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Musical Style and Political Symbolism in France: The Impact of the Dreyfus Affair

It has not been typical practice among historians of later nineteenth-century music in France to consider 1895 as a point of stylistic rupture; the rubric of 'Renouveau,' traditionally used for French music to describe the stylistic renewal between the Franco-Prussian and the First World War, has tended to obscure such internal demarcations. More common in the literature is to differentiate the first thirty years, said to be gradually dominated by Wagnerian influence, from the subsequent reaction against Wagner, around the turn of the century.¹

For all these reasons, it is startling to encounter an article by Louis Laloy, one of the major writers in music of the period, in which he cites 1895 as a year of 'crisis'. Indeed, Laloy's article of 1905, appearing in the *Mercur musical* (of which he was an editor), presents a picture of operatic development that confounds our common assumptions; and it does so, in part, because it makes explicit something we have largely overlooked — the political meaning that adhered, in these years, to different operatic styles in France.²

My goal in this paper is first, to demonstrate how we can see this functioning here within the context of French critical explanation and evaluation of opera. But also, from this point of departure, I wish to raise the larger question of the nature, context, and sources of the politicization of musical values in the wake of the Dreyfus Affair, and its broader impact. Specifically, why and how did the musical world become so engaged in a particular set of tensions to which the Affair had given rise, and, conversely, what role did it play in the political stakes? These questions form the basis of the current study on which I am engaged, and so my observations here serve as both a statement of its premises and an explanation of its scope.

The Laloy article, I propose, takes us to the center of the 'symbolic battle', and provides us with valuable clues as to how these two realms of symbolic value became so closely intertwined: it alerts us to the fact that here, as in several previous periods in France, musical institutions served a politically legitimizing function for the state³. But beyond this it de-

monstrates the concomitant symbolic role that music played for the 'loosing side' in the Affair, specifically the 'extreme' Nationalist Right. As I shall go on to suggest, this also was to have strong and lasting implications for the development of musical institutions as well as French aesthetic and critical thought.

But finally, as I shall argue, these tensions and this interaction of symbolic meaning was to effect not only musical institutions and political consciousness, but musical creativity itself. And it is precisely this dimension that I shall contend we must attempt to return to an analysis of several major composers and works of this seminal period.

In his series of articles, entitled collectively, "Le Drame musical moderne," Laloy surveys the most recent French opera, focusing on the dominant trends. But he begins by distinguishing a new generation of operatic composers in France, which include, among others, Gustave Charpentier, Alfred Bruneau, Vincent d'Indy, and Claude Debussy. As opposed to the generation of composers who reached maturity in the 1880s, this group, he claims, is distinguished by a far more complex, critical appropriation of Wagner; for unlike their immediate predecessors, they are concerned with the 'social essence' of Wagner's reform, however, adjusting his ideals and techniques to their more immediate political concerns. To use a current term, these composers are, for Laloy, like Wagner, "musical idealists", believing that art must "return to a high set of principles and thereby regenerate society".⁴

Yet, more specifically, according to Laloy, for the generation that matured around 1895, it is a question of how such a goal is expressed simultaneously in text and musical style: for given the premises of Wagnerian reform, the ideological stance expressed in both the content and language of the text determines the quality of the musical style. Wagnerian influence now requires that music must mirror the words of the text—to use Laloy's own striking metaphor, like a "faithful photograph". Hence, clearly, the source of ideological expression in opera, in the wake of Wagner, is both the nature, premises, and ideas of the text and the character of the musical style that translates it.

As a result, what Laloy sees now, as a by-product of the Wagnerian reform, is a conflict between competing literary-musical styles and their concomitant ideological associations. He then proceeds to examine the antagonists, making no pretense of being objective, but rather, characteristically for the period, serving alternately as advocate and censor. Certain trends he sees as noxious in both their political and aesthetic dimensions, and for him the most dangerous one of all, and with which he begins is French Verism, or "Naturalism".

It is here, I believe, that we see most clearly the process through which Laloy, again, characteristically for the period and for a certain perspective, comes to associate a specific political stance with stylistic traits; for here we can see an interpenetration of discourses, or intertextual reference which, I contend, becomes of essential significance in musical criticism in this period.

Operatic Naturalism is, for Laloy, a vehicle of ideology which, as does its literary component, edits reality, imposes a theory of representation. Despite its pretense to be objective, Naturalism is biased in what it depicts socially; not only is it based on a false mode of social vision, but misleading 'conventions' of representation: "Nothing is less spontaneous, less natural, more strained and pedantic than this art which pretends to be inspired directly from nature."⁵ Moreover, not only does Laloy see a selective positivism, but aesthetic inconsistencies issuing from the politically propagandistic use to which Naturalist opera is being put.

First, as the vehicle for specific ideas, the texts that the Naturalists employ are didactic and thus illogically studded with crude and blatant symbols. These he finds especially inappropriate in non-mythological texts, and thus as theoretically incongruous as the musical leitmotives that convey them. But beyond this, he sees a political didacticism in the stylistic conventions of the language: Zola's operatic texts, for example, are pedantic, turgid, "inflated" in diction. The music naturally reflects this, particularly that of Alfred Bruneau, the faithful friend, political supporter, and collaborator of Emile Zola.

For Laloy, Bruneau's vocal style not only bears the weaknesses of the text — being similarly turgid and declamatory — but, in terms of musical dramaturgy, it is an 'academicized' Wagnerism. The leitmotives, which he, again, finds completely incongruous with a Naturalist text, are as "impersonal" as the ideas they represent and as uninspired as their 'Conservatoire' treatment.

But from here, Naturalism for Laloy has an even more specific institutional association: because of its linkage with Zola, Bruneau, and the Conservatoire, it is a 'Republican' art. Further, he equates it with the political self-image of the current government in France — that of "la démocratie triomphante", obviously with reference to the Dreyfus Affair. Without equating Naturalist opera with the Dreyfusards, as Vincent d'Indy was to do, he proceeds to argue, nevertheless, that its style 'announces' a political stance. Laloy then goes on to ascribe certain attitudes and values to elements of style, as generated here by their association with a literary-political movement and an official institution.

The Naturalist style in opera thus becomes what Barthes terms an 'écriture', or, as he puts it, "le langage littéraire transformé par sa desti-

nation sociale".⁶ Here, words, even when purporting to be objective, become at once both descriptions and judgments; hence language itself becomes "le signe suffisant de l'engagement." In Naturalist opera, for Laloy and his contemporaries, this applies not only to the literary text, but through the controlling power of language, to the musical values that thus convey it. From the subject and style of the text, for example, come certain kinds of musical themes, a manner of treating them, a style of declamation, or even stylistic inconsistencies that result from those of the text.

But despite his prolonged castigation of Emile Zola and Alfred Bruneau, for Laloy, the prime exemplar of such an 'écriture' in opera is Charpentier. It is on the opera *Louise* that Laloy most fully unleashes his critical wrath: the symbolism which it carries for him obviously exists powerfully, and on several levels. For Laloy, *Louise* is emblematic of all that is dangerous in such opera — of the fallaciousness of its political presuppositions, the distortions of its language, the weaknesses of its aesthetic.

Charpentier, according to Laloy, has undergone politicization of the most pernicious sort, for it acts on a sub-conscious level, distorting his vision, poisoning his creativity. Although he admits that Charpentier is a better composer than Alfred Bruneau, he too is a 'prisoner' of the Conservatoire, practicing an "art du second main". Not only is his musical imagination nourished by all the rules, formulas, and recipes "de l'école", as his own librettist, he sees the world through an ideological screen. For Laloy, Charpentier is incapable of truly seeing the misery he attempts to depict, since "cheap political journals have ruined his judgment and perverted his sensibility".

Thus distorted by indoctrination, the composer is in perpetual illusion of himself and the world; he believes in the sincerity of feelings that in himself are only cold rhetoric. Charpentier, the "Naturalist", is far from objective, and so incapable of real criticism or irony; and the product of this insidious indoctrination, *Louise* is a "musique bâtarde".⁷

These are strong words for a musical journal, even during this querulous period in France, and it is the nature of the vocabulary, as well as the argument, that suggests the intertextual reference. Most revealing, perhaps, is the extent to which Laloy's condemnation of the Naturalists in opera verges frequently on, in this context, unprecedented verbal violence. Indeed, to find anything similar in tone, or approaching this kind of analysis, the linkage of ideology with the vocal 'representation' of a text, we would have to return to the "Querelle des Bouffons".⁸

But given the vituperative language and the nature of his condemna-

tion of the Naturalists, to an historian of the period the broader reference would immediately emerge. Laloy's attack on Naturalism in opera bears a striking and not coincidental resemblance to the rhetoric of the extreme Nationalist Right, with which he was himself palpably sympathetic.⁹ The themes of Barrès and Maurras are evident: the pernicious control through Republican education and the distortion of thought and feeling associated with the aesthetic such institutions pouppond.

Similarly, for an historian, the year of this article would be significant, since 1905 was, politically, a highly symbolic year in France. 1905, of course, was the year of the definitive separation of Church and State, a move meant "to affirm the Republic and cow its enemies in the Church, army, leagues, and streets".¹⁰ And 1905 was a year still clearly in the shadow of the Dreyfus Affair, still reverberating with the impassioned political and cultural issues it raised. But by now we are speaking of a later phase, related to the situation of the Nationalist Right, which, I believe, made this kind of cultural discussions especially pertinent and powerful.

Historians have frequently noted that, given its sound political defeat, the Right was forced to renew itself ideologically, and thus to renew "the terms of the political debate". And it is in this context that culture began to serve particular political ends, contributing now to "the cultural rehabilitation of the values of the Right".¹¹ In addition, as an 'ethic' became an increasingly integral political component, it is not surprising that the aesthetic dimension played a correspondingly important role.¹² Hence the theme of the relation of truth to art, originally raised by the Dreyfusard Left, in connection with content and ideology, is now taking on a broader significance. And we can relate this shift to the issues of 'spirit', style, and language to yet another conjuncture — to the factionalization, the lack of agreement, over doctrine within the Right.

Given this internal situation, such a critical discourse, I propose, shifted the issues away from concrete ideas to the question of political 'orientation': it helped articulate a conception of "a mode of thought and feeling" and thus, by extension, a "new construction of social reality", distinctively different from that of the official cultural world. For such a symbolic, or indirect mode of discussing political issues helped create an "open space" within language, a "freedom of meaning" to express new 'conceptions'.¹³

Music, then, within this context, becomes important not only in the symbolic 'battle', but serves as a vague and powerful symbol that helps a still amorphous 'attitude' cohere. And the fact that it is not just a question of content and images but of emotion, language, and expression is the basic reason, I propose, that critical discussions of music proliferated

in journals of the Nationalist Right.¹⁴ Music here serves as a weapon in the contestation over systems of "central collective values", or as religious anthropology terms it, competing "imaginaires sociaux". For in Laloy's article, as a result of his approach, we find the same connotations constantly being made, of "le vrai et le faux et le bien et le mal", and significantly, "le beau et le laid".¹⁵

Further, the attack on rationalism, associated with the anti-Dreyfusard Right, here assumes a special cogency when linked explicitly to the aesthetic dimension. Such "symbolic capital" thus became a means to delegitimize authority, aesthetic weakness still being considered a damning reflection on power in France.¹⁶ In Laloy, as we shall see, this emerges not only in his aesthetic attack, but also in the innovative and positive artistic alternative that he proposes. Significantly, here, aesthetic innovation is being supported not by the Left, but because of its position as "outside power," in this sense "socially avant-garde", it is sustained by the Right. In a period when the Right was generating new symbols, it thus did not by-pass this realm of "high art", but concentrated on it as the art most symbolically 'open' and aesthetically vulnerable.

But now we face the question of the background or the reasons behind Laloy's focus on musical language and communications, and for treating them as intimately allied to social and political values. The most promising starting point, it would seem, would be to assess Laloy's own charges against the aesthetic of the 'Dreyfusard Left' and its alliance with Republican power.

Here, I propose, we must examine not only specific concrete events but also institutional change, from a comparative perspective and as related to the structure of power in France. Music in France, throughout the nineteenth century, and still in the period we are considering, was not only perhaps the most highly institutionalized art, but its key institutions — the Opéra and the Conservatoire — were closely associated with the state. As such, they could not help but be affected by the political dynamic, playing specific rhetorical roles for the regime, and thus being imbricated in contestation over them.

It is within this framework that Laloy's charge concerning the associations and political 'use' of Naturalist opera by the triumphant Republic is something that we must examine. And here we must consider not only the propagandistic usefulness of the Naturalist aesthetic, given the 'victory' of Zola, but also the implications of the institutional elevation of its practitioners, and the responses to this. For these reasons, I propose that the appropriate point at which to begin are the careers of its major practitioners, Charpentier and Bruneau.

The first relevant event on which we should focus is the transfer of political attacks on Zola, as a result of "J'Accuse", to his opera, *Messidor*, in 1898. Attacks against Zola coincided with the theatrical triumph of Zola and Bruneau, and hence the wide presentation of their work became a convenient focus for public demonstrations.¹⁷ In such cases the opera, of course, was a "sign", as opposed to a "symbol", in the linguistic sense: as we saw in the Laloy article, this transformation occurred at a later stage, and with a different audience.

But most relevant here is not the event, but rather a broader political response, or the way in which official institutions hence attempted to incorporate newly clarified Republican values, and thus consolidate their victory. It is significant here that, as Christoph Charle has noted, given the dominant perspective on the Naturalist style in literature as a "literature of the unlettered", an official recognition, or elevation to the largely anti-Dreyfusard Académie was simply not possible. But this was not the case in music, where official recognition of Charpentier and Bruneau was not only possible, but, from a political perspective, symbolically apt. Charpentier, as we shall see, was not only awarded the Legion d'Honneur, but later, almost solely on the basis of *Louise*, elevated to the Institut. Bruneau, already a prominent writer on music, became an official spokesman, beginning with his function at the most immediate opportunity, the Universal Exposition of 1900. Already here his rhetoric, language, and his standards of value are as closely related to those of the Dreyfusards in literature as those of Laloy are to their opponents.¹⁸

And so a significant portion of the beginning of my study will concern itself with this 'discourse', which had, I believe, important implications both politically as well as for institutions of art. We can see Bruneau's conception of the values most integral to the French lyric drama as well as those he developed concomitantly to describe the evolution of French music as a further expansion, a development of those ideas already articulated in connection with literature. Bruneau, ostensibly to compensate for the negative terms in which the latter were cast, relates his more ethereal values to the "mythology" of the Republic. The qualities he describes are not abstract, but rather emotionally charged, and in turning to the qualities of spirit and style, seem to pick up an earlier, aborted line of argument. Here I refer both to values of the Left before 1848 (associated closely with French Romanticism) and to earlier utopian socialist aesthetic argument.¹⁹

The effect of this discourse, I contend, extended not only to official musical institutions, helping to determine terms and criteria of evaluation, as well as conceptions of French music history; it is echoed in many other prominent critics and writers on music associated with the

Left—Romain Rolland, Camille Maclair, Paul Landormy, Julien Tiersot, among others. Here we can see a clear opposition, or polarization of the critical world, with competing pantheons of composers, canons of great works as well as aesthetic criteria. It is thus in opposition to the values of those figures just mentioned that we can see the unity of the argument among their numerous opponents on the political Right. Here I have in mind not only Laloy, but many others as well, including Pierre Lasserre, Lionel de la Laurencie, and most prominently, Vincent d'Indy.

It is the latter, a member of the *Ligue de la Patrie Française*, as well as several subsequent politically Right-wing groups, who most directly confronted the official musical world of the Third Republic. It was under the impetus of the Affair that he helped found the *Schola Cantorum*, which gradually became a kind of "anti-Conservatoire", in both an aesthetic and political sense. From an understanding of the official background we can see that politics was inherent in its program, and in the light of these political tensions, it is not difficult to see the literature emanating from it in terms of a political subtext. But the logic, of course, is not transparent — the transfer of values is not direct: it has to be seen in terms of the diachronic development of musical style and the dialogue with his opponents.

Yet the musical world was polarized, if not always in the most obvious way; institutions as well as critics and even musical societies assumed political 'identities'.²⁰ This is what composers confronted, and it is in the light of this situation that we must analyze not only the positions they chose, but the manner in which they expressed them.

Here we can draw some illuminating comparisons with what occurred, on the one hand, in the scholarly disciplines, and on the other, in the related field of literature. First, we see a situation not unlike the one which occurred at the "Nouvelle Sorbonne" — an institutional reorganization and politicization as part of the continuing dynamic of the Affair.²¹ But in the field of music, artists were forced to make 'implicit' choices, which associated them immediately with a political stance, and were to have inevitable consequences for their careers. They had the choice of remaining within the framework of official institutions, and working within the constraints of their aesthetic and conceptual criteria, or of associating themselves with the new institutions defined 'against' them. Or, if they managed, as some did, to cross from one to the other, their stylistic proclivities themselves, in this context, could make comments ranging from the obvious to the subtle and complex, and would undoubtedly be interpreted in this sense.

Musicians then, although they were never constrained to take a 'side' in the Affair, were still confronted with choices in its aftermath that had

strong political overtones. But in raising the difficult issue of how different composers made their choices, assumed their 'stances,' and expressed them in a world when musical institutions and criticism was so highly politicized, we confront the adjacent issue of the unusually complex social and cultural identity of musicians in this period in France.

Musicians throughout the nineteenth century in France, if they wished to succeed to the summit of this highly institutionalized world, were expected to pass through the state Conservatoire. Coming from widely diverse social and cultural backgrounds, ranging from the working class to the aristocracy, many experienced a kind of cultural 'shock' when first confronting "la culture du Conservatoire". It was strongly traditional and conservative not only in its musical dimension, but also literarily, in terms of the texts composers were expected to set. In the minds of many, as letters and other personal testimonies reveal, this stifling, academic culture was associated both with the bourgeoisie and the state. When reacting against the aesthetic of the Conservatoire, many, as I have observed, were conscious of reacting against an official culture and its supporting political system. And those more strongly politicized, as we shall see in the case of Vincent d'Indy, felt thus compelled to dissociate themselves from all that the Conservatoire teaching propagated.

To characterize, then, the "schema of perceptions, appreciation, and evaluation", or the cognitive structures that Bourdieu refers to as a "habitus", for composers in France, is not a simple matter of class.²³ And neither, as I shall argue, can their works be analyzed in such terms; rather, in their acceptance or attempts to reject certain practices, what they communicate is far more complex.

To grasp this very complexity, I believe that it is important to analyze individual works of composers who chose different stances and made different kinds of statements through them. We need to attempt to discern the relation of individual composers to the ideological structures and associations around them, and how they related to their artistic imaginations. And by seeing this we can also grasp the characteristically strained relations between the composers themselves and the political movements and critics that attempted to 'explain' them.

The first of the works that I wish to consider is Laloy's target, *Louise*, which, as I shall attempt to demonstrate both proponents of the Left and Right distorted badly. Moreover, we shall see that this distortion made Charpentier a victim in a double sense, critically condemned by the Right and elevated or rewarded prematurely by the Left. What I believe we have not seen about this work is that it is demonstrably not controlled by operatic clichés, or "le langage de l'école", as both Laloy and subse-

quent writers contend. Rather than being devoid of irony, this is precisely the quality that informs it, for, as I shall try to show, Charpentier artfully maintains a distance from these styles, which he manipulates for dramatic purposes. And he does this not only in the musical style but also in the text that provides the context for it, one that is strongly autobiographical, and in this sense, self-mocking. A product of the Conservatoire, and yet, as a provincial of the working class, 'outside' it, in key scenes, like the "Coronation of the Muse", he plays mercilessly with official languages and conventions.

We see a very different message and manipulation of symbols and styles in Vincent d'Indy's self-proclaimed "anti-Dreyfusard opera", *La Légende de Saint Christophe*. Here we see not only d'Indy's distinctive and politicized interpretation of Wagner, but his application of the Schola's teachings, its associations of meanings and styles. And just as complex as 'how' d'Indy communicated his political ideas through musical style is the issue of how they were interpreted and responded to by different factions of the political Right. For, as I shall propose, d'Indy strongly resembled his friend, Maurice Barrès, with his similarly provocative mixture of elements relating both to the traditional and 'pre-Fascist' Right.

But if d'Indy's identification with the Right was, if at times vague, ideological, and here leading to aesthetic weakness, we see a different case with Claude Debussy. It is significant that *Pelléas et Mélisande* became Laloy's positive alternative precisely because of its linguistic openness, or 'freedom' of communication and conception. Debussy underwent a discernible evolution in his political and social orientation, one which, as I shall argue, profoundly affected his style, and worked together in a subtle way with his more permanent aesthetic proclivities. In this sense, that of evolution, Debussy also recalls Barrès, in his movement from the so-called "culte de moi" to his conception of "le moi collectif." As I shall attempt to show, we can trace this slow evolution from the period immediately after *Pelléas*, in 1902, until his death, in 1918.

But, as I wish to emphasize, Debussy's ostensible turn to the Right, in terms of friends, texts, and stylistic references, always had a strong aesthetic component. It was less the ideological appeal than the aesthetic dimension that attracted this intractable 'renegade' of the Conservatoire, who, throughout his life, rejected its teachings. Debussy, as opposed to d'Indy thus rejected the Republic aesthetically long before he rejected it politically, which, for him, seemed a natural progression. And again, unlike d'Indy, even when making reference to the styles and forms that had associations with the political Right, he did so (like Charpentier) with a 'distance'. I maintain that it is in this context that we can best understand

his provocative late works, characterized by a return to traditional forms, but informed by an innovative, often ironic content.

For Erik Satie, as I hope also to show, a subjective confusion over "habitus", or identity, related in a demonstrable way to his manipulation of specific forms and styles. We have not, to this point, seen Satie's often clever and ironic references in the light of the larger symbolic meanings that they carried, throughout this period, in France. In Satie's case, it is I believe, essential to be aware of his contradictory gestures, such as his acceptance of a diploma from the Schola Cantorum the year he joined the Radical-Socialist party in Arceuil. And so it is the works from this period and extending up until the time when Satie joined the Communist Party on which I shall concentrate, in this historical context.

To conclude, my study, in addressing the phenomenon of music becoming a "political stake", leads me to several areas which, I contend, we must see together. For it involves the question of symbolic construction of the political world not only in the sphere of politics, but also the migration of this symbolism, for certain sociologically definable reasons, to the cultural sphere. Certainly, an awareness of such meanings, as I shall try to show in my study, must play a role in an historically, contextually oriented analysis of the relevant works. And, conversely, in a political culture in which the manipulation of symbols is so central as in France, we must be aware of the symbolic acts that take place in the sphere of the institutionalized arts. We must be aware of what both power and its opponents attempt to accomplish in each cultural sphere, in the light of what is considered 'effective' politically in the period and context. And, from the perspective of an art as rhetorically appropriate here as music, we can see aspects of political-cultural tensions that would not otherwise be so clear.

It is, then, from the perspective of a configuration of institutions and their actions that we must see these symbolic meanings and the way they interact. And only then can we move to the level of applying this symbolic interpretation to the analysis of communication and "the interpretation of culture".²⁴ In the case that I am studying, an understanding of the resulting symbolic articulation of opposing systems of value helps us understand, simultaneously, opposing "imaginaires sociaux" and an impetus behind the evolution of artistic styles. As I hope in the end to suggest, the evolution of a 'modern' French music must similarly be seen in the light of this particular set of political and cultural tensions. And also that French music here continues to be of historical as well as sociological interest precisely because of its close interaction with French institutional and political life. And, in this sense, it serves heuristically, as a means of

entry into a system of political communication and comprehension so highly distinctive of the political culture of France.

Notes

- 1 The standard source in English which presents this point of view is Martin Cooper's *French Music from the Death of Berlioz to the Death of Fauré*, London: Oxford University Press, 1951; the historiography it presents is based largely on Julien Tiersot's *Une demi-siècle de musique française: entre deux guerres (1879-1917)*, Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1918.
- 2 Louis Laloy, "Le Drame musical moderne," *Le Mercure musical*, 1905.
- 3 I have discussed this phenomenon and its implications at length in a recent study concerning the mid-nineteenth century, *The Nation's Image: French Grand Opera as Politics and Politicized Art*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- 4 William Weber, "Wagner, Wagnerism, and Musical Idealism", in David Large and William Weber editors, *Wagnerism in European Culture and Politics*, Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1984.
- 5 Laloy, "Le Drame musical moderne", p. 84 (Rien de moins spontané, de moins naturel, de plus tendu, savant et pédant que cet art qui fi de la science et se prétend inspiré directement de la nature).
- 6 Roland Barthes, *Le Degré zéro de l'écriture*, Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1953.
- 7 Laloy, p. 175 (Un tel homme vivra dans une perpétuelle illusion sur le monde et sur soi-même ... il croira à la sincérité de sentiments qui chez lui-même ne sont que froide rhétorique).
- 8 The famous battle between partisans of Italian opera (led by Rousseau and the philosophes) and those of traditional French opera, closely associated with the prestige of the monarchy. I have examined Rousseau's argument concerning vocal representation in "Melody and Morality: the Impact of Rousseau on French Critical Tradition", *International Revue of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 1979.
- 9 The clearest evidence of this is the text he wrote for his friend, Claude Debussy, during World War One, the "Ode à la France", but additional evidence can be found in his autobiographical collection of essays, *La Musique retrouvée 1902-1927*, Paris: Plon, 1928.
- 10 See Eugen Weber, *Action Française: Royalism and Reaction in Twentieth-Century France*, Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1962.
- 11 Ibid.; these concepts are also discussed in Eugen Weber and Hans Rogger, editors, *The European Right: an Historical Profile*, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965 and René Rémond, *Les Droites en France*, Paris: Aubin Montaigne, 1982.
- 12 See Raoul Girardet, "Notes sur l'esprit d'un Fascisme français 1934-1939", in *Revue française de science politique*, Juillet-Septembre, 1955 (Vol. V # 3).
- 13 These new political goals are described at some length by Madelaine Réberieux, in

- La République radicale? 1898-1914*, Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1975, pp. 184-85; and in a different context, by Pierre Bourdieu in *Choses dites*, Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1987, p. 160, and by Garth Gillian, in *From Sign to Symbol*, New York: The Harvester Press, 1982, p. 29.
- 14 Among others, these include *Action française* and its literary counterpart, the *Revue critique des idées et des livres*, the *Revue universelle*, *Revue des deux mondes*, and the *Revue hebdomadaire*.
- 15 For a discussion of this concept, see Mohammed Arkoun, *L'Islam, morale et politique*, Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1986, p. 14ff.
- 16 I have discussed the use of this tactic, through the Opéra, in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, in *The Nation's Image*, Chapters one and two.
- 17 This is discussed both by Bruneau himself, in his tribute to Zola, *A l'ombre d'un grand cœur*, Paris: Bibliothèque Charpentier, 1932, and a specific incident at Nantes, among others, by Adolphe Boschot in *La Vie et les œuvres d'Alfred Bruneau*, Fasquelle Editeurs, 1937. Further incidents are reported in the "Dossier d'oeuvre" for *Messidor* at the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra.
- 18 This is especially clear in the text he prepared for the Universal Exposition of 1900, *La Musique française: rapport sur la musique en France du XIIIe au XXe siècle. La musique à Paris en 1900 au théâtre, au concert, à l'exposition*, Paris: Bibliothèque Charpentier, 1901.
- 19 These I have discussed at some length in my dissertation, *Musical Aesthetics and Social Philosophy in France 1848-1870*, Ph. D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1977.
- 20 Here, specifically, I refer to the conflict between the 'Société nationale de Musique Française' and the 'Société musicale Indépendante', founded in opposition to the former. This contestation is discussed perceptively by Léon Vallas in *Claude Debussy et son temps*, Paris: Felix Alcan, 1932. This phenomenon would also seem to relate to other contemporary systems of symbolic opposition, such as 'opposition statuary', as discussed by Maurice Agulhon in "Politics and Images in Post-Revolutionary France", in Sean Wilentz, editor, *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual, and Politics Since the Middle Ages*, Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1985.
- 21 For a perceptive analysis of this, see Wolf Lepenies, *Die Drei Kulturen: Soziologie zwischen Literatur und Wissenschaft*, München: Hanser, 1985 and Antoine Compagnon, *La Troisième République des lettres. De Flaubert à Proust*, Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1983. Other dimensions of the Affair, as a sociological phenomenon—the role of the press and its manipulation of 'collective emotions', the new focus it gave to public opinion, the search for new methods of expression and forms of opposition—are discussed by Jean-Pierre Peter in "Dimensions de l'Affaire Dreyfus", *Annales E. S. C.*, 1961, pp. 1141-1167. As I am suggesting, other aspects of these dimensions can be seen in this case. For a discussion of the impact of the Affair on literature and literary careers, see Christophe Charle, "Champ littéraire et champ du pouvoir: les écrivains et l'Affaire Dreyfus", *Annales E. S. C.*, Mars-Avril 1977, pp. 240-264 and his *La Crise littéraire à l'époque du Naturalisme. Roman, théâtre, et politique*, Paris: Presses de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure, 1979.

- 22 This is especially clear in Gustave Charpentier's *Lettres inédites à ses parents*, edited by Françoise Andrieux, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1984, and in numerous articles by Claude Debussy, especially those compiled in *Debussy on Music*, edited by François Lesure and Richard Langham Smith, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977.
- 23 For a brief explanation of this concept, see Bourdieu, *Choses dites*, pp. 151-56.
- 24 I refer here to the program that Robert Darnton lays out in his introduction to *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History*, New York: Basic Books, 1984.