taste, as when A. B. Marx pointed to music theory as the metaphorical salve offered to treat the wounds inflicted by current taste for dance music, French and Italian opera, and especially the travelling virtuosos.⁷⁵ Virtuosos, particularly, presented an immediate threat to public cultivation because they invaded the (bourgeois) sacred space of the instrumental concert hall, instead of staying within the (aristocratic) confines of the salon and opera house. By the 1840s, writers had “firmly established” that virtuosos were a “corrupting force.”⁷⁶

Virtuosity: Music of the Non-Nation

[F]or the sake of...serious things one may well be angry when the impure defile them. Nothing but seriousness is conducive to the true propagation of art, nothing but frivolity pernicious to it.

—Eduard Krüger, 1847⁷⁷

Certainly the dichotomies between instrumental concert and opera house (an extension of which was the salon), between “learned” contrapuntal instrumental music and operatic-virtuosic instrumental genres, between intellectualism and frivolity, between depth and surface, and between *Sein* and *Schein* were more than musical. These oppositions reflect general dichotomies

⁷⁵ Ibid., 137-9.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 139. For further study of pan-European reception of virtuosos and virtuosity, see Žarko Cvejić, *The Virtuoso as Subject: The Reception of Instrumental Virtuosity, c. 1815-1850* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016). Had it been released earlier, Cvejić’s book likely would have influenced this chapter; however, I finished writing the chapter before I was able to obtain a copy of the book. Nevertheless, Cvejić’s book only strengthens Gramit’s considerable work on the subject.

⁷⁷ Eduard Krüger, *Beiträge für Leben und Wissenschaft in der Tonkunst* (Leipzig: Breikopf & Härtel, 1847), 57. “Und um so ernster Dinge willen darf man wohl zürnen, wo Unreine sie besudeln. Der wahren Verbreitung der Kunst ist nichts förderlich als Ernst, nichts verderblich als Leichtsinn” (translation David Gramit, see p. 125).

between bourgeoisie and aristocracy, between national and cosmopolitan, and between German and French. Especially before 1800, but also afterwards, aristocratic music functioned differently than the modern concept of “classical” music, often serving as entertainment and as occasional music. Gramit notes that, from the perspective of aristocrats, “to claim for [music] a serious role in human development seemed at best eccentric, at worst misguided.”⁷⁸ The aristocratic system long governed taste through patronage and employment of musicians, but when aristocratic social control waned in the nineteenth century, and earlier and more quickly and thoroughly in German lands than in France, music’s traditional role as mere entertainment was slowly overshadowed by bourgeois emphasis on music’s responsibility to play a role in human cultivation.⁷⁹

As stated above, memory of recent French invasion and occupation, as well as disgruntlement with local aristocrats, exacerbated German derision of the “French” parts of the supposed musical dichotomy. If the German bourgeoisie needed rescuing from French and aristocratic occupation in very real ways, the bourgeois (or “true”) representatives of German music also needed to be “rescued” from the corrupted (and corrupting) music of occupiers, opera and showy virtuosity.⁸⁰ This situation is perhaps the main reason virtuoso concerts took on negative connotations for German intellectuals. Not only were these musical “invasions” associated with cosmopolitanism, but virtuosos’ “personal charisma and reliance on their own compositions” represented a failure to meet music’s responsibility to cultivate, instead

⁷⁸ Gramit, 2.

⁷⁹ See William Weber, “The Contemporaneity of Eighteenth-Century Musical Taste,” *Musical Quarterly* 68 (Autumn 1984): 175-94.

⁸⁰ Applegate, 110.

conforming to the whims of fashion and contemporaneity.⁸¹ Virtuosity emphasizes the performer, not the composer and the performance, not the art. It was seen as too subjective and too immediate to be trustworthy.

Thus, middle-class German writers saw virtuosity, with its supposed instability and whimsical nature, as dangerous to public taste and, by extension, societal cultivation. A better choice for the task of cultivation, they believed, is an established work played by those not seeking applause. Only then is a work and a player able to communicate truth and contribute to cultural solidarity. The proper scenario presents the work, the score, as the product as well as the instrument of true culture. Writers held the sober performance of established works as a “fundamentally compositional basis of serious musical life.”⁸² Thus, because virtuosity relies on notions of individualism without contributing to human wholeness, it amounts to artistic prostitution.

In short, musical performances came to “represent idealized social relationships.”⁸³ Supposedly ideal genres, specifically the symphony, trio, and string quartet, could embody these relationships because they require real human interaction, a community of musicians, an ensemble. An ensemble’s duty, in this German model, is to exude unity: individuals fade into the background; the work, the (preferably dead) composer must be the focus. If the ensemble’s duty is fulfilled, the performance will unite the musicians in brotherhood, and social differences—whether between musicians, between musicians and the audience, or between audience

⁸¹ Gramit, 26.

⁸² Ibid., 142.

⁸³ Ibid., 143.

members—fade.⁸⁴ Beethoven was heralded as the exemplary creator of “serious” music, for he employed his musical forces in ways that not only resemble but require proper human relational interaction. Writers specifically identified such proper interaction within the distribution of orchestral parts in Beethoven’s symphonies, which they believed emphasized (and required) individual artistry and relative equality of parts.⁸⁵ Such valorizing of the symphony as a “model of interaction,” Gramit notes, was also applicable to “any competent musical ensemble.”⁸⁶ Writers, in some instances, held the string quartet as an even better model than the symphony as the genre most exemplary of democratic interaction between musicians. They saw it as an interaction that “makes a work’s final authority explicit” in part because it does not require a leader, for a leader exercises (and represents) absolute authority; his personality is a determining factor in the presentation of a work, and depending on the purity of his motives, is capable of undermining it.⁸⁷ Certainly, reliance upon an authority figure (the composer) underpins such an idea, but it does not necessarily undermine a democratic ensemble; rather, it is a way to lend historical authority to it. Furthermore, the string quartet was a genre that did not lend to the populism of (or at least large attendance needed for) concert genres.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 159-60.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 152. The German practice of holding the symphony as an ideal musical model of interaction has affected recent musicology as well. Sanna Pederson notes that musicologists including Paul H. Lang, Alfred Einstein, Arnold Whittall, and Nicholas Temperley have described the Romantic generation after Beethoven as too “neurotic, weak, immature, cowardly, and feminine” to produce “successful symphonies” (here referring mostly to Germans including Mendelssohn and Schumann). Their central complaint about these composers’ symphonies is that they “relied to a great degree on the attractiveness of the tunes themselves, and on their decoration and elongation”; the quotation is from Temperley’s article “Symphony,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 18, Stanley Sadie ed. (New York and London: Macmillan Publishers, 1980, 454). To these musicologists, melodic centrality and reliance on tunefulness compromises an ideal (and difficult) symphonic model that emphasizes democracy of parts, which, along with development, is a part of what Temperley identifies as the “intense and intellectual effort” required for a symphony. See Pederson, “On the Task of the Music Historian,” 8-9.

⁸⁶ Gramit, 156.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 157.

The instrumental concert, and the musical genres/ensembles writers held as best able to accomplish its mission, presented a musical model of cooperative interaction between humans, but it was a distinctly middle-class model. It excluded the lower-classes as well as aristocrats because it held no room for dilettantism. For concerts to fulfil the task of cultivation, they required truly excellent performers, players of a merit worthy of the works and composers represented.⁸⁸ By mid-century, critics openly diagnosed a “cancer of dilettantes” from the lower classes.⁸⁹ Gramit notes that this particular connection of dilettantism with the lower classes offers an important insight into the mindset of the middle-class writers, for it “reveals the extent of the devaluation of the noble dilettantism of earlier decades” by tacitly associating them with the rabble.⁹⁰ Writers did not limit the dangers of dilettantism to players only. They extended responsibility to consumers as well as participants, warning against dilettante audiences, weak-minded people who were susceptible to corrupted, emasculated music such as variations, *concertant* pieces, and works generally intended for entertainment (all of these were the fare of virtuosos).⁹¹

Eduard Hanslick’s writing contains such dismissive treatment of virtuosos. Most famously, Hanslick criticized Franz Liszt’s piano works and pianism, reasonable targets from his perspective, considering the ideal music of the democratic ensemble stood in direct opposition to the virtuoso tradition. Allowing that the composer’s piano works were at least better than those of his contemporaries, Hanslick observed in 1857 that Liszt’s pianism and piano works were

⁸⁸ Ibid., 149-50.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 151.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid., 158.

indeed technically brilliant, but their appeal was limited to showiness.⁹² In his criticizing Liszt, Hanslick offers a telling, if humorous, comparison: “If a whim should prompt [Liszt] to write tragedies he would probably do it intelligently, but nobody would think of comparing him with Shakespeare, save possibly one of those literary lackeys whom Macaulay calls ‘an intermediate phase between man and baboon.’”⁹³ It is significant that Hanslick’s statement disassociates Liszt from literary significance. It hints that his body of work, while impressive on the surface, will fail under the rigor of closer (score) study. It is not properly German. Hanslick used similar language to criticize a concert Henri Vieuxtemps gave in Vienna in 1854. He praised the facility of the Belgian violinist, but noted that Vieuxtemps was too reliant on technical execution and that although his compositions were charming, they were uninventive and contrived.⁹⁴ According to Hanslick, Vieuxtemps was “too deeply rooted in French Romanticism[’s] ... dubious charms” to achieve anything close to serious “German solidarity.”⁹⁵

As we have seen, German musical writers frequently discussed music in distinctly binary terms. Counterpoint, as we have also seen, took on serious meanings associated with German depth and cultural-national validation. In Hegelian fashion, the opposite was true for virtuosic music. It took on meanings of shallowness, cosmopolitanism or non-nationalism, frivolity, and so forth. Like the “serious” genres of symphony, trio, and the string quartet, virtuosic music also was distillable as (non-ideal) musical texture; it was melody-driven, out-of-fashion *galant*

⁹² Hanslick, *Music Criticisms*, 56.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 46-7

⁹⁵ Ibid.

style.⁹⁶ Such binaries, as Bernd Sponheuer states, “all revolving around sensuality (*Sinnlichkeit*) versus intellect (*Geist*) ... include melody versus harmony, *galant* versus learned ... beauty versus character ... and entertainment versus ideas.”⁹⁷ Furthermore, each of these boil down to a distinct nationalistic binary: French *civilisation* versus German *Kultur*.⁹⁸

The social historian Norbert Elias observes that, to the German middle classes, *Zivilisation* “means something which is indeed useful, but nevertheless only a value of the second rank, comprising only the outer appearance of human beings, the surface of human existence.”⁹⁹ It can comprise Western cultural, and sometimes personal, achievement, but it is a term that “refers equally to the attitudes or ‘behaviour’ of people, irrespective of whether or not they have accomplished anything.”¹⁰⁰ In this sense, then, *Zivilisation*, is less a matter of what is intended than what is assumed by a culture. It is the assumption of human commonalities and is “the self-assurance of peoples whose national boundaries and national identity have for centuries been so fully established that they have ceased to be the subject of any particular discussion, peoples which have long expanded outside their borders and colonized beyond them.”¹⁰¹

In German terms, *Zivilisation*, or *civilisation*, is the essence of French-ness. *Kultur*, on the other hand, is much less self-assured. Rather than involving an assumption of universality, *Kultur* is demarcated self-validation; for Germans, it “expresses pride in their own achievements

⁹⁶ Certainly, “fashion” in this perspective holds a different emphasis than that of the “contemporaneity” discussed by William Weber. Here it refers to the values of the German middle class while the latter term refers to the immediacy of aristocratic musical entertainment.

⁹⁷ Sponheuer, 40.

⁹⁸ Ibid. For further study of the *civilisation-Kultur* binary and context for its development see Elias, 5-35.

⁹⁹ Elias, 6.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 7.

and their own being.”¹⁰² Its adjective form, *kulturell*, Elias notes, most clearly communicates its essence: it “describes the value and character of particular human products rather than the intrinsic value of a person.”¹⁰³ Unlike *Zivilisation*, the concept of *Kultur* is exclusive; it delimits; it “places special stress on national differences” and expresses the cultural insecurity of “a people which, by Western standards, arrived at political unification and consolidation only very late, and from whose boundaries, for centuries and even down to the present, territories have again and again crumbled away or threatened to crumble away.”¹⁰⁴ It belies a fear that German cultural self-definition is not yet settled. Such fear is what Nietzsche observed when he stated, “It is characteristic of the Germans that the question ‘What is German?’ never dies out among them.”¹⁰⁵

String Quartets as Culture and Non-Culture: *Kultur* and *Bildung* versus Cosmopolitanism

As stated, modern musicology has its roots in this German tradition of music criticism and music’s cultural responsibility. This fact does not need further explanation here, but an observation by Richard Taruskin on Hanslick is pointed enough to warrant mention. Taruskin states:

more than any other nineteenth-century academic, Hanslick was a forerunner of today’s musicology. His side, in other words, was the one that got to tell the story of nineteenth-century music in the twentieth

¹⁰² Ibid., 6.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 7.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. See Friedrich Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil: Prelude to a Philosophy of the Future*, trans. Helen Zimmern (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1907), 197. I encountered Nietzsche’s statement in Sponheuer, 36.

century.... His neo-Kantian ‘art for art’s sake’ views have been the (sometimes tacit) mainstay ... of practically all university music study until at least the middle of the twentieth century.¹⁰⁶

Though he is speaking only of Hanslick, Taruskin’s statement also applies to the wider tradition of writers who contributed to pan-German musical thought. While Hanslick’s views represent only a part (albeit, a very influential part) of the larger German tradition, he was a major reason why German musical thought transferred from the public sphere of the writers to international university musicology by the twentieth century.¹⁰⁷ His thought, to a great extent, also influenced the German musical emphases of historical musicology. Intentionally or not, musicologists continued to search for what in music could contain cultivating value. That is, whether or not they realized it, they continued to ask “What is German in music?”¹⁰⁸

Insistence by German writers that counterpoint is a musical embodiment of, and a contributor to, human cultivation forms part an attempt to answer this question. As a contributor to the process of human development, counterpoint is *Bildung*; and as a particular human product, contrapuntal music is *Kultur*. Conversely, virtuosity and opera-inflected (or infected) instrumental music bear the stigma of German definitions of *civilisation*. To German middle-class intelligentsia, virtuosic music was marked by the worthless self-assurance of people “whose national boundaries and national identity have for centuries been so fully established that they have ceased to be the subject of any particular discussion.” That is not to say that such music can bear no national markers, or that counterpoint is actually a mark of German-ness. It is rather to say that it is German to insist upon national markers (to ask “What is German?”) and

¹⁰⁶ Taruskin, 441-2.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 442.

¹⁰⁸ Gramit, 161-5.

that it is French to assume that there is no need to do so.¹⁰⁹ I submit that these correlations are why musicologists—harbingers of “serious” music, scholars like Robin Stowell—have been reluctant to admit the existence of a “distinctively French string quartet tradition” prior to the Franco-Prussian War, the moment when some French composers began to intentionally follow German musical ideology.¹¹⁰ The civilized (*civilisé*) nature of French quartets, their conversational and melody-driven qualities, makes them either invisible or worthless to those entrained to look for musical *Kultur*. They are frequently operatic in conception and virtuosic. They are cosmopolitan, composed without any fearful need of cultural validation or cultivating responsibilities and are composed with the assumption of universal auspiciousness. That assumption, more than any concrete musical trait, is what, in the early nineteenth century, made such music French.

French string quartets’ instrumentation as quartets may also have contributed to their historical demise. As observed, string quartets were held by some German writers as one of the ideal generic ensembles, a musical form highly capable of cultivation and the genre most exemplary of democratic interaction between musicians. Such capabilities carried responsibility. If a quartet fails to live up to such lofty potential, in this perspective, it warrants discarding. It is useless to “serious” society, and it should be stricken from history books and concert programs. I submit that French string quartets’ transgression is that it has failed to fulfill German-defined

¹⁰⁹ This situation comments on the practice of ascribing national traits to composed music. It would appear that in order to be accepted as representative, musical nationalism has required intentionality; that is, either it is composed self-consciously within an accepted national tradition (such as Chopin’s Mazurkas and Polonaises), or it is consciously given the ascription of national-cultural validation in retrospect (as in the German aesthetics of the string quartet).

¹¹⁰ See Robin Stowell, “Traditional and Progressive Nineteenth-Century Trends: France, Italy, Great Britain and America,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the String Quartet*, ed. Robin Stowell (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 250.

generic responsibilities; thus, France has not been granted a string quartet tradition prior to 1870. Their transgression is particularly egregious because of the string quartet's status in Germany as an ideal genre. As aristocratically oriented instrumental music, the French quartets do not represent ideal human interaction; they do not contribute to *Bildung*; they are not *Kultur*; therefore, they are not acceptable as string quartets. The German conception of the string quartet, as much a social expectation as a musical construction, has excluded French examples of the early nineteenth century from generic participation.

As we have seen, the string quartet, as a “serious” genre, was frequently upheld as an ideal vehicle for human cultivation, but the connection between German concepts of the string quartet and *Bildung* goes further than its use as such a vehicle. Quartets that have survived the gauntlet of history also structurally resemble the tenets of the middle-class German ideology of *Bildung* (perhaps unsurprisingly so, considering the Germanic bent of historical musicology). The resemblance may not be causative in the sense that principles of *Bildung* determined composers' choices of musical elements, but the principles of *Bildung* share similarities with those of proper, “learned” counterpoint, an ideal musical construction, whether for the string quartet or for the other ideal genres.

The term *Bildung*, as implied in Frederik Pio's definition of it as “the totality of education and human formation,”¹¹¹ refers to a combinatorial process that synthesizes formal humanistic education with personal experience and socialization. Its goal is the formation of a complete, fully functional individual. But *Bildung* involves more than personal formation; it also refers to socio-cultural formation and the individual's role in society. *Bildung*, then, contributes to the

¹¹¹ Frederik Pio, “Nielsen's ‘Befindlichkeit’ Between (the Hermeneutics of) ‘Bildung’ and (the Phenomenology of) Music,” *Philosophy of Music Education Review* 22, no. 2 (Fall 2014): 157.

maturation of society because it forms mature people. Or, a truly functional society is necessarily populated with mature, complete individuals.¹¹² *Bildung* results in *Kultur*. For a society or culture to be complete, to properly function, its inhabitants must be individually viable in order to harmoniously contribute to the greater good. In order for a society's structural integrity to be maintained, the individuals that comprise it must be sound. *Bildung* actualizes *Kultur* by developing individuals of merit who collectively constitute a self-sustaining society of merit, what Applegate calls a "nonservile collective identity."¹¹³ Significantly, in the nineteenth-century German use of the term, *Bildung* was supposed to be specifically for the formation of males, unachievable for females and, from a national standpoint, effeminate societies.¹¹⁴ As Marcia Citron puts it, *Bildung* achieves "specifically a Germanic masculinity closely tied to cultural and political German-ness."¹¹⁵ In Kantian terms, France, as an effeminate and sensual society, was incapable of participating in *Bildung*, of achieving *Kultur*, while Germany's (supposed) cultural-national masculinity was the embodiment of it.

Counterpoint, similarly, emphasizes contribution to the musical integrity of the whole through individual merit of parts. Tonal counterpoint, as Thomas Benjamin describes it, is "the means by which a composer keeps one voice distinct from the others around it."¹¹⁶ It is the

¹¹² For further general study of *Bildung*, see Walter Horace Bruford, *The German Tradition of Self-Cultivation: Bildung from Humboldt to Thomas Mann* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1975).

¹¹³ Applegate, *Bach in Berlin*, 62. Applegate specifically refers here to the newly university-trained early nineteenth-century German middle class. She describes actual circumstances rather than ideal culture, but the principles are applicable nonetheless.

¹¹⁴ Marcia Citron, "Gendered Reception of Brahms," in *Masculinity and Western Musical Practice*, eds. Ian Biddle and Kirsten Gibson (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2009), 147. See also Sanna Pederson, "Beethoven and Masculinity," in *Beethoven and His World*, Scott Burnham and Michael P. Steinberg eds. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 313-31.

¹¹⁵ Citron, 147.

¹¹⁶ Thomas Benjamin, *The Craft of Tonal Counterpoint*, second edition (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), xvii.

formulation of a complete, fully functional individual musical part, or voice. An individual voice, or melody, must convey balance (“*contour*”) and self-sustained wholeness. It must remain within its own specified bounds (typically within a range of a twelfth and tessitura of an octave).¹¹⁷ It must not be “aimless,” intellectually uninteresting (“flat,” involving “overemphasis on one pitch”), or sporadic (containing “jagged outlines”).¹¹⁸ Instead, like an individual who has undergone the process of *Bildung*, this “individual” has a greater purpose: it must contribute to the intricate harmony of the musical whole, be viable but not overpowering, and how well it relates to other voices is a marker of its success.

In relation to other voices, it must contain a proportionate mix of similar and contrary motion. Too much parallel motion diminishes the individuality of each voice, and too much contrary motion compromises the cohesion of the musical whole.¹¹⁹ Rhythmically, the voices must complement each other and involve a good mix of shared and complementarily contrasting rhythmic values.¹²⁰ The voices should not overlap (intrude upon one another), except in rare instances.¹²¹ As frustrates so many undergraduate music students, the voices must avoid moving in certain kinds of intervallic relationships and properly resolve any dissonances into consonance.¹²² Harmony between voices, then, is as important as individual melodic integrity; indeed it is the goal of the formation of each voice. Each voice must be shaped in such a way that the harmony produced is functional (tonic directed); that is, the voices work together to arrive at

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 5-6

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 6.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 43-4.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 47.

¹²¹ Ibid., 48.

¹²² Ibid., 49.

a common goal.¹²³ In short, tonal counterpoint should conform to “Bach’s writing in the *Well-Tempered Clavier*.”¹²⁴

Certainly, a nuanced description of tonal counterpoint is not offered here, but even in this short summary its ideological (and rhetorical) similarity to *Bildung* becomes evident. If we describe individual musical voices in metaphorically human terms, contrapuntal music involves fully functional individuals working together to achieve a functional “society,” as it were. Like humans, whose personal merits contribute to greater societal ends, properly composed individual voices must contribute to harmony, an end that is the point of individual integrity. Collectively, voices properly combined in tonal counterpoint form a viable musical work. A goal of *Bildung* is a society that is learned, a meritocracy, comprising learned individuals. “Learned” music comprises properly functioning individual parts. *Bildung*, from a musical perspective, results in proper human counterpoint, *Kultur*. Counterpoint, or musical *Kultur* by analogy, is a model of musical *Bildung*. Musically speaking, it is a functional, mature, masculine, and viable cultural entity. Contrastingly, as we have seen, musical femininity was frequently presented by German writers as the opposite of counterpoint in musical-cultural dichotomies. Effeminate instrumental music is frequently operatic, *galant* style, and virtuosic. It is undeveloped, incomplete, and immature, and never “learned.” Whether actually or not, it is in spirit French. It is *civilisée*.¹²⁵

Much as counterpoint audibly and, on score, visually resembles German social ideology, virtuosic, *galant* style, and operatic instrumental music resemble aristocratic, and French, social

¹²³ Ibid., 154, 249-50.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 6.

¹²⁵ The term *civilisation*, along with its adjective form *civilisée* (masc., *civilisé*), is discussed at greater length in Chapter One, pp. 13-19.

structures. As discussed in Chapter One, French *civilisation* depended on maintaining “unity of traditional manners.”¹²⁶ Traditional French manners commanded that *hommes civilisés* knew and remained true to their proper social rank.¹²⁷ Those at the top of *société*, whether king, monarch, or emperor (depending on the span of years in consideration), are most visible. Those in lower positions played varying degrees of supporting roles and were expected to uphold the order. As in the German case, it is not difficult to translate French social terms, such as “order,” “top,” “supporting role,” etc., into musical ones. It does not involve democracy of parts. All parts are necessary to uphold the order, but not all parts are equally visible (or audible). For German writers, an ideal symphony or string quartet meant, as Gramit notes, a democratic interaction of musical parts—and, by extension, players—which contributes to brotherhood between all involved, whether musicians or audience. It was a “model of interaction” based on ideal human relational order.¹²⁸

A French musical “model of interaction” would look different. In terms of instrumental music, French aristocratic society (as a top-heavy model) resembles homophony. One part dominates; the other parts play a necessary role, but their roles are clearly supportive. Equality between parts is not needed. Harmony in this context has less to do with movement and interaction between all parts than with the supporting parts providing tonal context, textural filler, and sometimes opulence. As with the relationship between German *Kultur* and music, I do not argue that French social structure caused particular structures in instrumental music. But, in the case of many French string quartets as well as most other kinds of French instrumental music

¹²⁶ See Elias, 42.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 35.

¹²⁸ Gramit, 156.

from the early nineteenth century, a correlation is present, and the resemblance is remarkable. Inasmuch as the string quartet has been idealized as quintessentially German and contrapuntal, French chamber music has been un-idealized as essentially homophonic, top-heavy, melody-driven, and quintessentially French. Its characterization as melody-driven, operatic, and as mere entertainment also characterizes it as cosmopolitan (like France itself, supposedly lacking masculinity), frivolous, and empty.

That the French string quartets might have been associated with noble taste is not hard to see. Much early nineteenth-century French chamber music is not only operatic in its melodic style, but is actually based on opera melodies and songs that were popular among aristocrats.¹²⁹ Fauquet notes that the quartets might have been constructed to feature melody because several composers were violinists who held positions in the orchestras of the various Parisian opera houses.¹³⁰ But it does not contradict Fauquet's observation also to note that the quartets' unabashed connection with opera hints that the targeted consumers, whether concertgoers or amateur players, were people familiar with operas. They are either aristocrats or a public informed in aristocratic taste, as was the French upper bourgeoisie. As we have seen, such pieces are often titled *Air varié*, *Thème varié*, *Quatuor concertant*, or *Quatuor brillant* (or some combination of these titles), as discussed in Chapters One and Four.

A typical example of such aristocratically informed instrumental music is Pierre Rode's *Thème varié*, no 6, "Thème varié, Air Allemand" (Theme and variations on a German air), Op.

¹²⁹ I include chamber music in general here, for a great deal of chamber music, whether trios, quartets, quintets, some with obbligato solo instruments added, or pieces for violin with accompaniment of various instruments frequently bear the same titles, such as *Air varié* or *Thème varié* (sometimes the modern spelling *Thème varié* also appears).

¹³⁰ Fauquet, 291.

25 (Figure 5.1). The melody-dominated texture of this piece is implicit even without seeing the score itself, for the title page indicates “*Pour Violon Principal avec Accompagnement d’un second Violon, Alto et Violoncelle, ou de Forte-Piano seul*” (“for solo violin with the accompaniment of a second violin, viola and cello, or piano only”).¹³¹ Indication that all parts other than the principal one can be acceptably realized by a pianist also testifies to the subservient nature of their roles.

Pierre Baillot’s *air varié* on the romance “Charmante Gabrielle,” Op. 25, which he frequently performed in his chamber music series,¹³² also offers an example of the typical texture found in this kind of piece. The title page of Baillot’s piece also indicates that the second violin, viola, and cello are relegated to accompaniment. It bears the instructive designation “*Air Varié pour le Violon avec Accompagnement de Second Violon, Alto et Basse*” (Figure 5.2). In addition to its melody-accompaniment construction, a further aristocratic connection is implied in this piece. The Romance “Charmante Gabrielle” was a popular song among nostalgic (and often politically motivated) aristocratic royalists during the Revolution and through the early nineteenth century, and it was nominated for consideration as a *hymne national* during the Restoration.¹³³ Baillot’s choice of the song as the basis of an instrumental work, and the fact that he played it frequently in his chamber music series, implies that his intended consumers were

¹³¹ Rode’s Fifth *Thème Varié* also offers the piano as an accompaniment option.

¹³² See the list of programs for Baillot’s series in Jöel-Marie Fauquet’s *Les Sociétés de musique de chambre à Paris de la Restauration à 1870* (Paris: aux Amateurs de livres, 1986), 293-331.

¹³³ Annette Keilhauer, “Une vogue de collection: Les chansonniers historiques de la première moitié du XVIIIe siècle et la Charmante Gabrielle de Henri IV,” in *Timbre und Vaudeville: zur Geschichte und Problematik einer populären Gattung im 17. um 18. Jahrhundert: Bericht über den Kongress in Bad Homburg* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1999), 88-96. “Charmante Gabrielle” dates to the year 1600 and is attributed to Henri IV, who supposedly composed it for his mistress, Gabrielle d’Estrées. It was also arranged in 1816 by George Onslow as a *thème varié* (*Variations sur Charmante Gabrielle*, Op. 12). Onslow’s setting is for piano, but in a texture that could easily be realized by string quartet.

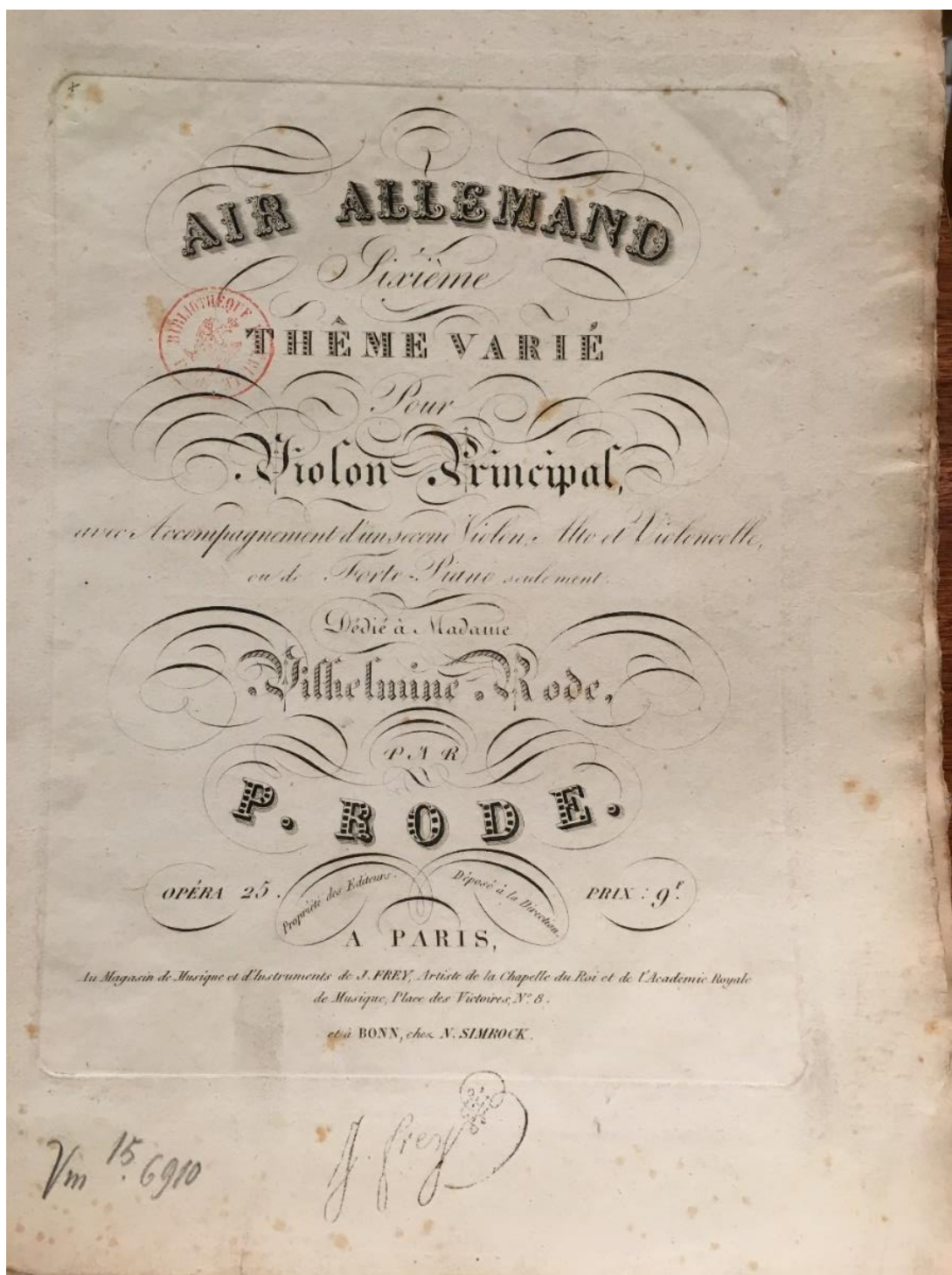


Figure 5.1. Title page of Pierre Rode's sixth *Thème varié*, Op. 25. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), Vm¹⁵-6910. Photographed by the author.

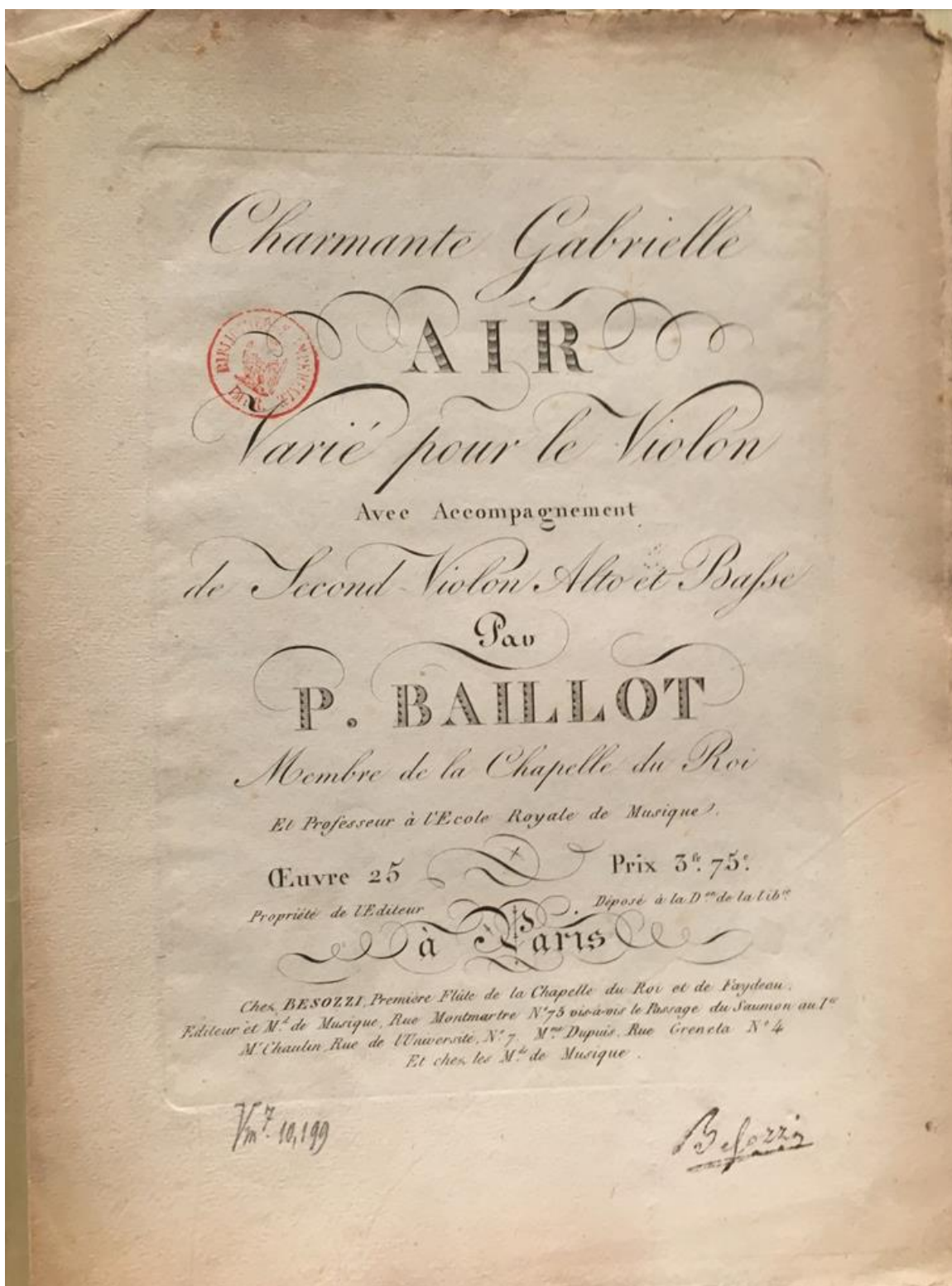


Figure 5.2. Title page of Pierre Baillot's *Charmante Gabrielle, Air varié*, Op. 25. Paris, BnF, Vm⁷-10,199. Photographed by the author.

aristocratic royalists or at least royal sympathizers from the bourgeoisie.

Another typical example of French quartet construction is Rodolphe Kreutzer's *Six Quatuors concertans*, Op. 1 (Figure 5.3), and it likewise bears the mark of aristocratic taste. As noted above, *concertant* pieces, along with variations, were on the German shortlist of weak, emasculated musical genres favored by virtuosos.¹³⁴ As discussed in Chapter One, this kind of quartet involved some democracy between the parts, but the basic texture remains consistent: only one part at a time predominates, and the first violin acts as a moderator of sorts in a musical discussion. In terms of a comparison to social structure, this kind of piece remains quite French. But rather than resembling a monarch and subjects, it resembles French polite conversation, conversation between people of high standing.¹³⁵ As *concertant* works were more popular in the eighteenth century (Viotti, for example, composed several), Kreutzer's set is a vestige of Enlightenment-era salon entertainments.

Although it is not scored for string quartet (it is a sextet of sorts), another work by Baillot is worth including here, his 1815 *Air varié*, Op. 28 (Figure 5.4). Its full title is *Air de la Famille Suisse (Opera de Weigel), Varié pour le Violon avec accompagnement de Premier et Second Violons, Alto, Basse, et Contrabasse (Variations on a Theme from Famille Suisse [Weigel's opera] for Violin accompanied by First and Second Violins, Viola, Bass, and Double Bass)*. I include this work here for two reasons: first, like the previous examples, its soloistic construction betrays aristocratic association, and is in this case based on a number from an opera; but,

¹³⁴ Gramit, 158.

¹³⁵ For further discussion of this genre and style, see Barbara Hanning, "Conversation and Musical Style in the Late Eighteenth-Century Parisian Salon," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 22, no. 4 (Summer 1989), 512-28.

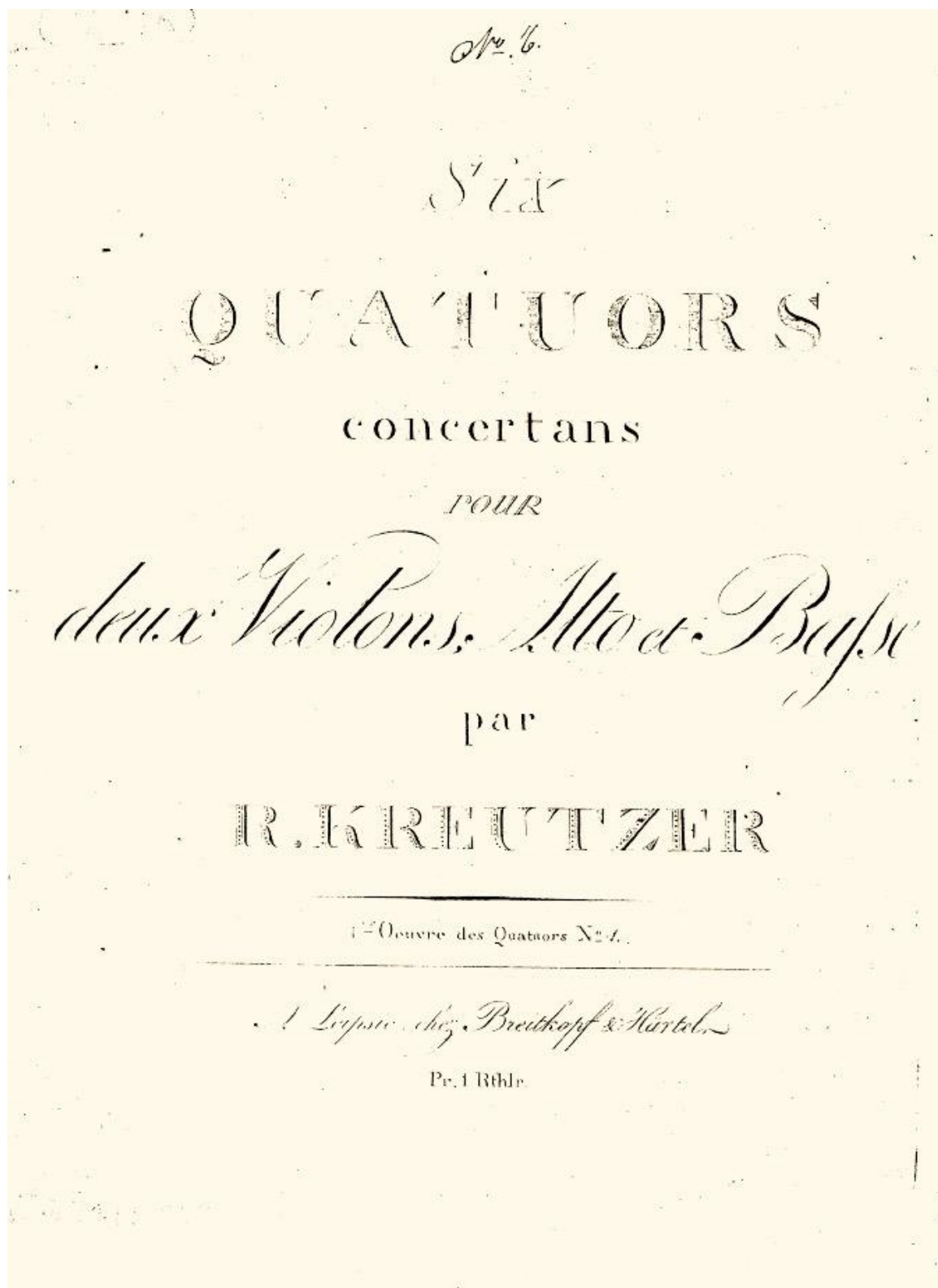


Figure 5.3. Title page of Rodolphe Kreutzer's *Six Quatuors concertans*, Op. 1. Accessed February 27, 2017.
http://ks.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/f/f3/IMSLP94752-PMLP42135-r_kreutzer-quatuor_op1.1.pdf.

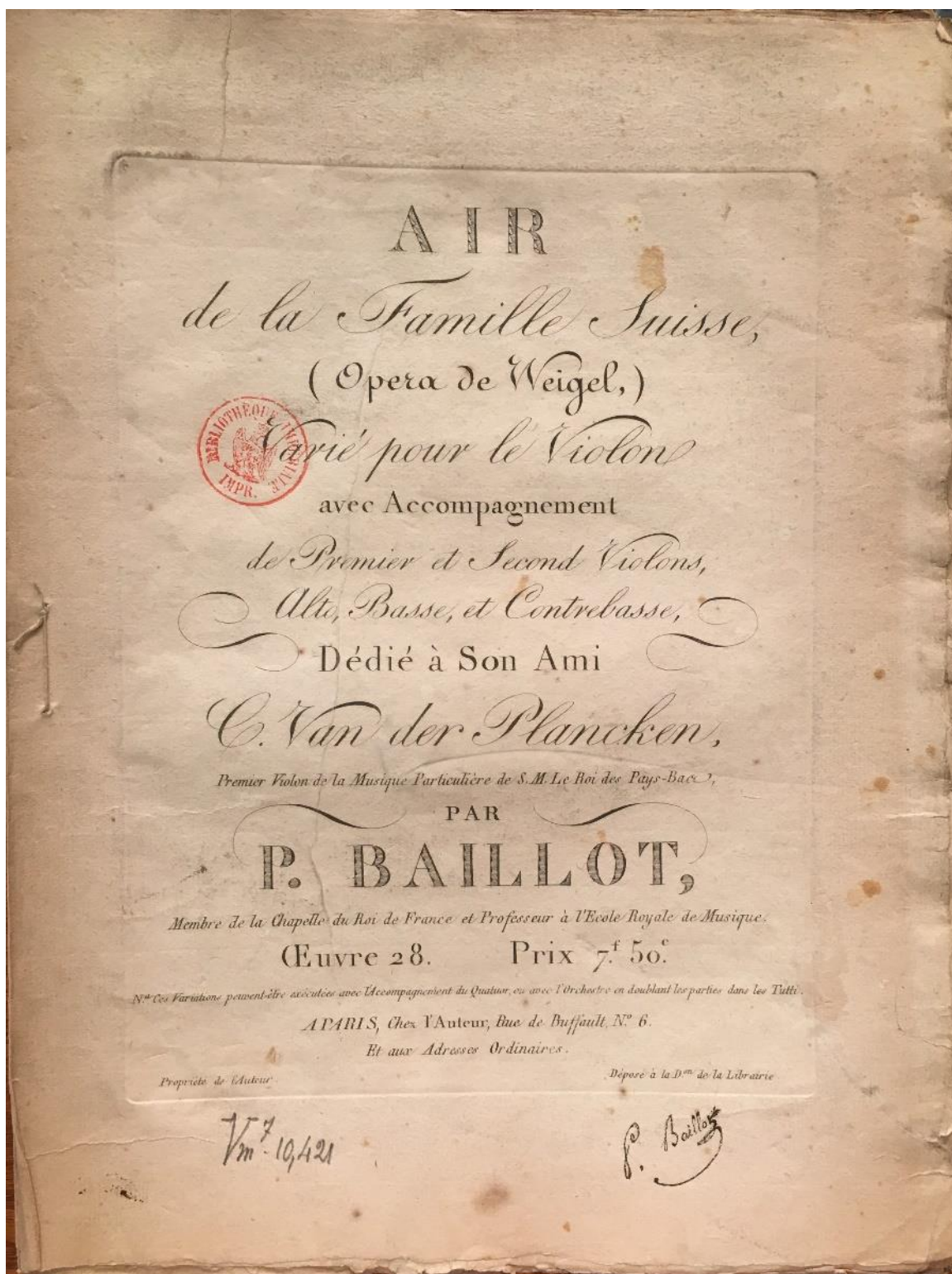


Figure 5.4. Title page of Pierre Baillot's *Air de la Famille Suisse* (Opera de Weigel), *Varié pour le Violon avec accompagnement de Premier et Second Violons, Alto, Basse, et Contrabasse* (1815). Paris, BnF, Vm⁷-10,421. Photographed by the author.

secondly and more importantly, it shows that *airs variés* were not exclusively scored for quartet; that is, the title *air varié*, rather than exact instrumentation, indicates its genre (I include *thème varié* within this genre). Baillot, for example, composed many *airs variés* for string trio as well, and many other composers offered several varieties of instrumentation under this generic title.

It is possible that this and similar titling practices have contributed to the impression that France did not have a distinct chamber music tradition in the early nineteenth century, for the genre *air varié* applied to a variety of instrumentations. In addition to French instrumental music's connection with vocal music, inconsistent adherence to what are now seen as typical or perhaps "patented," as it were, instrumental combinations in chamber music seem to have made it difficult to categorize them. Additionally, as may be deduced from the titles (and as discussed in Chapter Four), much of the French repertoire also does not involve the traditional three- or four-movement sonata cycle or (often) any movement in sonata form for that matter. Songlike qualities and the opportunity to vary a melody in a virtuosic setting, not thematic development, is the point of this music. It truly is a repertoire built on different aesthetic grounding than the German chamber music that has received more favorable treatment by history; it does not adhere to what has in retrospect become the "generic contract" of chamber music.¹³⁶

Conclusion

Sanna Pederson has pointed out that the concept of "absolute" music is implicitly laden

¹³⁶ Jeffrey Kallberg's term "generic contract" was discussed in Chapter One, pp. 26-7. See Kallberg's *Chopin at the Boundaries: Sex, History, and Musical Genre* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1996).

with the ideologies of German nationalism, a freight that has retained connection with the term even until the present (she was writing in 1994).¹³⁷ She observes that “at the same time that autonomous music was being defined as distinctly and qualitatively different and better than entertainment music, German music was being proclaimed as high art by designating foreign music as frivolous, unsubstantial, and unworthy. Aesthetic and national categories of distinction coincided, overlapped, and blurred.”¹³⁸ She also notes that “the absence of non-Germanic music in the realm of ‘absolute’ music is hardly an accident; rather, this very concept was shaped by a new, exclusionary ideology directed at other nations.”¹³⁹ While Pederson, in this instance, is addressing the concert history of the symphony in Berlin, her observation applies as well to the history of the string quartet. It is a genre that has perhaps as consistently as any provided examples that meet the criteria of recent notions of absolute music and the aesthetic environment from which it emerged, the idealistic nineteenth-century German aesthetic of instrumental music.

The historical treatment of the early nineteenth-century French string quartet is a prime example of the effects of such “exclusionary ideology.” Although it meets some of the criteria of an idealized “absolute” genre, especially that of instrumentation, it ultimately fails to meet the German prescription for a music that can (and must) contribute to human cultivation, such as counterpoint, motivic development, “seriousness,” the (supposedly) intellectual qualities that merit score study as an end unto itself, and separation from populist or aristocratically informed vocal music. These French string quartets, thus, have failed to meet idealistic bourgeois musical expectations. This fact is not surprising because the repertoire was composed within aristocratic

¹³⁷ Sanna Pederson, “A.B. Marx, Berlin Concert Life, and German National Identity,” 89.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

assurances and aimed at consumers with aristocratic taste, whether actual aristocrats or the upper French bourgeoisie who assimilated aristocratic behaviors and aspired to aristocratic lifestyles. Regardless, the early nineteenth-century French string quartet has been left out of the concert hall and history books, which is why even defense of its existence, such as Joël-Marie Fauquet's, has been warranted.

Afterword

It seems that France, offering a mixed temperature between Italy and Germany, must one day produce the best musicians.... They will have, it is true, entirely borrowed from their neighbors: they will not be able to claim the title of creators; but, the country to which nature accords the right to perfect everything can be proud of its share.

—André-Ernest-Modest Grétry, 1773¹

In Chapter Four, I observed that the six string quartets from Beethoven's Op. 18 bear a certain textural similarity with those of Baillot, Rode, and Kreutzer. The similarity is that several opening passages from the fast movements involve either unison at the octave or strict homophony. When the repeats and recapitulations are considered, these passages resemble the *tutti* sections of concerto movements in ritornello form. Beethoven's string quartets, however, differ, from those of the French composers in that the material between the *tutti*-like sections tends to involve less solo treatment of the first violin in Beethoven's, a difference that might be practical considering that the French composers were violinists, and Beethoven was a pianist. Beethoven's early string quartets, thus, might be more comparable to the *concerto grosso* than the solo concerto or *sinfonia concertante*. Relatedly, several of Haydn's early string quartets share this feature (for example Haydn's String Quartet no. 1 in B-flat Major, Hob. III, no. 1, *La Chasse*). Similarly to Beethoven's, Haydn's tend to treat the instruments more equally between the *tutti*-like sections than do those of the French composers. Thus, while similarities between some of Beethoven and Haydn's string quartets and those of the French composers exist, Viennese influence is not the foundation of the French quartets.

¹ André-Ernest-Modest Grétry, *Voyages, études et travaux de A. E. M. Grétry racontés par lui-même* (Paris: Delgrave, 1899), 142. "La France, offrant une température mixte entre l'Italie et l'Allemagne, semble devoir un jour produire les meilleurs musiciens.... Ils auront, il est vrai, tout emprunté de leurs voisins: ils ne pourront prétendre au titre de créateurs; mais le pays auquel la nature accorde le droit de tout perfectionner peut être fier de son partage" (translation mine).

Joël-Marie Fauquet observes that around the time the Parisian public encountered Viennese string quartets, French composers began composing fewer quartets.² Fauquet believes that these events correlated because the dilettante public, becoming aware of the artistic potential of the genre, began to attend concerts like Baillot's series instead of playing quartets themselves; therefore, the public demand for published quartet scores waned.³ But the French violinist-composers do not seem to have shared any such insecurity. While they, especially Baillot, supported the chamber music of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven by performing it often, familiarity with Viennese chamber music did not deter them from following vocally inflected and virtuosic models for their own quartets.⁴ This fact perhaps seems odd from a modern viewpoint because we have so long emphasized the influence of Viennese Classicism, but it was not at all odd to French composers. It demonstrates that while early nineteenth-century Parisian composers admired Viennese composers, they did not necessarily see them as superiors. They appear to have viewed the Viennese composers as similar to themselves, as working musicians, not gods of musical art.

It is worth re-visiting Beethoven's relationship with Rode and Kreutzer in this context. Beethoven, as discussed in Chapter Two, composed works for both of these violinists. The dedication of Beethoven's most famous work for violin and piano, the "Kreutzer" Sonata, Op. 47, certainly indicates that he held the violinist in high regard. Beethoven also composed his Violin Sonata, Op. 96, for Rode, who premiered it in 1812 in Vienna (and played it rather poorly by all accounts). These two instances suggest that Beethoven had more of an affinity for these

² Joël-Marie Fauquet, "Chamber Music in France from Luigi Cherubini to Claude Debussy," in *Nineteenth-Century Chamber Music*, ed. Stephen E. Hefling (New York: Routledge, 2004), 291-2.

³ Ibid., and Joël-Marie Fauquet, "La Musique de chambre à Paris dans les années 1830," in *Music in Paris in the Eighteen-Thirties*, ed. Peter Anthony Bloom (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1987), 310.

⁴ Fauquet, "Chamber Music in France," 291-2.

two violinists than the violinists had for Beethoven. Famously, Kreutzer never performed the dedicated work, and, despite Berlioz's ardent requests, he reportedly refused to perform Beethoven's symphonies in the instrumental concerts he held while director of the Opéra. Rode, while he did premiere the sonata Beethoven composed for him, apparently insisted that the composer change the last movement to suit his own preferences (and perhaps abilities at that point). Considering the French violinist-composers' relationship with Beethoven, one might even expect to find evidence that they influenced him. However, with retrospective knowledge of Beethoven's immense legacy, scholars have instead tended to assumptively search for his influence, a tendency that perhaps has misconstrued the context of his relationship with contemporaries. I do not mean to suggest that Beethoven's music was influenced by the French violinists (other than perhaps the *finale* of the sonata premiered by Rode); however, it is notable that the chamber music of these violinists has been dismissed as feeble emulation when they evidently trusted their own musical judgment as much Beethoven's.

Again, there is no doubt that the French composers discussed in this dissertation were aware of the Viennese composers' chamber music. Baillot performed the trios and quartets of Haydn, Beethoven, and Mozart on more than a hundred occasions, and possibly hundreds of occasions (most often Beethoven's). But are musical similarities and documented familiarity evidence of compositional influence? That is, do the string quartets of nineteenth-century French composers "result from the will to assimilate Classical models," as Joël-Marie Fauquet states?⁵ I submit that perhaps the influence of "Classical models" is more nuanced than the brief historical accounts of the French composers have allowed. Upon close inspection, the French composers'

⁵ Joël-Marie Fauquet, "Chamber Music in France," 291. In fairness, Fauquet is not specifically addressing the works of Baillot, Rode, and Kreuter but is instead generalizing all French string quartets and quintets between 1800 and 1870.

works for string quartet (and their chamber music in general) do not offer much evidence of Viennese influence. While similarities, such as the frequent use of opening unisons, exist, the French quartets, with significant *ritornello*-like features, borrow more from the model of the late eighteenth-century instrumental concerto, a genre that relates to opera, than from Viennese chamber music. As the French composers were violin virtuosos who composed many violin concertos, this fact should be unsurprising.

The history of the early nineteenth-century French string quartet offers perspective on the tendency of music historians to describe certain composers and their works as “Classical.” Such ascription of classicism bears considerable irony: the two composers who, along with Haydn, are now most representative of the “classical style,” as it were, are Mozart and Beethoven. To label these two composers as “classic” or “classical” is curious, for, perhaps as much as any composers in history, these two figures represent a break from trends.⁶ They were, as Norbert Elias notes of Mozart, geniuses: that is, they represent anomaly not conformity (though not without exceptions). Oddly, it is precisely the individual genius of these composers that has, in retrospect, earned them the label “classical.”⁷ But their originality and their sometimes anomalous music defy the usual definition of the term “classical” as conforming to long-standing tradition. The “classicism” that they represent, then, is one with motives, usually the German

⁶ For more on the problematic history of retroactively determining musical “classicism” and examples of the negative results of the practice, see James Webster, *Haydn’s “Farewell” Symphony and the Idea of Classical Style: Through-Composition and Cyclic Integration in His Instrumental Music* (Cambridge, New York, Port Chester, Melbourne, and Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 1991). Especially relevant is the historiographical conclusion entitled “Haydn’s Maturity and ‘Classic Style’” (pp. 335-73).

⁷ See John Irving, “The Invention of Tradition,” in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 178-212. Irving’s title is appropriate. Irving notes ways that the works of past composers, especially in German lands as in the case of the “Viennese Classics,” began to be construed as “traditions” in the nineteenth century. See also Scott Messing, *Neoclassicism in Music: From the Genesis of the Concept through the Schoenberg/Stravinsky Polemic* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988).

national-cultural aims discussed in Chapter Five. Retroactive “classical” ascription to Viennese works has perhaps overemphasized their contemporary influence, at least on the French chamber music tradition. Perhaps such emphasis is justifiable to some extent, for Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven truly were remarkable people who composed remarkable music. But, in the case of the French string quartets covered in this dissertation, Viennese influence is thin. That is not to say that none is present, but if the historian is predisposed to look for Viennese elements as a formative influence, these French composers can appear to feebly copy Viennese models. Such preconception has been powerful in music history, but the French repertoire should be considered on its own terms as vocally inflected chamber music that is closer in nature to the concerto than to Viennese chamber music. If it is, the music has a chance to be objectively evaluated as Parisian music rather than on whether it successfully emulates Viennese music, which was not its aim.

Appendix

Year	Opus	Title
1810	Op. 11	<i>Air russe [varié]</i> ¹
ca. 1810	Op. 15	<i>3 Airs français variés</i>
1810	Op. 37	<i>Air russe varié</i>
1813	Op. 23	<i>Romance variée et air russe</i>
1814	Op. 20	<i>3 Airs russes [variés]</i>
1814	Op. 25	<i>Air “Charmante Gabrielle” varié</i>
1818	Op. 31	<i>Air d’Handel varié</i>
1821	Op. 34	<i>3 Quatuors</i>
ca. 1836	unpubl.	<i>Romance (Andante con moto)</i>

Table 1. Pierre Baillot’s Works for String Quartet.

¹ A recording of this work by the Ensemble baroque russe is available online: https://www.musicologie.org/Biographies/b/baillot_pierre.html.

Year	Opus	Title
1807	Op. 24	<i>Air russe</i>
1815	Op. 28	<i>Air varié, La Famille Suisse</i>
1818	Op. 31	<i>3 Airs variés</i>

Table 2. Pierre Baillot's String Quintets.

Year	Opus	Title
1800	Op. 1	<i>6 Trios</i>
1803	Op. 4	<i>3 Trios</i>
1803	Op. 5	<i>2 Airs variés en trio</i>
1805	Op. 9	<i>3 Trios</i>
1810	Op. 19	<i>Air varié en trio de Paisiello</i>
1815	Op. 33	<i>Air de Grétry varié en trio</i>
1831	Op. 39	<i>3 Trios ou sonates</i>
No date	unpubl.	<i>2 Trios</i>

Table 3. Pierre Baillot's String Trios.

Year	Opus	Title
n.d.	Op. 10	<i>Air varié</i>
1798	Op. 11	<i>3 Quatuors</i>
1804	Op. 15	<i>3 Quatuors</i>
1805	Op. 14	<i>3 Quatuors</i>
1811	Op. 18, no. 1	<i>Quatuor</i>
n.d.	Op. 24	<i>2 Quatuors ou sonates</i> (ded. F. Mendelssohn)
n.d.	Op. 25	<i>Air allemand</i> [Thème varié no. 6]
n.d.	Op. 26	<i>2 Quatuors ou sonates brillantes</i>
n.d.	Op. 28	<i>2 Quatuors ou sonates brillantes</i>
n.d.	posthum.	<i>Quatuor brillant, no. 1</i>
n.d.	posthum.	<i>Quatuor brillant, no. 2</i>

Table 4. Pierre Rode's Works for String Quartet.

Year	Opus	Title
ca. 1801	Op. 7	Violin Concerto No. 5
ca. 1802	Op. 9	Violin Concerto No. 7
ca. 1805	Op. 12	Violin Concerto No. 8
ca. 1806	Op. 17	Violin Concerto No. 9
ca. 1812	Op. 19	Violin Concerto No. 10
ca. 1823	Op. 23	Violin Concerto No. 11
ca. 1829	Op. 27	Violin Concerto No. 12

Table 5. Pierre Rode's Violin Concertos Arranged for String Quartet.

Year	Opus	Title
ca. 1806	Op. 16	<i>Andante varié</i>
ca. 1825	Op. 26	<i>Thème varié</i>
ca. 1830	Op. 28	<i>2 Quintuors ou sonates brillantes</i>

Table 6. Pierre Rode's Works for String Quintet.

Year	Opus	Title
n.d.	n/a	<i>6 quatuors</i> , book 1
1786 (publ. 1809)	Op. 1	<i>6 quatuors concertans</i>
n.d.	n/a	<i>1^{re} œuvre des quatuors</i> , no. 1
n.d.	n/a	<i>1^{re} œuvre des quatuors</i> , no. 2
n.d.	n/a	<i>1^{re} œuvre des quatuors manuscrits</i>
1799-1800	Op. 2	<i>6 nouveaux quatuors</i> (book 1, nos. 1-3)
n.d.	n/a	<i>3 quatuors</i> , 2 ^e œuvre
n.d.	Op. 2	<i>6 quatuors</i> , book 1
n.d.	Op. 2	<i>3 quatuors</i> , book 2
1801	Op. 2	<i>6 nouveaux quatuors</i> (book 2, nos. 4-6)
n.d.	Op. 2	<i>6 quatuors</i>
ca. 1804-1805	n/a	<i>3 quatuors</i> dedicated to A. Radeziwill [sic]
n.d.	n/a	<i>3^e œuvre de quatuors</i>
n.d.	Op. 3	<i>3 quatuors</i>
ca. 1801	n/a	<i>Thema composé et varié (air varié)</i>
ca. 1801	n/a	<i>Romance</i> [varié]
Prior to 1827	n/a	<i>Air des Pyrennées</i> , varié

Table 7. Rodolphe Kreutzer's Works for String Quartet.

Year	Opus	Title
1839	Op. 5	String Quartet no. 1
1840	Op. 7	String Quartet no. 2
n.d.	Op. 18	String Quartet no. 3
n.d.	Op. 41	String Quartet no. 4
1855	Op. 48	String Quartet no. 5
1855	Op. 56	String Quartet no. 6
n.d.	Op. 80	String Quartet no. 7
1878	Op. 87	String Quartet no. 8
1862	Op. 101	String Quartet no. 9
1862	Op. 113	String Quartet no. 10
n.d.	Op. 125	String Quartet no. 11
1883	Op. 142	String Quartet no. 12
1883	Op. 160	String Quartet no. 13
1890	Op. 178	<i>3 Pieces for 4 Violins</i>
1900	Op. 195	String Quartet no. 14
n.d.	Op. 188	3 Quartets (for 4 violins)

Table 8. Charles Dancla's String Quartets.

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