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RE-THINKING PARIS AT THE FIN-DE-SIÈCLE: A NEW VISION OF PARISIAN MUSICAL CULTURE FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF GABRIEL ASTRUC (1854-1938)

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RE-THINKING PARIS AT THE FIN-DE-SIÈCLE: A NEW VISION OF PARISIAN MUSICAL CULTURE FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF GABRIEL ASTRUC (1854-1938)

DISSERTATION

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the College of Fine Arts at the University of Kentucky

By

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Lexington, Kentucky

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Gabriel Astruc (1864-1938), a French impresario of Jewish background, is mostly known for his collaborative work as an impresario with Sergei Diaghilev and his Ballets Russes. His role within Parisian musical culture at the fin de siècle, however, was much broader. He was a critic, creator of a leading periodical, producer of musical and circus events, music publisher, and associate of many important cultural figures of his day. Although Astruc has been mentioned in scholarly literature, his multifaceted activities have never been carefully studied.

Following the revisionist initiatives of previous scholars (e.g., Pasler, Huebner, Garafola, Fauser), this project offers a new understanding of Parisian cultural life between 1880 and 1913. Rather than focusing on valued composers such as Debussy or selected avant-garde repertoire, this dissertation considers the panoramic perspective of the Parisian cultural milieu as understood by a well-positioned impresario who participated in diverse, but often intersecting, music circles. It reveals rich interconnections between Astruc’s entrepreneurial, managerial, and publishing endeavors that linked private fêtes and soirées that he produced in elite homes with his ambitious concert series, La Grande Saison de Paris, 1905-1913 – organized through his firm La Société Musicale – and with compositions and contents published in Musica, the magazine he co-founded in 1902. It questions Astruc’s aesthetic preferences and argues that he helped to shape Parisian culture through the promotion, publication, and programming of balanced, eclectic repertoire of new and old, national and international, and light as well as weighty works. This study also chronicles the development of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, Astruc’s culminating project that was intended to embrace symphonic, operatic, and chamber performance and to experiment with new juxtapositions and integrations of the arts.

Research for this dissertation centered on a compilation and a comparative analysis of wide-ranging materials found in Astruc’s collections at the Archives Nationales and New York Public Library. Unlike earlier studies of fin-de-siècle Paris, this project utilizes previously
unexamined publications, musical criticism, published literature, and manuscript material, all originating from or related to Astruc’s diverse activities and observations.

KEYWORDS: Gabriel Astruc, La Grande Saison de Paris, Ballet Russes, fin-de-siècle Parisian cultural life, Théâtre des Champs-Élysées
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Chapter 1. Introduction

The abundance and variety of artistic expressions and musical practices in Paris at the \textit{fin de siècle}, during the early years of the Third Republic, have posed a significant challenge to scholars.\footnote{The Third Republic was the republican government of France between the end of the Second French Empire in 1870 and the Vichy regime, established in 1940 after the invasion of France by the German Third Reich. Scholars such as Jann Pasler, Danièle Pistone, Annegret Fauser, Steven Huebner, Jane Fulcher and Jean-Claude Yon have presented significant studies to challenge previously held musicological views of this period.} Perhaps the greatest obstacle to understanding musical life in the French capital during this time lies in the absence of a panoramic all-inclusive vision. The narrow focus of many cultural and musicological studies, especially those related to the period between 1880 and 1913, has often portrayed the avant-garde movement of figures such as Igor Stravinsky, Erik Satie, and Sergei Diaghilev, as the most important representation of Parisian musical and cultural life. Undeniably, the avant-garde had a tremendous impact on later musical traditions around the globe. In fact, the climate for it to flourish was positively affected (if not triggered) by various sociopolitical actions, namely, the pro-art policies of the French government. The Third Republic, explains Jann Pasler, “also understood the arts, and especially progress in the arts, as capable of engendering national pride. These notions blossomed into national policy and have continued to resound in French society through the present.”\footnote{Jann Pasler, \textit{Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France} (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), xii.}

The literature related to music in Paris at the \textit{fin de siècle} between 1880 and 1913, included in the bibliography, illustrates that a significant portion of musicological research is weighted heavily towards the study of individual works, institutions, and genres (especially opera and ballet), as well as biographies of a few select composers. A
good portion of the literature predating 1970 reflects such an approach. Although useful, the significant amount of biographical information of artists active in fin-de-siècle Paris contained in works such as Robert Montenegro’s *Vaslav Nijinsky: An Artistic Interpretation of His Work in Black White and Gold* (1913), do not include a broader context of the musical life in the capital at this time. They are representative of many studies that rather explore works and composers associated with the avant-garde movement. Even some works whose titles suggest a broader scope share a similar narrow approach. For instance, works such as Julien Tiersot’s *Un Demi-Siècle de Musique Française (1870-1919)*, published in 1924, or Prince P. Lieven’s *The Birth of Ballets-Russes* (1936), do not consider in their accounts the impact of the impresario within the Parisian musical scene or realize the common juxtaposition of avant-garde and non-avant-garde music within the same musical events. More recent works, although focused on individuals, do contemplate a larger scope. Steven Whiting’s inspiring work on Satie, for instance, considers issues such as the impact of the café concert on the Parisian cultural scene and underlines the importance in France of foreign genres of popular music such as the Cake Walk. Scholarly works such as Annegret Fauser’s *Musical Encounters at the 1889 Paris World’s Fair* (2005), Steven Huebner’s *French Opera at the Fin de Siècle: Wagnerism, Nationalism, and Style* (1999), James Lehning’s *Spectacle and Political Culture in Modern France* (2007), Jane Fulcher’s *The Composer as Intellectual: Music and Ideology in France 1914-1940* (2005), and Sally Charnow’s *Theatre, Politics, and Markets in the Fin-de-Siècle Paris* (2005), provide fresh views on different issues related to culture, aesthetics, and reception. Other remarkable contributions proved most valuable to develop the methodology and content for this dissertation. Edited by Annegret Fauser and Mark Everist, the collection of essays *Music, Theater, and Cultural Transfer: Paris, 1830-1914* (2009) offers the views of scholars such as Katherine
Ellis, Lesley Wright, Marian Smith, Jean-Claude Yon, and Steven Huebner on different issues relevant to this period. Of a similar caliber is the book edited by Barbara Kelly, *French Music, Culture, and National Identity, 1870-1939*.

For the most part, as mentioned above, the existing research on cultural life in Paris during the same period primarily concerns the avant-garde movement and, as one of its emblems, the conception and creation of the Ballets Russes and the dissemination and reception of its works. The common depiction of sophistication and artistry for which spectacles of the Ballet Russes are known belies the true interdisciplinary and collaborative nature of these creations and makes universal the aesthetic and social values of a specific Parisian audience. Moreover, the narrow focus on a select group of composers as subjects of extensive study has led to limited views of the period. As Pasler writes, “After Third Republic leaders had cleared space in the collective memory for heroes like Berlioz, twentieth-century critics and historians who espoused different values elevated new ones—the musical trinity of Debussy, Ravel, and Fauré, and later Satie, little known in the nineteenth century.”

For a thorough understanding of such an artistically rich milieu, it becomes indispensable to recognize that Parisian music culture at the *fin de siècle* was by no means confined to the cultural expressions of the avant-garde movement. The socioeconomic climate in the French capital at the turn of the century allowed the coexistence of multiple musical traditions. In addition, the musical tastes of the social spectrum of paying audiences demanded an equally broad variety of venues and repertoire. Numerous

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3 This dissertation will use the label ‘Ballets Russes’ to refer to the company first organized in 1909 by Sergei Diaghilev and known to Parisians as ‘Les Ballets Russes de Serge Diaghilev.’

4 Pasler, *Citizen*, 27.
musical activities registered in Parisian journals of the time (e.g. *Le Moniteur Universel* and *La Revue Musicale*) show evidence that musical works from the avant-garde movement shared the same venues, seasons, and even programs with others that represented continuing music traditions and less progressive works. In 1913, for instance, the larger hall at the newly constructed Théâtre des Champs-Élysées featured, along with the premiere of Stravinsky’s *Le Sacre du Printemps* (*The Rite of Spring*), other works such as Donizetti’s *Lucia di Lammermoor*, Saint-Saëns’ *Le Cygne*, and Beethoven symphonies and concertos.

Significant as it was in shaping the French cultural milieu, the avant-garde movement represented a piece within a much larger cultural environment, and studies that recognize it as a representational microcosm of *fin-de-siècle* Parisian musical and cultural life are rather common. However, some early narratives such as Serge Lifar, *Serge Diaghilev: His Life, His Work, His Legend* (1976) or Richard Buckle’s *Nijinsky* (1975) have presented individual artists and their works as epoch-making events that define the archetypes of cultural life in Paris. This is the case of works. Although such studies have offered clear insights into the creation and reception of selected artists and selected works, they have often based their assumptions of artistic singularity and significance on a limited pool of evidence.

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Some scholars have already recognized the problem of limited perspectives and documentation. Jann Pasler is a key scholar who has applied revisionist approaches that have begun to confront standard views of fin-de-siècle Paris and French music culture. In her words, “To understand the broader world also meant deconstructing many of the premises underlying my [Pasler’s] previous work on French modernism. These included the hierarchical importance of the composer and the dominant influence of elites, elite genres, and elite institutions in the musical world.” In 1987, Elaine Brody aimed to “present a summary of various trends, movements, people, and places which comprise the cultural and musical kaleidoscope that was Paris 1870-1925.” She also indicated that a significant challenge in this process was “how to integrate the many and various trends of the [French] panoramic tapestry that reflected the period 1870-1925.” This valuable attempt recognizes the ‘kaleidoscopic’ nature of Parisian cultural phenomena of the time. However, two issues prevent this account from fulfilling its goal: the permanent emphasis placed on avant-garde music and the masterpieces of French nationalism, and the complete absence of important figures such as impresarios, music publishers, arts patrons, and performers and venues other than the Paris Opéra.

As in earlier studies of the period, my dissertation involves an approach based on historical documentation and cultural contextualization of musical material. Unlike the earlier studies, however, this project utilizes rarely consulted extant publications, printed musical criticism, printed literature, and manuscript material primarily located within archival collections that have not been examined carefully by other scholars. It also

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6 Pasler, Citizen, xiv.
8 Brody, Kaleidoscope, xvi.
focuses on a figure central to Parisian musical culture who is not a composer, but a
French impresario of Jewish background named Gabriel Astruc (1854-1938). Mostly
known for his collaboration with Sergei Diaghilev and the Ballets Russes, Astruc was not
only connected to many musical, literary, and artistic circles within and beyond Paris, but
he was at the center of fin-de-siècle trends in public and private performance and artistic
interactions throughout the city.

Born in Bordeaux in 1864 into a Sephardic Jewish family, Astruc was the youngest
of three sons of Eglé Astruc (1833-1922) and Élide-Aristide Astruc (1831-1905),
prominent French rabbi, author, and founder member of l’Alliance Israélite Universelle.
By the age of 20, Gabriel Astruc was already in contact with the Parisian artistic scene. A
significant amount of his professional activities before 1902, during which time he used
the penname Surtac, are associated with the press, the publishing business and the
organization of circus revues. He married his cousin Marguerite Enoch (1870-1955),
daughter of his employer and business partner and relative Wilhem Enoch (1840-1913).
Lucienne Astruc (?), the only daughter of Gabriel and Marguerite, had no descendents.10

The importance of conducting extensive research on this significant figure became
clear to me in March 2009, while at the New York Public Library. There I was directed
to the collection, the ‘Papers of Gabriel Astruc (1854-1938),’ which revealed a wealth of
Astruc-driven activities within the musical scene that went well beyond those associated
with Diaghilev and the Ballet Russes. These activities remain practically unknown in

9 See Chapters 2 and 5. Unavailability of sources and other research limitations appear
discussed below (section 1.4).
10 The only known living relatives of Gabriel Astruc are linked to his sister Myriam Astruc
(1860-?) who married Lucien Mayer (?). Myriam Mayer and Phillip Sanfuentes and their
three sons, Vincent, Antoine, and Jean-Marie are the only living descendents from this
family. I am extremely grateful for their hospitality and generosity, for they granted me
access to their personal documents and shared relevant information for this project.
present-day studies. According to his own memoirs, Astruc was actively involved in a much wider variety of cultural activities other than entrepreneurship. Beginning in 1882, he wrote articles for several periodicals. Using the penname of Surtac, Astruc organized several circus revues in Paris such as *En selle pour la Revue, Paris au Galop, A la Cravache*, and *A fond de Train*. In his biographical study of Satie, Steven Whiting comments on Astruc’s writings c. 1886, when he published his work *Les Morales de Rastaquouère*, a set of short humorous tales featuring a closing morale called *fables-expres*.11 “Astruc,” explains Whiting, “had known both Satie and Hyspa at the Chat Noir where he published *fables-expres* in the house weekly under the pen name Surtac.”12 Astruc used his pseudonym for some of his activities, primarily as an entrepreneur (i.e. organizing circus reviews) and for some of his published articles.13

In 1902, Astruc was a key figure in the founding of *Musica*, arguably the most important illustrated music journal of the *fin de siècle*, issued weekly by Pierre Lafitte’s publishing house. In 1904, Astruc established La Société Musicale G. Astruc & Cie, his own publishing and managerial house in Paris. Through La Société Musicale, he published numerous works by composers such as Maurice Ravel, Isaac de Camondo, Jules Massenet, and Claude Debussy. Some scholars have suggested that Astruc’s activities as an impresario in France also had an impact on the national sociopolitical pre-war climate. Regarding the French premiere of Strauss’ *Salomé* in 1907, Pasler notes that Astruc’s “interest in using diplomacy to bridge differences stands in contrast with the

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12 Steven M. Whiting, *Satie the Bohemian: From Cabaret to Concert Hall* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 258.
13 See the annotated bibliography for some of Astruc’s works under his pseudonym.
increasing nationalist tension in Paris in the years before World War I.”

His efforts could not possibly alleviate all social tensions, however, and a number of accounts and reviews suggest that the anti-Semitic sentiments that lingered in post-Dreyfus Paris touched him, and may have affected his professional dealings: a review of Salomé’s Parisian premiere in *La Libre Parole* criticizes the countess Greffulhe, the financial sponsor, for supporting a concert “organized by a Jew, Astruc, conducted by a Jew, Colonne, and of a work composed by a Jew, Richard Strauss.”

A brief survey of a collection of his papers reveals the extent of Astruc’s endeavors with Diaghilev’s company in Paris. In 1907 Astruc assembled the Société du Théâtre de Champs-Élysées, which was in charge of the planning and funding for the new enterprise, and the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées was inaugurated in 1913. In addition, as its founder and first director, Astruc supervised the opening season of 1913, which included the well-known premiere of Stravinsky’s *The Rite of Spring* as well as a performance of the opera *Boris Godunov*. “Perhaps,” in the words of Jules Bertaut, “the crowning achievement of the indefatigable M. d’Astruc was the discovery of Diaghilev and the Russian Ballet, which has left its mark so indelibly upon the stage of the world. Their first appearance was at the Châtelet in 1909.”

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15 Ibid., Pasler.
16 The ‘Papers of Gabriel Astruc (1864-1938)’ is an extensive collection of documents related to his activities as an impresario that contains around 10,000 items in 47 boxes. A microfilmed copy of its contents is currently available in the Dance Collection at the New York Public Library.
17 In 1908 Astruc and Diaghilev had organized the Parsian premiere or Mussorgsky’s *Boris Godunov* at the Paris Opéra.
During the planning and construction of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, in which he invested seven years, Astruc was intensely involved in other projects as well. Between 1906 and 1913, his activities included the organization of music festivals at different theaters such as the Châtelet, the Paris Opéra, and the Nouveau Théâtre, with artists and performing ensembles such as Richard Strauss, Arturo Toscanini, Enrico Caruso, Ida Rubinstein, the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, and the London Symphony Orchestra. In addition, after having met Sergei Diaghilev in the spring of 1906 through the renowned arts patron Élisabeth, countess Greffuhle (1806-1952), Astruc co-managed the Concerts Historiques Russes in 1907 at the Paris Opéra. In this Astruc-Diaghilev collaboration, Astruc handled all business details of the first Saison Russe at the Châtelet in 1909, which included opera and ballet. After the fall season of 1913, the Saison Russe experienced financial disaster at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. Of particular interest, no records of the Société Musicale G. Astruc & Cie dated after Astruc’s resignation as director of the same theater in 1913 are found among his papers. However, in his memoirs, first published in 1929, Astruc indicate that although he did not try to rescue his Société Musicale after 1913 he remained active. For instance, in 1929 he managed the Théâtre Pigalle. Although less intensely, he also organized artistic events in Paris with a few recognized artists and worked for l’Agence Radio. Gabriel Astruc died in Paris in 1938.

There is no doubt that Astruc’s professional versatility, which encompassed editing and publishing, the writing of criticism and literary essays, entrepreneurship, and artistic management, gave him a deep awareness of the interconnecting worlds in fin-de-

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19 Astruc’s biographical data presented in this chapter was gathered from his own memoirs, *Le Pavillon des Fantômes: Mémoires* (Paris: Grasset, 1929).
siècle Paris; the expansiveness of and interrelations among his endeavors suggests to interpreters today the relevance of his work and his perceptions of the French musical and cultural scene during this time period. However, despite the importance of Astruc and his role in Parisian cultural life, a biographical study does not exist and a comprehensive examination of his life, writings, and professional activities as music publisher, impresario, and entrepreneur has never been undertaken. This dissertation aims to address this lack, as it delves more deeply into Astruc’s professional life to clarify the multiple roles that he played and the unique perspective that he offers within fin-de-siècle musical culture.

1.1 Description, Methodology, Sources, and Goals of the Dissertation

Following the initiatives of musicologists who have reviewed and questioned early narratives related to Parisian cultural life during the Third Republic (e.g., Pasler, Huebner, Fauser, and Garafola), this project offers a contrasting view of the period between 1880 and 1913. Like previous studies, this one uses bibliographical as well as archival documentation, and the analysis of copious amounts of printed music. However, the uniqueness of the present dissertation lies in the originality of its approach in fin-de-siècle studies. It represents an intensive study of the multiple stages and intersecting artistic activities of a leading Parisian impresario rather than a canonic composer; moreover, it assesses this impresario’s interpretations of Parisian musical culture from his diverse vantage points: in other words, it offers a panoramic view of a cultural milieu as understood by a single well-positioned individual.

Primary sources and surviving evidence include the financial papers, correspondence, professional and personal writings, programs, and contracts related to musical activities in which Astruc was involved, as well as published materials such as
Astruc’s memoirs and literary compositions, the periodical Musica (along with the musical supplement Album Musica), and the output of his music publishing house. The vast majority of the primary sources pertinent to the subject is housed in French libraries; the most important among these are the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Archives Nationales, Bibliothèque Doucet, and the Archives de La Société des Auteurs et Compositeurs Dramatiques (SACD). During my research residence in Paris I had the opportunity to consult more than 15,000 documents. A list of the French libraries that contain material pertinent to the current project includes l'Institut Mémoires de l'Édition Contemporaine (l'IMEC), Bibliothèque de la Ville de Paris, and Bibliothèque Centre Pompidou.

Through a study of the aforementioned sources, the present dissertation will illustrate the strong role played by Astruc through his work as an impresario, artist’s manager, journalist, playwright, music publisher, and theater director, in helping to shape musical and artistic practices in fin-de-siècle Paris.

This dissertation will illustrate how, through his agency, Astruc reinforced the continuation of certain repertoires of the nineteenth century and contributed to the solidification of canonic works. It will also suggest that, through his apparent endorsement of the Wagnerian aesthetic and the increasing French emphasis on symphonic performance, Astruc helped to modify Parisian attitudes and reactions towards programming French symphonic repertoire and Wagner operas. Additionally, it will show the process through which, by organizing private events and catering to the musical tastes of the Parisian haute-société, Astruc not only promoted artists and composers, but also supported the dialogue between canonic and avant-garde repertoires as well as between different music genres and other artistic disciplines.
Finally, it will illustrate Astruc’s contribution to the Parisian musical and artistic avant-garde movement from two different yet connected approaches: first, through the promotion of new repertoire, of course including *Le Sacre du Printemps*, but also other avant-garde or progressive compositions such as *Boris Godunov*, *Jeux*, and *Salomé*, and, second, through the experimentation with new spaces and new juxtapositions and integration of the arts.

1.2 Organization of the Dissertation

In addition to this introduction, labeled as Chapter 1, the present dissertation contains five chapters, each one dealing with a different aspect of Astruc’s professional activities.

Chapter 2, entitled “Gabriel Astruc as *homme de lettres*,” presents a survey of Astruc’s writings and publications which, in addition to his output as a journalist for Parisian journals such as *Le Figaro* and *Le Gaulois*, include his only three known published literary works: *Les Morales du Rastaquouère* (Ollendorff, 1886), *Le Bain de la Mariée* (Ollendorff, 1888), and *La Matérielle* (Librairie Morière, 1903). Even though Astruc’s writings before 1900 do not concern music, the study of his output as a writer reveals some aspects of his musical and artistic activities. This chapter looks at Astruc’s usage of the penname “Surtac,” mostly found in his literary and journalistic output before c.1904. Presumably created by Astruc himself as an anagram of his true last name, “Surtac” is no longer found in connection with any of his professional activities after c.1904. This chapter explores, through an analysis of his articles for Parisian newspapers such as *Le Figaro* and *Le Gaulois*, the extent of the impact of Astruc’s early journalistic output on his later activities as a music editor and publisher. In addition, this chapter considers the
effects of Astruc’s early work as a journalist and literary writer on his understanding of the Parisian press as a powerful mechanism to effectively promote cultural activities.

The trans-Atlantic connections established by Astruc after his interaction with the World’s Fairs of Paris and Chicago in 1889 and 1893, respectively, influenced his approach to artist management, entrepreneurship, music publishing, and theater directorship. Through his previous activities as a journalist Astruc was appointed as a “secretary of the principal Commissioner for Fine Arts” for the Chicago World’s Fair in 1886. Similarly, this chapter analyzes the connections between Astruc and Le Figaro’s publication Le Guide Bleu, a tourist’s guide to navigate the Paris Exposition Universelle in 1889. Through the study of both experiences, it will illustrate as well as speculate about the impact that both World Expositions appear to have had on Astruc’s later professional activities and his approach to music business.

Chapter 2 also contains a brief analysis of the connection between Astruc and the Café Chat Noir. Cafés are regarded as social spaces of cultural negotiation between poetry, music, theater, painting, and other artistic disciplines during the Belle Époque in Paris. An analysis of Surtac’s Les Morales du Rastaquouère will exemplify Astruc’s connection with the Chat Noir and some personalities with whom he developed artistic partnerships such as Erik Satie, Coquelin Cadet, and Caran d’Ache. Finally, an examination of three texts published before 1904, Les Morales du Rastaquouère (1886), Le Bain de la Mariée (1888), and La Matérielle (1903), will illuminate several issues related to race, ethnicity, and identity in Paris during this time period.

Chapter 3 studies the connections between Astruc and the periodical Musica (along with its supplement, Album Musica), published in Paris by Pierre Laffitte from 1902 to 1914, arguably the most important illustrated music journal during the fin-de-siècle.
key aspect is Astruc’s role as proponent of the project for the creation of the journal and its musical supplement. Most of Astruc’s musical events were widely covered by Musica, and a number of articles seem to reflect Astruc’s own views. Events such as La Grande Saison de Paris, performances by various artists managed by Astruc’s Société Musicale, and the construction of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées can be linked to the content of this journal. Through an analysis of the content of both Musica and Album Musica, this chapter attempts to establish the ways in which Astruc used his association with this journal to promote his activities, music publications, and his aesthetic ideals.

Chapter 4 explores Astruc’s activities as impresario and entrepreneur, that is to say, to illustrate the role of the impresario during the beginning of the twentieth century and its impact on the musical life in Paris. The chapter focuses first on his interactions with individual artists and sponsors from the Parisian haute-société who hosted private events at which such artists often performed. Then, this chapter underscores the importance of such events for other larger-scale public and semi-private events also organized by Astruc’s Société Musicale.

La Grande Saison de Paris is considered to be one of the most significant large-scale artistic projects of La Société Musicale as well as an equally important Parisian cultural event from its beginning in 1905 to its collapse in 1913. This chapter studies two of the most representative components of La Grande Saison de Paris as case studies from the point of view of the impresario. The first is two iterations of La Saison Italienne, those of 1905 and 1910: seasons consisting of several performances of Italian opera that gathered some of the most sought-after performers of the time. The second is La Saison Russe, organized twice between 1909 and 1911, a season featuring opera and ballet that included the performances of the prestigious Ballet Russes de Sergei Diaghilev.
The fifth chapter traces the process through which Astruc became involved in the publication of music and, eventually, founded his own music publishing company in 1902. This chapter contains a list and an analysis of Astruc’s work as a music publisher as well as the music publications released by his Société Musicale. It offers a thorough description of Astruc’s wide spectrum of music publishing interests, which encompassed different musical genres and diverse types of audiences. Through the study of Astruc’s publications of musical compositions by Rodolphe Berger, Maurice Ravel, Henri Deutsch, and Isaac de Camondo, this chapter will explore how published works and composers fit into the Parisian cultural milieu, and in what ways they represent particular demographics, musical tastes, or aesthetic preferences.

Lastly, turning to the culminating stage of Astruc’s career, the sixth chapter illustrates the history of the process of conception and realization of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. This chapter discusses the growing demands for a new theater in Paris exclusively dedicated to concerts of symphonic music, and the possible connections with Astruc’s idea of building a multipurpose theater that included possibilities for symphonic music as well as solo recitals, chamber music, benefit concerts, art exhibits, academic lectures, and even shareholder meetings. Additionally, it addresses the discrepancy between the theater’s name and its actual location at the Avenue Montaigne. This includes a thorough analysis of Astruc’s interactions with the city council, which in 1906 awarded him the permit to build his theater on the Avenue des Champs-Élysées and, in 1909, withdrew it. The chronology of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, offered in this chapter, includes the analysis of Astruc’s interactions with national and international financial sponsors, and supporters and detractors of his project, which included local artists, politicians, Parisian citizens, and the Press. Chapter 6 also considers different
hypotheses surrounding the actual aesthetic concept underlying the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. It presents different arguments that, although publically rejected by Astruc, connect this theater with Richard Wagner’s aesthetic ideals. However, in addition to its plausible Wagnerism, the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées has also been seen in the light of artistic eclecticism. For this reason, this chapter utilizes programs, correspondence, and blueprints to determine the nature and the validity of such claims.

1.3 Significance of Study

As the first comprehensive study of Gabriel Astruc’s professional activities as an entrepreneur, impresario, music publisher, writer, and theater director, the present dissertation attempts to build a comprehensive profile of a successful impresario in fin-de-siècle Paris as a multifaceted character whose work required a high level of proficiency in several, and sometimes seemingly unrelated, activities. Also, it illuminates the dynamics of the music business in Paris, including aspects of sponsorship, promotion, programming, and planning events. Similarly, this dissertation allows the reader to understand the dynamics of the music-making business in Paris as the cultural capital of the time.

This work also connects different aspects related to sponsorship, promotion, publishing, and artistic management that affected greatly the Parisian musical and artistic scene. Numerous examples and case studies illustrate the relationship between arts sponsors from the Parisian haute-société and Astruc as the organizer of many of the private events they hosted. Such connections allow the reader to understand the mechanisms through which ancien and new repertoires and forms interacted. This dissertation also offers the most comprehensive chronology to date of the entire process of realization of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, arguably the pinnacle of Astruc’s career.
In presenting a comprehensive study showing and connecting Astruc’s professional activities in the context of the fin de siècle, this dissertation presents the impresario both as skillful businessman and cultural promoter. Through his activities as organizer of musical events of different characteristics, artistic manager, music publisher, theater director, writer, and journalist, Astruc not only achieved financial success and social recognition, he also absorbed, responded to, and redirected cultural trends. This work presents the impresario not only as an organizer of events but also as an individual with a critical role in creating and reshaping the musical landscape in Paris. In such a reality the successful impresario helped to reaffirm some aesthetic genres and, simultaneously, establish new ones. Additionally, he contributed to establishing a dialogue between seemingly unrelated musical traditions and practices such as the so-called light classical and the avant-garde as well the national vis-à-vis the foreign.

1.4 Limitations and Directions for Future Research

As one of the first scholarly works devoted to the professional activities of Gabriel Astruc, this work only represents a starting point. As in most large-scale academic projects, the outcome of this dissertation supersedes the expectations I had when I began the research process. In this case, the significant amount of possibilities to complement this work is greater than the humble contribution I hope it represents. For this reason, this introduction also contemplates some limitations and directions for future research, a brief description of the research that I was not able to complete during my one-year residence in Paris and some of the issues that need further research. Due to the nature of the limitations and the extent of the topic, I anticipate revisiting some archives in Paris expanding my research to other archives in France and the United States.
The principal limitation for the present dissertation lies in the fact that, due to the variety of Astruc’s professional activities, many sources are scattered in different archives and still remain unstudied. An example of this limitation is presented in Chapter 3, which explores the connections between Astruc and *Musica* (and its supplement *Album Musica*), arguably the most important illustrated magazine devoted to music published in Paris at this time. Astruc’s role in the creation of *Musica*, his close connection with characters such as Charles Joly, Robert Brussel, Georges Pioch, and other contributors to the magazine, and the synchronicity between many of the affairs of Astruc’s Société Musicale and the content of *Musica*, suggest that Astruc might have envisioned in *Musica* a vehicle to promote his music business. However, in spite of Astruc’s possible ability or intent to influence the content of this publication, and due to the extent and popularity of the events organized by his Société Musicale, it seems unlikely for a magazine of the scope of *Musica* not to cover them, regardless of its links to Astruc.

The fact that, after the creation of the magazine, and despite his permanent involvement with it, Astruc’s name does not show in the credits or list of contributors might also suggest that he distanced himself to prevent the appearance of a conflict of interest through the journal’s promotion of activities organized by his Société Musicale. However, this hypothesis requires further inquiry for several details related to the connection between *Musica* and Astruc remain uncertain.\(^{20}\) For instance, in the documents consulted for the present study, there is no solid evidence suggesting that Astruc was on Lafitte’s payroll. A contractual connection between Astruc and Lafitte

would affect our understanding of Astruc’s role in *Musica*. Also, it would reveal important
details of the way Astruc conducted business and other issues related to ethics and
journalism. In future research, I hope to gather more documentation that further
illustrates Astruc’s involvement with *Musica* and its supplement.

This work contemplates an analysis of fin-de-siècle Paris through an understanding
of Astruc’s work. However, after exploring numerous projects organized by Astruc
through La Société Musicale such as 1905 *La Saison Italienne* in Paris I realized that, in
order to understand Astruc’s work as impresario, it is crucial to study the work of other
impresarios in Paris and its impact on Astruc’s business. It seems likely that, as suggested
in Chapter 4, through the mediation of other impresarios such as Victor Maurel (1848-
1923), Astruc was able to work with competing companies such as Sonzongno and
Ricordi and organize operatic performances and promote artistic exchanges between
Italian singers and the opera scene in France Time limitations, however, have prevented
me from accessing other archival materials related to other Parisian impresarios and
theater directors of the time such as Léon Carvalho (1825-1897) and Angelo Neumann
(1838-1910).21

The collection of Astruc’s papers at the Archives Nationales mostly contains
information related to the activities of La Société Musicale, founded in 1904. The
difficulties accessing primary sources related to Astruc’s activities as impresario before this

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21 The Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris contains a significant number of correspondence
and other relevant documents, which I will attempt to consult in the near future. See, for
http://www.worldcat.org/wcidentities/viaf-49489251. For a study on Carvalho and its
connections with the Opéra-Comique see Lesley Wright, “Carvalho at the Opéra-
Comique (1876-1887): L’art de se hâter lentement.” In *Music, Theater and Cultural Transfer*,
date have prevented me from exploring his involvement with activities such as the circus. From his memoirs and other documents, it is clear that Astruc developed a partnership with Armand Levy not only to write and produce circus revues in Paris but also to the allegedly create an art journal called *l'Amateur*. Little is known about circus revues in Paris during this time period and also about the extent of the partnership between Astruc, as Surtac, and Lévy. Surviving documents, mostly posters and critiques of these circus revues, suggest that music played an important role in such productions and that composers and performers such as Erik Satie and Yvette Gilbert often participated.

The extent of Astruc’s involvement in circus revues remains unknown a certain ambiguity surrounds the nature of the genre and its significance. Sources do not show whether new music was commissioned or composers recycled their own work, or if the musical selection depended on third parties. A similar situation occurs with the texts used in these activities. However, sources do reveal that the production of circus revues occupied an important place among Astruc’s activities, particularly before 1900. Consequently, further inquiry might show not only Astruc’s involvement with the production of circus revues but also unknown details of this genre and its possible impact on Parisian culture during the *fin de siècle*. A priority for future research is to locate

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23 Armand Levy often appears in other documents as A. Lévy, Allévy, or Alévy.

primary sources, such as *Couplets Chantés dans Paris à la Blague* by Surtac and Lévy, which I was not able to access during my research (see bibliography).

Also, there are still many gaps in the list of publications by Astruc’s publishing house. Although the material contained in Chapter 5 will give the reader a fair idea of Astruc’s role as a music publisher, the lack of extant copies and other primary sources for many of these pieces not only prevented me from presenting a comprehensive list of the music published by Astruc but also from offering a complete chronology of his work in the music publishing business. A complete list of Astruc’s publications of compositions by important music figures of the time such as Wanda Landowska can only be hypothetical under the present circumstances. Besides Landowka’s, I expect to be able to trace individual collections containing works by composers connected to the musical editions of La Société Musicale and whose pieces are only found in advertisements or catalogues. Collections currently available include the Sebastian B. Schlesinger collection (Harvard), Liane de Pougy, and Paul Delmas.25

Additionally, I am hopeful that new visits to the Archives Nationales and the Bibliothèque Nationale as well as other Parisian archives at the Bibliothèques Municipales de Prêt et Spécialisées will allow me to gather new information to illustrate comprehensively Astruc’s activities as an entrepreneur before 1902 and complete the catalogue of his music and literary publications. Additionally, I hope through additional research to confirm some of what can only be presented in this dissertation as hypotheses,

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such as the possible socio-economic and political causes associated with the premature closing of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées in 1913, suggested in Chapter 6.

One of the most significant discoveries in this study is the network that supported Astruc and facilitated the realization of his most important projects, including the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. Like Astruc, some of his closest financial sponsors, among them the most wealthy and powerful bankers and investors of the time, were Jewish. These included individuals with the eminent family names of Camondo, Deutsch, and Rothschild, among many others. Presumably, the power and money that characters such as the aforementioned injected into Astruc’s projects not only helped him achieve his most expensive artistic goals but also allowed him to connect with other patrons of similar wealth. Astruc also created an international network of wealthy patrons such as William K. Vanderbilt, Pierpont Morgan, and Otto Kahn. Such an international circle became determinant for the construction of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées and the establishment of the infrastructure that facilitated the artistic exchange between Paris and the Americas. The significant number of performers, composers, conductors, and even entire opera companies that traveled between Paris and the United States during the beginning of the twentieth century shows the impact of such a strong network of supporters. Consequently, the circle of Jewish patronage that Astruc created around his

26 See Chapter 6.
27 As an entrepreneur Astruc enjoyed of the recognition of the press in the United States. See, for instance, the article “M. Astruc Coming Here,” The New York Times (December 7, 1907.) In this article, the American newspaper included an interview of Astruc, who stated, “I am particularly enthusiastic over the support which the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées has already received in America. As you know, the American committee, which is headed by Mrs. W. K. Vanderbilt, includes Mrs. J.J. Astro, Mr. and Mrs. Otto Kahn, J. Pierpont Morgan, and James Stillman. I have the utmost faith in any enterprise which combines American enterprise and French art, and this entente, which has so long existed between France and America, is constantly growing stronger.”
professional activities and personal life is worth further scrutiny, for it could provide valuable information about the extent of Jewish support in shaping the cultural milieu around this important time for music history.28 In addition, it can help to identify the impact of Jewish sponsorship for the trans-Atlantic artistic exchange that, through some of Astruc’s projects, occurred between Paris and the Americas, particularly the United States.

Another historical question that, due to time limitations and access to primary sources, I was not able to consider, was the reason for the financial collapse of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées in 1913. On December 15, 1913 the front page of the Parisian journal *Gil Blas* featured Astruc’s article “A propos d’un temple enseveli.”29 In this article, Astruc reflects nostalgically on the history and misfortune of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. Such a financial collapse is easily explained by arithmetic, for the expenses associated with the theater were greater than the revenue it generated. However, it seems rather contradictory to think that an individual with Astruc’s experience, reputation, connections, and financial support, did not understand the risks of such a project. However, he does not offer any clues as to the causes of the financial collapse of this “temple.”

Most likely, for Astruc, the possibility of bankruptcy represented a rather unlikely scenario. The limited amount of documents related to this issue that I was able to study

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28 Jann Pasler has acknowledged the connection between Astruc and society figures such as countess Greffulhe. Pasler cites a review published in *La Libre Parole* of the Parisian premiere of Strauss’ *Salomé* in 1907. This was a performance organized by Astruc’s Société Musicale. “A review of this event in *La Libre Parole*,” says Pasler, “criticizes the countess Greffulhe, the financial sponsor, for supporting a concert ‘organized by a Jew, Astruc, conducted by a Jew, Colonne, and of work composed by a Jew, Richard Strauss.’” See Jann Pasler, *Writing Through Music: Essays on Music, Culture, and Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 313.

suggests a wide array of hypotheses, which I was not able to either confirm or disprove. Part of my future research includes the exploration of new archives where I hope to find alternative causes for the financial crisis that led to the closing of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées.  

Another important topic to consider is the impact that Astruc’s business had on other countries, including the United States. As this study recognizes, Astruc facilitated the artistic exchange between Paris and the United States. Archival sources show that La Société Musicale sent, sometimes upon request, catalogues of its music publications to American libraries. A future comparison between *Musica* and *Album Musica* with other late-nineteenth-century journals that featured illustrations might offer new insights of transatlantic connections in music journalism. Comparisons with American journals such as *The Etude* and *Musical Courier* could reveal if Astruc had been influenced by those journals, especially since he spoke about the importance of his American experiences in Chicago during the World’s Fair of 1893.

The international artistic dialogue that Astruc facilitated through his activities might also connect him with popular music styles and genres such as the arrival of the “cake walk” in Paris. Steven Moore Whiting, for instance says: “He [Astruc] knew from personal experience that the dance originated in the American South, that many of the earliest publications stemmed from Chicago, and that it was prettified in New York. It would be further prettified in Paris [...] Astruc’s prediction that local tunesmiths would

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quickly take up the new idiom was likewise correct.” Unfortunately, time constrains as well as the narrow focus of this dissertation prevented me from gathering evidence related to this topic. I hope to be able to pursue the Franco-American connections through the study of available documents in existing collections housed at the Library of Congress, the Newberry Library, the Metropolitan Opera Archives, and the New York Public Library among others.

These are only some of the numerous interrogations related to the impact of Astruc’s activities outside of France that provide openings for future researchers. This dissertation shows that Paris not only established Trans-Atlantic connections with the United States but also with different Latin American countries. Future studies that contemplate the impact of Astruc in shaping international trans-Atlantic connections between Paris and countries such as Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Canada, and the United States, would complement the present dissertation. It is my hope to address the aforementioned issues as I continue to explore new archives in other cities in Europe and the Americas and to present these and other findings in book form.

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31 For a discussion of Satie and Astruc in the context of circus revues since 1888, see Steven Moore Whiting, Satie the Bohemian: From Cabaret to Concert Hall (New York: Oxford, 2002), 300. In this paragraph, Whiting reflects on an article about the cake walk that Astruc as “Surtac” wrote for Le Figaro. See, Surtac, “La Vie de Paris: Le ‘Cake-Walk’,” Le Figaro (Nov 15, 1902).
Chapter 2. Gabriel Astruc as *homme de lettres*

2.1 Writings and Publications

Throughout his life Gabriel Astruc worked actively as journalist, creative writer, editor, and publisher. As a writer he came in contact with organizations and individuals involved in commerce, management, communications, and public relations, and he also developed artistic collaborations through his literary endeavors. Astruc’s writing before 1900 does not concern music. This chapter analyzes Astruc’s output as a writer to identify underlying aspects of his non-musical activities that relate to his musical and artistic ones. For this purpose, this chapter explores several aspects of Astruc’s activities within the world of writing and publishing: his literary output and his journalistic activities. Astruc’s connections with the journal *Musica* and *Album Musica*, its supplement, are discussed in Chapter 3.

The first part of this chapter consists of an examination of his literary output and the circumstances in which such production occurred. The analysis will contemplate the only three known published literary works written by Astruc: *Les Morales du Rastaquouère* (Ollendorff, 1886), *Le Bain de la Mariée* (Ollendorff, 1888), and *La Matérielle* (Librairie Morièrè, 1903). The second part is an investigation of his activities as a journalist within the context of the Parisian press up to 1902, the year of the founding of the illustrated music journal *Musica*.

2.2 Astruc as Surtac

Before c.1904 Astruc signed his work using a penname. “Surtac,” the name presumably created by Astruc himself as an anagram of his true last name, appears in all the projects related to circus revues in which he was involved. It also appears in the columns he wrote for Parisian newspapers such as *Le Gaulois* and *Le Figaro*. In addition, his
penname is found in articles, reviews, and publicity that made reference to his activities other than writing. Occasionally, and besides “Surtac,” Astruc also appeared as “Gabriel de Surtac,” an interesting combination of both his penname and his real first name. Only in his more literary and sizable published works, such as \textit{La Matérielle} and \textit{Le Bain de la Mariée}, did Astruc consistently use his proper name.

The evidence found in his output as well as his correspondence does not reveal if Astruc had specific motivations for adopting a penname. Additionally, it seems unclear if both ideas, the usage of a penname and the penname’s derivation, originated from editors, publishers, or from Astruc himself. One possible reason for utilizing a penname is related to Astruc’s necessity to distance himself from the possibility of any anti-Semitic action against him or his work. By signing with a different surname, Astruc might have searched for a certain degree of anonymity, perhaps seeking to maintain a safe distance from his own Jewish background. If this were the case, Astruc’s efforts to conceal his Jewish background, although they might have succeeded in the early years of his career, were ultimately futile. During the 1910s Astruc would not escape the anti-Semitic campaigns of the \textit{Action Française}. This organization, well-known for its anti-Semitic discourse, successfully intervened, along with other collectives, in the process that resulted in revoking the already obtained permit to build the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées terrain on the Avenue des Champs-Élysées.\footnote{For a discussion of the process of planning and constructing the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, see Chapter 6.}

A second possible motivation for Astruc to utilize a penname could be related to a strategy designed to compartmentalize different professional fields, for he used his real name in other activities such as musical editions. In fact, it was not until he created his
Société Musicale in 1904 that his real name began to appear consistently. After 1905, the frequency of the usage of “Surtac” decreased substantially, while the usage of Astruc’s own name increased. “Surtac” is not to be found in any of the documents dated after 1907 that can be found in the various archives in France and the United States.

The third hypothesis suggests that Astruc’s usage of a penname stemmed from a familiar practice within the literary milieu in which he worked. In highly opinionated fin-de-siècle Paris, where the usage of pseudonyms by writers in different fields such as journalism and criticism had been common even before the nineteenth century, this theory seems probable. The popularity of pseudonymy in nineteenth-century Paris is evident in writings by authors such as Georges d’Heylli, who in 1887 compiled and published the third augmented and revised edition of a dictionary of pseudonyms, originally published 1866. The mere existence of this publication as a reference volume reflects the strong tradition of pseudonymy in Paris during this time. D’Heylli explains in the volume’s preface that “today [1887] pseudonymy has spread and extended to such a point that the same pseudonyms are often connected to different writers, and the holders of these ephemeral pseudonyms are no longer attached [specifically] to them.” (Aujourd’hui la pseudonymie s’est généralisée et étendue à un tel point que les mêmes pseudonymes souvent à des écrivains différents, et que les titulaires de ces pseudonymes, presque toujours éphémères, ne paraissent plus y attacher.)

The entry for Astruc’s penname in d’Heylli’s dictionary of pseudonyms is not related to his work as a columnist, although by 1887 Astruc had used it consistently in

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2 Georges d'Heylli, *Dictionnaire des pseudonymes* (Nouv. éd. entièrement refondue et augm.) recueillis par Georges d'Heylli, (Paris: Dentu, 1887), II. Interestingly enough, Georges d'Heylli (1833-1902) is, in fact, the pseudonym utilized by Edmont-Antoine Poinot, who, according to his own entry in this dictionary, also used pseudonyms throughout his life such as Edmond de Freytag and Edmont de Saint-Paul, among others.
that context. D’Heylli confirms the “Surtac”-Astruc connection in a reference to one of Astruc’s publications: “A piquant little book, les Morales du rastaquouère, published under this pseudonym-anagram with foreword by Coquelin junior and illustrations by Caran d’Ache, has as its author Mr. Gabriel Astruc.” (Une piquante brochure, les Morales du rastaquouère, publiée sous ce pseudonyme-anagramme avec préface the Coquelin cadet et illustrations de Caran d’Ache, a pour auteur M. Gabriel Astruc.)

Most likely the identity of “Surtac” was known within the sociocultural environment surrounding Astruc. However, the extent to which the general reader recognized the connection between Astruc and “Surtac” is difficult to establish. One could hypothesize, in sum, that the existence and usage of “Surtac” in Astruc’s early professional life (up to 1904) most likely followed common practice as it complied with the demands of this work, masked some of his defining identity factors such as religious background, and negotiated the notions of a writer’s identity and the milieu in which he produced his output.

2.3 The French Press

The press was the most efficient mechanism of social dialogue in the realm of communications during fin-de-siècle in France. In fact, the press, thanks to its popularity, permeated nearly every aspect of the nation. The press was by no means an objective “participant-observer” of the French society, but reflected the subjective views of cultural, political, economic, and social life.4

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3 d’Heylli, 424.
By the mid-nineteenth century, Parisian journals continuously voiced the ideas of nearly every political wing and socio-cultural stratum. The press as a medium of communication was as dynamic, polemic, and unstable as the topics it covered. Written material offered in journals consisted, in large, of opinion columns. Journals were born and quickly disappeared, and many of them frequently experienced structural changes or suffered from long periods of interruptions in their printing. They were often absorbed, or bought by other journals, in a dynamic process as if they mimicked cycles of natural phenomena. During the early 1900s, the role of the French printing press intensified as the most efficient vehicle to represent different voices of the already polarized French socio-political climate. Such intensification was the product of continuous economic growth and social permeation that had characterized the French press throughout the nineteenth century.

The existence of morning and evening editions and multiple formats of publications facilitated the social dialogue. Readers learned about morning news in the afternoon newspapers and vice versa. This rapid exchange of news and opinion facilitated the establishment of a dialogue between different publications with a relatively effective dynamic of communication. Recognizing the importance of the press becomes crucial for understanding French social interactions at multidimensional levels. André Spies, who has reflected on the role of the press during this time period, notices that: “a distinguishing feature of the French press—one that was even more marked at the end of the nineteenth century than it is today, when everyone is quite aware of it—makes it quite possible to identify particular newspapers as representing a monarchist position, for
instance, or a conservative republican, a radical republican or a socialist position.”

Representation with such a degree of exclusivity through the printed mass media empowered numerous diverse groups. The press, or a particular periodical, gave them social visibility and legitimized their beliefs. This was, indeed, a powerful social representation that fueled feelings such as radicalization or conformity and transcended different realms of French society including, among many others, religion, socio-economic status, and gender. Towards the end of the nineteenth century the representation of multiple values contrasted with the idea of finding and gathering unifying concepts around which the notion of French citizenship could be defined. The re-definition of French values and the idea of French identity were interpreted differently within various Parisian socio-political and cultural spheres, particularly after the reforms institutionalized by the Third Republic. The process of transformation leading to extreme polarization among political fractions intensified in the last decades of the nineteenth century, when

…republicans were battling monarchists for control in the 1870s and reforming education, rethinking French traditions, debating colonialist expansion, and promoting eclecticism, competition, and liberalism in the 1880s. And much had to be reconsidered in the 1890s as socialist congresses and anarchists demanded social justice and workers’ empowerment, progressistes politicians sought political realignments among conflict-ridden elites, a nationalist right began to emerge, and the Dreyfus affair split the population into two groups separated by irreconcilable ideological differences.

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6 Jann Pasler, *Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2009), 32. Pasler also discusses the significance of the reform in education and its connection with the arts during the Third Republic in France. The idea of education was connected with the idea of finding common identity-defining values. The reform in education, explains Pasler, “laid the foundations for public support of the arts in France.”
In his book *Opera, State and Society in the Third Republic*, Spies also addresses issues of music criticism in the press and presents interesting discussions of the role of the printed press mass media as a mechanism for voicing different socio-political, economic, or cultural agendas. “The French press,” explains Spies, “adopted a frankly political or ideological approach to journalism…”

Astruc’s activities as a member of the Parisian press reveal different aspects of his writing style and literary influences, as well as the extent of his exposure to different cultural fields and the musical scene. Because of the strong political and ideological orientation of the press, an analysis of these activities can assist in understanding particular issues regarding Astruc’s political affiliations, social convictions, and religious beliefs.

### 2.4 Astruc within the World of the Parisian Press

An examination of Gabriel Astruc’s literary and non-literary output displays a mastery of several writing styles. However, Astruc’s development as a writer did not always occur through the systematic creation of literary works. The beginnings of his most prolific period of literary writing production, up to 1903, came about through his work in journalism and the editing business. As a journalist, Astruc rapidly progressed through the different positions in which he worked, acquiring the technical skills as a writer and editor that he would exhibit throughout his life.

Besides giving him the techniques of an efficient writer, Astruc’s work as a journalist provided him with invaluable experiences within the world of the press. Understanding the capabilities of the press within the socio-political milieu would prove extremely useful throughout his later career as an entrepreneur, manager, and theater manager.

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7 Spies, *supra*, 139.
director. Through journalism, Astruc developed a profound understanding not only of the craft, but also of the professional opportunities that journalism implicitly offered. It was precisely because of his success as a journalist, in addition to some valuable connections, that Astruc received the invitation to attend as attaché to the French Chief Commissioner for Expositions to the Chicago World’s Fair in 1893. Through his work in communications and with different publishing houses, Astruc familiarized himself with the logistics of the publishing process.

Indeed, by 1904, when Astruc founded the Société Musicale, he had already been exposed to the craft of writing and publishing for nearly two decades, for he worked as a columnist from 1885 for the publishing houses of Paul Ollendorff and Wilhelm Enoch. While working at Paul Ollendorff, Éditeur, Astruc became acquainted with the activities of other traditional Parisian editors and publishers such as the brothers Michel and Calmann Lévy, Georges Charpentier, and Alphonse Lamerre, among others. In 1897, two years after returning to work with Enoch, who a few years later became his father-in-law, Astruc founded his own publishing house and began to publish scores and other music-related works in Paris.

According to his own memoirs, while working as a columnist for Ollendorff and Enoch, Astruc began to write theater criticism around 1885, with a column entitled “Le Carnet d’un Lecteur” for a “feuille whose name did not correspond to its aspirations: Le Succès.”

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8 Astruc’s memoirs and the collection of his papers do not contain evidence that suggest the year Astruc stopped working for Paul Ollendorff, Éditeur. However, in 1895, Astruc rejoined the publishing house of his cousin Wilhelm Enoch. Also between 1887 and 1891 he organized several circus revues in Paris. Possibly, his professional engagement with Ollendorff’s publishing house ended sometime before 1889, when he joined “l’Agence Dalzai, where he covered presidential activities, movements of heads of state, activities at l’Elysée and the embassies, etc.” See New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, “Register of the Papers of Gabriel Astruc, 1906-1914.” Accessed June 10, 2013. http://www.nypl.org/sites/default/files/archivalcollections/pdf/danastruc.pdf.
Unfortunately, this entry in his memoirs is the only evidence of this early column by Astruc.\(^9\) However, Astruc’s own account of this particular activity reveals that he developed important connections with some of the “princes of literary criticism” of the time such as Clément Caraguel, Barbey d’Aurevilly, and Armand de Pontmartin.\(^10\)

Astruc’s journalistic work dating pre-1886, when he “revolved around the world of theater” represented an “apprenticeship where I [Astruc] collected little snubs, often compensated by the balm provided by the kind of aimiable notes signed by [Henri] Meilhac and [Ludovic] Halévy, Sarah Bernhardt or [Gabrielle] Réjane…” (Gravitant désormais dans le monde du théâtre, j’y fis mon apprentissage en récoltant quelques petites avanies, vite compensées par le baume d’autographes aimables, signés Meilhac et Halévy, Sara Bernhardt ou Réjane…)\(^11\)

Efforts to obtain evidence of Astruc’s activities as a journalist before 1886 seem futile and probably impractical for the purpose of this project. In fact, Astruc admits that his daily work for Le Moniteur Universal, an evening newspaper, consisted of sending

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\(^9\) Gabriel Astruc, Le Pavillon des Fantômes: Mémoires (Paris: Mémoire de Livre: 2003), 135. It is often difficult to establish if small periodicals such as Le Succès are preserved, even in part. A surviving copy of this journal is housed at the library of l’insititut de France, in Paris. However, it was not available for consultation at the time of my research. The recently launched webpage of the Système Universitaire de Documentation, a collective catalogue containing information from multiple research libraries, indicates that the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève contains a microfilm copy of this journal. See, “Système Universitaire de Documentation.” Accessed December 27, 2013. http://www.sudoc.abes.fr/xslt//DB=2.1/SET=2/TTL=6/PRS=HOL/SHW?T=6&HLIB=751063001

\(^10\) Astruc, Pavillon, 135.

\(^11\) Astruc, Pavillon, 136. Meilhac and Halévy were leading librettists/writers—co-librettists for many Offenbach works, as well as Bizet’s Carmen; Similarly Gabrielle Réjane and Sara Berhardt were leading actresses.
“[theater related] Informative short pieces or paragraphs more or less taken out of/from the morning newspapers.” (Petits entréfilets plus o moins découpés dans les journaux du matin.)\textsuperscript{12}

2.5 Astruc, \textit{Le Figaro}, and Other Papers.

1886 was particularly important for Gabriel Astruc’s career as a journalist. During this year, the literary supplement to the popular Parisian newspaper \textit{Le Figaro} published “La Fosse aux ours” (The Bear’s Den), Astruc’s first article in this periodical.\textsuperscript{13} His contribution to the five-page supplement represented a milestone for the career of the twenty-one-year-old Astruc. Astruc, as “Surtac,” presented, with great detail, issues of significant overcrowding that the business of publishing in Paris encountered at the time. The “bear’s den” was the name used to signify the room in which all manuscripts were confined while awaiting consideration. According to the article, the number of manuscripts submitted exceeded significantly the abilities of publishing houses to edit and publish them. This excess occurred, in part, because of the popularity of writing and reading and the extensive literary production by professional as well as amateur writers. This was a continuing tradition of high-quality French literary production, particularly throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In addition, the idea of being published in an environment deeply influenced by the written word seemed appealing to writers of multiple backgrounds and different calibers. Fin-de-siècle Paris seemed to encourage literary production and made this city a place where “everybody wanted to write.”\textsuperscript{14}

In “La Fosse aux ours,” Astruc offered a clear perspective of the complete process of editing and publishing literary works at the turn of the century. The article opens by

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{13} Surtac, “La Fosse aux ours,” \textit{Le Figaro, Supplément Littéraire} (December 11, 1886): 2.
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid.
outlining a dialogue between the librarian at a publishing house and a writer who brings a manuscript for publication, a situation that, according to the article, occurs “twenty times each day:”

-Sir, the book that I bring to you is a masterpiece.
-Is this one of your friend’s manuscripts?
-No, it is mine.
-Is it a Roman?
-A roman de moeurs of which you will sell 50,000 copies in Paris.\footnote{Roman de moeurs represents a literary genre, popular at the turn of the century, often referred in English as a “novel of manners.”}
-We can’t expect anything better…
-The only thing is, I need an answer within three days.
-Sir!, dream on! You are number one thousand and four! And your predecessors have been recommended by ministers, academicians, journalists, or personal friends. It is impossible to give you a response sooner than a month.
-Seriously?
-Fifteen days, with luck.
-That’s ok; I will come back, but read my work thoroughly. Fifty thousand, sir. That is definitive.

-Monsieur, le livre que je vous apporte est un chef-d’oeuvre.
-C’est le manuscrit d’un de vos amis?
-Non, il est de moi.
-Un roman?
-Un roman de moeurs don’t vous vendrez 50,000 exéplaires à Paris.
-Nous ne demandons pas mieux…
-Seulement, il me faut une réponse d’ici trois jours.
-Ah! Monsieur, songez donc, vous êtes le mille et quatrième! Et vos prédéceseurs sont recommandés par des ministres, des académiciens, des journalistes ou des amis personnels. Pas moyen de vous donner une réponse avant un mois.
-Vrai?
-Quinze jours, avec un tour de faveur.
-C’est bien, je repasserai, mais lisez bien mon œuvre. Cinquante mille, monsieur, c’est forcé.

Subsequently, the article describes activities of the publisher’s staff:

The publisher places the manuscript in an envelope, seals it, labels it, assigns a number to it, processes its registration, and badaboum! One more [manuscript] goes to the bear’s den. Next to the den’s door there are three or four unfortunate people: the publisher’s
readers. Each day, from dawn to dusk, they dive into piles of papers of varied formats…

*Le libraire prend le manuscrit, le fait envelopper, ficeler, étiqueter, numérotier, enregistrer, et patatras! Un de plus dans la fosse aux ours. A la porte de cette fosse. A la porte de cette fosse veillent trois ou quatre melheureux: les lecteurs de la librairie. Chaque jour, de l’aube au crépuscule, ils se plongent dans ces paperasses amoncelées dont le format varie…*¹⁶

For the modern researcher the importance of the publication of Astruc’s "La Fosse aux ours" is twofold. First, it offers a clear overview which includes the perspectives of both the editor and the writer, of the process of publishing literary works in Paris in the mid 1800s. In addition, it illustrates the dynamics of the relationship between writer and editor/publisher. Because of Astruc’s scrutiny of the difficulties within the editing and publishing business, he was able to explain in this article prevalent practices and trends within the Parisian literary milieu during this time. For instance, he points out the popularity of certain genres and topics among writers and/or publishers. According to the article, common topics and genres submitted to the publisher by different writers, besides *romans de moeurs*, included: “…cloak and dagger novels, historical narratives, literary portraits, monologues, dramas in verse, unedited acts, decadent poetry…” (*romans de cape et d’épée, pages d’histoire, portraits littéraires, monologues, drames en vers, actes inédites, poésies décadents…*)¹⁷

Second, this article reveals the extent of Astruc’s involvement in, and familiarity with, the editing and publishing field. Throughout this writing, Astruc’s detailed descriptions of protocols and interactions between writer and publisher, his insights into the process of editing and publishing, and his deep knowledge of the state of the literary repertoire at this time reveals his well-rounded understanding of the publishing business

¹⁷ Ibid.
in Paris. In addition, this article exhibits the impact of Astruc’s previous experiences with publishers such as Ollendorff and Enoch, through whom he was introduced to the editing and publishing business in Paris. As discussed earlier, the connections established by Astruc early in his career with Ollendorff and Enoch, Astruc’s first cousin, would play a significant role in his activities as a music editor and publisher. Astruc seems more interested most in the dynamics of publishing and editing; how it operated as opposed to the writer’s perspective. This reflects a mindset less connected with the artistic side and more with the entrepreneurial aspect.

2.6 Astruc, Le Figaro, and the Expositions Universelles of Paris (1889) and Chicago (1893)

The extensive collection of papers of Gabriel Astruc housed in the Archives Nationales does not include documents related to Astruc’s journalistic work for Le Figaro. Nonetheless, the issue of June 8, 1889 of the literary supplement to Le Figaro offers an interesting clue about the relationship between Gabriel Astruc and this newspaper. Further, Astruc’s memoirs indicate that, in addition to his contributions as a writer, he led special projects for Le Figaro.

In 1889, during the Paris World’s Fair, Le Figaro and Le Petit Journal published a special edition of Le Guide Bleu, a 300-page illustrated guide for patrons of this event. Although this guide does not show a direct connection with Gabriel Astruc, there is a reference to him in an advertisement for Le Guide Bleu in the aforementioned literary supplement of June 1889. The publicity for this visitor’s guide praised its usefulness as a tool for any visitor to navigate the Paris World’s Fair, noted its significance as a document.

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18 For a discussion of Astruc’s activities as a music publisher, see Chapter 5.
of respectable literary quality, and praised the richness of its format and the numerous maps and other illustrations it contained:

The first necessity for the visitor to the Exposition is to obtain a guide to orient himself among the wonders that it contains. The two biggest newspapers in France have joined to offer the public a volume, the text of which was entrusted to a Pleiades of writers of significant reputation. This book—Le Guide Bleu—is, therefore, a valuable guide as well as an interesting work, which one will keep in libraries as a souvenir of the 1889 Exposition.\(^{20}\)

Le premier soin du visiteur de l'exposition est de se munir d'un guide pour se diriger au milieu des merveilles qu'elle contient. Les deux plus grands journaux de France se sont réunis pour offrir au public un volume, dont la rédaction a été confiée à un pleiade d'écrivans en renom. Ce livre—le Guide Bleu—est donc à la fois un indicateur précieux et un ouvrage intéressant que l'on gardera dans les bibliothèques comme un souvenir de l'Exposition de 1889.

The announcement directed the reader and potential buyer to return a completed purchase form to “M. Gabriel Astruc, at the Administration of Le Figaro, 26, r. Drouot, Paris.”\(^{21}\) Based on the popularity of the Paris World's Fair in 1889 it seems likely that Le Guide Bleu was a fairly successful publication. Attempts to define Astruc's relationship with Le Figaro in detail based on his article “La Fosse aux ours” of 1886 is extremely difficult, for there is no other tangible evidence (e.g. contracts, correspondence, or other columns) that gives a clear picture of the nature of such a relationship. Nonetheless, this advertisement for Le Guide Bleu allows us to connect Astruc with this paper in a role other than a writer. In spite of the small size and the rather discrete appearance of Astruc's name in this advertisement, it reveals that his professional connections with Le Figaro included occasional written contributions as well as administrative duties.

\(^{20}\) Le Figaro, Supplément Littéraire (June 8, 1889): 91.

\(^{21}\) Ibid. “Renvoyer la réponse à M. Gabriel Astruc, à l'Administration du Figaro, 26, r. Drouot, Paris.”
Each World’s Fair, as an event of international scope and participation, provided different countries with the opportunity to display their particular strengths in a variety of areas. France and the United States were among the protagonists of expanding industrialization on both continents during the fin-de-siècle. In addition to the rapid industrial development and the implementation of new technologies, the most important cosmopolitan cultural centers were located in their countries. Even though the World’s Fairs of the late nineteenth century did not exclude cultural events, they relied heavily on exhibitions of trade, cutting-edge technology, and industrial advancements. Areas such as communications always represented a clear goal for those in charge of creating, implementing, and displaying new technological inventions at the Fairs.22

In her discussion of the sonic environment and the presence of new sonic technologies such as the telephone in France during the 1889 World Fair in Paris, Annegret Fauser points out: “while America was the place where men of true talent were able to forge personal and scientific progress, it was in France, the center of culture and science, where they would come to fruition in civilized manners.”23 From Fauser’s analysis it can be inferred that World’s Fairs served the purpose of fueling nationalist

22 Often, new inventions were created for the Fairs. There is a significant amount of research devoted to the advancements of the World Fairs. See, for instance, Erik Mattie, World Fairs, (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998); Robert Rydell, World of Fairs: The Century-of-Progress Expositions, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993). These works emphasize the pervasive presence of technological advancements, particularly during the fin-de-siècle. The Parisian Exposition Universelle of 1889, for instance, presented exhibitions featuring the telephone (as discussed above) and, among other advancements, Edison’s phonograph, and, through structures such as the Tour Eiffel, new usages of structural iron and steel in modern engineering and architecture. The Chicago World’s Fair of 1893 (or Columbian Exposition), an exposition recognized for the usage of electric illumination throughout the facilities, included a Machinery Building and featured multiple inventions involving electricity.

narratives. From Fauser’s analysis it can be inferred that World’s Fairs served the purpose of fueling nationalist narratives. The nationalist spirit behind the centenary commemoration of the French Revolution cast a socio-political undertone to all activities of the World’s Fair of 1889 and Chicago’s celebration of the “discovery” of America in 1492. Additionally, the influx of international visitors as well the concentration of the world’s attention provided the Fair’s host country with a position of economic and geopolitical advantage.

There is no evidence of other significant articles written by Astruc for Le Figaro or its literary supplement in subsequent years. Surtac, however, appears in some issues of Le Figaro between 1889 and 1901, though not as a central contributor. Next to the names of Armand Lévy and Rodolphe Berger, the name “Surtac” appears in small reviews and in short announcements related to circus revues and other events organized by Lévy, Berger, and himself in Paris between 1889 and 1901. In general, between the late 1880s and early 1890s, concrete evidence of Astruc’s writing is missing. Nonetheless, given Astruc’s tireless spirit and goal-oriented personality, to suggest that this was a period of professional hiatus is very unlikely. Biographical information, for instance, might suggest that Astruc’s other professional experiences around this time, including the publication of Le Guide Bleu, may be related one to another.

After his work with Le Guide Bleu, Astruc began to work as the “attaché au Commissariat principal des Expositions des Beaux-Arts en France et à l’étranger,” under the supervision of Roger-Ballu (1852-1908) who worked as “inspecteur général de Beaux-Arts” from 1883. Roger-Ballu, according to Astruc’s memoires “was happy to have near him a collaborator who know Paris and had some connections with the press.” ([Roger-Ballu],

24 Astruc, Pavillon, 274.)
était enchanté d’avoir auprès de lui un collaborateur qui connaissait Paris et possédait quelques relations dans la presse.)

In regards to Astruc’s developing professional activities, his role as a “secretary of the principal Commissioner for Fine Arts” at the Chicago World’s Fair would determine his approach to business from that point on. Unfortunately, there are no archival documents illustrating in detail Astruc’s duties during the Chicago World’s Fair. However, in his memoirs, Astruc acknowledges that “to my artistic duties of the Exposure of Chicago, the ministry of commerce added the mission of writing the official telegrams concerning the activities of the French Section” (A mes fonctions artistiques de l’Exposition de Chicago, le ministère du Commerce avait adjoint la mission de rédiger les télégrammes officiels concernant les activités de la Section française.) Astruc’s “artistic duties” remain unspecified throughout his memoirs. However, in 1929, Astruc recognized retrospectively the impact of this experience in the United States on his professional career, particularly on his work as a theater director.

It was through the contact with the leaders of the Chicago’s World Fair that I [Astruc] began the American training that represented the basis for my career as a theater director. If I was able to treat important business in a concise telegram, bring the NY opera to Châtelet, featured 500-member-choir of Leeds at Trocadéro, create the Grande Saison de Paris and build the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, it’s because I admired and understood the American mentality and conceived my projects under the dollar sign.

C’est au contact des dirigeants de l’Exposition de Chicago que je commençai la formation américaine qui fut à la base de ma carrière directoriale. Si j’ai vu grand, si j’ai pu traiter, sur un câble concis, des affaires considérables, transporter l’Opéra de New York au Châtelet, faire chanter au Trocadéro les cinq cents choristes de Leeds, créer la Grande Saison de Paris et construire le Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, c’est parce que j’ai admiré et compris la mentalité américaine et conçu mes projets sous le signe du dollar.

25 Ibid.
26 Astruc, Pavillon, 276.
27 Astruc, Pavillon, 286.
The importance of Franco-American connections in Astruc’s professional activities seems evident, particularly after 1900. These trans-Atlantic connections established by Astruc after his interaction with the World’s Fairs of Chicago and Paris in 1893 and 1889, respectively, influenced his approach to artist management, entrepreneurship, music publishing, and theater directorship.

In the preface to the 2003 edition of Astruc’s memoirs, Olivier Corpet acknowledges the importance of Astruc’s journey to the Chicago’s World Fair in 1893 and underlines the relevance of Astruc’s experiences with Ollendorff and Enoch during his later career:

If one understands the apparently decisive role of having traveled to the United States in 1893 during the Chicago World’s Fair for his [Astruc’s] “career as a director”…. if one admires his artistic cosmopolitanism and his great inventiveness in finding new forms of advertisement and communications; if one understands the importance [for Astruc] of his different activities in editing (particularly those with Enoch and Ollendorff publishing houses), one also understands that all those activities in journalism, social circles, organizing, and editing only found its result in the unique and exceptional project of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées.

Despite the brevity of Corpet’s reflections on the multiplicity of Astruc’s activities, his analysis reinforces the possibility of understanding Astruc’s numerous professional activities by observing their variety as well as the connections among them. The evidence linking Astruc with *Le Guide Bleu* and the Parisian *Exposition Universelle* of 1889 reinforces

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Corpet’s suggested connections between Astruc’s early professional activities within the publishing and editing business and the Chicago World’s Fair in 1893.

2.7 *Le Gaulois*

Astruc’s 1886 article for the literary supplement of *Le Figaro*, although significant for his career, was not his only contribution to a Parisian journal of wide readership during this period of his life. He also wrote for *Le Gaulois*, a newspaper with conservative ideology and massive circulation.

*Le Gaulois* was widely accepted by circles of the Parisian elite bourgeois. Scholars such as Eugene Weber recognize the popularity of *Le Gaulois* in Paris as well as its strong conservative affiliation. According to Weber, by 1910 “*Le Gaulois* was the most widely read newspaper in Paris society.”29 The interesting characters associated with *Le Gaulois* would offer any young columnist an ideal environment to learn the skill and develop a career in the business of journalism as well as editing and publishing. Among its contributors and directors, *Le Gaulois* included some of the most prominent writers and men of letters in Paris at the end of the century. The list included, for instance, the influential press baron Arthur Meyer (1844-1924), who, in 1882, became the director of this widely read Parisian journal. Other collaborators of Meyer at *Le Gaulois* included Paul Bourget, notable critic and novelist whose output included a group of poems that Debussy set to music at the end of the nineteenth century, Alfred Grévin, a graphic artist and co-founder of the Grévin museum, Abel Hermant, a polemicist and well-known writer, and Guy de Maupassant, the prestigious French writer considered one of the fathers of the modern short story.

Astruc’s contribution to *Le Gaulois* dates from 1887 with the article “Les grands ténors de la librairie.”30 Two years after his debut with *Le Figaro*, Astruc still used his penname to sign his work for *Le Gaulois*. Just as “The Bear’s Den,” “The Grand Ténors of the Bookshop” touches on issues related to publishing and editing of literary material. The expression *grand ténor de librairie* made reference, with an operatic metaphor, to widely read authors whose books became part of the literary canon and remained permanently in demand by the public. In his article, Surtac not only narrated the process through which a writer achieved success but also explained with a certain degree of irony that just as “Daudet, Zola, Maupassant, Ohnet or Richepin, the grand ténor of the bookshop has known the rebuffs of a humble beginning.”31 This article portrayed the precarious circumstances that surrounded the activity of literary writing. Only the fortune of having a willing publisher and a good review made it possible for a writer to become a “grand ténor.” Thus it became possible that “through miracle, luck or talent, the modest executant became in less than a month, a famous man—a grand ténor.”32

Likely, both of Astruc’s above-mentioned articles, “The Bear’s Den” and “The Grand Ténors of the Bookshop” were published within a three-month span. Despite the fact that these writings appeared in different newspapers, they exhibit a close topical connection. However, the approaches of the two articles seem complementary to one another. In contrast to “The Bear’s Den,” which addressed the Parisian publishing business from the publisher’s point of view, “The Grand Ténors of the Bookshop” considered it from the writer’s perspective. That he was able to portray both perspectives

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31 Ibid. *Qu’il s’appelle Daudet, Zola, Maupassant, Ohnet ou Richepin, le grand ténor de librairie a connu les rebuffades de l’humble début.*
32 Ibid. *Il est advenu—par miracle, par veine ou par talent—que le modeste exécutant est devenu en peu de mois un homme illustre—un grand ténor.*
of the same activity through a humorous, ironic writing style reflects Astruc’s keen understanding as well as his familiarity with issues surrounding the commercial aspect of writing.

After “The Grand Ténors of the Bookshop,” Astruc continued collaborating with *Le Gaulois*. Some of his later work for this journal shows his observations of other aspects of Parisian culture throughout the early stages of his career that would greatly affect his later activities as a manager, entrepreneur, editor, and theater director. Astruc, as “Surtac,” also wrote on a variety of topics related to the artistic world in Paris.

Fires, as widely documented, represented common occurrences in Parisian theaters during the nineteenth century. On May 25, 1887, a fire occurred at l’Opéra Comique, which resulted in the death of nearly ninety people by asphyxiation. Ironically, the Salle Favart, or the Théâtre de l’Opéra Comique, had already gone through a process of reconstruction after a first conflagration destroyed it in 1838. The press widely covered the tragedy. *Le Gaulois* continuously presented the stories of single victims and survivors of this event in hope of raising funds among its subscribers for the victims and their families.33

Shortly after the fire, Gustave Laffon of *Le Gaulois* commissioned the twenty-year-old Astruc to write a column about the “probability of danger attached to the various Parisian halls should a fire occur.”34 Astruc titled his contribution to *Le Gaulois* as "La Commission des Théâtres Jugée par les Directeurs."35

On June 18th 1887, *Le Gaulois* published the first section of Astruc’s article, in which “Surtac” included a list by the Commission de Théâtres containing a series of mandatory changes that Parisian theaters needed to accomplish to meet standard safety regulations. In addition, he contrasted those required changes with the realistic possibilities of the theaters’ directors to assume and implement the needed changes. In the introduction, he states that “It remains to discover if the required [physical] reforms are compatible with the budget available to the directors. At this point we [Le Gaulois] wanted to make sure for ourselves and, that is why, we went today [to visit the theaters].” *(Reste à savoir si les réformes exigées sont compatibles avec les budgets des directeurs. C’est ce dont nous avons voulu nous assurer, et voilà pourquoi nous sommes allé aujourd’hui.)*

The approach of this article reveals the writer’s understanding of various aspects of effective theater operations, a sine qua non of a successful theater director. Astruc’s series of articles includes interviews with several theater directors and administrators such as Jules Claretie from the Comédie-Française, Victor Koning from the Gymnase, and Delcroix and Briet from the Palais-Royal. Astruc inquired about the economic implications of the demands by the Commission de Théâtres. For the most part, the debate consisted of identifying methods to raise funds and develop a budget to perform all the sometimes substantial structural modifications to the buildings while maintaining the operation of the theaters to ensure that they could sustain their seasonal programming.

Astruc’s writings for *Le Gaulois* relied heavily on the experiences of the most skilled and well-known Parisian theater directors and administrators of the time. Such contact

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36 Ibid.
37 Other theaters visited by Astruc and presented as case studies in his column included *Les Bouffes Parisiens*, *Variétés*, and *Folies Dramatiques*. 
entailed also a connection with the aesthetic preferences and expectation of audiences and theater supporters, including numerous members from the Parisian elite.

The contact between Astruc and *Le Gaulois* represents an example of the significance of Astruc’s journalistic activities before the establishment of his Société Musicale. It offered him a clear overview of different Parisian theaters and the contacts to profit from it. In addition, these interviews and visits to the theaters would prove most fruitful for gaining familiarity with technical insights and the unexpected events that could arise when running a theater.

### 2.8 Astruc and the Café

As a consequence of working as a journalist, Astruc developed an intimate and permanent contact with diverse cultural manifestations of popular as well as elite culture. During the *belle-époque*, one of the representative places associated with artists and popular cultural manifestations was the *café*. In his memoirs, Astruc commented with great emotion on some of his experiences around the *café* as a space of cultural exchange.

The “literary Fridays,” a creation of Emile Goudeau (1849-1906), which all “Les Hydropathes” followed in Montmartre, determined the great success of the *Chat Noir*. Painters also visited: [Antonio de] La Gandara (1861-1917) […] Paul Signac (1863-1935), Henri Rivère (1864-1951) […] Henri Somm (1844-1907), George Auriol (1864-1938) […]

Les “vendredis littéraires,” création d’Émile Goudeau, que tous les “Hydropathes” avaient suivi à Montmartre, déterminèrent le grand succès du *Chat Noir*. Il y venait aussi des peintres: La Gandara, […] Paul Signac, Henri Rivère, […] Henri Somm, George Auriol […]

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38 See W. Scott Haine, *The World of the Paris Café: Sociability Among the French Working Class*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press: 1980.) Although, as in the case of *Le Chat Noir*, the “café” was also a cabaret, Haine explains that “the history of café sociability cannot be divorced from the history of drinking…” (3)

Most likely, Astruc’s contact with these spaces served as the platform for the creation and publication of some of his own literary works. His interactions with regular visitors, mostly artists, are truly intriguing. The Chat Noir, for instance, was the space that facilitated the exchange of ideas between Astruc and artists such as Erik Satie and Vincent Hyspa. It was precisely at the café where Astruc’s debuted as a literary writer.

In his discussion of Satie’s acquaintance with American-style syncopation at the turn of the century, Steven M. Whiting makes reference to the fact that “Astruc had known both Satie and Hyspa at the Chat Noir, where he published *fables-express* in the house weekly under the penname Surtac.” The fact that Astruc used a penname and the pseudo-improvisatory nature of the genres embraced in the sub-culture of the café concerts makes it difficult to determine the actual number of Astruc’s written productions from this milieu.

In Paris, the significant amount of written output in genres such as the *fable-express* at the cafés and other public places was closely related to the characteristics of this literary genre, which included an improvisatory character, a mundane thematic, and a standardized formal structure. In addition, the improvisatory character of this genre, the impromptu ambiance of its performance, and the irregularity of its production may have

http://gallica.bnf.fr/Search?ArianeWireIndex=index&p=1&lang=EN&q=L%27Hydropathe&x=0&y=0


41 Steven Moore Whiting, *Satie the Bohemian: From Cabaret to Concert Hall*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 258.

42 Unfortunately, although I looked at the microfilm containing the collection of the journal from Le Chat Noir, I was not able to find any of Astruc’s *fable-express* published in this document. See Emile Goudeau et al. ed, *Le Chat Noir*, 1882-1895.
caused the disappearance of many of these works, for many of these did not represent literary material deemed worth preserving.

In fables, morals usually involve a well-known proverb, idiom, or current expression that summarizes a central idea of the text, which often aims to educate. However, in *fable-express*, the arbitrary, non-logical association between content and morale often contributes to achieve its humorous, satirical, and, sometimes, grotesque outcome. Claude Gagniere presented the *fable-express* as a French literary phenomenon that combined humor and poetry:

Laughter and humor often come from unexpected encounters. The unlikely meeting of poetry and pun from which the *fable-express* originated amused all of France for half a century, during Belle Époque.

*Le rire et l'humour viennent souvent de rencontres inattendues. C'est de l'improbable télescopage de la poésie et du calembour que naquit, à la Belle Époque, la fable-express qui amusa la France entière pendant un demi-siècle.*

The *fable-express* could be understood as a satirized, humoresque version of the traditional fable and became a popular genre during the fin-de-siècle. Structurally, the *fable-express* consists of a humorous short text in rhyme, concluding with a moral.

2.8.1 Les Morales du Rastaquouère

*Les Morales du Rastaquouère* is one of Astruc’s first published literary texts, appearing when he was twenty-two years old. Noteworthy is the utilization of “Surtac,” his penname. Published by Ollendorff in 1886, this work reflects the extent of Astruc’s

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43 Claude Gagniere, *La Fable express D’Alphonse Allais à Boris Vian*, (Paris: Le Cherche Midi, 2002), i. In this book, Gagniere explores the output of various writers who, besides other genres, also wrote *fable-express* such as Eugène Chavette (1827-1902) and Tristan Bernard (1866-1947).
connection with the literary world, in particular with the genre of fable-express. The cover of this fifteen-page publication indicates that it cost one franc, approximately twenty-five cents in U.S. currency at the time.

The fable-express contained in Les Morales du Rastaquouère migh have, in part, have been originally written for the Parisian journal Le Chat Noir (1882-1895), the short weekly publication associated with the entertainment establishment of the same name. Although the journal of Le Chat Noir occasionally included fables-express, none by Astruc appear in the extant issues. Perhaps, Astruc’s fables-express were published in l’album du Chat Noir, the literary and illustrated supplement to Le Chat Noir, a publication of limited availability. However, Le Chat Noir did publish a review of Astruc’s Les Morales du Rastaquouère. The anonymous reviewer indicated that “[it is] appropriate to add that this book, published by Ollendorff, is decorated with the wonderful sketches by the inimitable baron Caran d’Ache [and it is] prefaced by Coquelin Cadet (il convient d’ajouter que ce livre, édité chez Ollendorff, est orne de merveilleux croquis de l’inimitable baron Caran d’Ache préface par Coquelin Cadet.) In any case, other fables-express by different writers published in Le Chat

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44 The only available copy of Astruc’s Les Morales du Rastaquouère in a public collection is located at the British Library, but I was unable to travel to the U.K. to examine this directly. I am extremely grateful to Olivier Corpet who extended me an invitation to visit his private collection, which include his personal copy of this book as well as other documents and personal objects related to Gabriel Astruc.

45 The approximate equivalent value of this publication in 2011 U.S. currency would be seven dollars. To calculate the equivalence of French Francs in U.S. currency at the time I have converted the value of a French Franc against a dollar in 1906. To calculate the 2011 value of such amounts I utilized annualized growth rates available online. See, Measuring Worth, Accessed April 3, 2012. http://www.measuringworth.com/index.php.

46 Le Chat Noir offered nine- or twelve-month subscriptions and it was available in France and abroad.


Noir did not include any sort of graphic design. It seems likely that if Le Chat Noir or its supplement published any of the fables-express later included in his Les Morales du Rastaquouère, these appeared one at a time and, perhaps, without illustrations.

The twelve short fables-express contained in les Morales du Rastaquouère do not appear to be thematically related. There are no titles assigned to any of the morals. However, each moral is assigned a sequential number and their themes are quite diverse. They are related, however in their common dialect, “rastaquouère.” In fin-de-siècle Paris, the term “rastaquouère” commonly referred to a social upstart from Latin America as well as to the particular Hispanic accent of such individuals when speaking French. Astruc reproduces this accent in his book: “Mossié” replacing “Monsieur,” “vo” instead of “vous,” and “dou” in the place of “du.” The “Quatrièm’ [sic],” for instance, addresses love.

“A gentleman wanted to skate arm-in-arm with a pretty woman in the Bois de Boulogne. He died.
Morale
You don’t skate with love.”

Oun moissé voulait faire des glissades en embrassan oune joli fame sur lé lac dé la bois dé la Boulogne. Il en mourutt…
Morale
On né patine pas avec l’amour.

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49 See, for instance, Lucien Herbert. “Fable Express: Le voleur et l’amateur de chiens” Le Chat Noir, January 16, 1892.
Astruc himself explained that the edition of his own work corresponded to a coincidental turn of events. “Somebody,” writes Astruc in a rather ironic tone, “told me facetiously: ‘You should edit them [fables-express].’ I [Astruc] took his joke seriously. I wrote my fables-express, then I asked Caran D’Ache to illustrate them and Coquelin Cadet to write the preface, and my first publication: les Morales du Rastaquouère, signed by “Surtac,” appeared…On that day, I began this [writing] career.”

Coquelin Cadet (1848-1909) was a French actor recognized for performing his own monologues. Caran d’Ache was the pseudonym used by French artist Emmanuel Porié (1858-1909) famous for his illustrations for Parisian newspapers such as La Cronique Parisienne and Le Figaro. With the exception of Cadet’s preface to the book, the entire work was written in rastaquouère. Cadet’s introductory text offers a glimpse of the cultural ambiance of the café concert during this time period:

The undeniable philosophical thought, which emerges from these extremely short poems, written in the prose-nonsense of rastaquouère, is that the author understands that Morals are compromised in France—in our beautiful France!—by all the naturalist and decadent authors whose goal is only one: training our eyes and our thoughts on dirty images, on malicious, pernicious, ultra-vicious pornographic things, so it was time to run to the bottom of South America to bring back comforting aphorisms of vigorous and rastaquouère morality.

La pensée philosophique indéniable qui se dégage de ces extrêmement petits poèmes en prose-charabia de rastaquouère, c’est que l’auteur a compris que la Morale était bien compromise en France—dans notre belle France! par tous les écrivains naturalistes et decadents qui n’ont qu’un but: traîner nos yeux et nos pensées sur des sales images, sur des choses d’une pornographie malicieuse, pernicieuse, ultra-vicieuse, et qu’il était temps de courir au fond de l’Amérique du Sud pour en rapporter des aphorismes réconfortants, d’une moralité vigoureuse et rastaquouère.

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52 Astruc, Pavillon, 108. Astruc refers to Coquelin Cadet as “the king of the monologue.” (130).

53 Surtac, Les Morales du Rastaquouère (Paris: Paul Ollendorff, 1886), préface. Cadet’s statement that Astruc challenged Parisian decadence and naturalism in this publication is ironic, for in 1907 through his Société Musicale, Astruc organized the Parisian premier of Strauss’ Salome, a subject commonly associated with the decadent movement of the fin-de-
Les Morales du Rastaquouère represents a unique piece in Astruc’s writing production, for it constitutes his only work of this genre and with the linguistic characteristics described above. Curiously enough, Astruc’s approach to this work seemed premonitory, for during the first decade of the twentieth century he became the representative of the prestigious Teatro Colón de Buenos Aires in Paris, and maintained artistic-related business with other Latin American countries such as Brazil, Uruguay, and Mexico. The significance of this piece of evidence for today’s scholars dealing with cultural studies surpasses its literary or linguistic value. It enhances an understanding of the cultural environment surrounding the café concert in Paris during the fin-de-siècle.

Social spaces of cultural negotiation between poetry, music, theater, painting, and other artistic disciplines such as the café Chat Noir became extremely important for the development of Astruc’s early professional life. The possibility of interacting in a performance-oriented environment that gathered together such a rich artistic community, very likely contributed to shaping his views on artistic collaboration and aesthetics. Such an artistic community included creators and performers from many different disciplines and presumably provided Astruc with an extensive understanding of the possible interactions between disciplines and artists within the same space. Evidence of the impact of this cultural exposure from the roles of spectator and writer can be deduced from the multiple acquaintances and friendships built around this space. Many of the relationships that began around artistic exchanges in cafés would prevail throughout Astruc’s later career as an impresario, music publisher, concert organizer and manager. Composers

siècle. Discussions about Salomé in the context of decadence are numerous. See, for instance, Charles Bernheimer, “Visions of Salomé” in Decadend Subjects: The Idea of Decadence in Art, Literature,
such as Claude Debussy, Érik Satie, and Charles Levade, poets such as Camille de Sainte-Croix, Clément Privé, and many others belonged to the artistic crowd with which Astruc interacted and, which Astruc himself called “The clan of family members of the Chat Noir.”

2.9 Le Bain de la Mariée and La Matérielle

In 1888, two years after the publication of Astruc’s Les Morales du Rastaquouère, Ollendorff released his second literary work, Le Bain de la Mariée, a one-act comédie-bouffe. Premiered on September 6, 1888 at the Parisian Théâtre du Palais-Royal, Le Bain de la Mariée exhibits Astruc’s stylistic versatility and knowledge of diverse literary genres, for unlike Les Morales du Rastaquouère, the plot and characters of Le Bain de la Mariée are closely related to the conventions of the commedia dell’arte.

The entire story unfolds in an établissement de bains, in this case, a nineteenth-century version of the modern spa. Leopold Pignolet, a successful businessman from the French elite is to be married to Sophie, a young maiden from a traditional French family. Unknowingly, and without being aware of each other’s presence, they both attend the établissement de bains two days before their wedding in an attempt to prepare for the upcoming event. Confusion arises when misleading conversations and unforeseen situations lead Sophie to believe that her fiancé has been unfaithful. Throughout the play, two entitled, empowered, and manipulative servants (Adolphe, garçon de bains, and Justine, servant de bains) mediate between the unaware and suspicious couple creating multiple humorous and chaotic situations.

It would take a couple of years after publishing Les Morales du Rastaquouère (1886) and Le Bain de la Mariée (1888) for Astruc to produce a new manuscript. Premiered at the

54 Astruc, Pavillon, 110.
Théâtre Antoine on November 7, 1903, and dedicated to the well-known Parisian actor André Antoine, the one-act comedy *La Matérielle* is Astruc’s third published book. Even though thematically distant and with a closer connection to the realm of social ethics rather than morals, *La Matérielle* presents some interesting social criticism. The play unfolds in a small prison cell with two cots. The characters are two prisoners, the jailer (with his keys), the prison doctor, and a guard. The plot, in brief, concerns a situation in which an inmate aims to pose as mentally ill so he might be relocated to an asylum, which, to him, was clearly a more comfortable place to complete his sentence. The scenario constructed by Astruc in *La Matérielle* represents an ideal setting for delivering a strong criticism of the mechanisms of social control, all masked with comic situations and delivered with satirical language. The work challenges power and politics, suggesting that insubordination, subversion, and even anarchism could act as necessary antidotes to counteract different mechanisms of control.

The lavish and expensive sets Astruc used in the private and public events he organized suggest that he recognized the dramatic possibilities of different objects. In *La Matérielle* the importance of the jailer’s keys throughout the piece is remarkable, so much so that the list of characters specifically mentions them. The keys are represented almost exclusively by their clanging sound and not by the keys themselves, for they sometimes intervene off stage or, due to their size, are invisible to the public. The keys, through their sonic representation, are the tool through which the system of socio-economic power, personified by the jailer, exerts control over the social order throughout the narrative.

One could argue that the sonic representation of the keys surpasses the realm of their

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55 Astruc dedicated this work “to André Antoine, in testimony of recognition and sympathy.” Apparently, Astruc admired Antoine, who was known for his performances of texts by the French writer Émile Zola.
physicality, and that their permanence throughout the play as a pseudo-character, resembles, in part, Wagner’s concept of the Leitmotif, which Astruc admired enthusiastically.

2.10 Race, Ethnicity, and Identity in Astruc’s Early Writings

In Astruc’s early literary works, particularly in his Les Morales du Rastaquouère and Le Bain de la Mariée, underpinning elements related to ethnicity and race became identifiable. Within Astruc’s output there are no many explicit examples in this realm. It seems that humor allowed the explicit delivering of such messages.

The extent of Astruc’s personal contact with communities from South American countries in Paris, particularly Argentinean, remains unknown. However, the usage of rastaquouère in Astruc’s Morales du Rastaquouère reflects a strong social presence of such communities in Paris. In Cadet’s preface to Astruc’s work it becomes evident how the shade of xenophobia inherent to the word rastaquouère overlapped with the fascination for the exotic and the unknown. The underpinning element among all the morales is the usage of rastaquouère. Such usage seems to complement the chaotic and arbitrary rationale attached to each moral. Thus, the doubtful and questionable sense of morality does not appear connected with the situation as much as with the language utilized, in this case, the rastaquouère. The derogatory connotation of rastaquouères as foreign social climbers, as presented by Cadet’s preface, perhaps contrasts with Astruc’s possible usage of rastaquouère as a vehicle for social commentary. If this is the case, Astruc does not see South Americans as less moral; rather, he recognizes that Parisian society sees them that way, and uses that to poke fun at the elite.

56 See note 48.
Astuc’s portrayal of prevailing prejudices to make points about French society appear rather evident in some of his publications. The “Settièm’ [sic]” moral, for instance, while maintaining the usage of *rastaquouère*, presents the interaction of two different characters, the King of Mexico and *un pétit nègre* [sic].

The king of Mexico had a *pétit nègre* to polish his boots. One day he [the King] threw him out. But he came back running. Moral: A tiger cannot change its spots.57

*Lé roi du Messique il avait ouen pétit nègre pour ciré ses bottines.*
*Oun jour, il lé mit à la porte. Mais il révint le lendemain.*
*Morale: Chassez lé natourel, Il révint o gallop.*58

This seems to convey a message about French society. Just as the Mexican king thinks he can get rid of his slave, the French can’t simply get of their troubles. Likely, such troubles include on immigrants or other minorities such as blacks or Jews. Despite the fact that racial issues in *Le Bain de la Mariée* are not central to the plot, the inclusion of situations displaying social prejudice connect this work with *Les Morales du Rastaquouère*. Besides explicitly framing the characters within existing stereotypes of class and gender distinctions, towards the middle of the play, during the tenth scene, and as the dramatic tension is reaching its highest point, Mme Berluron, Sophie’s mother, sustains a noteworthy dialogue with Mr. Pignolet:

Mme Berluron: How is it, my son in law, that your friend is *un nègre*… your best man?
Pignolet: Yes… no… that means… a little dark, as all the explorers are. Mme Berluron: A *nègre* friend! It is among the blacks that you recruit your close friends! You defy my daughter?
Pignolet: Me?

57 “A leopard cannot change its spots” is an idiomatic translation, which seems more appropriate to illustrate the explicit racial content surrounding the moral.
Mme Berluron: Mr. Berluron, my husband, only knows white people, and I don’t have any infidelities to reproach myself, do you understand?

Mme Berluron: Comment ! mon gendre, votre ami est un nègre… votre garçon d’honneur?
Pignolet: Oui… non…, c’est-a-dire… un peu foncé, comme tous les explorateurs.
Mme Berluron: Un ami nègre ! C’est parmi les noirs que vous recrutez vos intimes ! Vous vous défiez de ma fille?
Pignolet: Moi ?
Mme Berluron: M. Berluron, mon mari, ne connaît que des blancs, et je n’ai aucune infidélité à me reprocher, entendez-vous?

There are no black men in the list of characters of *Le Bain de la Mariée*. In the play, the allusion to a non-existent black character could be seen as a consequence of the unexpected development of the drama. The plot as a whole does not deal with racial issues but rather with class and gender ones. However, such a strong allusion is too significant, although perhaps more so to the eyes of a modern reader, to be accidental. The disembodied character of the *nègre* is only addressed as such, never by name. It seems to represent an idea, a general concept borrowed from stereotypical racial discourses and used merely as a prop, of course, with comic purposes, to demonstrate Mme Beurlon’s narrow mind, and, by extension, the prejudices of French society.

A closer look at the historical context reveals fundamental connections between the French colonial discourse and attitudes towards Africa, accented during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, and its reflection on aesthetics. During the 1880s, the process of defining the meaning of French identity, or multiple meanings of French identities, as would be the case, became increasingly close to issues of gender, race, and culture. Traces of such connections are tangible in their representation in the arts and

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59 Gabriel Astruc, and Pierre Soulaine, *Le Bain de la Mariée*, (Paris: Ollendorff, 1888), 26. In the text, there is a clear distinction between the words *nègre* and *noir*. The English translation I provided here aims to present this difference by translating the later (*noir*), and presenting the former as found in the original text.
the media. Defining what it meant to be French included French anti-values, that is to say, finding out what it meant to be not-French. Each political affiliation, socio-economic status, cultural or religious background legitimized its affiliation by attaching its values to the idea of French identity.

Such an exclusionary approach contributed to sharpening boundaries, singling out and segregating the other. The colonial ideals, however, represented some of the few common points around which most French citizens gathered at this time. Race discourse allowed colonialist France not only to define what was French, namely an expansionist mind-set that perceived other ethnicities as lesser, but also what it was to be not-French, namely a demi-messianic self-perception that contrasted and reinforced the previous one.

In her discussion about race and French history, Jann Pasler provides an interesting insight on this matter that transcends the examples related to musical images in newspapers, music repertoire and musical instruments that she utilized. “An imperialist construction and product of colonial consciousness,” asserts Pasler, “race was understood to signify culture, people, or nation as well as connection to one’s ancestors. [...] When used in conjunction with language, customs, morals, and artistic practices, race suggested the existence of national characteristics. It engendered self-esteem. As such, race, was useful not just in distinguishing the Self from the Other, but also in understanding if there was anything unified or coherent in the nation.”60

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The tacit yet obvious presence of a black character and the characters’ references to him seem to carry a notion of the Other, unknown, and unfamiliar. As the soon-to-be-bride’s mother, Mme Berluron represents the authoritarian power over her vulnerable, helpless, and innocent daughter. Intrinsically, and even paradoxically, the connection of these characters and what they represent, the disembodied Other and the imperious authority, creates a caricaturesque effect that takes away the legitimacy of the power and re-enforces the fundamental ontological distance between the Self and the Other. Characters associated with a specific ethnicity or culture other than French served to support some of the plots of Astruc’s writings.

Just as the “king of Mexico” who “owned a petit nègre” or Pignolet’s nègre friend, the depiction of certain characters in a caricature-like fashion in Astruc’s Le Bain de la Mariée and Les Morales du Rastaquouère exemplified the fin-de-siècle France ethnocentric cultural discourse, which relied heavily on stereotypical elements related to race, ethnicity, and class. Perhaps such criticism of narrow-mindedness is connected to Astruc’s own personal situation. Possibly, his Jewishness, and thus Outsiderliness play a role in his approach to social or political issues related to distrust, segregation, and cultural situation, although such a hypothesis is difficult to prove.

The publication of La Matérielle coincided with a high point in Astruc’s professional life. In 1904, only a year after La Matérielle’s publication, Astruc founded La Société Musicale Gabriel Astruc & Cie. From this point on, Astruc’s professional life redirected away from writing. His activities as an author of literary works would be on hold until 1927 when he began his memoirs, Le Pavillon des Fantômes. This document exhibits a mature and eloquent writing style. Published for the first time in 1929 by Grasset, this autobiographical text is heavily charged with feelings of nostalgia and
melancholy. The narration mostly focuses on Astruc’s lifetime experiences and the way they contributed to his professional achievements as a theater director, entrepreneur, manager, and music editor. These memoirs reflect the process through which Astruc wove a tapestry of various cultural manifestations throughout his life.\textsuperscript{61}

\textsuperscript{61} As one of the primary sources for the present investigation, \textit{Le Pavillon des Fantômes} provided a point of departure for constructing my musicological and historiographical discussions. A formal analysis of the style of his writing and the subject matter of the document do not constitute a relevant issue for the purposes of this dissertation. Astruc’s memoirs have been published twice after their first release by the publishing house Bernard Grasset, in 1929. The subsequent editions appeared in 1987 by Pierre Belfond, and in 2003 by Mémoire du Livre.
Chapter 3. Astruc and Musica

3.1 Reconceiving the Illustrated Music Magazine

Among the documents related to Gabriel Astruc’s activities housed at the Archives Nationales in Paris, one particular document appears, even at first glance, to be rather important at first glance. This ten-page document, edited by Astruc, in collaboration with Pierre Lafitte and Charles Joly, labeled “confidentiel,” and filed under “correspondance 1900-1905,” proposes the creation of a new journal of both national and international scope entirely devoted to music.¹ The proposal for this journal, to be named “La Vie musicale,” underlines the need for a new musical bi-weekly publication that reaches audiences not only in France but also in other European countries. According to this document, the idea was to create an “official journal of music [which] will contain information so useful that everyone related to a musical activity, [such as] amateurs, teachers, or artists, cannot do without it.” ([le journal officiel de la musique] contiendra des renseignements si utiles, que tous ceux qui s’occupent de musique, amateurs, professeurs ou artistes, ne pourront pas se dispenser de le lire).

The proposed structure for the sixteen-page publication consisted of two eight-page sections. The first one would contain articles with a significant number of illustrations mostly dedicated to an artist, composer, or conductor, or any other music-related topic. The second would include “music criticism, information and [musical-related] news from the entire world” (à la critique, aux renseignements, aux nouvelles du monde entier).² The information contained in the second section would be classified in four

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² Ibid.
different categories. The first, devoted to Paris, would include news about local theaters, music halls, and orchestras. The second and third categories would offer similar information from other cities or regions in France and abroad respectively. International coverage was proposed for Russia, Germany, Belgium, and the United States. The last category would list new works published by local as well as international music publishers. In addition, the proposal considers engaging some of the more “competent writers of history and music criticism” from France and abroad (les écrivains les plus compétents en histoire et en critique musicale).\(^3\) Besides the information about possible contributors, the explicit intention of including information from different countries and distributing the proposed publication in France and abroad suggests the international scope of the proposed journal. Lastly, the proposal indicates that the “La Vie musicale” will be accompanied by a supplement containing musical editions of various styles and genres: “Sometimes we will include a piano piece, sometimes a mélodie or a piece for violin and piano; in short, we will plan to satisfy everyone.” (Nous donnerons tantôt un morceau de piano, tantôt une mélodie, tantôt un morceau pour violon et piano; bref, nous ferons en sorte de satisfaire tout le monde.)\(^4\)

Curiously, the project of “La Vie musicale” never materialized under this name, as suggested by the absence of evidence in databases, archives, and other sources that would confirm its existence. However, in October 1902, a new music journal that seems to follow the model projected by Astruc for “La Vie musicale” appeared in Paris under the name Musica. Although Astruc’s name does not appear, it was published by Lafitte, one of Astruc’s collaborators in the original proposal, and edited by the other, Joly.

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\(^3\) Ibid. The list of possible contributors includes Charles Malherbe, Adolphe Julien, [Jean-Claude] Imbert, and [Julien] Tiersot. In spite of not including other international names, the proposal underlines that “writers from the provinces and abroad […] are equally recommended because of their conscientiousness and talent.”

\(^4\) Ibid.
published journal includes the same physical and stylistic characteristics as the sketched “La Vie musicale” – with similar content, and structure. The proposed division of the magazine was not maintained, however, with the different elements merged together and reorganized.

An examination of the contents of Musica between 1902 and 1914 reveals that, although there was no explicit link with Astruc, the magazine covered a significant amount of cultural activities organized by his Société Musicale, reinforcing the idea that Musica represents a realization of Astruc’s planned journal, but with a different title. Some of the subjects related to Astruc’s activities widely covered by Musica include La Grande Saison de Paris, performances by various artists managed by Astruc’s Société Musicale, and the construction of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, among many others. In addition, various personalities of the Parisian cultural milieu close to Astruc’s interests or from his personal circle of friends, such as Camille Saint-Saëns, Robert Brussel, Charles Joly, and Édouard Lalo, were actively writing for Musica on these subjects. The significant number of coincidences between the planned project of “La Vie musicale” and the features of the journal Musica, as well as the proximity of the proposal’s date and the publication of Musica, all supports the probability that they are one and the same.

Building on this premise, the present chapter elucidates the role of Gabriel Astruc in the concept and creation of this important music journal in Paris. It also explores the connection between the content of Musica and Album Musica, the supplement for music scores, with other professional activities of Astruc. This chapter attempts to establish the

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ways in which Astruc appears to have used his association with this journal to promote his activities in the realms of entrepreneurship and artistic management. Similarly, a survey of Musica suggests the likelihood that its coverage of these and other activities helped to strengthen the artistic connections between Paris and the international artistic scene.

The facts and implications that connect Astruc and Musica are significant. Previous research on the subject, such as Carla Biberdorf’s master’s thesis, or finding aids of research centers or the archives of the Institut National d’Histoire de l’Art have not acknowledged Astruc’s role in the creation of Musica, with the exception of the documentation related to Musica at the Institut Mémoires de l’Édition Contemporaine (l’IMEC), which clearly declares Astruc’s role as its founder and director.6 In previous research or archival references, the connection between “La Vie musicale” and Musica has also gone unnoticed. Consequently, this magazine is not commonly associated with Astruc’s professional activities. Advertisements and other information that appeared in Musica did not include Astruc’s name or explain his role in this publication. However, correspondence found at the Archives Nationales reveal that composers often sent their scores wishing for their pieces to be published either by Astruc’s company or through Album Musica. Consequently, even if Astruc did not have an official role in the operations of Musica or Album Musica, clearly some composers thought he did.7

Because of the lack of references to Astruc, the relations between the impresario and Musica established in this dissertation are constructed mainly through cross-referencing multiple materials from archival sources. Some of these documents, including

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7 See, “Compositeurs 1904-1918,” Fonds Gabriel Astruc, 409-AP Box 27, Des Archives Nationales
correspondence, musical editions, and literary works related to Astruc have been largely neglected within musicological narratives related to this period in Parisian music and culture. This omission is due, in part, to the fact that some of these sources are editions of works that remain outside the musical canon. Other sources, including articles, programs, illustrations, and correspondence within and related to the magazine, have typically been evaluated in isolation from a unifying context and, therefore, their full musical-cultural relevance has been overlooked. However, the assessment of these sources in light of Astruc’s artistic and business activities makes a strong circumstantial case that beyond his undoubted role in the creation of the magazine, the impresario continued to exert influence on, and perhaps some degree of guidance of, the literary, aesthetic, and promotional material found in Musica. Until evidence directly linking Astruc to the daily functioning of the magazine can be found, these links must remain hypothetical. In any case, as this chapter shows, Musica not only devoted space to many of Astruc’s impresarial projects, but reflected some of his particular aesthetic interests, business endeavors, and other artistic projects.8

3.2 The Relevance of Musica: Its Success and Sales

Scholars such as Carla Biberdorf have acknowledged the significance of Musica for the understanding of key elements of the Parisian musical scene during the early 1900s. In her master’s thesis devoted to the publication, Biberdorf underlines that Musica “emerges as a highly valuable document on early twenty-century French music and musical

8 In addition to the Institut National d’Histoire de l’Art, cited above, see Carla E. Biberdorf’s master’s thesis. In spite of the fact that Astruc’s role in this publication is not addressed in Biberdorf’s thesis, her work offers an invaluable amount of relevant information about this magazine. It contains a great variety of data and provides an insightful discussion of its content.
thought.” Although this chapter will not reexamine all of the magazine’s contents covered by Biberdorff, it will offer new contexts for assessing Musica’s aims and influence and will further illuminate the publication’s value as a cultural and iconographic source for enriching the current understanding of Parisian music and culture during the fin de siècle.10

In light of the significant role of the press in Paris during this time, the creation of the first French illustrated journal devoted to music is noteworthy for it reveals possible shifts in the commercialization of printed music as well in the music business.11 A glimpse of other popular journals around the fin de siècle in the United States also devoted to music illustrates the importance of such publications for the music business. The Musical Courier, for instance, contained a significant amount of information related to instruments and musical instruction. However, the number of illustrations was rather minimal. Probably, The Etude, another popular American magazine dedicated to music, had a more similar look to Musica and also included music publications. Its content, however, did not favor the work of living composers of the time in the same way Musica did.12

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9 Biberdorff, 108.
11 For a discussion on the French press during this period and Astruc’s connections with French journals see Chapter 2. For other studies of the contemporaneous French press, see Claude Belanger, Jacques Godechot, Pierre Guiral, and Ferdnand Terrou, Histoire Générale de la Presse Française (Paris: Press Universitaires de France, 1972); see also, Patrick Eveno, L’argent de la Presse Française des Années 1820 à Nous Jours (Paris: CTHS, 2003.)
Some sources, such as the “Register of the Papers of Gabriel Astruc,” found in the New York Public Library, suggest that *Musica* existed first as a supplement to the elegant, bourgeois, fashion and female-oriented magazine *Fémina*, edited and published in Paris by the prestigious publishing house Pierre Lafitte & Cie.\(^{13}\) The cover of the first issue of *Musica* does indeed indicate a link between the two periodicals, for it specifies that “this issue should be sold for only 50 centimes and must contain the issue of *Fémina*.\(^{14}\) (le numéro ne doit être vendu que 50 centimes et doit contenir le numéro au jour de *Fémina*).

There is no evidence, however, that after this first issue *Musica* and *Fémina* were published and sold together; *Musica* was published monthly and *Fémina* biweekly. In addition, in the second issue of *Musica* the text indicating that both magazines were sold together is nowhere to be found. Possibly the most conclusive evidence to clarify this issue can be found at the project of “La Vie musicale,” which clearly proposes an independent publication. As mentioned, *Musica* targeted young women as one of its principal groups of customers. Consequently selling *Fémina’s* first issue of the month together with *Musica’s* first issue was most likely part of a marketing strategy to promote the new magazine. Until September 1904, Pierre Lafitte & Cie released each copy of *Musica* the first day of the
month. Beginning October 1904, the monthly issue of this magazine appeared on the twenty-fifth day of the month.\textsuperscript{15}

_Musica_ first appeared in October 1902. The last issue, its 143\textsuperscript{rd}, appeared in August 1914. The economic disaster brought on by World War I affected the resources for the arts and shifted the consumer’s attention to other necessities.\textsuperscript{16} This hampered cultural and artistic activities and made the survival of magazines devoted to the arts, such as _Musica_, unlikely or impossible.

3.3. The Structure, Content, and Longevity of _Musica_

_Musica_ offered a variety of music-related material including articles on musical analysis, criticism, and aesthetics, as well as illustrated biographical information about recognized composers and performers, and, occasionally, politically tinged opinion columns. In addition, it included a calendar of musical and social events. It presented notices and advertisements, mostly directed to women as well as to an elite lifestyle, for fashion, perfumes, artists, events, and other _mondanités_. The repertoire of _Album Musica_, _Musica_'s supplement, included musical editions of new works of vocal and instrumental genres from different composers of the present time and the past. In addition, this supplement contained piano reductions of established operas and other well-known works easily recognizable by Parisian audiences.

\textsuperscript{15} See _Musica_, no. 24 (September, 1904). The cover of this issue, found in the Pierre Lafitte collection at the archives of the Institut Mémoires de l’Edition Contemporaine (IMEC), shows that every new issue of _Musica_ was available “the 25\textsuperscript{th} day of each month” (le 25 de chaque mois).

\textsuperscript{16} Robert Barro, and Jose Ursúa, "Consumption Disasters in the Twentieth Century," _The American Economic Review_, 98, no. 2 (2008): 58-63. This article underlines that in 1915, and after the economic peak in 1912, the French economy suffered one of the most severe financial disasters since 1870.
The innovations of Musica centered on its amalgamation of new, attractive elements of structure, appearance, and content, unusual for a magazine during this period. Certainly among the most striking features were the high-quality illustrations in a luxurious black and white format that appeared in each issue. The journal juxtaposes in-depth treatment of musical subjects, great emphasis on music-related popular, music-related topics in France and abroad, and a clear sense of publicity and business. Like other publications by Lafitte, Musica also possessed a certain degree of mondanité that contrasted with the formality of some of its content, mostly evident in its fashion-oriented advertisement, high paper quality, and lavish format. Such combination contributed to appeal a large readership and greatly contributed to the magazine’s success.

Between 1902 and 1903 the increasing number of copies sold indicated that the success of this magazine was immediate and might be long lasting. The number of copies printed and sold when it was first released shows that readers instantly welcomed the publication. In fact, 180,000 copies of the first issue of Musica were sold in less than eight days. The first-year sales review, published in November 1903, revealed that Musica sold between 45,000 and 50,000 copies of each issue.17

Every issue of Musica was published in two separate parts. As mentioned above, the first, entitled Musica, included writings on different topics as well as illustrations. Its supplement, Album Musica, contained twenty-four pages of music scores. This structure remained relatively unaltered throughout the magazine’s existence, as did the format of its front cover, which often featured an artist central to the Parisian musical scene. In

February 1904, for instance, the cover artist was soprano Mary Garden (1874-1967) in her role as *La Reine Flammette* at the Opéra-Comique. The cover of the March issue showed violinist Jacques Thibaud, who had recently returned from a successful tour in America. April’s issue featured Ignacy Jan Paderewski (1860-1941), designated as “*Le plus célèbre pianist du monde,*” who had recently performed at the prestigious Concert Colonne. Enrico Caruso (1873-1921) appeared on the cover of the May issue with the caption “*Le célèbre tenor Italien.*” The September issue highlighted Rose Caron (1857-1930), the only female voice professor at the Conservatoire National de Musique at the time. In October, the cover showed the longstanding Parisian operatic theater L’Opéra, also known as Palais Garnier, its building inaugurated in 1875. In November, the turn went to Alexandre Luigini (1850-1906), “*L’éminent chef d’orchestre,*” recently appointed as musical director of l’Opéra-Comique. The magazine’s final issue of 1904 presented Camille Saint-Saëns (1835-1921) performing on the organ at [L’Église] Saint-Séverin. Other front covers of the same year included soprano Georgette Leblanc (1869-1941) in June, and French pianist Raoul Pugno (1852-1913) in July. The front covers of *Musica,* as shown in the issues of 1904, reflect the rich array of music-related topics, including theaters and music halls, performers, composers, and conductors, involved in Parisian musical life.

*Musica*’s three editors during its existence—Charles Joly (1860-1905), George Pioch (1873-1953), who served from Joly’s sudden death until 1910, and Xavier Leroux (1863-1919), in the post from 1910 until the magazine ceased publication in 1914—maintained, for the most part, the original structure of the magazine.

The editorial column titled “*Cronique du mois,*” which addressed a variety of topics of current interest, was at the core of the magazine. Between October 1902 and October 1910, under Joly’s and Pioch’s tenures as editor, the “*Cronique du mois*”
appeared at the beginning of each issue. In November 1910, in his first issue as editor, Leroux addressed the readers and acknowledged the significance of the “Cronique du mois” as the backbone of Musica: “the Cronique du mois will consider, under various aspects, the current stages of our Musical art […] [and] it will serve as the feature article of Musica” (la Cronique du mois envisagera, sous leurs divers aspects, les étapes actuelles de notre Art musical […] [et] constitutera donc l'article de fond de Musica).\(^\text{18}\) Despite the fact that Leroux’s small editorial changes altered slightly the structure of Musica, the content and scope of this column saw little change. Biberdorf explains: “in November 1910, a new editor Xavier Leroux introduced three new concepts, the first being the reconstruction of Cronique du mois. Under a new rubric, Les chroniques et critiques de Musica, this section was expanded to average three pages in length and its location was changed from the beginning to the middle of the journal.”\(^\text{19}\)

In addition to its editors, the list of writers and contributors of Musica includes some of the most well-known French journalistic and literary pens of the fin-de-siècle. Contributors included Julien Tiersot (1857-1936), Pierre Lalo (1866-1943), Adolphe Julien (1840-1932), and Henri de Curzon (1861-1942). Musica’s structure allowed different contributors to write regularly for the magazine on varied topics. On the other hand, a single contributor or the editor at that moment could address different subjects over several issues. This strategy allowed Musica to offer continuity in its literary and cultural narrative while avoiding stagnancy. According to the index provided at the end of the first year of publication (see below), written contributions were organized in fourteen different categories, including articles on well-known composers  (les grands maîtres

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\(^\text{18}\) Xavier Leroux, “La nouvelle rédaction de ‘Musica’,” Musica, no 98 (November, 1910), 162.
\(^\text{19}\) Biberdorf, 10.
de la musique), general music criticism and research (critique générale et Énquêtes), concert music and ensembles (articles sur la musique de concert), biographies (biographies d’actualité and biographies d’artistes lyriques), various musical genres (opéra, opéra-comique, opérette, ballet), music pedagogy (enseignement de la musique, articles pédagogiques, écoles), and Musica’s own musical competition for composers (tournoi international de musique organisé par Musica) among others.20

Before Leroux’s changes to the structure of the magazine in 1910, Joly and Pioch maintained practically the same approach. These two men, belonged to the social and professional circles of Astruc and his Société Musicale. Joly shared Astruc’s pro-Wagner views as well as his views on French music and composers such as Berlioz.21 Whether or not coincidental, Joly, in his role as Musica’s editor, helped to promote and advertise some of Astruc’s most important projects throughout his career as impresario and manager. Joly’s reviews of performances and performers connected to Astruc’s Société Musicale suggest a possible alignment with Astruc’s aesthetic ideals and business endeavors.

Alluding to such a connection is Joly’s article for the very first issue of Musica, in which he underlines the necessity of building a new theater in Paris, seemingly modelled after standing theaters that he admires, and discusses current theater proposals. Joly again reveals his pro-Wagner approach by praising theaters such as the Bayreuth Festspielhaus or Prince Regent’s Theater, which embodied Joly’s conception of the ideal music hall.

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From all the projects that are being considered, the most tempting, undoubtedly, is that which proposes the construction of a new hall where we would perform classic and modern operas […]

[…] Currently, to my knowledge, there are only two intelligently designed theatres of music: that of Bayreuth, and that of Prince-Regent, in Munich[…]

De tous ces projets qui sont en l’air, le plus séduisant, à coup sûr, est celui qui se propose pour but la construction d’une nouvelle salle où l’on représenterait les œuvres lyriques anciennes et modernes[…]

[…]. À ma connaissance, il n’y a, à l’heure présente, que deux théâtres de musique intelligemment conçus: celui de Bayreuth, et celui de Prince-Régent, à Munich[…] 22

Astruc’s idea of building a new music hall in Paris on the Avenue des Champs-Élysées was deeply influenced by the same theaters and aesthetics that Joly praised. Although there is no concrete evidence connecting Joly’s article and Astruc’s project, the publication of “Un Théâtre de Musique Ideal” in the first issue of Musica, a magazine conceived by Astruc, seems too convenient to constitute a coincidence. Similarly, the shared views on different aspects of music that bound Joly to Astruc are notable. Events organized by Astruc’s Société Musicale were often widely covered by Musica, and the artists it managed often appeared featured on the front cover.23

As other illustrated publications by Lafitte such as Fémina, Musica was intended to be a collectible magazine. All issues from the same year were intended to be part of a large volume, or tome, and its pages appeared consecutively numbered to facilitate the

22 Charles Joly, “Un Théâtre de Musique Ideal” Musica, no. 1 (October, 1902), 7-8. This article, published by Musica, is among many others that also established similar relationships with Wagner repertoire and Wagnerian aesthetics. For a discussion of the connections between Astruc, Wagner, and the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, see Chapter 6.

23 For instance, the covers of Musica nos 6, 7, 18, 19, 20, 12, 73 featured Pugno and Ysaÿe, Bréval, Thibaud, Paderewski, Caruso, Saint-Saëns, and Van Dyck respectively. All of these artists had contractual and personal connections with Astruc and his company. Other issues, such as Musica no 31, featured Lina Cavalieri as a performer of La Saison Italienne of 1905, an event organized in Paris by Astruc’s Société Musicale.
organization of such volume. At the end of 1903, for instance, the first large volume of 300 pages, or Tome I, included all issues since October 1902 through December 1903. The 200-page Tome II grouped together the twelve issues from 1905. Along with the final issue of each year appeared a special title pager for the entire tome and a complete index of the contents.

3.4 Who Read Musica?

The confidential document describing the project for “La Vie musicale” maps out the marketing strategy for the proposed magazine. It anticipates the publishing of articles about the new magazine in newspapers such as Le Figaro, Le Gaulois, L’Echo de Paris, and Le Petit Journal. In addition, such strategy required “a music publisher to send the first issue to 15,000 correspondents, music vendors, orchestra conductors, [music] teachers, etc., in the provinces and abroad” (Un éditeur de Musique enverra le premier numéro aux 15,000 correspondants, marchands de musique, chefs d’orchestre, professeurs, etc., de la province et de l’étranger avec lesquels il est en rapport d’affaires). Similarly, a publisher of various fashion magazines would insert in each one of the 50,000 copies he distributes around the world information about “La Vie musicale” as well as a subscription form. Assuming Musica as the actualized “La Vie musicale,” the music publisher and the publisher of fashion magazines mentioned in the marketing strategy likely correspond to Gabriel Astruc and Pierre Lafitte respectively. By 1902, the year of the magazine’s first release, Astruc had established a reputation as a music publisher and Lafitte published the fashion magazines.

Fémina since 1901, and, since 1897, La Vie au Grand Air. In addition, the proposed advertisement campaign for “La Vie musicale” targeted “artists, [music] teachers, amateurs, [and] young daughters and young women from the provinces […]” (Nous toucherons ainsi, par diverses propagandes, les artistes, les professeurs, les amateurs, les jeunes filles et jeunes femmes de province).

Analyzing Musica’s audience and readership in the context of a market clearly influenced by class, gender, and social distinction illuminates the process through which this magazine attained economic success and social permeability. As discussed above, an examination of Musica’s content reveals that this magazine targeted the middle class, striving to be like the elite, as its principal readership. Its affordability, among other factors, might have contributed to the inclusion of customers from a wider pool of socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds in France and abroad. At the same time, because of its association with other magazines of similar elements identified with refinement, glamour, and the elite class also published by Pierre Lafitte’s publishing house, Musica retained its close relationship with its mostly-female readers.

Musica reached an audience similar to that of some of the other illustrated publications issued by Pierre Lafitte’s publishing house. Readership of Lafitte’s magazines consisted primarily of women from the middle classes who, due to social conventions of the time, presumably possessed a certain level of musical training that included music theory and, at least, basic piano skills. However, Musica was directed also

26 See Chapter 2.
27 See note 25.
28 See, Biberdorf, 9. In her discussion of publicity in Musica, Biberdorf points out that there was a “short fashion column initially titled ‘l’Higiène de la beauté’ but soon changed to ‘Modes.’ Intended primarily for women, this section was devoted to beauty and fashion, giving advice on skin and hair treatments and the latest fashion of coiffure and clothing.”
to another group of readers, that of professional musicians, as noted by an archivist at the Institut National d’Histoire de l’Art: “Lafitte targeted two kinds of public: that of professional musicians and, particularly, environments related to musical instruction: conservatories, maîtrises, and schools, as well as the general public, especially amateur female pianists and singers.”

Readers from different backgrounds and shared common interests in the Parisian musical scene quickly became subscribers of *Musica*. In addition to the inclusion of material targeting a general, but largely female audience with some interest in music, *Musica* published material with a great degree of specificity and depth that attracted the reader whose curiosity went beyond typical interests of the Parisian, or European, elite. Consequently, the different features and various degrees of specialization in the material attracted readers who represented varied backgrounds and aspects of the Parisian musical scene.

The success [of *Musica*] seems rather paradoxical, for the way in which it combines in-depth treatment of musical subjects, great attention paid to subjects of topical interest not only in France but also in Europe and, even the United States, with a certain degree of *mondanité* characteristic of the society of Marcel Proust’s time, and an obvious sense of publicity and business. While offering to a particular public, for the most part feminine, a revue of particular cultural interest, Pierre Lafitte innovated by providing more and better material than the revues of social triviality or fashion that appeared around 1900.

*La réussite (du Musica) paraît assez paradoxalement, dans la mesure où elle conjugue le sérieux dans le traitement des sujets musicaux abordés, une grande attention portée à l’actualité, non seulement en France, en Europe et jusqu’aux États-Unis, avec une certaine mondanité propre à la société du temps de Marcel Proust et un très évident sens de la publicité et du commerce. En offrant au public surtout féminin qu’il vise, une revue d’un intérêt culturel certain, Pierre Lafitte innove en proposant plus et mieux que les revues de futilité mondaine ou de mode qui paraissaient aux alentours de 1900.*

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30 Ibid.
The link to Pierre Lafitte has contributed to the lack of recognition of Astruc’s fundamental connection to *Musica*. For the most part, researchers have understood *Musica* in the context of a group of publications by Pierre Lafitte’s publishing house, and the studies primarily consulted for this dissertation analyze the content of this magazine restrictively, in that light. Usually, such studies ignore the musical material included in *Album Musica* and the existing connections between the contents of *Musica* and its supplement. Perhaps also because the Lafitte link has factored as the main criterion of categorization, none of the finding aids and catalogues that offer information about *Musica* at the Institut National d’Histoire de l’Art in Paris credit Astruc as its founder or suggest that he might have otherwise influenced the publication. Likewise, it is not uncommon that previous research related to *Musica* omits Astruc’s creative role during its creation.

As did other periodicals in Lafitte’s publishing business, *Musica* responded to and fulfilled a range of cultural needs and desires of readers from certain socio-economic and cultural backgrounds. Consequently, in an environment deeply influenced by class distinctions, *Musica* represented a cultural common ground that bridged social classes. Because *Musica*’s content went beyond fashion to cover musical and cultural issues in depth, the range of its readership broadened to include gradually more male readers and a larger socioeconomic spectrum. Members of the Parisian *haute bourgeoisie*, found in the content of *Musica* characteristics that resonated with their own life style, while members of other socioeconomic strata likely viewed subscribing to, purchasing, and reading *Musica* as actions that associated themselves with the elite. Through observation and appropriation of certain socio-cultural habits and characteristics of the elite, readers from
the *moyenne*, *grande*, and *petite bourgeoisie* satisfied their social aspirations and appeased, at least momentarily, existing frustrations of social inequality.

### 3.5. *Musica’s Iconography*

The end-of-the-year index for the issues of *Musica* for 1903 listed all illustrations that had appeared over the previous twelve months. Approximately 40% of these, mostly photographs, were of vocal performers (*artistes lyriques*), and 60% of those were women. In general, continuing nineteenth-century iconographic trends in France, the tendency was to associate vocal performers with specific operatic roles, so singers featured in *Musica* often appeared wearing the costume of the role(s) they performed and, sometimes, posed on the sets of operatic productions.³¹

Among the singers featured in 1903 were sopranos Lucienne Bréval (1869-1935), Marguerite Carré (1880-1947), Félia Litvinne (1860-1936), contralto Ernestine Schumann-Heink (1861-1936), tenor Ernest Van Dyck (1861-1923), and baritones Lucien Fugére (1848-1935) and Maurice Renaud (1861-1933). The index of illustrations, however, shows a wide variety of other well-known artists who were not vocal performers that appeared in *Musica* during the same year. Conductors listed included Camille Chevillard (1859-1923), Eduard Colonne (1838-1910), Alfred Cortot (1877-1962), Felix Mottl (1856-1911), John Philipp Sousa (1854-1932), Siegfried Wagner (1869-1930), and Félix Weingartner (1863-1942). Instrumentalists included the famous Polish harpsichordist

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³¹ Examples of this tradition include the paintings and lithographs (c. 1835) of Cornélie Falcon in the role and costumes of Rachel in *La Juive*. Also, the Tamvaco collection at the Musée Carnavalet contains numerous examples of artists such as soprano Cinti-Damoreau (1801-1863) in her roles of Isabelle and la comtesse de Formoutiers in Meyerbeer’s *Robert le Diable* and in Rossini’s *Le Comte* respectively. See, Musée Carnavalet, “Théâtre, danse et musique à Paris au XIXe siècle.” Accessed December 01, 2013. [http://www.carnavalet.paris.fr/en/expositions/theatre-danse-et-musique-paris-au-xixe-siecle](http://www.carnavalet.paris.fr/en/expositions/theatre-danse-et-musique-paris-au-xixe-siecle).
Wanda Landowska (1879-1959), the Catalan cellist and conductor Pablo Casals (1876-1973), and the Belgian violinist, composer and conductor Eugène Ysaÿe (1858-1931), and among the composers were Rodolphe Berger (1864-1916), André Caplet (1878-1925), Gustav Charpentier (1860-1956), Claude Debussy (1862-1918), Théodore Dubois (1837-1924), Eduard Grieg (1843-1907), Reynaldo Hahn (1874-1947), Vincent d’Indy (1851-1931), Camille Saint-Saëns (1835-1921), and Richard Strauss (1864-1949). The musical activities associated with these musicians were, either directly or indirectly, largely concentrated in France, more specifically, in Paris.\footnote{Other connections included international tours of famous artists that preceded Parisian performances or international artists or productions that were soon to be featured in Paris.}

In correspondence with Musica’s written material, this collection of images provides rich insights into the cultural life of Paris at the time. A comparison of the quantity of illustrations per category and the total amount of categories, especially as this changes from year to year, might assist in identifying elements of aesthetic preferences and the popularity of certain genres among Musica’s customers, as well as broad ideas about the reception of repertoire (something beyond the scope of this dissertation). Similarly, a survey of the iconography unveils existing connections among various artists, genres, and members of a particular socioeconomic status in relation to the musical activities covered by the magazine. It also allows the modern reader to identify active theaters, recital halls, concert halls and other spaces for the arts during the time, and some general aesthetic trends in terms of mise-en-scène, costume designs of operatic productions and the organization of musical events. It points to the popularity that performers, particularly singers and conductors, enjoyed in Parisian socio-cultural environment. A certain aura, comparable to that of modern film celebrities, surrounded
solo performers of the time, particularly singers. Their artistic personae became a useful vehicle to promote a product, a designer, or specific ideas of aesthetic ideas. The images of some artists endorsed the businesses of clothing designers, perfumes, hotels, cars, banks, theaters, and other symbols associated with the socio-cultural status of the elite.

3.6 *La Grande Saison de Paris and Musica*

As discussed in Chapter 2, the undeniable power and pervasive influence of the Parisian press made it the center of mass communication during the *belle époque*. Its influence was felt throughout the nation, but its dominance was especially strong in Paris, the European cultural capital during this period. Its penetration into nearly every single aspect of French life, its capacity to represent different sub-groups, and its relative ease in reaching Parisian audiences made the press a lens through which one could observe the interactions of different social dynamics. Astruc was fully aware of the nature and power of the press and recognized its potential as a tool of mediation and as sociocultural and political commentator.

In 1905, as *Musica* became increasingly popular throughout Europe, the recently founded Société Musicale inaugurated *La Grande Saison de Paris*, which remained at the center of Parisian musical life until its disappearance in 1913.\(^{33}\) This season consisted of a multiplicity of musical events representing different genres and performed by a constellation of some of the most influential artists of the time. Surviving evidence suggests that between 1905 and 1912 *La Grande Saison de Paris* featured more than 1000 musical events.\(^{34}\) The list of personalities who collaborated on programs of *La Grande Saison de*...
Paris included personalities such as Stravinsky, Debussy, Fauré, Saint-Saëns, Nijinsky, Diaghilev, Fokine, Bakst, Strauss, and d’Annunzio.

The amount of content and advertisement related to *La Grande Saison de Paris* in *Musica* is astonishing. The pages of this magazine are loaded with specific information about nearly every detail of each performance. Careful coverage included interviews with the artists, criticism from well-known critics, and announcements and programs of upcoming events. In addition, tangential information consisted of biographical columns on vocal performers, conductors, and composers. By covering virtually every event programmed by La Société Musicale during each season, *Musica* became the primary vehicle for promoting *La Grande Saison de Paris*. The coverage of the season by other Parisian journals or newspapers of the time could not compare to the length, depth and iconography that *Musica* included for such events.

The cover of the May 1911 eighteen-page issue of *Musica* featured a photograph of Felix Weingartner (1863-1942), the conductor of *Le Festival Beethoven*, one of the events of *La Grande Saison de Paris*. The Beethoven festival consisted of several three- to four-day series of concerts featuring his nine symphonies, some of his solo concerti, and overtures. In this half-body image, Weingartner appears seated towards the right edge of the magazine’s cover and facing the reader, superimposed on an image of Beethoven’s dimmed, ghost-like face. Unlike Weingartner, Beethoven is not looking at the reader. He seems to be observing the conductor, suggesting a spiritual connection between the two established through the music. The overall effect suggests there was a perpetuation

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*Astruc has organized in Paris more than one thousand theatrical performances and concerts.* "Depuis l’année 1905, où fut fondée la Société Musicale, M. Gabriel Astruc a organisé à Paris près d’un millier de représentations théâtrales et de concerts. Theatre performances in this context make reference mainly to opera repertoire, which represented an important part of the season. For a discussion of *la Grande Saison Italienne*, see Chapter 4."
of the composer’s spirit through the hands of the conductor, who acted as the medium through which the reincarnated composer came to life. This nineteenth-century romanticized image of the conductor, the composer, and the relationship between them is clearly seen on this cover.

This 1911 issue of Musica also contained a two-page article entirely devoted to the activities of La Grande Saison de Paris during that year. Jacques Bernard opened his article by expressing the importance of Astruc within La Grande Saison de Paris, referring to the impresario as the “tireless wizard from whom La Grande Saison de Paris was born.”35 The article featured images of various artists involved throughout the season, along with the names of these artists and their specialties. Images included those of the violinist Jan Kubelick “célèbre virtuoso,” Emile von Sauer “l’eminent pianist,” Georges Enesco “le compositeur et virtuose réputé,” and Lucienne Bréval “La grande artiste qui interprétara des lieds [sic] de Beethoven.”36 Other images were those of mezzo-soprano Lucille Marcel (1887-1921), ballerina Natasha Trouhanova, and Le Chant Choral, the choir that performed Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony during the Beethoven Festival. In addition, the article presented H.G.[sic] Dumas’ drawing of Ignace Paderewski (1860-1941) at the piano.

The structure of Musica allowed it to discuss all the events of La Grande Saison de Paris from various standpoints. Its articles and other material addressed issues related to cultural spaces in Paris, featured national and international artists that were to perform in the city, and published and commented on new as well as traditional repertoire.

36 Bernard, 88-89.
Musica’s inclusive attitude to other artistic disciplines such as architecture, fashion, design, writing, and dance offered the ideal forum in which to represent the concept of La Grande Saison to its Parisian readers. While this comprehensive coverage of La Grande Saison suggests a continuing link between Musica and Astruc, it is also possible that the editors of the magazine were independent of the impresario, but recognized that this was the major musical event of the year, and that their readers would demand that it be given great attention.

3.7 Album Musica: Musica’s Supplement

A survey of the contents of Album Musica, Musica’s supplement, reveals its relevance not only to complement the contents of Musica, but also to attract a broad, musically literate readership. The repertoire included popular genres and new compositions by well-known composers. In addition to piano pieces and accompanied vocal pieces, Album Musica contained piano transcriptions and reductions from repertoire composed for different performing forces. In the same way, it included French translations of vocal repertoire originally written in other languages. These reductions and translations particularly appealed to an early-twentieth-century Parisian audience fascinated with international operatic repertoire, particularly German, Austrian, and Russian composers.

Thematic relationships existed between the magazine and the musical supplement. The best examples of such relationships are found in the issues of Musica dedicated to specific composers. For instance, the April 1906 issue was a “numéro consacré à Mozart.” With a biographical approach, this issue included columns, illustrations, and even an eight-strophe poem by George Pioch addressing different aspects of Mozart’s

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37 Musica, no. 43 (1906), and its supplement Album Musica. no. 43 (1906).
personal life as well as his legacy as a performer and composer. It also included two biographical articles devoted to two “Grands Interprètes de Mozart” written by the composer and conductor Reynaldo Hahn and by Gabriel Fauré, the well-known composer who, at this point, was the director of the Conservatoire National de Musique. Fauré wrote a biographical, pseudo-hagiographical article about the famous violinist Joseph Joachim. Hahn’s article, by contrast, was dedicated to the German soprano Lilli Lehmann, “l’interprète Idéale de Mozart.” The corresponding issue of *Album Musica* contained the piano-vocal score of Mozart’s *Die Zauberflöte*. This edition of Mozart’s opera featured a new French translation (with the title *La flûte enchantée*) by Felicien Grétry, a music critic also known for his French adaptations of other works such as *Der Freischütz* by Carl Maria von Weber.  

An introduction to Reynaldo Hahn’s article about Lehmann focuses one’s attention on his views, as “Chef d’orchestre du Festival Mozart,” about the work of the soprano who performed in that particular season of the Festival. “Madame Lilly Lehmann,” writes Hahn in his opening statement, “[i]s more than a great singer: she is the personification of vocal art, a kind of singing divinity.” In addition, the article contained two illustrations: the first photograph is a portrait of Lilli Lehmann, and the second, of her niece and apprentice, the soprano Hedwig Helbig. They both performed in the Festival Mozart, which took place in Paris on April 22, 25, and 26, 1906 at the Nouveau Théâtre. This article presented the artists, including the writer and musical

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38 Other canonic operatic works edited by *Album Musica* included Mozart’s *Don Juan* (*Don Giovanni*) and *Les Noces de Figaro* (*Le nozze di Figaro*), Beethoven’s *Fidelio*, and Gluck’s *Orphée* (*Orfeo ed Euridice*) and *Armide*.

director of the festival, and their work in the context of the Festival Mozart. Even though this presentation seems rather predictable, given that the subject of this particular issue of *Musica* was, indeed, Mozart, and although Astruc’s Société Musicale organized several symphonic festivals each year during La Grande Saison de Paris, it is significant that this issue of *Musica* opportunely anticipated the Festival Mozart. Consequently, through the article’s exhibition of the talents of the musical director of the festival and two of its main participants, the magazine and its supplement played a role in promoting the event. Further illustrating links between *Musica* and Astruc’s programming, the artists Reynaldo Hahn, Lilli Lehmann, Gabriel Fauré, and Joseph Joachim, who often collaborated with Astruc’s *Société Musicale*, were also featured in this issue of *Musica*.

The thematic relationship between *Musica* and *Album Musica* seems at times to have been affected or influenced by the cultural activities organized by Astruc through his Société Musicale. Such a relationship was, in fact, a recurrent phenomenon throughout the existence of the magazine. It is likely that the undeniable significance of these activities within the Parisian cultural scene, along with the success of the participating performers and repertoire, led them to be featured in the magazine. It is also probable that Astruc’s active presence in both enterprises, the musical festival and the magazine, facilitated the connections between them.

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40 This same issue of *Musica* contains a one-page advertisement in which Astruc’s Société Musicale announced the “Festival Beethoven et Berlioz” at the theaters of l’Opéra and Chatelet. By 1906, these festivals were recurrent during La Grande Saison de Paris. Just as the Festival Mozart, this event consisted of a series of symphonic concerts. With a total of six concerts the festival featured music by both composers directed by Weingartner and featuring the prestigious Lamoreaux orchestra. Of particular interest is the fact that the dates and times of the performances of the Festival Beethoven et Berlioz, April 20, 23, 25, 27, 29, and May 1, 1906, did not overlap with the ones of the Festival Mozart.
Musica also covered other events such as concerts or operas put on by other personalities in the entrepreneurial business. That is the case of former singer, impresario, and theater director Pierre Gailhard (1848-1918) who, in 1903, organized the production of Saint-Saëns’ Henry VIII at l’Opéra. Musica devoted a two-page review of the performance, which included photographs of the performers in costume and drawings of the set.41

3.8 The Structure of Album Musica

A study of the musical editions featured in Album Musica between 1902 and 1912 suggest that Musica’s supplement was not part of Astuc’s publishing business. Instead, Album Musica seems to have served different purposes, such as advertisement or promotion, for various music publishers including Astruc’s company. The musical editions included in Album Musica, all re-engraved, bearing standardized decorations, with page numbers within each volume, and frequently with reproductions of the composer’s signature, include the work of several different publishers who often advertised on the back cover of the issue in which their works were included. Throughout 1905, for instance, the works of over 25 different publishers, among them Astruc, were represented in this publication.42 During the same year, the only publications of La Société Musicale present, both, in the same issue, were François-Pierre Cortès’ Plainte Amoureuse for piano, and Fernand Lemaire’s Berceuse for voice and piano.43 The collection of Astruc’s documents at the Archives in Paris contains letters and scores sent by numerous

41 René Thorel, “Henri VIII a l’Opéra,” Musica, no. 9 (1903): 133.
42 See Album Musica, nos. 31-39 (1905). Besides Astruc’s Société Musicale, some of the publishing companies whose works were included during 1905 in Album Musica are Hachette & Cie, Joubert, Hamelle, Choudens, Breitkopf et Härtel, Joanin et Cie, Durand et fils, Costallat et Cie, Baucher, Ricordi, Grus et Cie, Brocco, and Sonzogno.
composers requesting an audition or asking for their pieces to be published by La Société Musicale or in Album Musica. Most likely, Astruc’s publishing company had some influence on the repertoire selection included on Album Musica. However, evidence illustrating the extent of such influence on the repertoire published on Album Musica is yet to be found.44

A number of other works published by Astruc appeared after 1905, but many other publishers were more heavily represented. Beyond his own publications, he gave permission for works of publishers he represented (Sanzogno, for instance) and may also have had a role in the inclusion of works published by Enoch (such as Gedalge’s Le Sentier in the 1902 Album Musica, where it bears the indication “published with the authorization of MM Enoch et Cie.”)45 It seems that a major function of Album Musica was as a publicity vehicle for Parisian music publishers, who allowed brief examples of their publications to be included in this inexpensive biweekly periodical. It is unknown what financial arrangements existed between the publishers of Album Musica and the original publishers of the music it included, but the situation was undoubtedly mutually beneficial.

Album Musica featured a significant amount of original compositions for piano solo and music for accompanied soloists, including vocal pieces. In addition, this supplement included piano transcriptions of other works from instrumental genres as well as vocal scores from popular operatic works during that time. A one-sentence note following the table of contents of the October 1902 issue of Album Musica redirected the reader’s attention to the correspondent issue of Musica. The issue of Musica provided the reader

45 André Gedalge, Le Sentier. Album Musica, no. 7 (1903), 152. “Publié avec l’autorisation de MM Enoch et Cie. Éditeurs, Paris”
with an “advice for the interpretation of these pieces.” These critical notes presented, in a non-technical fashion, short explanations of certain musical terminology in the scores related to character, tempo, and phrasing, among basic elements. The text for the performance of Massenet’s *Poésie de Mytis*, for instance, instructs the accompanist “to accent the syncopation of the first of the three measures that connect the two strophes” (que l’accompagnateur accentue la syncope de la première des trois mesures qui relient les deux strophes). In regards to the vocal section of Chaminade’s *mélodie*, the text suggests that the second strophe “should be sung with a lot of sentiment, and making a *ritardando* and *mezza-voce* during the words ‘de rayonnements de tenderness’,” and the singer should “hammer the following syllables ‘c’est le parfum qui mi rend fou (this is the perfume that drives me insane).’”

The characteristics of the repertoire of this first issue of *Album Musica* included a relatively basic level of difficulty, standard musical notation, exclusive usage of French language in the vocal repertoire, and the inclusion of piano solo or accompanied solo repertoire. In addition to the musical content, the terminology and the sometimes metaphoric language used in the aforementioned descriptions confirm that the target group of *Album Musica*’s consisted largely of amateur musicians or individuals with a non-professional level of music training. Throughout its life this musical supplement maintained, for the most part, these parameters in the music it published. Nonetheless, *Album Musica* included a variety of genres and styles, which suggest a transformation of

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47 *Musica*, no. 1 (1902).
aesthetic preferences, cultural values, or public demand. For instance, *Album Musica*’s issue of January 1914 contains exclusively works by Richard Wagner. It included two piano transcriptions of two instrumental sections from *Parísfal*’s “scene des filles-fleures,” and the *marche funèbre* of *Crepusculo des Dieux* (*Götterdämmerung*). The remaining works, all of these vocal, include ‘Prière’ from *Rienzi*, ‘Cheœur des Fileuses’ from *Le Vaisseau Fantôme* (*Der fliegende Holländer*) ‘Rêve d’Elsa’ from *Lohengrin*, ‘Romance de l’Étoile’ from *Tannhäuser*, ‘Chant d’Amour’ from *La Walkyrie* (*Die Walküre*), ‘Walther Devant la Corporation des Maîtres’ from *Les Maîtres Chanteurs de Nuremberg* (*Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*) and ‘Apothéose d’Yseult’ from *Tristan et Yseult* (*Tristan und Isolde*). All of the piano-vocal scores include only a French translation, without the original German text. 49

As will be discussed in Chapter 6, the inclusion of Wagner’s music in this particular issue (January 1914) does not seem accidental. After a series of unfruitful attempts to obtain the copyrights to produce Wagner’s *Parsifal* during the inaugural season of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, Astruc still hoped to program this work during its second season, in 1914. By including excerpts or transcriptions of Wagner’s operas, with exclusively French translations, *Album Musica*’s readership could become closely familiar with the repertoire, adding to what some older readers may have known from late-nineteenth-century Wagner performances at the Paris Opéra and Théâtre Lyrique and articles in journals such as *La Revue Wagnérienne* (1885-88) and *Le Menestrel*. This inclusion continued nineteenth-century practices of publishing “morceaux détachées” and operatic transcriptions as it represented an effective way for disseminating the repertoire, maintaining the popular publication and, most importantly, promoting the performances of *Parsifal* at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. Unfortunately, the

49 *Album Musica*, no. 136 (1914).
premature closing of the theater, in 1913, prevented this musical event from taking place.
Archival sources contain countless examples that reveal possible connections between
Astruc’s music publishing business and the dissemination of certain repertoire in France
and abroad. The publication of any particular repertoire often related to other projects
that Astruc, through his Société Musicale, simultaneously worked on. Likely, as in the
case of La Société Musicale, Album Musica served different purposes associated with
publicity, promotion, and project development.

Throughout the existence of this supplement, none of the vocal pieces, often from
Italian, Russian or German standard repertoire, appeared published in their original
language – that is, none appeared in a language other than French. When available, pre-
existing French translations became handy to expedite the publication process; when
French translations were not available translators were hired. The names of hired
translators are often included in the publications.50

Another common trend of Album Musica was to publish new commissioned works
as well as répertoire ancienne. The first two issues of Album Musica contain almost exclusively
commissioned pieces. After the title of most of these works, the author indicates that
these pieces were “written” or “composed specially for ‘Musica’. “ Contributors to this
publication involved well-known composers. For instance, Album Musica’s January issue of
1912 includes Elegie, a composition by Lois Dumas, the winner of the prestigious Prix de
Rome in 1908. The edition of Elegie, a piece for piano and cello, contains a short preface
to Dumas’ work:

50 See “Boris Godounow: Drame en 5 actes de Pouchkine.” Album Musica, no. 70 (1908): 161. This vocal score indicates that Pierre d’Alheim provided the French translation for this piece.
Mr. Louis Dumas, one of the most “visible” young winners of the Prix de Rome, agreed to write for the readers of Musica this pretty piece for piano and violoncello. The character is unclear, although the melody line is firm. It should be played with great expression, but without *ritardando* and without too much grandiloquence.

*M. Louis Dumas, l’un des plus “en vue” des jeunes Prix de Rome, a bien voulu écrire à l’intention des lecteurs de Musica, cette jolie pièce pour piano et violoncelle. Le caractère en est estompé, bien que la ligne mélodique soit ferme. La jouer avec beaucoup d’expression, mais sans lenteur et sans grande grandiloquence.*

A significant number of works by Prix de Rome winners appeared consistently in this supplement. For example, *Sérenade Italienne* by André Gailhard, who this publication referred to as “one of the best among the young Prix de Rome [winners]”, appeared in Album Musica’s issue of February 1912. The preface of this particular piece, written for piano and violin, reveals that until its inclusion in this publication, this was an unedited or perhaps a new composition: “This charming new piece for piano and violin is valued for its genuine inspiration and its constant concern with the [melodic] line.” Earlier, the supplement’s issue of April 1903 had included *Le Sentier*, a mélodie written by André Gedalge, winner of the Prix de Rome second prize in 1886. Other composers featured in Album Musica and who also hold the prestigious Prix de Rome included for instance, 1876 winner Paul Hillemacher and Paul Puget, winner in 1873, whose works also appeared in 1903.

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51 Louis Dumas, *Elegie, Album Musica*, no. 1 (1902), 2. The original text is also underlined. As in other solo works, this piece not only included the piano part, but also a separate part for the cellist. The works edited in Musica maintained the standard characteristics of a publication intended for performance, including readability of score.

52 André Gailhard, *Sérenade Italienne, Album Musica*, no. 113 (1912), 29: “l’un de nos meilleurs parmi les jeunes Prix de Rome…”

53 *Album Musica*, no. 113 (1912), 29: “ce ravissant morceau inédit pour piano et violon qui vaut par son inspiration franche et le souci constant de la ‘ligne’.”

3.9 Disseminating Repertoire: Music Pedagogy and Stylistic Eclecticism.

A glimpse of the content of *Musica* and its supplement *Album Musica* reveals, as suggested above, that a sizable proportion of both publications targeted not only amateur musicians or members of the *haute société*—sometimes divided by gender—but also private teachers and students of different levels.\(^{55}\)

Not only were pieces by Prix de Rome winners commonly published in *Album Musica*, but works written by accomplished composers for pedagogical purposes often appeared. The August 1903 issue of *Album Musica*, for instance, featured “Morceau de Concours,” a one-page piano piece by Georges Marty (1860-1908), French conductor and composer, and winner of the Prix de Rome in 1882. Marty’s published score not only indicates that it was “assigned to the male students at the Conservatoire National de Musique,” but also that it was an exercise for sight-reading. The same issue presented a piano piece of a similar nature by André Messager (1853-1929), French composer, organist, pianist, and conductor, but Messager’s piece was geared for female students.\(^{56}\)

In addition, Gabriel Fauré (1845-1924), who in 1905 became the head of the Paris Conservatoire, and with whom Astruc often collaborated, also published his “Morceau de

\(^{55}\) Recognized Parisian publishing houses such as Durand and Enoch, and some international publishers, too, advertised methods to learn different instruments in both publications. In addition, *Musica* included weekly quizzes and other games featuring music related questions. Answers to such questions often required basic knowledge of music terminology, repertoire, and even harmony, counterpoint, and other more specialized areas of musical studies.

\(^{56}\) See, Georges Marty, *Morceau de Concours Imposé aux Hommes au Conservatoire National de Musique. Album Musica*, no. 12 (1903), 277; André Messager, *Morceau de Concours Imposé aux Élèves Femmes au Conservatoire National de Musique, Album Musica*, no. 12 (1903), 278. Despite the fact that both of these one-page pieces require a similar level of technical skill, stylistically these are truly distant from one another. The issue of gender in nineteenth-century piano music and opera, have been explored in the work of scholars such as Judith Tick, Marcia Citron, Mary Ann Smart, Jann Pasler, Carolyn Abbate, and M. Elizabeth C. Bartlet, among others. It is my hope that this example becomes useful in future investigations on the subject.
Concours” in the same issue of *Album Musica*. This publication of Fauré’s piece indicates that it was “assigned to the competitor violinists at the conservatoire.”

The technical level of difficulty of these one-page sight-reading exercises for piano and accompanied violin by Marty, Messager, and Fauré and other composers associated with the Prix de Rome, the Paris Conservatoire, or both, do not correspond to the level of an advanced performer. The supplement does not provide information about the ages and levels of students that performed these exercises. However, it seems likely that these were given to students in an early stage of their musical training.

Perhaps a marketing strategy geared to connect the publication to the Paris Conservatoire inspired the inclusion of pedagogically oriented works in *Album Musica*. Nonetheless, it seems more likely that publishing works that were for the Conservatoire but were also not difficult, such as those intended for sight-reading examinations, allowed the amateur musician who bought *Album Musica* to think s/he could have gone to the conservatoire if they wanted. Through sharing material used by musicians at the Paris conservatoire, this publication compared the technical abilities of its readership and their musical training to those that characterized the Paris Conservatoire. Similarly, since private music teachers constituted part of this supplement’s readership, it seems likely they would assign the repertoire to link their pedagogy with the musical training provided at the Conservatoire.

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Along with new compositions and a works with a variety of technical demands, the repertoire published in *Album Musica* also included *musique ancienne*. In the last issue of 1905, *Album Musica* published the piano-vocal score of Carl Maria von Weber’s opera *Der Freischütz* and also announced that musical selections for 1906 would include Beethoven’s *Fidelio*, Gluck’s *Armide* and *Orfeo ed Euridice*, and Mozart’s *Don Giovanni*, *The Marriage of Figaro*, and *The Magic Flute*. It was not uncommon, however, for *Album Musica* to publish repertoire associated with *la musique ancienne*, which included, for instance, dance music from the Renaissance or works by composers such as J.S. Bach or Robert Schumann.

However, after announcing this repertoire, the same advertisement pointed out that:

> The issues containing these immortal musical scores ([for] piano and voice) for the extraordinary price of one franc will, by no means, stop the [stylistic] continuity of our regular issues, which include the most sensational new music, autographed by prominent composers, and chosen with a perfect taste to satisfy all tastes, all abilities, all talents […]

> “Les Albums, contenant ces immortelles partitions (piano et chant) pour le prix extraordinaire de Un Franc n’interrompront nullement la continuation de nos Albums ordinaires constitués des plus Sensationnelles Nouveautés Musicales signées des plus grands noms, et choisies avec un tact parfait, satisfaisant à tous les Goûts toutes les Aptitudes, tous les Talents […]”

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58 See, for instance, *Album Musica*, no. 37 (1905), front cover. This issue contains “the most beautiful French chansons” (*les plus belles chansons du pays de France*) including French repertoire form the 13 century to 1905.


60 See, for instance, *Album Musica*, no. 50 (1906), dedicated to Massenet; *Album Musica*, no. 59 (1907), featuring compositions by Schumann; and *Album Musica*, no. 61 (1907), including music by Bach. Other issues were dedicated to single genres. See *Album Musica*, no. 55 (1907), which included exclusively opéra comique.

61 Advertisement, *Album Musica*, no. 38 (1905): 411. In this context, the term *signées des plus grands noms* could be understood at least in two different ways. First, it suggests that the publication would offer contemporary works by sought-after composers. However, most of the scores of new works published by *Album Musica* included the signature of the composer, particularly those commissioned for the magazine. Thus, this statement also suggests that *Album Musica* would continue to commission new works by well-known composers.
Even though *Album Musica* was not under the control of Astruc’s Société Musicale or any other single publisher, it gave Astruc and other music publishers the opportunity to advertise their publications collectively. In Astruc’s case, he not only promoted his music publications but also the events related to his activities as an entrepreneur and manager, including La Grande Saison de Paris. In addition, *Album Musica* allowed publishers with a wide spectrum of aesthetic preferences to publish a diversity of genres, musical styles, and composers. It is unknown if, when Astruc developed the project of *Musica* and *Album Musica*, his concept included such an eclectic approach to music publishing. As will be explored in the following chapter, La Société Musicale, like *Album Musica*, mixed older traditions and progressive practices in its promotion of canonic as well as new works, aesthetic innovations and new approaches to existing musical traditions.

The work of the nineteenth-century music impresario often required proficiency in many disciplines.¹ The wide array of activities in which a successful impresario navigated included artists’ management, musical editing and publishing, fundraising, literary writing, and concert organization. The web created by the interaction of these skills allowed the impresario to create and develop a large variety of artistic projects. Due to the necessity of combining such a significant number of skills, impresarios became central figures in the construction of the musical landscapes of important cultural centers in Europe.²

At the center of the Parisian cultural scene, Gabriel Astruc (1864-1938) became one of the most representative examples of an impresario at the beginning of the twentieth century. Beginning as a journalist and playwright, Astruc worked simultaneously as an artists’ manager, music critic, author, music editor, impresario, and

¹ The definition of the terms “Impresario” and “Entrepreneur” depends not only on the array of activities and financial responsibility but also the nature of the business during any given time period. Astruc, as other Impresarios during fin-de-siècle Paris, not only created an Impresa (company) that represented artists, published music, and commissioned new music but also organized events and assumed the financial risks for his business ventures. In this dissertation both terms “Impresario” and “Entrepreneur” are used as synonyms.

² Some authors have acknowledged the impact on the Parisian artistic scene of the work of other European impresarios, who often had a performance background, such as Victor Maurel (1848-1923), Angelo Neumann (1838-1910), and Léon Carvalho (1825-1897). See Steven Huebner, French Opera at the Fin de Siècle: Wagnerism, Nationalism, and Style (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); D. Kern Holloman, Evenings with the Orchestra: A Norton Companion for Concert Goers (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1992.) Astruc’s relationship with the administration of some Parisian theaters requires further inquiry, for the control of directors of theaters such as l’Opéra on programming was undeniable. Unfortunately, I was not able to access the archives of theaters such as l’Opéra to study the nature of the connection between Astruc and figures such as André Messager and Leimistin Broussan, co-directors of the Paris Opéra between 1908-1914.
theater director. Through the professional activities of his company, La Société Musicale, Astruc contributed to the weaving of the Parisian cultural tapestry, particularly between 1904 and 1913.

Our understanding of the impact of the activities of Gabriel Astruc on the Parisian cultural landscape is enlightened by an analysis of his multiple activities and, foremost, the interaction among them. In addition, issues related to aesthetics, social function, space, and cultural impact can be traced by a survey of the music-related activities organized by La Société Musicale. In order to identify and study such interactions, the surrounding circumstances, and their outcomes, the present chapter will analyze various musical events organized by Astruc’s Société Musicale, and the artists involved in such events.

The main goal of this chapter is, from the perspective of the professional activities of Gabriel Astruc, to identify and illustrate the connecting threads among the different activities of the impresario and the impact of such activities on the Parisian musical scene. For such purposes, this chapter will focus on various projects of Astruc between the opening of his company, La Société Musicale, in 1904, and the opening season of the Théâtre des Champs-Elysées in 1913. 3

3 Probably, the most representative instances of musical events organized by Astruc that are presented as epoch-making events, particularly in music appreciation and music history books, include the premieres, or Parisian premieres, of Stravinsky’s Le Sacre du Printemps, Debussy/Nijinsky’s L’Après-midi d’un faune, Strauss’ Salomé, and Debussy/d’Annunzio’s Le Martyre de Saint-Sébastien. Between September and December of 1986, La Revue Générale published a series of four articles entitled Gabriel Astruc et ses ‘Scandales.’ See, Gabriel Astruc, “L’interdiction du Martyre de Saint Sébastien.” La Revue Générale 8-9 (1986): 11-22; “Un de mes ‘Scandales:’ La Colère de Salomé.” La Revue Générale 10 (1986): 3-12; “L’Algarade du Pèlude à l’Après-midi d’un Faune.” La Revue Générale 11 (1986): 3-9; “La bataille du Sacre du Printemps.” La Revue Générale 12 (1986): 17-26. This material consists of an edition of Astruc’s writing called Mes Scandales, in which he presents his own discussions of musical as well as non-musical ideas that surrounded the performance of this repertoire. There are, nonetheless, different versions of this text. For instance, the archives of the Sanfuentes family, the only known living
This chapter is divided into four different sections. The first, in an introductory fashion, describes Astruc’s company, La Société Musicale. This section focuses on the establishment of the company in Paris, its growth, and the connections with the different artists with whom it worked. Sections two through four illustrate some of the dynamics of the musical scene in Paris from three contrasting angles, all related to the organization of events by La Société Musicale. Section two addresses in detail the organization of private events by Astruc, particularly soirées, fête, and auditiones musicales. Through the study of surviving records of various private events, this section reveals existing connections between such events, artistic sponsorship, the elite in Paris, and the globalization of the Parisian musical scene. Additionally, this section highlights the significance of women from the elite as entrepreneurs of these important events. Section three addresses the semi-private events organized by Gabriel Astruc through his Société Musicale, which often consisted of benefit concerts. Semi-private events contained a strong socio-political component that commonly affected the Parisian cultural landscape, and from which Astruc often profited greatly.

The final section addresses issues regarding public events. These consisted of the artistic projects designed and organized entirely by La Société Musicale. In these projects Astruc’s company had control over repertoire and artists. The most relevant of these projects was La Grande Saison de Paris, which consisted of several different artistic manifestations and represented one of the most important Parisian cultural events from its beginning in 1905 to its collapse in 1913. This particular section will use two of the survivors of Astruc’s family, contain an unedited version of Mes Scandales which contains the original text. Olivier Corpet, editor of the most recent edition of Astruc’s memoirs (2003), included a different version of Mes Scandales. Corpet offered a transcription of a radio transmission in which Astruc himself, allegedly, read his text. Unfortunately, this audio version, containing Astruc’s voice, has not been found in any of the archives.
most representative large-scale projects as case studies: *La Saison Italienne*, particularly between 1905 and 1910, and *La Saison Russe*, between 1909 and 1911. *La Saison Italienne* featured Italian operatic repertoire while the *Saison Russe* included, besides opera, the famous Ballet Russes of Sergei Diaghilev. Both of these events were at the core of *La Grande Saison de Paris* and became representative of Parisian cultural life and the professional activities of Gabriel Astruc. Through the consideration of different performances from *La Saison Russe* and *La Saison Italienne*, as well as other music events from *La Grande Saison* such as the Beethoven Festival, this section shows the process through which repertoire selection contributed to bridge the gap between tradition and modernity. Finally, this particular section explores multiple connections between sponsors, music editors, local as well as international artistic organizations, various artistic manifestations, and different aesthetic trends.4

4.1 Artists Associated with La Société Musicale

In 1904, Astruc founded *La Société Musicale Gabriel Astruc & Cie* and opened his main office at the Pavillon de Hanovre on le Boulevard des Italiens.5 However, the opening of this company occurred as a natural consequence of Astruc’s involvement with the music business during the last decade of the nineteenth century. Wilhelm Enoch, Astruc’s cousin and father-in-law, had published the works of well-known artistic personalities of the time such as Emmanuel Chabrier, César Franck, André Messager,

4 Astruc’s other professional activities that affected the Parisian musical and cultural landscape such as theater direction or journalism, nonetheless closely linked to those management and entrepreneurship, are particularly explored in Chapters 5 and 6.
5 Built between 1758 and 1760 by the French architect Jean-Michel Chevolet at Maréchal de Richelieu Gardens, the historical Pavillon de Hanovre served as the headquarters of Astruc’s Société Musicale. Originally located at the Boulevard des Italiens, the Pavillon de Hanovre was relocated to its current location at the parc Monceau in 1932.
Vincent d’Indy, and Gabriel Pierné. Astruc’s experience in music editing, particularly with Enoch, influenced the business model he adopted, for Astruc open his Société Musicale primarily as a publishing house. During this time, the business model of music publishing also included entrepreneurship and artistic management. Besides Enoch, other European companies such as Durand, Sonzogno, Georges Costallat, and Ricordi had defined the multitasking role of the music publisher. Astruc’s early connections with wealthy patrons such as Isaac de Camondo facilitated his contact with leading artists with whom he established contact even before the opening of La Société Musicale in 1904. Archival material suggests that Astruc’s connection with personalities such as Belgian tenor Ernst Van Dyck (1861-1923), composer Gustave Charpentier (1860-1956), and pianist-harpsichordist Wanda Landowska (1879-1959) occurred as early as 1900. In this way, the appearance of La Société Musicale seems the natural consequence of a network in which Astruc was already involved.

The opening of his company marked the beginning of numerous professional accomplishments, particularly in the realms of management and event organization. Astruc seemed to recognize in Paris of the beginning of the twentieth century the ideal conditions for the continuous arrival and training of new musicians, new music, new aesthetics, and new audiences. Throughout his professional life, particularly between 1902 and 1913, he retained a privileged position at the core of music making and music business in Western Europe. His personal and commercial relationships with a complex

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6 The connections between Astruc and the music publishing business are explored in Chapter 5.
7 The collection of documents of Gabriel Astruc does not contain a significant amount of information related to his activities before 1904. However, some programs and pieces of correspondence reflect a close connection and even professional relationship with these artists.
network of wealthy patrons and sponsors in France and abroad, mostly from a Jewish background, facilitated the design and creation of several new opportunities for cultural display.

The vibrant musical scene of the time allowed for Parisian impresarios, managers, and theater directors to pursue their professional careers successfully. Other prominent impresarios during the fin de siècle, particularly those involved with opera productions, often had begun as performers. That is the case of the French impresario Pierre Gailhard (1848-1918), a former singer who became director of l’Opéra during two different periods (1884-1891 and 1893-1907). As director of the Opéra, Gailhard produced a variety of genres and styles. Like that of Astruc, Gailhard’s facilitation of a dialogue between different musical traditions and aesthetic trends gave him a reputation for “promoting new operas” and “new works by seventeen French composers.” The professional activities of Gailhard had an impact not only on the European cultural scene but also in countries like the United States. Gailhard’s obituary in the New York Times reflects his involvement with the international opera scene:

At the height of his [Gailhard’s] powers, he gave up singing and undertook the management of the Opéra, first with Mr. Ritt as partner, then with M. Bertrand, and from 1907 as sole director, sending many stars to New York. During his long régime in Paris he [Gailhard] produced many novelties and brought out new singers, some of whom became world renowned.9

It was not surprising that former singers such as Gailhard pursued careers as impresarios. In the Parisian musical scene, one deeply influenced by a strong tradition of

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vocal performance, singers were at the top of the list of artists seeking performing opportunities. Early experiences with managers and patrons could have provided singers with the experience and connections to start their own business. Recognition from Parisian audiences and critics enhanced the number of possibilities for any artist to have a successful career, and most likely an international one. Audience fascination with vocal performers and vocal genres echoed an inherited tradition from the nineteenth century, a period particularly marked by the popularity of opera and vocal chamber music. Vocal performers were amongst the best-remunerated artists and enjoyed wide recognition and, very often, a higher status than their instrumental counterparts. Other figures, particularly conductors, pianists, and violinists placed among the most prominent performers whose popularity often equaled vocal performers. Despite Gabriel Astruc’s fascination and respect for the operatic genre, he did not work exclusively with singers. In fact, he collaborated with a wide variety of artists and performers, which included instrumentalists, dancers, conductors, and composers.

Astruc’s success was largely due to the unconditional support of personalities such as Isaac de Camondo, countess Greffulhe, Béatrice Ephrussi, and the Princesse de Polignac. Yearly, Astruc’s Société Musicale issued a bulletin listing all the artists, mostly musicians, whose artistic careers it managed. In such a highly competitive market, this promotional and/or reference material helped the company to attract other artists and to build its reputation. It also informed other impresarios, theater directors, and potential clients of the artists managed by the company. This type of advertisement was also a mechanism commonly used to prevent legal issues, for the existence of several management companies competing for the market of available artists facilitated all kinds of misunderstandings.
Archival material illustrates the connections between Astruc’s Société Musicale with similar businesses across Europe and in the United States. The list of companies with which Astruc competed and often collaborated includes Albert Ahn (Germany), Ashton’s Royal Agency (London), Breitkopf & Härtel (Germany), Leslie Hibberd (London), Karl Junkermann (London), William Knabe (U.S.), Thomas Quinlan (London), and Heinrich Conried (U.S.).

Astruc’s company bulletin of 1905 contained a list of “various artists of great value, which you would have interest in featuring in your events” (divers artistes de grande valeur que vous auriez intérêt à faire entendre dans vos séances.) From a total of the seventy-three musicians or ensembles registered in this document, twenty-three are listed under the artistes lyriques category (arranged by voice type), and fifty as instrumentistes—among them pianists, violinists, violoncellists, string quartets, piano quartets, trios, and orchestral conductors. In addition, and when applicable, a singer’s name appeared linked to the theater or opera house with which he or she currently had a contractual or artistic relationship. In the Parisian artistic milieu, and as a tradition inherited from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, artistic associations with certain opera houses and theaters not only added

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10 “Agents et Impresarios,” Boxes 13, 14, and 15, Fonds Gabriel Astruc, Archives Nationales. These boxes contain an alphabetically organized list with the companies and individuals with which La Société Musicale interacted. Some of these documents date as early as 1904. Unfortunately, in this particular archive there is no record of Astruc’s connections with other agents or impresarios previous to the creation of Astruc’s Société Musicale.

credentials to the performers’ curriculae, but also implicitly connected them with different traditions of repertoires and aesthetics.\textsuperscript{12}

By 1907, the same list had expanded considerably, not only in regards to quantity but also in the caliber of the artists it contained.\textsuperscript{13} Singers with remarkable careers such as Marguerite Carré (1880-1947), Auguez de Montalant (1868-?), Lina Cavalieri (1874-1944), Géraldine Farrar (1882-1967), Lucienne Bréval (1869-1935), Ernest Van Dyck (1861-1923), Charles Rousselière (1875-1950), Maurice Renaud (1861-1933), and the famous Russian bass Feodor Chaliapine (1873-1938) were among the vocal performers listed. In the same fashion, the list of non-vocal performers enlarged to include players such as violinists Jan Kubelik (1880-1940), Jacques Thibaud (1880-1953) and Eugène Ysaÿe (1858-1931), as well as well-known violoncellists such as Pablo Casals (1876-1973) and Julius Klengel (1859-1933). Arthur Rubinstein (1887-1982), Ferruccio Busoni (1866-1924), Alfred Cortot (1877-1962), and Wanda Landowska (1879-1959) were among the pianists listed.

Some of the artists with whom La Société Musical worked did not live in Paris. This was the case of the famous American soprano and film actress Geraldine Farrar (1882-1967), who worked with Astruc multiple times performing in Opéra productions such as the premiere of Isaac de Camondo’s \textit{Le Clown} (1906) as well as in private events. Some of these performances took place while Farrar had an active career in the United

\textsuperscript{12} For a general idea of the history behind the connections between performers, theaters and repertoire see Roger C. Parker (ed), \textit{The Oxford Illustrated History of Opera} New York: Oxford University Press, 1996. Chapter 6 of this dissertation contains a discussion related to the elements of aesthetics, identity, space, and repertoire in relationship to the professional activities of Gabriel Astruc, particularly in the context of the Théâtre des Champs-Elysées.

\textsuperscript{13} See, “Liste d’artistes,” 1907, Box 2, folder \textit{Publicité: Proposition de listes d’artistes}, Fonds Gabriel Astruc, Archives Nationales. From a total of seventy-six musicians, the 1907 list contains thirty-seven singers and thirty-nine non-vocal performers.
States as a member of New York’s Metropolitan Opera Company. The connection with international artists became increasingly relevant for Astruc’s company. In fact, in 1910, La Société Musicale organized in Paris an Italian opera season featuring exclusively the Metropolitan Opera Company conducted by Arturo Toscanini.14

Of particular interest is the fact that, unlike its 1905 counterpart, the 1907 bulletin issued by Astruc’s Société Musicale included Compositeurs et Chefs d’Orchestres as a separate category. According to this list, distinctive artists such as Edouard Colonne (1838-1910), Paul Dukas (1865-1935), Gabriel Fauré (1845-1924), Camille Saint-Saëns (1835-1921), Richard Strauss (1864-1949), and Félix Weingartner (1863-1942) worked with Astruc through his Société Musicale. Other non-dated lists from the same file included new categories of instruments as well as performers.15 None of these lists, however, grouped musicians with artists from other disciplines. For instance, the highly selective group of ballet dancers which whom Astruc worked very closely as a manager and impresario remained unnamed in all these promotional documents. The names of dancers such as Vaslav Nijinsky (1890-1950), Natalia Trouhanova (1885-1956), and Anna Pavlova (1881-1931), all of whom Astruc represented, did not appear in any of these lists.16

14 For a discussion of the Italian opera season in Paris, see below.
15 For other lists of artists in the collection of Astruc’s papers, see 409-AP Box 2, folder Publicité: Proposition de listes d’artistes, Fonds Gabriel Astruc, Archives Nationales. Other categories and artists after 1907 included double bass, flute, and harp performed by Serge Koussevitzky, Philippe Gaubert, and Micheline Kahn respectively.
16 Across the documentation contained in the “Fonds Gabriel Astruc” at des Archives Nationales, and the Bibliothèque de la ville de Paris, the number of documents related to musicians, especially singers, is significantly larger than the ones related to dancers. This conclusion is the result of a comparison between more than one thousand contracts and programs found in these research sites. The occasional inclusion of artists from disciplines other than music in Astruc’s business will be addressed in this dissertation when appropriate.
A survey of these bulletins offers interesting insights about the careers of some well-known artists who worked with La Société Musicale. In addition, the changes in these lists from year to year suggest a process of transformation in the musical industry, and the increasing demand and popularity of particular instruments. The growing number of artists listed in these documents shows that Astruc’s business improved consistently during the first decade of the twentieth century. These additions in the artists’ rosters represented quite an astonishingly fast growth path for a company as young as La Société Musicale, created only a couple of years earlier, in 1904.\textsuperscript{17}

The inclusion of composers in these lists suggests, for instance, that the composition of music gained a space in the music business next to the performance of music. Perhaps, such inclusion reflected a shift in the sponsorship system for music creation or a change in the romanticized image of the nineteenth-century composer. Probably, these conditions inform us about the audiences as much as they inform us about performers. From the business standpoint, audiences, as consumers, played a determinant role in shaping the market of the musical scene.

A survey of the activities of companies such as La Société Musicale exemplifies the complexity of a rapidly changing and highly competitive music market in Paris. Artistic management became a necessary path through which musicians were able to develop their artistic careers. The collection of Astruc’s documents at the Archives Nationales in Paris contains countless requests from musicians who sought to be managed by La Société Musicale. A significant portion of these requests came from performers, especially singers, who requested an opportunity to audition at the Pavillon de Hanovre. In addition,\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{17} Noteworthy of mention is that most of the aforementioned artists and the activities in which they participated were featured in \textit{Musica}. See Chapter 3.
there are numerous recommendations addressed to Astruc from people close to him, also
requesting, on behalf of different performers, the possibility of scheduling an audition
with him. Interestingly enough, numerous requests addressed to Astruc’s Société Musicale
also came from composers. Often accompanying their letters, composers sent their scores
wishing for their pieces to be published either by Astruc’s company or through *Album
Musica*, the supplement of the prestigious illustrated music magazine *Musica*. The variety
of genres and the amount of published music during the first decade of the twentieth
century is astonishing. For instance, the monthly issue of *Album Musica* featured pieces
across genres and styles written by composers of different caliber: by young as well as
well-established composers.\(^{18}\) On occasion, some composers also reached out to their
mentors and other personalities seeking their recommendation for their compositions to
be published by Astruc. The interactions between La Société Musicale, musical
composition, and the composer as a public figure, suggests that this particular activity
became an important asset for its successful business of music management.\(^{19}\)

**4.2 Music, *la haute société*, and La Société Musicale in Private Events:**

*Fêtes and soirées*

Private events of the Parisian elite had a significant role in the development of the
Parisian musical scene. They heavily influenced the process of including new performers,
genres, and aesthetics in public venues and discourses. Private receptions became a
cultural laboratory where a good number of musicians, dancers, and composers managed
to obtain sponsorship and the possibility of a place on Parisian stages as they interacted
with patrons and other guests.

\(^{18}\) See the discussion of *Musica* and *Album Musica* in Chapter 3.

\(^{19}\) Ibid.
The music for these social events provided a highly artistic form of entertainment according to the hosts’ status and aesthetic priorities. For hosts, providing entertainment of the highest possible artistic caliber became a priority, as the quality of the entertainment reflected a desirable level of sophistication and status. Consequently, hosts relied on professional managers and impresarios such as Astruc to plan musical programs and select and hire performers.

Although private receptions may not have garnered the same publicity and profits for Astruc’s company as did its large-scale public events, these activities were clearly significant for the artistic viability of La Société Musicale. Among Astruc’s papers, a file related to private events and titled “la vie-mondaine” shows that fêtes and soirées represented the most common private events in which Astruc participated as a manager and impresario.20 Documents in this file suggest the centrality of such events within the cultural landscape in Paris as well as other cities in France and abroad.

Fêtes and soirées, private events that are distinguished inconsistently in these documents, varied in scale and in the length and complexity of the music program. The word fête appears most commonly in reference to large-scale private events, while soirée often designates smaller-scale events. The participants in soirées often included one composer-performer, or one or more well-known soloists, most commonly vocal performers, violinists or pianists. Programs varied from solo arias and songs to short “salon pieces” for instrumentalists, as well as chamber works. Fêtes, on the other hand, commonly featured, besides soloists, one or more large ensembles and a wide variety of musical genres. However, both terms, soirée and fête, are often used loosely to describe,

20 See 409-AP Box 34, Vie Mondaine-Correspondants da la haute société A à N, Fonds Gabriel Astruc, Archives Nationales.
loosely, private events organized by the elite. For instance, in many of the documents in Astruc’s papers, the words fête and soirée appear interchangeably when describing large-scale private events.

The term soirée often appears to denote any evening private event, regardless of its magnitude and the nature of the musical entertainment it featured. The more intimate character of many soirées allowed the attendees to focus more on the music. Consequently, the musical component of these gatherings often seemed central to the event. It was common for the invitations to these events to include a music program or an announcement suggesting the repertoire or the participation of a particular performer. Announcing the music beforehand reinforced its relevance within these events. Most likely, it helped to ensure attendance of the events, crucial in the success of these smaller-scale private gatherings, in which a few guests often enjoyed dinner and the chamber or solo performance. On occasion, despite the common association of the term soirée with relatively intimate settings and chamber music, soirées featured a larger number of guests and, consequently, a slightly larger musical component.

Providing artistic entertainment for other large-scale private events also constituted an important business for La Société Musicale. Fêtes, generally referring to large-scale gatherings hosted by the elite, included a considerably larger number of guests than the above-discussed soirées. Consequently, the nature of the entertainment provided changed according to these necessities. The number of performers featured in these events, the choices of repertoire, and the inclusion of a variety of musical genres and artistic disciplines adjusted to the needs of such events. These large-scale social events of
the elite represented for Astruc the “apotheosis of mondanité.” During each season, between May and June, La Société Musicale provided the invitees of these luxurious events with high-level artistic entertainment. The inclusion of internationally recognized performers was a key factor in these events, for it empowered the host by reinforcing an image of refinement, worldliness, and sophistication. Such an artistic level of entertainments, even for the private amusement of a few, facilitated social interaction among members of the elite in their own private spaces. In the same way, as proposed above, fêtes provided participating performers, mostly singers and dancers, as well as composers, with the ideal environment to find the adequate patronage through which they could develop their artistic careers. In addition, extant contractual agreements between La Société Musicale and some of the artists show that, in financial terms, it was equally profitable for artists to perform at the theaters or at private receptions.

Regular hosts of these events such as the Princesse de Polignac or Astruc himself used a variety of terms when referring to the private gatherings that enjoyed a rather intimate atmosphere. For example, in the invitation sent to Astruc, asking him to the soirée of January 14, 1906 hosted by Polignac, she defines her evening as “musique dans l’intimité.” A program from this soirée illustrates that this event featured solo and chamber works of “ancien” repertoire by Heinrich Schütz, Giacomo Carissimi, and J. S.

21 Astruc, Pavillon, 352.
22 Ibid.
23 Princesse de Polignac, for instance, uses “soirée” in some of the programs of the events she hosted and also uses musique dans l’intimité in the invitations to such events. Astruc, on the other hand, sometimes utilizes the term auditiones musicales.
Bach, as well as nineteenth- and early twentieth-century works by Hector Berlioz, Gabriel Fauré, and Eugène Gigout.25

Documents show that Astruc worked with Polignac by providing the musical entertainment for some of her events. For instance, on February 19, 1906 Astruc sent to the Princesse de Polignac draft music program for her soirée on February 25.26 According to this document, Wanda Landowska, whose career La Société Musicale managed, performed pieces by William Byrd, J.S. Bach, Franz Schubert, and Frédéric Chopin among other composers. Noteworthy is that, according to the program, Landowska performed at the harpsichord, pianoforte, and piano during the same recital.27

Astruc not only worked with upper class organizers of private gatherings, he also hosted a significant number of them himself, including an inaugural thé intime at the Pavillon de Hanovre in 1904. Surviving records show that this event, as well as the


27 See, Astruc, 346. Wanda Landowska worked with Astruc from the beginnings of this Société Musicale. According to Astruc, “Wanda Landowska, appreciated only by the elite, and the young Artur Rubinstein, were the first stars of our firmament. She [Landowska] and he [Rubinstein] brought Tout-Paris and the crowd of snobs—which I do not judge—to the concerts sponsored by Saint-Saëns and countess Greffulhe.” (Wanda Landowska, appréciée seulement par l’élite et le jeune Artur Rubinstein furent les premières étoiles de notre firmament. Elle et lui firent accourir le Tout-Paris et la foule des snobs—dont je ne médis par—à des concerts que patronnèrent Saint-Saëns et la contesse Greffulhe.) The informal language used between Astruc and some members of the elite, with whom he worked, as recorded by Astruc in his mémoires, could be indicative of the fact that for some of these private gatherings, he not only arranged the artistic entertainment but also was a guest. Several pieces of correspondence suggest that some of Astruc’s financial supporters, such as Isaac de Camondo or the princess of Polignac, were also his personal friends. Documents such as the invitations sent by the princess of Polignac on January 1906 (see note 18) show that Astruc likely attended Polignac’s event as a guest.

In these sources, the terms “piano” and “pianoforte” seem to be variable references to the same modern piano rather than to the eighteenth-century instrument.
majority of private events hosted by Astruc, took place at the headquarters of his Société Musicale in Paris. Astruc himself organized the musical entertainment for these events, which featured important performers of the time. Artists who often participated in these events included Landowska, Debussy, Carlotta Zambelli, Marthe Chenal, Mary Garden, and Lina Cavalieri among many others. For instance, he hired Mary Garden, the leading soprano who had created the role of Mélisande in Debussy’s opera of 1902, *Pelléas et Mélisande*, as well as Landowska and Claude de France [Debussy] for the private gathering that inaugurated his offices in 1904:

The Pavillon [de Hanovre] was inaugurated with a thé intime. Wanda Landowska played *les Tricoteuses* and *les Bavolets Flottants* by Couperin on an old harpsichord. Mary Garden sang the *Chansons de Bilitis* [by Debussy]. Left to his fantasy, at ease by himself, Claude de France [Debussy], gave us, in religious silence, Chopin.

In another description of a gathering at the Pavillon de Hanovre, Astruc evoked memories of musical events that he organized. Perhaps, because of his connections with composers such as Dukas, Fauré, Debussy, and Saint-Saëns, Astruc often featured new compositions such as Debussy’s *Chansons de Bilitis* or Dukas’s *la Péri* in his soiréeés. Similar, these events included performers such as Toscanini, Ignacy Paderewski, or Arthur Rubinstein, who in 1903, when he turned 16 years old, became with Wanda Landowska

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28 In his memoirs Astruc made reference to the musical gatherings that occurred at the Pavillon de Hanovre.

the first two keyboard performers managed by La Société Musicale. In his memoirs, Astruc writes:

… the rosewood piano, at the keyboard of which Claude Debussy one day accompanied Mary Garden singing *les Chansons de Bilitis* [by Debussy], or where Paul Dukas made Nijinsky and Serge de Diaghilev listen to *La Péri* [by Dukas]. On the silent [mute] keyboard, in a macabre dance, the fingers of Paderewski, Toscanini, Ravel, Francis Planté [French Pianist], and Arthur Rubinstein intermingled; those of Massenet, his neck extended, singing *Mélodie de Baisers* [by Massenet] […]; and those of Saint-Saëns […]

… *le piano en buis de rose, sur le clavier duquel Claude Debussy accompagna un jour a Mary Garden les Chansons de Bilitis, où Paul Dukas fit entendre La Péri à Nijinsky [sic] et Serge de Diaghilev [sic]. Sur le clavier muet courent, dans une danse macabre, les doigts entremêlés de Paderewski, de Toscanini, de Ravel, de Francis Planté, d’Arthur Rubinstein; ceux de Massenet, le cou tendu, chantant cette Mélodie de Baisers […] ; ceux de Saint-Saëns […]* 

Guests at these small-scale private gatherings most likely shared with the host a particular interest in new or existing works by a particular composer or the musical attributes of a particular performer. Even though the listening component of these events did not always prevailed over social interaction, it enjoyed a significant role in the success of the gatherings while allowing the procurement of financial sponsorship for new projects or new artists.

On May 26, 1907, the Russian-born banker Maurice Ephrussi (1849-1916) sent a note to Gabriel Astruc. This missive, containing an advance payment, shows that La Société Musicale was responsible for providing, partially if not totally, the musical entertainment for a private gathering. Except for this letter, however, archival documents suggest that it was Madame Ephrussi, not her husband, who worked with Astruc in planning this event. As was often the case, women from the elite organized most of these

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social gatherings while men handled the finances. Mme Ephrussi came from a long
tradition of music patrons, for she was a member of the well-known Rothschild banking
family of France.  

A recognized art collector, Mme Ephrussi held legendary fashionable events that
were attended by others of similar socioeconomic standing. This communication between
Astruc and Ephrussi not only shows that Astruc had contractual connections with the
American soprano Geraldine Farrar but also reveals his relationship with the Ephrussi
and Rothschild families, who were active patrons of other affairs organized by La Société
Musicale.

Dear Sir,
Here are F3000 — for the soirée with the charming Miss Farrar.  
Please let me know if the accompanist is included in this sum.
Believe, dear Sir, in my best wishes.
Maurice Ephrussi.

Cher Monsieur,
Voici fr. 3000— pour la soirée de la charmante Mlle. Farrar.
Voulez vous me dire si l’accompagnateur est compris dans cette somme.
Croyez, cher monsieur, à mes meilleurs sentiments.
Maurice Ephrussi.  

Among Astruc’s papers there is no surviving program or any other evidence of the
repertoire Geraldine Farrar performed that night. The name of her accompanist also
remains undisclosed. However, by 1907 Farrar had an already established artistic career

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31 Mme. Maurice Ephrussi’s maiden name was Charlotte Béatrice de Rothschild (1864-1934) but in some pieces of correspondence she also signs herself as Béatrice Ephrussi. Other members of the Rothschild family became known for their support for the arts. Before Béatrice, Baronne [Betty] de Rothschild (1805-1886), for instance, became known for dedicating time and resources to philanthropic activities.

32 “Letters from Maurice Ephrussi and Mme Maurice Ephrussi to Gabriel Astruc,” May 26, 1907, 409-AP Box 34, folder Vie Mondaine-Mme Ephrussi, Fonds Gabriel Astruc, Archives Nationales. This particular letter, although signed as “Maurice Ephrussi,” appears in a file labeled as “Mme Maurice Ephrussi.” The rest of the communications in regards to this and other events occurred between Mme Maurice Ephrussi and Astruc.
as an opera singer in Europe, after having begun her professional engagement with the New York Metropolitan Opera Company a year earlier. In fact, the events of *La Grande Saison de Paris,* for which many artists came to perform in Paris, conveniently coincided with the “season” for many private aristocratic gatherings. In his memoirs, Astruc described the overlapping of both calendars:

I worked hard. But at the very moment when I thought my day was finished, little Yniold [possibly referring to an employee as an allusion to the character in Debussy’s *Pelléas et Mélisande*] announced the arrival of a producer of some event for whom an artist had parted company and who, in order to make this event happen, needed immediately Caruso, Kubelik or Paderewski. A glimpse into the file “Soirées Mondaines” often allowed me to help out. For *La Grande Saison,* which occurred from May until the end of June, took place at the same time as the season for private receptions…

Many salons opened their doors to music and waited anxiously the arrival of the transatlantic [ships] and the Orient-Express, which brought to Paris the stars from foreign stages. Selma Kurz, Destinn, Farrar, Chaliapine, and Titta Ruffo were “reserved” three months in advance and they did not have one night free.

*Je travaillais dur. Mais au moment où je croyais ma journée terminée, le petit Yniold m’annonçait la Présidente d’une Œuvre à qui un artiste avait faussé compagnie et qui, pour sauver sa recette, exigeait instantanément Caruso, Kubelik ou Paderewski. Un coup d’œil sur le dossier “Soirées Mondaines” me permettait le plus souvent de lui donner satisfaction. Car la Grande Saison, qui allait, de mai à fin de juin, était en même temps l’époque de receptions…*

*Une vingtaine de salons ouvraient leurs portes à la Musique et attendaient avec anxiété l’arrivée des transatlantiques et des Orient-Express qui amenaient à Paris les stars des scènes étrangères. Selma Kurz, Destinn, Farrar, Chaliapine et Titta Ruffo étaient “retenus” trois mois à l’avance et n’avaient pas un soir de liberté.*

These private events influenced the reception of different genres and new repertoire among the Parisian elite. This is most evident in the increasing frequency of ballet at private events. The inclusion of recognized dancers in operas, as in the nineteenth century, often provided these artists with a status similar to that of a leading

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33 Astruc, *Pavillon,* 352.
The 1907 productions of *Salomé*, although exceptional, included both a singer and a dancer to perform the leading role. For this production, soprano Emmy Destinn (1878-1930) and ballerina Natalia Trouhanova (1885-1956) performed the seductive Biblical character: “At a specific moment, through a theatrical effect, a dancer replaced the professional singer and, after performing her dance, disappeared from the stage while Destinn returned to her place […]” (Au moment donné, par un jeu de scène, une danseuse s’était substituée à la cantatrice et, son pas exécuté, avait disparu dans la coulisse tandis que Destinn reprenait sa place […]).

Likely, the Parisian tradition of full-length ballets as well as the favoring of opera—which had long featured ballet in dance scenes or divertissements, especially in Paris Opéra productions—among the Parisian upper class contributed to positioning ballet at

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34 See Marian Elizabeth Smith, *Ballet and Opera in the Age of Giselle*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000). Smith reminds us that the façade of the Palais Garnier places “poésie lyrique” on an equal plane with “choréographie”; also, principal dancers were paid the same elevated salaries as the principal singers at the Paris Opéra; they not only danced within the operas but in full-length “ballet pantomimes” that featured them as dancer-actors.

35 Astruc, *Pavillon*, 438. This particular production of *Salomé* resulted in one of Astruc’s most memorable scandals. See Gabriel Astruc, “Un de mes ‘Scandales’: La Colère de Salomé,” *La Revue Générale*, 10 (Octobre 1986): 3-12. In this article, Astruc explained that Destinn’s generous size prevented her from performing the *Pas des sept voiles*, one of the most remembered moments in the entire piece. At the Théâtre du Châtelet, Trouhanova acted as Destinn’s *double chorégraphique* during the awaited dance. A conflict arose when Astruc, after the premiere, and following the composer’s request, instructed Trouhanova not to appear on stage at the end of the performance to receive the audience’s ovation. “Mon cher ami,” said Strauss to Gabriel Astruc, “il est impossible qu’aux prochaines représentations, je recommence à me couvrir de ridicule en venant saluer le public flanqué de deux Salomé.” Trouhanova found this request unacceptable, arguing that Strauss considered dancing as “un art inférieur.” Trouhanova’s story quickly made it to the Parisian press. Not long after, Mme Destinn and Trouhanova were replaced by Olive Fremstad, a soprano from the Metropolitan Opera who, according to Astruc, sang and danced “magnifiquement le role.” The magnitude of this particular scandal can easily be understood in the light of the longstanding status enjoyed by dancers and singers in Paris, a privileged status nourished by the desire their audiences and patrons professed.
the center of many private gatherings of the elite. This dance-oriented programming was the case of events organized by families closely associated with artistic patronage in Paris, such as the Rothschild family. “Maurice [Ephrussi] and his wife, who was born a Rothschild,” explains Garafola, “became ardent balletomane, inviting Nijinsky and Karsavina to dance at their parties. Just like Misia Sert, the Princesse de Polignac, and most of the stalwarts of Diaghilev’s audience, the Ephrussis made the transition to ballet from an initial devotion to opera.”

Even though the interaction of ballet and opera often consisted in presenting the first in the context of the later, the alluring performances of recognized dancers in some operas became determinant for the success of such productions. The status and popularity of ballet dancers grew to the point that the reputation of the prima ballerina often equaled, and sometimes competed with, that of the prima donna.

The presence of dancers such as Nijinsky, Pavlova, or Trouhanova at gatherings such as the aforementioned reveals the close interaction of managers and event organizers such as Astruc with artists from different disciplines. The demand for highly skilled artists for private events and other performance possibilities within Paris gave new artists more opportunitues to audition for companies of artistic management such as La Société Musicale. Such companies were always in search of new artists with unique technical skills and outstanding potential to strengthen their reputation.

Another example of dance-centered private events was another fête hosted by Béatrice Ephrussi, in 1909, which included an outdoor performance by Sergei Diaghilev’s Ballet Russes organized by Astruc, as revealed in correspondence between the impresario

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and Ephrussi. On June 22, 1909 Béatrice Ephrussi sent Astruc a note thanking him for planning the entertainment she offered, which included arrangements for the dance and musical components of her fête. The performance took place at the private “French” gardens of the Ephrussi mansion. The repertoire presented during the event included unspecified Nocturnes by Chopin and featured some of the stars of the already prestigious Ballet Russes such as Anna Pavlova (1881-1931) and Tamara Karsavina (1885-1978):

June 22, 1909

Sir.

I do not want to delay expressing my gratitude to you. Thanks to you, your care, your artistic judgment, my fête succeeded exquisitely. You had the brilliant idea thinking of [Les] Sylphides for my garden.

Please, sincerely thank on my behalf all the artists who lent their talents to this evening…

Le 22 Juin, 1909

Monsieur,

Je ne veux pas tarder de venir vous dire toute ma vraie reconnaissance. Grâce à vous, à vos soins, à votre sense [sic] artistique, ma fête a été exquisément réussie. Vous avez eu une idée de génie en pensant sylphides pour mon jardin.

Merci, remerciez aussi bien vraiment pour moi tous les artistes qui ont prêté chacune de leur talent à cette soirée…37

37 Letters, Béatrice Ephrussi to Gabriel Astruc, June 22, 1909, 409-AP Box 34, folder Vie Mondaine-Mme Ephrussi, Fonds Gabriel Astruc, Archives Nationales. The significance of these kinds of gatherings transcended the socioeconomic frame that surrounded them, and often represented the place where musical works and artists were heard before they made it into the theaters. Different hosts, consisting almost exclusively of women from the elite, “disputed among themselves the honor of having the first appearance of the famous cantatrice or the illustrious tenor who had to perform the following day [at one of the most important Parisian venues]” (Les maîtresses de maison se disputaient l’honneur de la première apparition –first apparence—de la cantatrice célèbre ou du ténor ‘illustrissime’ qui devaient débuter le lendemain.) In her comprehensive book about the Ballet Russes, Lynn Garafola makes reference to an event that, most likely, corresponds to the fête in question. “Maurice [Ephrussi],” says Garafola, “gave lavish receptions at which the foremost divas—and in June 1909 two of Diaguilev’s dancers—entertained.” See, Lynn Garafola, *Diaghilev’s Ballet Russes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 280. Garafola also points out that Le Figaro announced these events and, for each one, included a distinguished-guests list. See “Le Monde et la Ville,” *Figaro*, 20 May 1907, 2; 25 May 1907, 2; 12 June 1909, 2, as cited by Garafola, “Diaghilev's Ballet Russes,” 280.
In his biographical study on Nikinsky, Richard Buckle mentions this particular soirée and provides information about the non-ballet entertainment during the same event.\textsuperscript{38} The social importance of this particular event reached the pages of widely-read Parisian journals of the time such as \textit{Comœdia}, which in its June 22, 1909 issue, referred to this event as a “soirée artistique inoubliable.”\textsuperscript{39} Astruc’s own nostalgic account of this particular event also provides further details:

On the Avenue de Bois, in Mme Maurice Ephrussi’s French Garden, we saw suddenly Pavlova emerging from a bush followed by twenty sylphides in their white tarlatan, dancing Chopin’s Nocturnes under a true clair de lune.

Avenue du Bois, dans le jardin français de Mme Maurice Ephrussi, on vit tout à coup jaillir d’un buisson la Pavlova, poursuivie par vingt sylphides en tarlatane blanche, dansant les Nocturnes de Chopin sous un vrai clair de lune.\textsuperscript{40}

The content of the appreciation letter from Ephrussi is quite remarkable, for it also helps to clarify the extent of Astruc’s role as a manager and entrepreneur. This document not only suggests the influence of Astruc’s input when choosing the repertoire but also his relative autonomy in the decision-making process. This letter shows that Astruc also decided on extra-musical issues of the performance. Furthermore, the fact that in this letter Ephrussi acknowledged that the program, the artists, and the mise-en-

\textsuperscript{38} See Buckle (1971), 105. In his analysis of Nijinsky’s personal and professional activities during 1909, Richard Buckle explains that “In the gardens, with their great clumps of trees lit by electricity, the Russians performed character dances from ‘Le Festin’; [Dmitri] Smirnov sang the tenor aria from the last act of ‘Tosca’, Rimsky’s [Korsakov] ‘La nuit de mai’ and some popular Russian songs; and ‘Les Sylphides’ found its perfect setting […] Mme Ephrussi’s admiration for Karsavina was boundless and the ballerina found her dressing-table festooned with white roses.”


\textsuperscript{40} Astruc, \textit{Pavillon}, 353.
scene of the ballet were all Astruc’s ideas reflects that he enjoyed a recognized artistic reputation.

The complex set of arrangements needed to produce such an event suggests that perhaps Ephrussi may have given Astruc carte blanche to arrange many of the details related to the performances. Astruc’s connections with Diaghilev, through his activities as the representative for the affairs of the Ballet Russes in Paris, facilitated the inclusion of dancers from Diaghilev’s dance company. Such connections with important artists and impresarios from other disciplines such as Diaghilev became an important part of Astruc’s work. Although representative, the example of the fête at the Ephrussis’ mansion is by no means unique.41

In his memoirs, Astruc makes reference to other events of similar characteristics in which musicians of outstanding reputation provided the entertainment. Some of these events included the various orchestras playing at the artificially illuminated gardens of the princess Murat, Jules Massenet accompanying Geraldine Farrar for another of Princess Murat’s lavish receptions, the Baroness Henri de Rothschild presenting the ballets of Lully and Rameau at her garden, Arthur Rubinstein accompanying the soprano Emmy Destinn in a reception hosted by Baroness Gustave de Rothschild, the French bass Pol Plançon presented by the Marquis de Saint Paul, and Macarona, the famous flamenco

41 See 409-AP Box 32, Fonds Gabriel Astruc, Archives Nationales. Documents in this box illustrate details of Astruc’s organization of the musical entertainment for these private events. See, for instance, “Correspondence between S.A. La Princesse Murat and Gabriel Astruc,” 409-AP Box 32, folder S.A. La Princesse Murat, Fonds Gabriel Astruc, Archives Nationales. In a missive of June 19 1907, Princess Murat, through her secretary, reminded Gabriel Astruc that “elle [Murat] compte bien sur les chanteurs pour la soirée du 24 à 9 heures et demie exactement.” Apparently, the business relationship between Murat and Astruc remained solid, for in another missive from May 23, 1910 Murat requested Astruc “de venir la voir pour entendre avec elle au sujet d’une soirée qu’elle veut donner en son hôtel 28 rue de Monceau.”
dancer from Granada, who performed with her “cuadro flamenco” at the marquise de Genay’s reception.42 Other women from the elite, widely recognized for hosting similar events in Paris, include the countess of Bourg de Bozas, the countess Jean de Castellane, Mme de la Riboisière, and Mme W.K. Moore, who is said to have paid significant economic compensation to listen to the famous bass Fédor Chaliapine performing at her reception.43 Of particular interest is the fact that some Parisian receptions welcomed artists from other genres and musical styles such as Macarona and her “cuadro flamenco.” Certainly, artistic manifestations representing cultures such as Russian or Andalusian had the exotic tone that fin-de-siècle Parisian audiences found appealing.44

For these events, the quality of musical entertainment became closely related to the sociopolitical and economic status of the highly stratified Parisian society. The lavish display of these artistic manifestations helped to delineate hierarchies between socioeconomic classes and within them. The role of women became crucial for the success of the complex web of cultural and social interactions that took place in each one of these events. These events, often involving a considerable number of guests with large incomes and interest in the arts, placed women from the elite as central figures in the history of patronage and development of the arts in Paris. Considering the amount of time invested in event planning and their close involvement with selecting both the repertoire and the artists, the role of women is comparable to that of the impresario. In

43 Ibid., Fonds Gabriel Astruc.
44 Astruc, Pavillon, 353.
addition to the process of hosting and planning these events to entertain guests with
discerning artistic taste, women contributed to the maintenance of close connections
between patrons and the artists they supported.\textsuperscript{45} For artists as well as their highly
selective audiences the benefits transcended economic compensation. These included
status, recognition, and a proper setting to interact and create important connections at
many levels. For Astruc, these events represented an effective way for meeting, observing,
interacting, and maintaining the economically privileged as well as the socially and
politically powerful as part of audiences and sponsors of his projects.

4.3 Semi-Private Events, Politics, and Patronage

A part of Astruc’s professional activities included active involvement in concerts or
social activities for third parties, other than the types discussed above. These activities
often consisted of charity or fundraising events for various purposes. For Astruc, these
events added to the variety of venues in which he could conduct business and present the
artists he managed, as well as help in noble causes. There is no evidence that suggests
that these events belonged to the core of the activities of Astruc’s company. However, a
case study of one of these events in particular will enhance our understanding of how they
played an important role among the professional pursuits of La Société Musicale.

It must be noted that most of the evidence related to semi-private events in Paris is
missing from, or cannot easily be found in, archival sources. The collection of documents

\textsuperscript{45} For instance, see “Correspondence Mme Grace Whitney Hoff and Gabriel Astruc,”
409-AP Box 34, folder \textit{Mme J.J. Hoff [sic]}, Fonds Gabriel Astruc, Archives Nationales.
This folder includes a set of letters describing the process through which wealthy
philanthropist Whitney Hoff (1862-1938) requested, through Astruc, the famous violinist
Jan Kubelik to perform at a private event on May 7, 1909. “\textit{Selon votre lettre du 19 avril}
[1909],” wrote Hoff, “\textit{je compte donc sur une audition de M. Kubelik, au prix convenu de 3000 Frs.}
le vendredi 7 mai. \textit{Les invitations portent: \textquoteleft Musique à 5hres,\textquoteright mais M. Kubelik voudra bien être ici un
peu plus tôt.”}
of Gabriel Astruc at the Archives Nationales, for instance, contains only a few fully
documented examples of some of these benefit concerts.\textsuperscript{46} This rare inclusion could
reflect their relevance compared to other long-term projects in which Astruc was involved.

A few other pieces of evidence of similar events contained in the same archive includes,
for instance, hand-printed programs which later became useful for other purposes such as
note taking or messaging. The lack of certain types of documents and the scarcity of
others with limited information makes the process of tracing and collecting information
about this particular activity extremely difficult and rather tedious.\textsuperscript{47}

Semi-private charity events or benefits offered Astruc more than an opportunity
for profit or to associate his name with a benefactor. Some benefit concerts were heavily

\textsuperscript{46} See, for instance, “Projet d’organisation d’un bal de la Mode,” n.d., 409-AP Box 32,
folder \textit{Baronne Hefftler}, Fonds Gabriel Astruc, Archives Nationales. This undated
document assembled by Astruc contains itemized information related to the costs of the
event. Even though there is not much evidence that illustrates the extent of his
involvement in this event, it seems likely that Astruc knew the planning process and
helped, if not directed, its preparation. See also, “Letter from Gabriel Astruc to Mme La
Princesse Murat,” May 11, 1908, 409-AP Box 32, folder \textit{S.A. La Princesse Murat}, Fonds
Gabriel Astruc, Archives Nationales. In this particular letter Astruc invites the princess to
the “représentation de gala...le 11 Juin prochain [1911] au theater national de l’opéra avec le concours
de Mme Melba et de mm Caruso et Renaud au benefice de la caisse de retraites et de secours de la Société
des Auteurs et Compositeurs Dramatiques.” Evidence of similar fundraising events organized by
La Société Musicale appears consistently throughout the collection of Astruc’s papers.
However, for the most part, the evidence, rather than being comprehensive, consists of
letters of invitation, single invoices and bills, and other materials that make reference to
such events.

\textsuperscript{47} See, for instance, “Invitation pour le Grand Festival Populaire,” 409-AP Box 31, folder
\textit{Société}, Fonds Gabriel Astruc, Archives Nationales. This document, originally intended as
an invitation for two people to attend a benefit concert for the \textit{Orphelines de Courrières}
[orphans of mail carriers] on April 30, 1906, also served Astruc as scrap paper for
unknown purposes. See also, “Soirée de Gala pour la Société des Auteurs et
Compositeurs Dramatiques,” 409-AP Box 27, folder \textit{Société des Auteurs et Compositeurs
Dramatiques 1905-1914}, Fonds Gabriel Astruc, Archives Nationales. This soirée took
place at the Théâtre National de l’Opéra on June 11, 1908. This particular fundraising
event benefited \textit{la Caisse de Retraites et de Secours} [the relief and retirement funds]. It
featured a performance of \textit{Rigoletto} with Nellie Melba, Enrico Caruso, and Maurice
Renaud among others.
influenced by politics and socioeconomic power. In 1907, for instance, the Syndicat de la presse parisienne promoted the organization of a *soirée de gala pour les sinistrés* [sufferers of disasters] *de Stamboul* [Istanbul].

The three-member committee included Astruc as its secretary, and his responsibilities included organizing the artistic portion of the event. It is likely that, if Astruc did not have existing connections with Turkey, working with this event provided him with the opportunity establish them. *Le Figaro*’s review praised the organization of the event and emphatically commented on the high quality of the music.

> Le programme était très ingénieusement composé et bien propre à exciter l’intérêt des spectateurs. L’esprit inventif de M. Gabriel Astruc, qui était secrétaire du Comité, avait réussi à imaginer un spectacle neuf et très artistique.

Attendees at the *soirée* included the French president, the president of the French chamber of deputies, all the ministers, the ambassador of Turkey, the prince of Monaco, Baron Henri de Rothschild, Count Isaac de Camondo, M. de Vasconcellos, and M. Camille Blanc and other influential figures from several different countries. Archival material offers some information about Astruc’s degree of involvement in realms other than music when working with these projects. For instance, correspondence between Astruc and American businessman, philanthropist and Francophile James H. Hyde

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48 Unfortunately, I have not been able to identify the disaster that motivated this event for Astruc’s papers nor the Turkish embassy were able to offer any information in this regard.

49 Bertigny, “Soirée de Gala pour les Sinistrés de Stamboul” (December 9, 1908).
(1876-1959) reveals not only the interest of influential members of the elite to secure their place at the event, but also Astruc’s relative control over who attended his events.  

After the performance of the Turkish and French national anthems, four different conductors and several singers intervened throughout the event. Conductors for the night included sought-after musicians such as Edouard Colonne (1838-1910), founder of the ‘Concert National’ later known as ‘Concerts Colonne,’ Henri Rabaud (1873-1949), successor of Gabriel Fauré at the Paris Conservatoire in 1922, and Paul Vidal (1863-1931), music director of l’Opéra comique between 1914-1919. The entire musical program centered on the story of Goethe’s Faust. Rabaud conducted Wagner’s Faust overture, Colonne conducted scenes from Berlioz’ Damnation of Faust, and Vidal led excerpts from Gounod’s operatic version of the same story.  

The roster of artists and the program featured in this event are quite remarkable. A total of six different Fausts and an equal number of Mephistos appeared. Performers for this event included Jean-François Delmas 1861-1933), Pierre d’Assy (1872-1911), André Gresse (1868-1937) Lucien Muratore (1876-1954), and Lucienne Bréval (1869-1935). The magnitude of this soirée de gala, its international scope, the incredible display of artistry, and the sociopolitical

50 “Letters, James H. Hyde to Gabriel Astruc,” 409-AP Box 34, folder M. James H. Hyde, Fonds Gabriel Astruc, Archives Nationales. This folder contains three letters from Hyde to Astruc requesting a reservation for the soirée in discussion. In his last missive, written on December 2, 1908, Hyde asked: “Avez vous pu me réserver la baignoire 19 ou la baignoire 20 pour la Gala de Stamboul? Dès votre réponse je vous enverrai mon chèque.” 

51 Berlioz’s Damnation of Faust was adapted for the stage in 1903 by Raoul Gunsbourg, appearing at Théâtre Sarah-Bernhardt (though derided by critics); in 1910, this stage version was truly successful at the Paris Opéra. See Lesley Wright, ‘Berlioz in the fin-de-siècle press,’ in Berlioz: Past, Present, Future (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2003), 166.
affiliations of the audience members, make this event a clear representation of how Astruc, through his activities, moved in the highest levels of the Parisian sociopolitical pyramid.\(^{52}\)

The influential countess Greffulhe also hosted several gatherings in which music was the focus of attention. Although these particular gatherings seem private, they were not exclusively social. On many occasions, their main goal was to listen to an artist or introduce a new composition and obtain financial support for a performer or work. Thus, by placing performance at the center of the event, these gatherings share more similarities with public events than with private social gatherings. “In a more intimate gathering,” explains Astruc, “countess Greffulhe invited some dilettantes to [her salon at] rue d’Astorg to listen to the first reading of *Salomé*, performed on the piano entirely by Edouard Hermann.” (Dans une réunion plus intime, la comtesse Greffulhe invitait quelques dilettantes rue d’Astorg pour entendre au piano la première lecture de *Salomé* jouée intégralement par Edouard Hermann.)\(^{53}\) Interestingly enough (as mentioned above), it was Astruc through his Société Musicale who, in 1907, organized the French premiere of Strauss’ *Salomé* in Paris. This performance, a landmark in the Parisian musical scene, was conducted by the composer and largely supported by La Société des Grandes Auditions Musicales de France, founded and directed by countess Greffulhe. Most likely, the presence of Astruc in these gatherings

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\(^{52}\) The agitated Turkish sociopolitical climate in addition to the French colonial mindset makes the repertoire for this event particularly interesting. The inclusion, in an event of this nature, of Faustian figures might be interpreted as a way to deliver sociopolitical commentary. A dramatic program related entirely to the story of Faust, as seen by different composers, reinforces the idea of an implied parallel between the self-destructive alliance of Faust and Mephisto/Mephistopheles and that of France and Turkey, although it might also reflect either the longstanding popularity of the subject or the availability of artists with related works in their repertoire. Given all the circumstances surrounding this *soirée de gala*, particularly during the pre-war climate, this subject choice is worthy of further scrutiny.

facilitated the planning and realization of different projects.\textsuperscript{54} Just as with the Salomé premier, it was through the support of international patronage that some of the most relevant foreign artistic manifestations arrived in Paris during the first decade of the twentieth century. In the case of the arrival and popularization of Russian art in Paris, it was the support of countess Greffulhe, through her Société, which facilitated the process.

Russian art became particularly popular in Paris during the last decade of the nineteenth century. Such a process seems clearly connected with the dynamic sociopolitical connections between the two countries during this time period. Jann Pasler has explored the economic and political alliances that linked patrons and sponsors in the two countries, facilitating the arrival and permanence of Russian art, music, and dance in Parisian theaters during the \textit{fin de siècle}. “Just before the Franco-Russian alliance was solidified,” explains Pasler, “Comtesse Elisabeth Greffulhe also did her part. After a long stay in Paris (August to November 1891), the Grand Dukes Vladimir and Alexis, brothers of the czar, went hunting at Ramboulliet with French President Carnot and then at Bois-Boudran, the Greffulhes’ elegant provincial château. Vladimir, a painter and future court patron of Diaghilev’s projects, enjoyed it so much he remained with the countess for the evening.”\textsuperscript{55} The impact on culture of Franco-Russian sociopolitical and economic relations is evident in the gradually increasing amount of Russian repertoire performed on Parisian stages, particularly during the first decade of the twentieth century. Through the initial push, French patrons supported Russian cultural manifestations, mainly music, painting and dance, and Russians became some of the most widely accepted non-French

\textsuperscript{54} The social and cultural interactions between countess Greffulhe and Astruc became crucial for the realization of a significant amount of Astruc’s large-scale projects such as the \textit{Saison Russe}.

\textsuperscript{55} Pasler, \textit{Composing the Citizen}, 621.
citizens in French society. The presence of Russian culture in French galleries, concert halls, and theaters, not only paved the way for Russian artists to relocate and perform in other European countries and the American continent, but also helped to establish and maintain socioeconomic relationships between the patronage systems of the two countries. The implications of such relationships are quite interesting if one considers that the Russian system of patronage, as Pasler described, was closely connected to the Russian monarchy. In fact, Russian monarchic patronage became essential for many artists wishing to perform in Parisian venues. It seems that patrons understood the importance for artists to succeed in the cultural European center. Parisian artistic acceptance seemed a way to legitimize and popularize not only new performers but also new aesthetic trends.

A file in Astruc’s archives contains documents related to La Grande Duchesse Vladimir de Russie, the Grand Duke Vladimir’s wife, including a copy of Astruc’s response written to the grand duchess on November 26, 1907. The pointed, succinct writing of Astruc’s note in relationship to the abilities of the female singer seems to respond to a direct inquiry. Astruc’s note, addressed to “Son Altesse Impériale la Grande-Duchesse Wladimir de Russie,” reveals that the grand duchess needed Astruc’s assessments before agreeing to support this artist:

The artist in question auditioned for me two or three months ago, and I have the memory of a trained voice, unfortunately not very young, and not always very confident. It seems a delicate question for Your Imperial Highness to associate your name with the sponsorship of a concert that would not be particularly artistic. I would in no way want to harm the interests of an obviously interesting person, but the plain truth obliges me to warn Your Imperial Highness on this subject.

L’artiste dont il est question a auditionné devant moi il y a deux ou trois mois, et j’ai souvenir d’une voix assez étudiée, pas très jeune malheureusement, et pas toujours très sûre.
Il me paraît délicat que Son Altesse Impériale accepte d'attacher Son nom au patronage d'un concert qui n'aurait rien de particulièrement artistique. Je ne voudrais en aucune façon nuire aux intérêts d'une personne évidemment intéressante, mais la stricte vérité m'oblige à mettre en garde Son Altesse Impériale à ce sujet.56

Often, characters such as Grand Duchess Vladimir would recommend different artists for an audition at the Pavillon de Hanovre. Sometimes, the Grand Duchess, or another social leader, was asked to act as a liaison between an artist she did not know and the entrepreneur. Such requests obeyed different reasons not always related to the artistic excellence of the recommended. Oftentimes, arranging auditions like the aforementioned was an effective way to please a person of interest. In an environment in which arts, culture and politics were unavoidably intertwined, these situations occurred regularly. Although the circumstances that prompted the audition of this artist remain unknown, it seems that Grand Duchess Vladimir considered sponsoring a concert featuring the mysterious, apparently non-marketable, singer.

Although predictable, Astruc’s comments about this particular singer’s audition reveal some of the characteristics expected of a successful performing artist at the time. Astruc’s feedback in regards to the performer’s confidence, technical abilities, and age highlights the desirable qualities for an artist to be considered competitive in the Parisian market. Also, this note provides some insights into Astruc’s connections with the Russian monarchy and patronage as well as his authority and credibility as an aesthetic evaluator among such patrons.

Clearly, private and semi-private events allowed Astruc to build close relationships with several members of the national and international elite. The Parisian cultural scene

was significantly affected by the public events organized by La Société Musicale, most of which were funded by the privileged crowd that Astruc, through the organization of private events, cultivated.

4.4 Public Events—*La Grande Saison de Paris*

The achievements of la Société Musicale can be best observed in the public events it organized and the impact of such events on Parisian musical life. Among the numerous large-scale projects Astruc’s company organized, the most important was *La Grande Saison de Paris*. Beginning in 1905, *La Grande Saison de Paris* consisted of a series of musical events featuring some of the most sought-after artists of the moment and including genres such as opera, symphonic music, and ballet in emblematic Parisian theaters of the time. The lavish 1912 program of *La Grande Saison* includes a one-page summary of the “l’Œuvre de la Société Musicale” between 1905 and 1912.57 Among other important activities within Parisian musical life, this program specifies events such as the *Première Saison Italienne* of 1905 at the Théâtre Sara-Bernhardt, the *Festival Beethoven* of 1905 at the Nouveau Théâtre, the *Festival Mozart* in 1906, the Parisian premiere in 1907 of Strauss’ *Salomé* at the Théâtre du Châtelet, the first *Saison Russe* (opera and ballet) in 1907 and 1909 also at the Théâtre du Châtelet, and the premiere of Debussy/d’Anunzio’s *Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien*. *La Grande Saison de Paris* attracted audiences from all over the world who, in May and June, traveled to the French capital to observe the high-quality spectacles it offered.

The connections between Astruc (through his Société Musicale) and the Parisian *haute société* proved fruitful, for many of the members of the elite were provided economic support for most of the aforementioned projects. A document in the collection of Astruc’s

papers offers information about protected investments (capitaux de garantie) for some of the events Astruc organized between 1906 and 1910 (Figure 4.1).\textsuperscript{58}

**Figure 4.1 Deposit (Capitaux de Garantie)**

*Festival Mozart 1906*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M. Noël Bardac</td>
<td>F 2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comtesse de Béarn</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Siry</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vicomte de la Redorte</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Fernand Halphen</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mme Roussel</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baron Jacques de Gunzburg</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Henry Deutsch (de la Meurthe)</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Heilbronn</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baron Gustave de Rothschild</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mme Willy Blumental</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mme Louis Stern</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>10,900</strong></td>
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</table>

*Salomé 1907*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G. Astruc &amp; Cie</td>
<td>F 20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Pierre Wolff</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Otto Kahn</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Speyer</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baronne S. de Rothschild</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. James H. Hyde</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Henry Deutsch (de la Meurthe)</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Fernand Halphen</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Georges Heine</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Max Lyon</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comte de Camondo</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{58} See “Capital de Garantie,” 409-AP Box 4, Fonds Gabriel Astruc, Archives Nationales. Additional handwritten names on this document (not included in Figure 4.1) include Max Rosenberg, Spitzer [?], Potocki [?], and Mantadef [?]. However, The names contained in this table do not include season subscribers and other sponsors. Protected investments function as startup capital for Astruc so he can make expenditures before ticket income begins. Although they are not really risking their own funds, they do have faith that Astruc’s company will have a successful season and repay them.
### Figure 4.1 Deposit (continued)

**Saison Russe 1909**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Amount (F)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M. Basile Zaharoff</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Otto Kahn</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marquis de Frenoy</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Henry Deutsch (de la Meurthe)</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baron Henri de Rothschild</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Max Lyon</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Bénerdaky</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>55,000</strong></td>
</tr>
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</table>

**Saison Italienne 1910**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Amount (F)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metropolitan Opera</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Otto Kahn</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. W. K. Vanderbilt</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Harry Payne Whitney</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. George J. Guold</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comte Brunetta d'Usseaux</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chevalier Trezza di Musella</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Rodolphe Teutsch</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Clarence Mackay</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Henry Deutsch (de la Meurthe)</td>
<td>12,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duc Melzi d'Eril</td>
<td>12,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Henry Roger Winthrop</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>250,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thanks to the success of the events organized by Astruc’s company, its reputation grew rapidly through a very short time-span. Such a rapid growth has been acknowledged in existing literature. As “one of the era’s most remarkable impresarios,” as stated by Garafola, “Gabriel Astruc stood at the Paris crossroads of the international music world, a major figure in its rapidly expanding trade in property and attractions.”

The “astonishing range of his activities in the decade from 1902-1913” included the organization of La Grande Saison de Paris and the realization of the Théâtre des Champs-

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Élysées. Olivier Corpet, in the preface of the most recent (1987) edition of Astruc’s memoirs, refers to the impact of Astruc’s work in the Parisian musical milieu during the fin de siècle:

Between 1905 and 1912, he [Astruc] organized more than a thousand events under the name of the ‘Grande Saison de Paris’. Every spring from now on is the Astruc event: 1905, the Italian season with Caruso and Melba; 1907, the premiere of Salome under the baton of Richard Strauss; from 1909, the New York Metropolitan conducted by Toscanini; 1911, the premiere of Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien.


As the brain behind this annual series, Gabriel Astruc was at the very center of notable, provoking, and sometimes volatile, artistic seasons in Paris. With a touch of romantic melancholy, Astruc describes in his own memoirs the artistic air that surrounded La Grande Saison de Paris:

After leaving the Châtelet [Theatre], all the elegant people of the Grande Saison de Paris assembled at the [Laurent restaurant on the] Rue Royale. In the corner reserved for the “Russian Ballet,” where Diaghilev and Nijinsky devoured the Chateaubriands, while Reymaldo Hahn and Jean Cocteau told beautiful stories and, Marcel Proust, seated, mobilized the hunters [got everyone ready] and enjoyed a bavaroise au chocolat.

A la sortie du Châtelet, toutes les élégantes de la Grande Saison de Paris se retrouvaient rue Royale. Dans le coin réservé aux “Ballets Russes” où Diaghilev et Nijinsky dévoraient des Chateaubriands, tandis que Reymaldo Hahn et Jean Cocteau contaient des jolies histoires, Marcel Proust, assis, mobilisait les chasseurs et savourait une bavaroise au chocolat.

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60 Ibid.
61 Astruc, Pavillon, 31.
62 Astruc, Pavillon, 196. The timeframe provided by Astruc in this quote (1908-1912) makes reference to ‘la plus belle période’ of Laure, the traditional Parisian restaurant located near la place de la Madeleine. In his memoirs, Astruc consistently includes detailed descriptions of public places in which social exchanges, as the aforementioned,
In this particular description, Astruc contemplates the interactions of various artists, describing the scene somewhat nostalgically. He places himself in the role of a participant-observer of the situation reflecting his understanding of the complex cultural web.

In 1911, between May 2 and June 30, the already established *Grande Saison de Paris* featured, as always, an interesting variety of genres, artists, and repertoire, and can serve as an example to illustrate the general concept of the series. The program announces a “Beethoven Festival” (conducted by Félix Weingartner), *Le Martyre de Saint-Sébastien* (a five-act mystery play by Gabriele d’Annunzio and Claude Debussy), the sixth *Saison Russe* (organized by Sergei Diaghilev), and the “Musical Comedy [sic]” featuring ten performances of *The Quaker Girl* (by James Tanner and Lionel Monckton). Clearly, the season was designed to provide audiences with a variety of cross-genre repertoire and aesthetic trends.

The program for the 1911 *Grand Saison de Paris* reveals that the Beethoven Festival was the name of a series of lengthy performances that featured not only his music but also a substantial amount of contrasting repertoire and genres by other composers. Despite the extensive amount of non-Beethoven repertoire presented in this festival, Beethoven’s music, probably for marketing reasons, was the most visible. It included, in addition to

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63 “Program de la Saison Russe, May-June 1911,” 409-AP Box Programmes du Chatelet, Bibliothèque de la Ville de Paris. This program of *La Grande Saison de Paris* in 1911 was divided into four major parts easily identifiable. The Beethoven Festival took place between May 2 and May 11, the performances of *Le Martyre de Saint-Sébastien* between May 20 and June 2, the Ballet Russes performed between June 6 and June 17, and “Musical Comedy.” *The Quaker Girl* between June 19 and June 30.
his violin concerto and an unspecified piano concerto, the entire cycle of his symphonies. Félix Weingartner conducted this significant amount of repertoire in only four performances at the Théâtre du Chatelet. Only two days separated the performances from one another. Between these concerts, other musical performances occurred in different Parisian theaters. Weingartner, also a renowned pianist, accompanied the soprano Lucile Marcel in a Lieder recital at the Salle Gaveau, an approximately 1,500-seat music hall founded in 1905. In addition, Natalia Trouhanova, in collaboration with the orchestra from the Concerts Colonne, offered two dance recitals also at the Théâtre du Châtelet. In the meantime, the famous violinist Jan Kubelik performed his *Concert d’adieu* with the Orchestre Colonne conducted by Gabriel Pierné at la Salle du Trocadéro, one of the largest concert halls with an organ available at the time. The pianist Paderewski played at the Salle Érard, a medium-size concert hall founded by Érard Blondel et Cie a company known for constructing pianos, harps, and harpsichords.

Conducted by André Caplet, the ten gala performances of *Le Martyre de Saint-Sébastien* at the Théâtre du Châtelet provided a dramatic contrast to the preceding instrumental portion of the season. The particularities of the performance are not revealed in the documentation. These performances featured the works of the choreographer Michel Fokine, *maître de scène* Armand Bour, and costume/stage designer Léon Bakst. In contrast to the variety of the instrumental repertoire of the previous week, this dramatic/operatic work occupied a preeminent role during this portion of the season. In the same fashion, during the month of June of the same year, the sixth *Saison* 64

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64 According to the 1911 program of *La Grande Saison de Paris, Le Martyre de Saint-Sébastien* premiered on May 20, 1911. There exists, nonetheless, a discrepancy between the date provided in the program and the date provided in the second edition of the *New Grove Dictionary* for the same occasion, May 22, 1911.
Russe took place. Organized by the Russian impresario Sergei Diaghilev and Gabriel Astruc, the eight représentations de gala of 1911 consisted of different spectacles and all world premieres, with the exception of L’Oiseau de feu (The Firebird) by Stravinsky. The spectators could enjoy performances of Le Spectre de la Rose (The Spirit of the Rose), La Bataille de Kerjenetz (Kerjenetz’ Battle), Sadko, La Péri, L’Oiseau de feu (Firebird) and the premieres of Shehérezade and Petrushka.

4.5. *La Saison Italienne and La Saison Russe as Important Components of La Grande Saison de Paris.*

The impact of *La Grande Saison de Paris* on the Parisian cultural milieu is undeniable. Probably, the most recognized events of *La Grande Saison* were the *La Saison Italienne* and *La Saison Russe*. These two case studies are representative of the international nature of the Parisian artistic milieu. Both seasons reflect the popularity of certain international repertoire among sponsors, patrons, and regular concertgoers. The *Saison Italienne* featured Italian operatic repertoire while the *Saison Russe*, besides programming a series of Russian operas, also featured the well-known Ballet Russes of Sergei Diaghilev. An examination of Astruc’s documents related to *La Saison Italienne* and the Ballet Russes not only demonstrates the international nature of the Parisian cultural scene at the beginning of the twentieth century, but also shows the importance of the impresario’s mediation in achieving such an ambitious cultural project.

4.5.1 *La Saison Italienne de Paris*

In 1905, Astruc organized his first Italian opera season in Paris. The important event took place at the Théâtre Sarah Bernhardt (originally the Théâtre Lyrique), located at the Place du Châtelet, across the street from the Théâtre du Châtelet. Despite its unfortunate financial outcome, this first season featuring entirely Italian dramatic
works by composers from the “young” Italian school, constituted one of the most important achievements in the early career of Astruc as a producer of large-scale spectacles, for it occurred shortly after he created his Société Musicale in 1904 and not long after he helped to found Musica in 1902. In fact, La Saison Italienne of 1905 marked the beginning of La Grande Saison de Paris. For this event, the patronage of countess Greffulhe and the entrepreneurial skills of Gabriel Astruc proved most effective. Astruc’s company issued numerous press releases and some of the most widely read newspapers in Paris published many articles related to this event. An original draft of one of these articles is found in the collection of Astruc’s papers at the Archives Nationales:

Press
As we already announced, a season of Italian opera will take place at the Sarah-Bernhardt Theatre, from May 2 to June 12 [1905], under the patronage of Madame countess Greffulhe, president of the Société des Grandes Auditions Musicales.

Seven works by the best composers of the young Italian school will be represented for the first time in Paris: Adrienne Lecouvreur, by [Francesco] Cilea; Andrea Chenier, Fedora and Siberia by [Umberto] Giordano; Zazà by [Ruggiero] Leoncavallo; L’Amico Fritz by [Pietro] Mascagni, and Manuel Menendez by [Lorenzo] Filiasi. Moreover, the old Italian school will be present with the program of Il Barbiere di Siviglia.


Presse
Ainsi que nous l’avons déjà annoncé, une saison d’opéra italien aura lieu au théâtre Sarah-Bernhardt, du 2 Mai au 12 Juin prochains, sous le haut patronage de Madame la Comtesse Greffulhe, présidente de la Société des Grandes Auditions Musicales.

Sept ouvrages des meilleurs compositeurs de la jeune école italienne seront représentés pour la première fois à Paris: Adrienne Lecouvreur, de Cilea; André Chenier, Fedora et Siberia de Giordano; Zazà de Leoncavallo; l’Ami Fritz de Mascagni, et Manuel Menendez de Filiasi. En outre, l’ancienne école italienne figurera au programme avec le Barbier de Séville.
Les chanteurs les plus illustres de l’Italie: Mmes. Berlendi, Cavalieri, Pacini, Stehle, Tettrazini; MM. Caruso, de Lucia, Garbin, Masini, Bassi, Sammarco, Kaschmann, Tita Ruffo, etc. etc. ont été engagés pour des représentations. L’orchestre et les choeurs du théâtre Lyrique de Milan, seront dirigés par la célèbre chef d’orchestre Campanini…

Handwritten comments on the page suggest that the content of this document was to be published in Le Petit Journal, a widely read Parisian newspaper published between 1863 and 1944. In addition, there was another comment through which La Société de Grandes Auditions Musicales asked the publisher to “please insert [this text in the publication?].” Other handwritten notes on this document list what appear to be the different fees for the publication of the text in Le Petit Journal.

This document seems to belong to the publicity promoting the event. There is no evidence, other than the handwritten list of fees, to suggest that La Société Musicales paid for the publication of this particular announcement in Le Petit Journal. Possibly, the document represents an early-twentieth-century version of today’s common press releases. Either way, this piece of evidence reveals the fascinating dynamics between the entrepreneur and the press. If this was, in fact, an article on the upcoming season, it represents the remarkable ability of the entrepreneur to influence the press. If, on the contrary, this text represents only a press release, its publication and wide coverage illuminate the magnitude of the event sponsored by La Société de Grandes Auditions Musicales and organized by Gabriel Astruc’s company.

66 The two notes present different handwriting. It remains unknown if any of these handwritings was Astruc’s. On the lower right hand side of the paper appear the words, “Priere d’inserer. De la parts de la Société de Grandes Auditions Musicales.” On the opposite side, an itemized list of prices with the corresponding description.
Other members of the Parisian press also registered enthusiasm for the Italian opera season in the city. On Monday, March 20, 1905, various articles announcing the upcoming opera season appeared simultaneously in different Parisian journals, likely all provided by, or encouraged by, Astruc. Charles Joly, first editor of Musica, wrote a lengthy article published on the first page of Le Figaro. Joly opened this article by commenting on a performance of Verdi’s Rigoletto that occurred during the spring season of 1904. Just as with the upcoming season of Italian opera of 1905, this exclusive performance of Rigoletto occurred under the patronage of La Société de Grandes Auditions Musicales. Joly referred to this performance as “without question, the most beautiful [representation of Rigoletto] that we have seen in Paris for half a century” (la plus belle [l’inoubliable et unique représentation de Rigoletto], sans conteste, que l’on ait vue a Paris depuis un demi-siècle[...]). This particular production of Rigoletto featured some of the most sought-after vocal performers of the time, such as Enrico Caruso, Maurice Renaud, and Lina Cavallieri. In reviewing the production, Joly offered a significant amount of information from many different angles: for instance, he compared stylistic elements of operatic repertoire by Italian composers such as Verdi, underlining the effectiveness and power of the works’ melodic expression and emotional content. Strikingly, Joly not only praised musical characteristics of Italian opera but he also contrasted it with works by Wagner by placing the two styles at opposite ends of the spectrum. In addition, his article suggested that, during the fin de siècle, Parisian audiences preferred Wagnerian operatic repertoire to its Italian counterpart. Of particular interest is the fact that, for Joly, Wagner’s operatic output epitomized German aesthetics in the same way that Bayreuth became a symbol of

68 Ibid.
Germany. Alternatively, he noted that Italian musical style, shared among various composers who cultivated the operatic genre, was regaining the public’s attention:

It seemed, indeed, after this perfect production of an Italian work, made of music that sings as one smiles, as one loves and as one smiles, that the time when the masters of melody, eclipsed for a long time by the giant of Bayreuth, would find the favor of the public, was about to arrive.

Il nous avait paru, en effet, après cette réalisation parfait d’une œuvre italienne faite d’une musique qui chante comme on sourit, comme on aime et comme on sourit, que l’heure était proche où les maîtres de la mélodie, longtemps éclipsés par le géant de Bayreuth, retrouveraient la faveur du public.  

In the same article, Joly relies on the success of the aforementioned performance of Rigoletto to announce and promote La Saison Italienne:

On one hand, we have the fortune of having in Mr. Sonzogno, […] a director whose goal is to present Parisian audiences with compositions by the young Italian school; On the other hand, Mme Countess Greffulhe […] had graciously agreed to sponsor this artistic project…

If you recall the evening of Rigoletto, of which we still have the best memories, […] imagine what the spectacles that [la Société de Grandes Auditions] prepares will be, which will begin on May 2 and will last until [May] 12.

Joly’s interpretation of the reception of Italian operas in Paris contrasts with the article he published in Musica in 1902, in which he called for the building of a theater in Paris devoted to symphonic music as he praised the Wagnerian aesthetic and the

69 Ibid. “The Giant of Bayreuth” is clearly a reference to Wagner, whose melodies were often criticized by those who preferred the lyricism of Italian composers such as Verdi.
Bayreuth Theater, the same elements that “eclipsed” the Italian operas in fin-de-siècle Paris. Although the two articles by Joly in Musica (1902) and Le Figaro (1905) present contrasting ideas, they do not necessarily contradict one another. Joly’s advocacy in his 1902 article supported Astruc’s idea of building the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, a space influenced by Wagnerian aesthetics but where Italian opera remained present, at least during the short period when Astruc acted as the theater’s director. In fact, the program of the opening season of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées in 1913 included two Italian operas, *Il barbiere di Siviglia* by Rossini and *Lucia di Lammermoor* by Donizetti. The program for the theater’s second season, interrupted due to the theater’s premature closing, included Donizetti’s *Lucia di Lammermoor*, *L’Elisir d’Amore*, and *Don Pasquale*. In addition, it again featured Rossini’s *Il barbiere*, along with Verdi’s *La Traviata* and *Rigoletto*, and Puccini’s *Manon Lescaut*.70

During the Italian season of 1905, Astruc also collaborated with Edoardo Sonzogno (1836-1920), the famous Italian music publisher and impresario, owner of Casa Sonzogno, a traditional Italian publishing house inaugurated in Milan in 1836. Of particular interest is that Sonzogno founded, and published the newspaper *Il Secolo*. Published in Italy between 1866 and 1927 and devoted mostly to cultural issues, *Il Secolo* became one of the most important newspapers, particularly on the Italian peninsula.

The great expectations for musical quality of the highest level during this festival definitely required a superb level of artistry for, as evidence suggests, these performances strengthened the presence of Italian operatic repertoire on Parisian stages during this time period. According to Joly, “M. [Edoardo] Sonzogno wanted to gather the most beautiful

group of Italian singers that one could imagine” (M. Sonzogno a voulu réunir la plus belle troupe de chanteurs italiens quise puisse rasseembler).\(^{71}\) In regards to the orchestra, Joly explains: “M. Sonzogno’s concern for perfection had led him to the point of bringing [to Paris] an Italian orchestra of the highest level” (M. Sonzogno a poussé le souci de la perfection des executions jusqu’à amener un orchestre italien de premier ordre), conducted for the famous orchestra conductor Cleofonte (1860-1919).\(^{72}\)

Also, on March 20, 1905, Le Gaulois, another traditional Parisian newspaper, published a front-page article dedicated to the Italian opera season in Paris. Like Joly in Le Figaro, the pseudonymous author Tout-Paris also included an opening paragraph stating an important antecedent of this season, namely the 1904 performance of Rigoletto in Paris sponsored by La Société des Grandes Auditions Musicales, and calling attention to its president, countess Greffulhe.\(^{73}\)

It was last spring; the curtain had just fallen on this marvelous and singular performance of Rigoletto, organized under the auspices of the Grandes Auditions de France; the room, charmed, moved, enthusiastic, recalled, without wearying itself, the triumphant performers from Italy; and on all the lips the same desire was expressed: “When will we have the joy of hearing them again? When will we have an Italian season in Paris?” And Mme. countess Greffulhe, to whom this wish was immediately reported, pleased them with a smile—a smile full of promises.

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\(^{72}\) Ibid.

\(^{73}\) Tout-Paris, “Bloc-Notes, La Saison Italienne à Paris,” Le Gaulois (March 20, 1905). See Lesley Wright, “Carvalho at the Opéra-Comique (1876-1887): L’art de se hâter lentement,” in Music, Theater, and Cultural Transfer: Paris, 1830-1914, ed. Annegret Fauser and Mark Everist (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 99. In this chapter, Wright points out that many well-known Parisian authors used Tout-Paris as a pseudonym. Georges d’Heylli’s Dictionnaire des pseudonyms does not include an entry for Tout-Paris, an omission that could be explained by the abundance of individuals sharing the same penname.
C’était au printemps dernier, le Rideau venait de tomber sur cette merveilleuse et unique représentation de Rigoletto, organisée sous les auspices des Grandes Auditions de France; la salle, ravie, émue, enthousiaste, rappelait, sans se lasser, les triomphants interprètes venus d’Italie; et sur toutes les lèvres s’exprimait le même désir: ‘Quand aurons-nous la joie de les entendre encore? Quand aurons-nous une saison italienne à Paris?’ Et Mme la comtesse Greffulhe, à qui ce souhait avait été rapporté aussitôt, s’était contentée de sourire—d’un sourire plein de promesses.

The articles about the Italian opera season in Le Figaro and Le Gaulois contain, for the most part, the same information and maintain a similar organization. Both include the repertoire, a list of the artists, current subscribers to the season, and the schedule of events. However, near the beginning of the article, Tout-Paris also describes the nature of the connection between Sonzogno and Astruc: he indicates that the Italian opera season of 1905 had become a reality thanks to the collaboration of “Mr. Sonzogno, the important editor from Milan, and Mr. Gabriel Astruc, the agreeable director of La Société Musicale, which represents Mr. Sonzogno in Paris” ([Greffulhe] la réalise [Italian opera season] avec le concours de M. Sonzogno, le grand éditeur milanais, et celui de M. Gabriel Astruc le sympathique directeur de la Société Musicale qui représente M. Sonzogno à Paris). Astruc had become the representative of Sonzogno’s editing house in 1904. Representing Sonzogno’s business in Paris meant that La Société Musicale was in charge of organizing all the musical performances of pieces for which Sonzogno’s publishing house owned the copyrights. The connection between Gabriel Astruc and Edoardo Sonzogno became crucial to many of the former’s professional activities for, as he indicates in his memoirs, Sonzogno and Ricordi published some of the most important Italian composers of the time:

Milan was the land of the two great families, which formerly shared the best Italian composers. On one hand, the old Edoardo Sonzogno’s publishing house, on the other hand, la Casa Ricordi… Between the two firms, the competition was ardent.

Milan était la patrie des deux grandes familles qui se partageaient autrefois les meilleurs compositeurs d’Italie. D’une part, la maison du vieil Edoardo Sonzogno, d’autre part, la Casa Ricordi… Entre les deux firmes, la lutte était ardente. 

Astruc’s agreement with Sonzogno meant that every negotiation for performances in France of pieces by composers such as Pietro Mascagni (1863-1945), Ruggero Leoncavallo (1857-1919), Umberto Giordano (1867-1948), Francesco Cilea (1866-1950), Giacomo Orefice (1865-1922), and Spiro Samara (1861-1917), had to pass through the offices of Astruc’s Société Musicale.

Despite the great publicity and press coverage, the high quality of the performers, the support of Greffulhe and La Société des Grandes Auditiones Musicales, and the detailed level of preparation and organization, the 1905 Italian opera season in Paris was a financial failure. Astruc suggested that Sonzogno’s stubbornness and rivalry with Ricordi, his closest competitor in Italy, caused the financial fiasco of the season:

He [Sonzogno] only wanted to perform his own editions. Andrea Chenier, Adriana Lecouvreur, Chopin, Siberia, were not as favored by the public as those by Puccini, which belonged to Ricordi.

Il [Sonzogno] ne voulut jouer que son propre fonds. Andrea Chenier, Adriana Lecouvreur, Chopin, Siberia, n’avaient pas le faveur du public comme les ouvres de Puccini que appartenaient à Ricordi.

Another Parisian journal voiced Astruc’s concern in regards to the repertoire from the Italian opera season of 1905. On March 29, 1905, Gil Blas published an article

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75 Astruc, Pavillon, 330-331.
76 Astruc, Pavillon, 333.
written by French operatic baritone and impresario Victor Maurel (1848-1923).77 Besides the information about the event that other articles also presented, Maurel’s article offered a different perspective on the repertoire season. Due to his background as a singer and actor, Maurel reflected on Sonzogno’s repertoire selection for the 1905 Italian opera season. Having in mind that the article appeared in *Gil Blas* over a month before the season began, on May 2, 1905, the writer’s approach to the topic strikes one as a presentiment of the season’s financial outcome. Maurel questioned Sonzogno’s decision to include, for the most part, new operas unknown to the grand publique Parisien, and the representation of Italian opera by the so-called “young Italian modern lyric school”:78

Unfortunately, Mr. Sonzogno limits himself to the works published by him, so will not give us *Manon* or *Madama Butterfly* of Puccini, or one of the latest works of the maestro Alberto Franchetti—without whose collaboration a great lyric Italian season could not be complete.

*Malheureusement, M. Sonzogno, se limitant aux seules œuvres éditées par lui, ne nous donnera ni la Manon, ni la Madame Butterfly, de Puccini, ni un des derniers ouvrages du maestro [Alberto] Franchetti—sans le concours de quels une grande saison italienne lyrique ne saurait être complète.*

Maurel’s article confirms the rivalry between the Sonzogno and Ricordi publishing houses. In addition, it offers a general description of the Italian repertoire Parisian opera aficionados preferred. It also suggests that Astruc was willing to promote young, comparatively untried composers. Noteworthy is the fact that, as an impresario, Maurel

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77 Victor Maurel, “La Musique Italienne: Une ère nouvelle,” *Gil Blas*, March 29, 1905. As a performer, Maurel became mostly known for his performances of the role of lago at the premiere of Verdi’s *Otello* (1887), and the title role in the premiere of Verdi’s *Falstaff* in 1893.

78 Ibid. “*C’est la jeune école Lyrique italienne moderne, que M. Sonzogno a entrepris de nous faire connaître…*”
was Astruc’s colleague and competitor. Most likely, this influenced Maurel’s remarks about repertoire and performers of the 1905 *Saison Italiene*.

There is little archival evidence to establish if *La Saison Italiene*, as structured in 1905, occurred again in the years immediately following its first attempt. However, there is significant evidence showing that Astruc, through *La Société Musicale*, maintained an active agenda in terms of organizing operatic performances, maintaining a constant collaboration with Sonzogno and Ricordi, and promoting the artistic exchange between Italian singers and the opera scene in France as well as in other countries. Surviving copies of the contracts that Astruc wrote on behalf of the soloists associated with Italian opera, and whom *La Société Musicale* represented, are all dated post-1905.

On May 11, 1910, a first-page article in *Le Figaro* announced the calendar for the new *Saison Italiene* in Paris, which occurred at the Théâtre Châtelet between May 21 and June 22 of that year. An undated confidential document reveals interesting details not

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79 See Chapter 1. Astruc’s ability to maintain an active professional relationship with two competing companies, Sonzogno and Ricordi, is worth further inquiry. Perhaps, it was through the mediation by different impresarios such as Victor Maurel that Astruc was able to work with competitors on a regular basis. Unfortunately, Astruc’s Papers do not offer a clear picture of the extent of his connections with other impresarios in Paris.

80 For example, see contracts and other legal documents of Lina Cavalieri, 1905-1913, 409-AP Box 32 *Artistes Lyriques*, Fonds Gabriel Astruc, Archives Nationales. Astruc’s *Société Musicale* dealt with all aspects related to the professional affairs of Lina Calvalieri (1874-1944), posthumously depicted by film director Robert Z. Leonard as *La donna più bella del mondo* (1955). This file contains contracts for multiple professional engagements in Europe and the United States. Cavalieri’s professional activities in the United States included engagements with the Metropolitan Musical and Literary Bureau in 1911, Boston Opera (s.d.), the New York Winter Garden Theater in 1912, and an American tour in 1913. Curiously, this file also includes a prenuptial agreement between Lina Cavalieri and Robert Winthrop dated May 31, 1910. Regarding a benefit concert featuring a performance of Italian opera with Italian tenor Enrico Caruso, see note 33.
only about the 1910 Italian opera season in Paris, but also about the context in which this artistic collaboration took place in relationship to other years of *La Grande Saison de Paris.*

The event featured fifteen performances of a few works. According to *Le Figaro,* performances took place on May 21 (Verdi’s *Aida*), 23 (Mascagni’s *Cavalleria Rusticana* and Leoncavallo’s *I Pagliacci*), 25 (Verdi’s *Otello*), 27 (Cavalleria Rusticana and *I Pagliacci*), 30 (*Otello*), and June 1 (*Aida*), 3 (Verdi’s *Falstaff*), 6 (*Falstaff*), 8 (Puccini’s *Manon Lescaut*), 10 (*Otello*), 13 (*Manon Lescaut*), 15 (*Falstaff*), 17 (*Manon Lescaut*), 20 (*Aida*), and 22 (Cavalleria Rusticana and *I Pagliacci*).

This version of *La Saison Italienne* represented not only an artistic event of considerable dimensions, but also one of the most significant achievements during Astruc’s career. Unlike its 1905 counterpart, the 1910 Italian opera season enabled audiences to hear a repertoire that was already established by the latter part of the nineteenth century, published by the two main Italian music publishers, Sonzogno and Ricordi. This event featured accomplished performers of the time, all from the Metropolitan Opera Company. This particular season, which took place at the eclectic Théâtre du Châtelet, included performers such as Enrico Caruso, Leo Slezak (1873-1946), Pasquale Amato (1878-1942), Antonio Scotti (1866-1936), and Emmy Destinn (1878-1930) among others. Singers, choirs, and orchestra were led by the famous Italian conductor Arturo Toscanini. In his memoirs, Astruc refers eloquently to the significance

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81 409-AP Box 2, dossier 2, Fonds Gabriel Astruc, Archives Nationales. The word *confidentielle* is handwritten in red ink on the first page of the document. This four-page document, most likely a carbon copy of the original, catches the reader’s attention due to its elaborate organization, succinctness, and cleanliness of presentation. Probably aimed to current and possible patrons, the document entitled “Saison d’Opéra Italien au Théâtre du Châtelet” includes information related to programs and finances for the season of 1910.

82 *La Masque de Fer, “A Travers Paris: Calendrier de la Saison Italienne.”* *Le Figaro,* Mai 11, 1910. According to d’Heylli’s *Dictionnaire des pseudonymes,* La Masque de Fer was Phillipe Emile François’s penname in *Le Figaro.*
of this event for his career as: “one of the greatest memories of my career as a director.”

(*La Saison Italienne que j’organisai [Astruc] au Châtelet avec l’ensemble du Metropolitan Opera de New York…[est] l’un des plus grands souvenirs de ma carrière directoriale*).  

The June 1910 issue of *Musica* included five pages of fully illustrated coverage of this particular Italian opera season at the Théâtre du Châtelet. The cover of this particular issue featured Enrico Caruso, one of the main figures of the season. The first article, by Gaetano della Francesca, contains information related to the repertoire and the composers featured in this season, including *Manon Lescaut* by Puccini, which the author labeled as the most important work by the composer and underlining that it was still “unknown in Paris” (seventeen years after its Italian premiere of 1893). A total of eleven images, all portraits, accompany the text. Four pictures appear on the first page and six on the second, and the third featured a full-page photo of Moravian tenor Leo Slezak (1873-1946) in his role as Radames in Verdi’s *Aida*. The repertoire of the 1910 season was certainly more popular among Parisian audiences than the one from the 1905 season. The presence of Verdi’s works seemed of particular relevance for della Francesca who, when contrasting the composer with others programmed in the 1910 season, concluded that “Verdi, the prince and reason for the Italian season, could not and was not to be the only musician whose works were performed” (*Verdi, prince et raison de la saison italienne ne pouvait et ne devait pas être le seul musicien dont on exécutât les œuvres*). According to Gaetano della Francesca, every opera, performer, and composer of the 1910 season

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84 See Chapter 3.
86 Della Francesca, 68.
offered the best representation of bel canto as well as the “contemporary” Italian school of opera.

The second article, written by an individual under the pen name of Florestan, announced and discussed the artists and performers of the event. Female performers pictured among the fifteen illustrations in the two-page article were the contralto Louise Homer (1871-1947), sopranos Emmy Destinn (1878-1930), Bella Alten (1877-1962), Carmen Melis (1885-1967), and Marie Rappold (1873-1957), and mezzo-soprano Olive Fremstadt (1871-1951). Besides Caruso, illustrations of male performers included tenor Albert Reiss (1870-1940), and baritones and basses Pasquale Amato (1878-1942), Antonio Scotti (1866-1936), Andrés Perelló de Segurola (1874-1953), and Antonio Pini Corsi (1858-1918) among others. 87

The significant number of illustrations in della Francesca’s article corresponded to the elaborate and flashy style that characterized Musica. Preceding the title, on the first page, appeared the three main entrepreneurs responsible for the management and organization of the 1910 Italian opera season at the Châtelet. The first figure was the German-born tenor and impresario Andreas Dippel (1866-1943), who between 1908 and 1910, and after a successful career as a tenor of the Metropolitan Opera, worked as its joint manager. Next to Dippel’s image, is a picture of Guilio Gatti-Casazza (1869-1940), former manager of La Scala, in Milan, and director of the Metropolitan Opera between 1908 and 1935. Next to Gatti-Casazza appears the picture of Astruc as organizer of the Italian season in Paris. Curiously, Astruc is the only figure of the aforementioned three that has almost a full-body picture. In addition to this difference, Astruc’s image also presents a singular background, a framed poster of the 1907 Parisian premiere of Strauss’

Salomé, one of the most polemicized performances Astruc ever organized. Most likely, Astruc’s choice of using a picture with such a background reflects his desire of being known for his most “progressive” and controversial choices, since the Parisian premiere of Salomé was regarded by Astruc himself as one of his major professional accomplishments as well as a scandal of colossal proportions. Centered in the lower half of the page appears a powerful image of the Italian conductor Arturo Toscanini (1867-1957). Centered in the lower half of the page appears a powerful image of the Italian conductor Arturo Toscanini (1867-1957). The lingering effect of Toscanini’s image in Musica’s article resonates with his reputation among the people he worked with. Astruc, in particular, professed a deep admiration for the already famous conductor:

The presence at the podium of this Titan [Toscanini], courageous zealot in the United States of Claude Debussy and Paul Dukas, disarmed the enemies of Italian music who reproached the artists of the peninsula for their “verismo” and their disregard of the classics.

La présence au pupitre de ce Titan [Toscanini], vaillant zélateur aux Etats-Unis de Claude Debussy et de Paul Dukas, désarma les ennemis de la musique italienne que reprochaient aux artistes de la péninsule leur “verisme” et leur mépris des classiques.88

Besides underlining the significance of Toscanini as the conductor leading the performances of the 1910 Italian opera season in Paris, Astruc’s statement reflects the polemical attitude that existed in Paris towards Italian musical aesthetics, particularly concerning the genre of opera. Challenges to the Italian operatic style seemed often accompanied by an explicit contrast to the style of Wagner. Most musical activities that included opera did not reunite both styles. In fact, in the collection of Astruc’s papers at the Archives Nationales there is no evidence showing that Italian operas were

88 Astruc, Pavillon, 332.
programmed together with those of Wagner. Della Francesca’s 1910 article for *Musica* also makes reference to this musical stylistic opposition, which often divided Parisian audiences during this time. The author emphasized the significance of Verdi’s mature operas by comparing them to Wagner:

The ancestor to whom Italy owes its lyric rebirth, Verdi… …[Verdi] after capturing the public’s enthusiasm, maintained its attention for fifty years. During the second half of the 19th century, he occupies the lyric scene and only shares its empire with Wagner. By his birth—1814—he [Verdi, who actually was born in 1813] comes close to the melodic generosity of Bellini; by his mature works—precisely those which will be performed during the next Italian season—he touches on Wagnerian esthetics.

Charles Joly’s statement in his 1905 article for *Le Figaro*, in which he states that the Italian style had been “eclipsed for a long time by the giant of Bayreuth,” reflects the controversial history of the relationship of the two musical styles. Considering the credibility and international readership enjoyed by *Musica* in France and abroad, della Francesca’s article bridges Verdi’s mature works and Wagner opera. By recognizing Italian and Wagnerian styles in Verdi’s music, della Francesca also facilitates the migration of audiences committed to either musical aesthetic preferences. The association between Verdi and Wagner had been established since the last decades of the nineteenth century. French critics and early contributors had pointed out the links to Wagner in Verdi’s mature works. For instance, after a performance Verdi’s *Don Carlos* on 11 March

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89 Della Francesca, 67.
90 See note 61.
1867, Bizet wrote: “Verdi is no longer Italian, He is following Wagner. He no longer shows his well-known faults, but neither does he show a single one of his virtues.”

American financial sponsors also had a significant role in this particular project of La Société Musicale. On April 7, 1910, Astruc received a missive from William Kissam Vanderbilt (1849-1820) requesting Astruc to “reserve some of the best places (6 to 8 people)” for the Italian season at the Théâtre Châtelet. In fact, Vanderbilt had already contacted Astruc on November 4, 1909, after they received information about the fact that the Italian season was to include artists from the Metropolitan Opera. Leading societal figures and arts patrons such as William K. Vanderbilt became significant in Astruc’s career. The connection between Astruc and the American patrons through some of his professional activities had already been established years prior to 1910. By 1907, Astruc had already acted as the European representative of the Metropolitan Opera management. Prominent figures such as Vanderbilt, for instance, along with other affluent men in the United States such as John Pierpont Morgan, Otto Kahn, John Astor,

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91 H. Imbert, *Portraits et Etudes: Lettres à un ami* (Paris, 1904): 168, quoted in Julian Budden, *Verdi*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008): 97. Budden argues that Verdi’s mature works are more closely connected with French Grand Opera than Wagner’s. See also, Andreas Giger, *Verdi and the French Aesthetic: Verse, Stanzas, and Melody in Nineteenth-Century Opera* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). Scholars such as Budden and Giger not only discuss in detail associations that critics made between Wagner and Verdi’s mature works, but they also underline Verdi’s rejection of such associations. Conversely, they discuss the existence of more connections between Verdi’s mature works and French opera.

92 “Correspondence Gabriel Astruc, and Mr and Mrs. W.K. Vanderbilt,” 409-AP Box 32, folder *Vie Mondaine. Correspondants de la haute société O à Z*, Fonds Gabriel Astruc, Archives Nationales. This request was written by a third party, Lina Horn, on behalf of the Vanderbilts. Horn, who likely worked for the Vanderbilts, wrote all the missives addressed to Astruc contained in this folder.
and James Stillman became part of the American committee that contributed financially to the construction of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées in 1913.\footnote{See “M. Astruc Coming Here. Pleased at Support New Yorkers Have Given his Paris Theater,” \textit{The New York Times} (December 8, 1907). For a discussion of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, see Chapter 6}

\subsection*{4.5.2 \textit{La Grande Saison} and Diaghilev’s Ballets Russes}

As suggested above, Parisian spectacles related to Russian culture, music, and dance grew in popularity during the first decade of the twentieth century. Some important artistic events related to Russian music and Russian artists paved the way for the historical debut of Diaghilev’s troupe at the Théâtre Châtelet in 1909. Because of the phenomenon of the Ballet Russes has been widely explored by countless authors from different disciplines, this particular section does not attempt to offer yet another historical account of the history of this well-known artistic enterprise. Instead, it aims to illustrate the connections between Astruc’s \textit{Grande Saison de Paris} and the Ballet Russes, particularly the context in which Diaghilev’s enterprise became part of Astruc’s Parisian season between 1907 and 1913.

Through the first decade of the twentieth century Parisians became accustomed to reading about Russian arts, particularly music, in local newspapers. On February 28, 1907, the first of seven articles related to Russian music by Robert Brussel, \textit{Le Figaro’s} celebrated music critic, appeared under the title “L’Évolution Musicale en Russie”; the remaining articles were published between March and April, 1907. In these articles, written while Brussel was in St. Petersburg, the critic contrasted different musical works and stylistic trends as they related to Russian music. For instance, in his first article, Brussel included a review of the premiere of \textit{The Legend of the Invisible City of Kitezh and the
Maiden Fevroniya, the four-act opera by Rimsky-Korsakov, premiered at the Mariinsky Theater in St. Petersburg on February 20, 1907.94

Brussel’s article of February 1907 appeared in anticipation of the large-scale event of Russian music that took place in Paris during the same year. Whether coincidental or not, it was Brussel himself who announced, also in Le Figaro, this event. On April 16, 1907 in Le Figaro, Brussel published his article, “Un Festival de Musique Russe à Paris.”95 This article announced an awaited Russian music festival in May 1907, less than a year after the successful Parisian exposition of Russian painting and sculpture organized by Diaghilev in 1906. The frequent discussion of Russian music in newspapers such as Le Figaro reflects the popularity of Russian repertoire among Parisian audiences. In his review of The Legend of the Invisible City, Brussel presented Russian musical aesthetics as a significant contribution to the Parisian cultural environment; he also suggested the motivation for an impresario such as Astruc to include Russian opera and ballet in La Grande Saison de Paris.96 The 1907 festival of Russian music in Paris organized by Diaghilev and Astruc represented the first Saison Russe within the Grande Saison de Paris.97

Although the Saison Russe started as part of La Grande Saison de Paris in 1907, the spectacles exclusively featuring the Ballets Russes only appeared after 1909. The

95 Robert Brussel, “Un Festival de Musique Russe à Paris.” Le Figaro, (April 16, 1907.)
96 See, for example, Robert Brussel, “L'Évolution Musicale en Russie,” Le Figaro (February 28, 1907): “Among all the countries that possess traditional art, among all Western countries, France was the most sensitive to the charm of the new forms that Russia brought in the field of the music[…]” (D’entre tous les pays qui possédaient un art traditionnel, d’entre tous les pays d’Occident, la France fut le plus sensible au charme des formes nouvelles que la Russie apportait dans le domaine de la musique[…]”
97 The program of la Grande Saison de Paris of 1913 includes the “Huitième Saison Russe.” See “Program de la Grande Saison de Paris, 1913,” Box Programmes du Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, Bibliothèque de la Ville de Paris.
program of the 1909 Saison Russe, organized by Astruc and presented at the Théâtre du Châtelet, includes operas such as Rimsky-Korsakov’s *Ivan le Terrible*, Borodin’s *Igor*, and Glinka’s *Rouslan et Ludmila*, and ballets, such as Tcherepnine’s *Le Pavillon d’Armide*, *Les Sylphides* (set to music by Chopin), *Le Festin*, and *Cleopatra*.98

However, other artistic events that led to the 1909 *Saison Russe* in Paris can be found not only in the attention that the aforementioned festival of Russian music of 1907 generated, but also in other artistic events not necessarily related to Russian music. That is the case of the 1907 production of Strauss’ *Salomé* in Paris, also organized by Astruc’s Société Musicale.99 Recitals of dance solos preceded the first appearance of the entire troupe of the Ballet Russes during *La Grande Saison de Paris* in 1909. However, these solo performances remained important within *La Grande Saison* even after 1909.

Examples of danced musical compositions, originally not intended as ballets, were featured by the Ballet Russes from its first appearance in 1909 at *La Grande Saison de Paris*. As noted above, Michel Fokine’s ballets *Les Sylphides* (1909) and *Shéhérazade* (1910) featured compositions by Chopin and Rimsky-Korsakov respectively.100

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98 “Program de la Saison Russe, May-June 1909,” Box *Programmes du Châtelet*, Bibliothèque de la Ville de Paris. Chopin’s *Les Sylphides* is an adaptation of different piano pieces by Chopin selected and orchestrated by well-known Russian composers such as Glazunov. On the other hand, *Le Festin* and *Cleopatra* feature different pieces by various Russian composers such as Rimski-Korsakov, Tchaikovsky, Glinka, Mussorgsky, Korovin, Arensky, Taneyev, and Tcherepnine.

99 See note 21.

100 The case of the ballet production of 1909 of *Les Sylphides* is an example of re-orchestrations commissioned by Diaghilev of Chopin’s original piano pieces. It could be argued that Chopin’s pieces, some of which are inspired by Polish dances (e.g. *Polonaise in A major*, Op. 40, No. 1, or the *Mazurkas in D major*, Op. 33, No. 2, and *C major*, Op. 67, No. 3) retain a dance-like quality (rhythmic rather than choreographically) that remains audible when performed as a ballet production and, therefore, is not a re-interpretation of the original composer’s idea. I do not intend to argue otherwise. However, it is undeniable that by adding a visual concrete element of movement to what originally was performed instrumentally (on the piano), and by modifying the performing forces of the original
programming Chopin’s piano music orchestrated by Russian composers and choreographed by Fokine can be seen as a way to bridge the gap between tradition and modernity. Perhaps, the presence of folk elements in Chopin’s music resonated with the aesthetic goals of the Russian ballet company, which often included a dialogue between the exoticism of Eastern Europe and the traditions of Western Europe. It could be argued that the folk elements present in Chopin’s music are not represented in Fokine’s 1909 choreography of *Les Sylphides*. However, some musical elements such as characteristic melodic gestures and rhythmic nuances unavoidably influence the choreography. Pieces such as Debussy’s *L’après midi d’un faune* or Stravinsky’s *Le Sacre de Printemps* altered drastically the music-dance balance associated with some works such as *Les Sylphides*, *Les Orientales*, and even *Petrushka* and *Firebird*.

Solo dance recitals also featured the common practice of dancing to music not originally composed for such a purpose. During the *Saison Russe* of May 1911, Natalia Trouhanova performed two *concerts de danse*. These performances appeared in the publicity of the artistic events of the Ballet Russes for *La Grande Saison* of the same year, for which Trouhanova also danced. The repertoire in the Trouhanova’s solo recitals included music by composers such as Rimsky-Korsakov and Chopin, also commonly associated with full productions of the Ballets Russes.  

Trouhanova’s 1911 solo spectacle was placed in the middle of the instrumental music portion of the Grande Saison. With such a placement, Astruc facilitated, or

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101 Trouhanova’s two *concerts de danse* took place on May 3 and May 9, 1911 at the Théâtre Châtelet with the prestigious Orchestre des Concerts Cologne. In the first performance she danced pieces by Gluck, Weber, Chopin, Grieg and Liszt. In the second one, she danced pieces by Liadow, Dargomyzhsky, Schubert, Fauré, d’Indy, and Rimsky-Korsakov.
instigated, a new interpretation of the dancer’s role in orchestral music. In this case, whether he was aware or not of the implications of this program setting, Astruc allowed the ballerina to fulfill a protagonist role somewhat equivalent to the role played by an instrumentalist in a solo concerto. In the same way, this program setting proposed a different understanding and interpretation of established musical genres. By choreographing this repertoire and re-contextualizing it in the realm of orchestral music, a deep perception of the music, and even “hermeneutical” listening, was promoted in Astruc’s audiences. The seemingly artificial juxtaposition of dance and music in these spectacles, somewhat a novelty in the early 1900s, possesses interesting aesthetic and artistic connotations from various points of view. It opened the possibility for audiences to experience already familiar music through a different visual context. From a technical perspective, it allowed both the choreographer and dancer to adjust technique and movement according to a repertoire that was not necessarily conceived for such an end. Adjusting the pieces to a new aesthetic language included transplanting them to a new performing space, making effective the interaction between composer, choreographer, dancers, musicians, technical resources, and audiences. Astruc was well aware not only of the dynamics in which the multiple interacting factors in these spectacles operated, but also of the necessity of adequate theatrical spaces for such interactions to occur organically. These new creative juxtapositions of music and dance likely helped to inspire his plan to build a Palais Philharmonique, later actualized in the construction of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées in 1913, which can be traced as early as 1904 in his personal correspondence.\footnote{See Chapter 6.}
Listeners of the time seem to have recognized the dialogue between traditions established in these spectacles. The opening performance of the 1909 *Saison Russe*, on May 18, featured Tcherepnine’s *Pavillon d’Armide*, and excerpts from Borodin’s *Prince Igor*, and a “suite made of dances borrowed form various authors” (*une suite de danses empruntées à divers auteurs*). The review of this particular performance reflects that the interaction between contrasting elements became identifiable, at least in part, by some audiences:

> The evening, which started with the galant dance, the harmonious passes and balancés, […] finished with a tougher, capricious, accentuated, and popular dance. Art, which is all in opposition, national art, art of a special taste, […] beyond any expression.

> *La soirée qui avait commencé par la danse galante, par les passes et les balancés harmonieux,[…]a fini par la danse plus rude, capricieuse, accenutée, populaire. Art tout en opposition, art national, art d’une saveur spéciale, […] au delà de toute expression.*

Along with the added dance interpretations in pieces such as *Les Sylphides*, new orchestrations redefined the piece and opened the possibility for new interpretations of existing sonic material through movement. The embracing of such forward thinking in the programs of Astruc’s *Grande Saison* helped to establish new traditions in classical music and dance. This concept has been underlined by scholars such as Lynn Garafola, who stated that “today, Chopin epitomizes the very idea of ballet music. In 1900, by contrast, his work belonged to the concert hall, as did that of virtually every composer of stature”.

> Apparently, visual interpretation of instrumental music (adaptable to dance) was recognized by choreographers such as Michel Fokine, who “abandoned the specialist

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104 Stoullig, 340-341.
105 Garafola, 41.
composers who regularly supplied the Maryinsky [theatre] with ballet music. From the
first, “serious” composers became his stock-in-trade: Saint-Saëns (the Dying Swan, 1907);
Chopin (the Flight of the Butterflies, 1906; Chopiniana, 1907; Dances sur la Musique de Chopin,
1908; Rêverie Romantique—Ballet sur la Musique de Chopin, 1908; Grand Pas sur la Musique de
Chopin, 1908; Variations, 1911; Prelude, 1915); Albéniz (Sevillana, 1906)…”According to
Garafola, this list contains “only those composers chosen independently of Diaghilev and
the administration of the Imperial Theatres.”106

On occasion, building on a longstanding tradition, an effective way to present
ballet performances in Paris was within or alongside performances of opera. During the
Saison Russe of 1909, as noted above, the shows often included performances of both ballet
and opera. The show of June 19, 1909, featured the performance of the second act and
the second tableau of the third act of Boris Godunov.107

Considering the influence of the “liberating aesthetic of Michel Fokine,” which
was not popular in the Maryinsky Theatre, programming Fokine’s choreographies at the
Ballet Russes as part of Astruc’s for-profit Grande Saison seems to have been financially
risky.108 The successful artistic productions of Le Pavillon d’Armide, Cleopatra, Les Sylphides,
and Le Festin performed by the Ballet Russes during La Grande Saison in 1909 did not have
the expected financial outcome. In this respect, Garafola explains: “although the 1909
season represented a blazing artistic triumph, it was also a financial disaster. Box office

106 Ibid.
107 Stoullig, 22.
108 Garafola presents the idea of “the liberating aesthetic of Michel Fokine” in the first
chapter of her book on Diaghilev’s Ballets Russes. However, her discussion on aesthetics
is presented primarily in relationship to the implications of Fokine’s choreographic
innovations to ballet tradition and, more tangentially, in relationship to the cultural
phenomenon in which these performances occurred.
receipts failed to recoup the difference between production costs and capital raised from Russian sources, leaving Diaghilev with a huge debt of F86,000 to Astruc."\textsuperscript{109}

Despite the financial outcome, Astruc collaborated with Diaghilev’s Ballet Russes for five more seasons, up to 1913. For these collaborations, Astruc, mostly through private sponsorship, acquired the capital to finance the production of the performances expecting a profit from ticket sales and season suscriptions. After the season ended, the amount Diaghilev would repay Astruc included costs related to the production of the season.

The differences that emerged between Diaghilev and Astruc following the 1909 financial impasse nearly brought this collaboration to an end. In 1910, after the financial outcome of 1909, Astruc refused to work with Diaghilev and programmed his Italian opera season at the Châtelet, in competition with Diaghilev’s Ballet Russes at l’Opéra. The international campaign that Astruc began to discredit Diaghilev, which even involved Russian sponsors who had previously financed Diaghilev’s projects, came to an end when Diaghilev paid Astruc. At this moment their differences were settled. Garafola explains that “[…] Diaghilev agreed to alternate Ballet Russes performances [at l’Opéra] with those of the Metropolitan Opera [at the Châtelet]. He also agreed to let Astruc’s Société Musicale handle advertising and publicity for the forthcoming season.”\textsuperscript{110} Likely, Astruc and Diaghilev realized that it was in their best interest not only to avoid competition but also to keep Diaghilev’s Ballet Russes as part of Astruc’s Grande Saison.

During the 1911 season of \textit{La Grande Saison de Paris} the Ballet Russes performed \textit{Le Spectre de la Rose} by Carl Maria von Weber, Tcherepnine’s \textit{Narcisse}, Tchaikovsky’s \textit{Swan

\textsuperscript{109} Garafola, 178.
\textsuperscript{110} Garafola, 179.
Lake, and Stravinsky’s *Petrushka*. In 1912, the repertoire included Nijinsky’s new choreography of Debussy’s *Prélude à l’après midi d’un faune*, Ravel’s *Daphnis et Chloé*, Hahn’s *Le Dieu Bleu*, and Balakirev’s *Thamar*.

The 1913 performances of the Ballets Russes took place at the newly constructed Théâtre des Champs-Elysées along with the rest of the artistic productions of Astruc’s *Grande Saison de Paris*. All the different spectacles that previously had occurred in various Parisian concert halls and theaters now shared a common space for the first time. Ironically, the 1913 season of twelve performances of twelve different works also represented the last of Astruc and Diaghilev collaboration. It featured the premieres of Debussy’s *Jeux*, Stravinsky’s *Le Sacre du Printemps*, and Florent Schmitt’s *La Tragédie de Salomé*. Other pieces of the 1913 repertoire of the Ballets Russes included Stravinsky’s *Petrushka* and *Firebird*, Ravel’s *Daphnis et Chloé*, Debussy’s *Prélude à l’après midi d’un faune*, *Les Sylphides*, to music by Chopin, *Carnaval*, to music by Schumann, *Le Spectre de la Rose* by Von Weber, *Scheherazade* by Rimsky-Korsakov, and Borodin’s *Danses du Prince Igor*.

The variety of ballet repertoire in the 1913 program was significantly larger than the operatic component of the *Saison Russe*. Mussorgsky’s *Khovanschina* and *Boris Godunov*, and Rimsky-Korsakov’s *The Maid of Pskov* constituted the repertoire for the ten opera nights of the 1913 *Saison Russe*. This comparative prominence of ballet represents a significant change from the 1909 program.111

### 4.6 Conclusion

As elucidated in the discussion above, the dynamics and skills needed for the *fin-de-siècle* impresario are illustrated in the work of Gabriel Astruc. With his constant presence at the center of Parisian musical and artistic scenes from the beginning of the

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111 See note 77.
twentieth century up to World War I, Astruc’s diverse, interconnected activities offer valuable pathways for understanding Parisian cultural life from the perspective of the impresario. They also help to map out the degree to which an impresario, particularly one as powerful as Astruc, determines, or contributes to, shifts in aesthetics, currents in audience reception, and modifications to existing repertoire as well as the dissemination of new works.

Impresarios of the caliber of Astruc played a significant role in the artistic variety and innovation for which Paris of the fin de siècle is widely recognized, for their work facilitated the processes of music creation, music performance, and patronage. In the particular case of performers, the Parisian impresario not only provided artists with different opportunities to develop their artistic careers but also created a supporting network which allowed the internationalization of their performing careers.

The different case studies concerning music-related projects organized by Astruc’s Société Musicale exemplified the ways in which his music business in Paris operated. From a commercial standpoint, the many endeavors linked to Astruc’s firm not only promised lucrative outcomes, but they allowed him to build a reputation as a manager of international scope, to oversee the artistic calendar of the artists he represented, and to work with them throughout an entire year. His oversight, as well as the enticement and appeal of his connections with the Parisian elite and the powerful interconnections between his performance series, private musical gatherings, and journalistic publicity, reduced the risk of competition with international managers who sought European artists to perform abroad during the off-season. From the artistic standpoint, by becoming the representative in Paris of important opera houses around the globe such as the Metropolitan Opera Company, Astruc and his organization, La Société Musicale,
facilitated the artistic exchange for which events such as the 1910 Italian opera season in Paris became possible.

The programs and publicity, as well as correspondence and legal documents related to the public and private events organized by Astruc’s enterprise, show that promoting new repertoire and innovative aesthetic was a priority. Programs reflect that balancing the old and the new and honoring older traditions and repertoire while finding new ways of presenting or modifying them was also important. The case of the *Saison Russe* during the 1913 version of *La Grande Saison de Paris* is a representative example of how such balance occurred.

The significance of the activities of the impresario in a cultural capital such as Paris is closely related to the emergence of new aesthetic preferences and innovative music creation and performances. The open-minded approach to conventional artistic traditions of impresarios such as Diaghilev and Astruc not only facilitated the creation of fruitful collaborations, but also a dialogue between artistic disciplines. Such a dialogue is reflected in events such as the 1907 premiere of Strauss’ *Salomé*, in which a dancer and a singer shared the leading role. It also became evident in maintaining the French tradition of the interaction between ballet and opera. In the case of artistic events of the magnitude of *La Grande Saison de Paris*, Russian opera and ballet alternated and, occasionally, shared a program. As Garafola points out, progressive impresarios such as Astruc opened the door to enterprises such as Diaghilev’s Ballet Russes in cultural capitals of Europe and the United States during the period of their artistic collaborations:

To a large degree, Diaghilev’s success in integrating his company into the era’s operatic marketplace relied upon impresarios who operated outside of the subsidized mainstream. Newcomers to a world ruled by tradition, men like Gabriel Astruc and Sir Thomas Beecham, the one a rabbi’s son and the other the grandson of a manufacturer of patent medicine, […]

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made their mark by creating alternative organizations that catered to the desire for novelty and innovation among a growing segment of the musical public.\textsuperscript{112}

The funds that Astruc obtained through the organization of private and semi-private events and his interaction with the elite became crucial for the realization of his large-scale projects. Seeking the approval and support of the influential Parisian elite—which was more international than local—also helped Astruc secure the support of other sociopolitical circles as well as the press inside and outside of Paris. In addition, these events allowed the expansion of Astruc’s own system of patronage. As shown earlier, successful performances in events geared towards the elite enhanced the impresario’s possibilities of an enduring commitment with sponsors for future projects.

\textsuperscript{112} Garafola, 181
Chapter 5. Astruc and the Music Publishing Business

The Parisian cultural scene at the beginning of the twentieth century was characterized by a significant development of industry and the appearance of numerous technological advancements. Publishers issued many new editions of literary and musical works, new journals emerged, and the sound recording industry began.¹

Technological advancements had an important impact on the music publishing business. Innovations such as the mimeograph in 1886 and the implementation of new printing methods such as offset printing (1875), hot metal typesetting (1884), screen printing (1910), and electrogravure (1905) characterized the fin-de-siècle history of printing.² In addition, the Berne international agreement of 1886, marking the expansion of copyright protection across borders, addressed important issues related to the protection of literary and artistic works, with significant impact on music publishing and performance.³

Such technological improvements affected methods and techniques used in Astruc’s professional work, which relied on communication with a broad spectrum of the populace. They were important to the entrepreneurial and managerial operations of his


Société Musicale, discussed in Chapter 4, but perhaps they were even more crucial to the publishing facet of his business. From the founding of his Société in 1904, Astruc had in fact advertised it as a “Société des Editiones Musicales.” Copious documents related to music editing and publishing found in the collections of Astruc’s papers confirm the aptness of this designation and underscore the importance of these endeavors within his professional activities as a whole. [According to whom?] By the second decade of the 1900s Astruc’s music publishing business had established an international reputation. Undoubtedly, his publishing achievements depended, to some degree, on his success in entrepreneurship and artist management, which built musical networks within and beyond France. As an example of the extensiveness of its connections after 1904, La Société Musicale became the representative in Paris of some opera companies in America and South America, thus facilitating the exchange of music publications (and repertoire) between both continents and Europe. Equally relevant was Astruc’s position as representative in Paris for Sonzogno, Ricordi, and other foreign publishers. The goal of this chapter is to explore the activities of Gabriel Astruc as a music publisher and to illustrate the significance of such activities to his work as a Parisian impresario at the beginning of the twentieth century. In addition, this chapter addresses the role of music publications and musical editions as a complement to the already established international artistic dialogue between Paris and countries such as Italy and the United States during the fin-de-siècle.

Astruc’s Société edited and published various genres by different composers in a wide range of styles. However, the lack of a complete catalogue of his music publications

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4 Most of the letterhead paper used by Astruc’s Société Musicale contained this particular description.
makes it a challenge to understand the impact that music publishing had on his professional life and the musical worlds within his reach.

This chapter analyzes the publishing activities of Astruc’s Société Musicale in four different sections. First, it discusses briefly the context of the Parisian music publishing world c.1900, and outlines Astruc’s known production in the realm of music publishing, particularly between 1904 and 1912. Second, it describes the connections between Astruc’s Société Musicale and Enoch’s publishing company. It offers representative examples of the impact that existing professional and family connections between the two companies had on some of their musical editions, for instance, those by Parisian composer Rodolphe Berger (1864-1916). Third, it discusses in some detail the publications of La Société Musicale. Although a complete catalogue cannot be compiled at this stage of research, this section offers a table listing the works published by Astruc’s firm between 1904 and 1912 that have so far been identified. Additionally, it discusses some of the music Astruc published, by composers such as Rodolphe Berger (1864-1916), Maurice Ravel (1875-1937), and Léo Sachs (1856-1930).

Finally, through the case study of Astruc’s publications of works by Isaac de Camondo (1851-1911) and Henri Deutsch [de la Meurthe] (1846-1919), this chapter illustrates the connection that Astruc’s music publishing had with his other professional activities, particularly in the realization of large-scale projects. The overlapping and intersections between Astruc’s work as a music publisher, manager, and impresario can be seen in cases in which he organized and produced performances of works that his company published.
5.1 Astruc’s Beginning in the Publishing World.

In his memoirs, Astruc acknowledged that his activities in the music-publishing world represented a point of departure in his professional life. In 1882, he began working at Enoch Frères & Costallat, a well-known Parisian publishing house managed by Astruc’s cousin and later father-in-law, Wilhelm Enoch. In his memoirs, Astruc referred to this first professional experience as the beginning of his “Damascus Road” (*chemin de Damas*).\(^5\)

When I left the army, I spent a short time at Enoch and Costallat, the editors of César Franck, Emmanuel Chabrier, André Messager and Louis Ganne. My cousin, Wilhelm Enoch [...] taught me the A.B.Cs of the business. It was thanks to him that I could, from the age of eighteen, taste a sample of paper, choose a font, pack scores, wrap packages, make a slip knot, and fill out a form at the post office.

En quittant le régiment, j’avais fait un court passage chez Enoch et Costallat, les éditeurs de César Franck, d’Emmanuel Chabrier, d’André Messager et de Louis Ganne. Mon cousin, Wilhelm Enoch [...] m’avait pris l’A.B.C du métier. C’est grâce à lui que je pus, dès l’âge de dix-huit ans, déguster un échantillon de papier, choisir un caractère d’imprimerie, emballer des partitions, ficeler un paquet, faire un nœud collant et remplir un feuille de colis postal.\(^6\)

His work with musical editions at Enoch’s c. 1881, although short, proved Astruc an invaluable. Also in 1882, and shortly after his immersion in the music publishing world at Enoch’s, Astruc joined the prestigious publishing house owned by Paul Ollendorff, whose business focused on literature rather than music. Ironically, for a teenager such as Astruc, music was not his first priority. As Astruc himself acknowledged,

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\(^5\) Astruc, 113. The expression *chemin de Damas*, referring to the place of Paul’s conversion, often represents a departure point or a radical change towards a new, not necessarily easy, path. Astruc’s retrospective usage of this metaphor reflects the importance of this activity in both his personal and professional life. There is discrepancy among multiple sources regarding the spelling of Enoch’s first name. Wilhem and Wilhelm appear consistently in different sources such as correspondence, library catalogues and family trees studied during the research stage of the present dissertation. I will standardize the name to Wilhelm, in the main text of this dissertation, but will preserve the original spellings in quotations.

\(^6\) Astruc, 113.
“music attracted me less than literature.”7 In his memoirs, Astruc devoted considerably more time and effort to describe his experiences while at Ollendorff’s than those while at Enoch’s. As discussed in Chapter 2, Astruc’s work at Ollendorff’s influenced his earliest contributions as an author.

Likely, Astruc’s professional relationship with Enoch might have surpassed that of an apprentice. The electronic guide for the papers of Gabriel Astruc at the Jerome Robins Dance Division of the New York Public Library points out that c. 1895 Astruc “rejoined the firm of Enoch Frères et Costallat, replacing Georges Costallat. The firm, which published Chabrier, Frenck [sic], Messager, d’Indy, Plerne [sic] and others, then became known as Enoch et Cie.”8 The documents contained in this archive do not offer tangible evidence of this relationship, nor of his role as a partner or central figure in the firm. However, such a position could explain the input Astruc had on this business as well as the close connection that the two publishing houses, Enoch’s and Astruc’s Société Musicale, maintained for more than a decade.

The family connection between Astruc and Enoch likely facilitated their professional relationship. Some archival documents related to Astruc’s activities suggest that he was involved in publishing musical works before creating his Société Musicale. This evidence, although inconclusive, consists, for the most part of references to the publication of certain compositions before 1903. Such references appear in some pieces of correspondence or in Astruc’s own memoirs. In addition, a document found at the

7 Astruc, Pavillon, 114. La musique m’attirant moins que les belles-lettres
Archives Camondo reveals that Daniel Enoch and Georges Enoch are also *propriétaires* of La Société Musicale, founded in 1904. Most likely, Astruc published such works through Enoch & Cie, the company of Wilhelm Enoch, father of Daniel and Georges, and Astruc’s relative and later father-in-law. Consequently, some of Astruc’s music publications remain credited to publishing companies other than La Société Musicale.

Astruc’s work and reputation within the industry of music publishing grew rapidly, particularly between 1904 and 1907. Most of the publications by Astruc’s Société Musicale appeared during this time frame. Possibly, Astruc’s increased activities in management and entrepreneurship after 1907 led him to put most of his energy towards projects in these realms. However, music publishing remained crucial for the success of his professional activities.

5.2 Musical Editions of La Société Musicale

5.2.1 Building a Catalogue

The building of a complete catalogue of Astruc’s music publications would enrich the history of French music publishing as well as offer a fuller record of his own contributions to this industry. Although I am unable to present such a catalogue in this dissertation, the list that I have compiled and included in this chapter represents the first scholarly effort towards this end: it attempts to show the current state of knowledge about the output of Gabriel Astruc in the music publishing business. Although this dissertation offers information about more than 120 works published by Astruc between 1900 and

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9 “Petite Affiche informative, November 5, 1913,” Box P.IS.M.2, folder Isaac, Société Musicale G. Astruc, Archives Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Nissim de Camondo. Perhaps, the term *propriétaires* indicates that they were investors in this business, rather than its co-owners. According to this document, other *propriétaires* of La Société Musicale included, besides Astruc, André-José-Marie (Comte de Goltstein), Maurice-Jacques-Robert Brussel, Léon-André-Louis Jué, and Henri-Marie-Joseph Le François.
1912, the limited access to primary sources makes this comprehensive list (see Figure 5.1) a work in progress. However, an examination of such material and its comparison with the output of other Parisian music publishers reveals some aspects of Astruc’s approach to the music publishing business. The majority of materials related to Astruc’s music publications are archival sources associated with his Société Musicale. Evidence of Astruc’s involvement as a music publisher in projects before the founding of the Société in 1904 consists mostly of a few pieces of correspondence and contracts—a scarcity that hindered the assembling of a comprehensive catalogue. However, the material gathered and presented below provides a general idea of the variety of styles and genres of Astruc’s output as a music publisher. In addition, it illustrates that, just as in performances that he promoted or scheduled as an impresario, Astruc’s work as a music publisher bridged old and new repertoire from a variety of styles and genres, including avant-garde works by living composers. Also, by publishing new editions of existing repertoire and new works, Astruc’s work in this area likely influenced gradual shifts in aesthetics.

It is not known whether Astruc ever published a complete catalogue of his musical editions. However, the back covers of individual editions often included short catalogues listing other music publications sold by the same publisher. The inclusion of works published by Enoch & Cie and other publishing houses in catalogues in Astruc’s editions suggests that La Société Musicale sold, besides its own publications, music publications by other publishers. However, none of the available catalogues specifies which of those works were published by La Société Musicale and which were not. Catalogues from other publishing companies, such as Enoch’s, contain several titles that also appear in the catalogues of La Société Musicale. Sometimes the new editions of La Société Musicale of operas in foreign languages, mostly in Russian, consisted of a new French translation of
the work. These works appear in Enoch’s catalogues as well as the small catalogues of La Société Musicale. Frequently, Astruc acquired the rights to publish works in France such as Mussorgsky’s *Boris Godunov* or works published by international publishers such as the ones by the Italian publishing house Casa Musicale Sonzogno.

In some cases, primary sources indicate that La Société Musicale published some editions no copies of which appear to survive. The information related to the publication of compositions such as Léo Sachs’ *Trois Sorcières* and *Vespero*, or Henri Deutsch’s *Dans les Jardins* or *Tes Yeux* was found in documents other than the editions themselves. Such documents include contracts between La Société Musicale and the composers, receipts from various printing companies, programs, catalogues, or correspondence between Astruc and the composer.

In any case, most of the aforementioned ambiguities could be easily clarified by an examination of the actual editions (when extant), which contain the plate numbers and other relevant specifications by the publisher and editor. Unfortunately, in some cases, surviving editions are unavailable for consultation or existing copies do not include enough information. Also, the lack of publication dates and plate numbers in catalogues and some surviving copies of publications by La Société Musicale makes it difficult to establish a chronology, thus limiting the ability to trace changes in aesthetics and musical styles, or suggest possible audience preferences and scope of readership.

Moreover, the dearth of written documentation of the publishing methods and agreements between La Société Musicale and Enoch & Cie, perhaps resulting from the informal dynamics, influenced by family relationships, between Astruc and Enoch, poses a significant challenge to this project. Pieces such as *Quo Vadis* by Jean Nouguès (1875-1932) represent a typical example of the opaque alliances of these companies. Astruc
apparently published only the piano-vocal score of this work; however, the orchestral score, individual parts, and performance rights belonged to Enoch. In the publication of Nouguès’ composition as well as works by other composers, it is clear that Astruc and Enoch collaborated in some way. For the music of Isaac de Camondo (1851-1911), Astruc is clearly the publisher, and the plate numbers reflect that. However, the connection with Enoch is also evident: even though the plate numbers are Astruc’s, Enoch’s name and symbol appear on the title pages. This sharing of publishing specifications is the case with some of Camondo’s works such as *Sur le Bosphore, Poussières de Vlases Nos 1, 2, and 3, Pifferarina, Le Kief*, and others. Commonly, companies that took over previous publishing firms retained plate numbers in reprints of musical materials.

Despite the inaccessibility of primary sources for much music published by Astruc, these works presented in the appendix are listed in approximate chronological order. Within each year, this list will first include those editions for which plate numbers are available. For each item, the information offered includes composer’s first name and surname or pseudonym, title, and, when applicable, a column containing other relevant information particular to each piece.

**5.2.2. Contextualizing Astruc’s Publications in Paris.**

An initial idea of how Astruc’s publications fit within the whole of French music publishing can be determined through partial publication lists (available online) of scores that were published between 1900 and 1908 by recognized Parisian music publishing houses such as Enoch, Durand, Costallat, and Grus. These lists help to form a larger
picture that reflects the breadth of music publications as well as the variety of styles and genres published in Paris during fin-de-siècle.\textsuperscript{10}

Also important to know would be the local, national, and international distribution of his publications. Perhaps indications of the internationalization of Astruc’s output - could serve as points of departure to understand the localized success of his editions. The collection of Astruc’s papers at the Archives Nationales contains countless requests from other parties, particularly composers, seeking publication opportunities through Astruc’s company. In 1909, American composer, teacher, and pianist of Polish birth Heniot Lévy (1879-1945), sent Astruc a follow-up note related to a previous conversation. Lévy’s communication, who at that point taught at the American Conservatory of Music in Chicago, inquired about the publication of one of his chamber compositions:

\begin{quote}
Gentlemen:
More than a year ago, you kindly had promised me, to have my trio published and as I have been asked so many times by different people, to have it played here, I would like to find out whether you still intend to have it published, and if so when could you send me the proofs.
Hoping to hear from you at an early date, I remain very truly yours,
Heniot Lévy\textsuperscript{11}
\end{quote}

In spite of the request, there is no evidence of a response from Astruc to Heniot Lévy. Moreover, neither archival sources nor existing editions of Lévy’s work contain any


indication of a publishing agreement between Astruc and Lévy. Clearer evidence than Lévy’s request shows that part of the musical editions of Astruc’s Société Musicale appealed to the international market and ended up, for instance, in the music collections of some American libraries. On November 6, 1914, Walter Smith, librarian of the University of Wisconsin, addressed La Société Musicale requesting a catalogue of the materials published by Astruc’s company. The content of the missive probably does not reflect an exclusive interest in the music published by Astruc, for it seems likely that this was a template. However, it does show that this library became interested in the works published by Astruc’s company.

Gentlemen:

Will you kindly send us for reference a copy of the latest complete catalogue of your publications[?] We should also be greatly obliged if the Library of the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, U.S.A., might be placed on your permanent mailing list for future editions of this catalogue, as published from time to time.12

Likely, appealing to institutions that offered musical training in the United States opened the possibilities for La Société Musicale to include different levels for students of varying skills as well as aspiring professionals in a wide variety of genres and styles. However, publishing works for various levels of musical training and aesthetic preferences was common for Astruc’s enterprise, particularly for its Parisian customers.

Perhaps, the establishment of international copyright laws prompted local music publishers to strengthen commercial relationships with international ones. Parisian music publishers also advertised the music they sold in magazines and in the back covers of their own publications. Georges Costallat (1844-1901), who had opened his own publishing

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house in 1894 after working with Enoch between 1880 and 1894, became the sole selling agent in France of Breitkopf & Härtel. Costallat advertised in *Album Musica*, for instance, the complete performance editions of Bach’s repertoire published by Breitkopf & Härtel that his own publishing house sold.\(^{13}\) Such a business partnership for a publisher allowed Costallat & Cie, a company known for publishing scores mostly by French composers such as Blas María de Colomer (1840-1917), Albert Chandelier (c.1850?-c. 1929?), and Charles Gounod (1818-1893), the possibility of selling works by composers associated with *la musique ancienne* such as Bach, Beethoven, and Haydn.\(^{14}\)

A survey of approximately 80 works published by Enoch between 1900 and 1908 reveals that this publishing house published works by young as well as recognized composers associated with the so-called classical tradition such as George Enescu (1881-1955), Moritz Moszkowski (1854-1925), Eugène Ysaÿe (1858-1931), and Prix de Rome winners Max d’Ollone (1875-1959) and Raoul Laparra (1876-1943). However, despite the various nationalities of these composers such as Enescu (Romania) or Moszkowski (Germany and Poland), their work was published after they had established themselves professionally in Paris. Also, some composers such as Ysaÿe or Moszkowski were recognized for their successful careers as performers, maintaining the tradition of the composer/performer figure established during the nineteenth-century. For the most part, Enoch published instrumental works such as Enescu’s *Two Romanian Rhapsodies*, Op. 11 (1903?), *Cantabile et Presto* for piano and flute (1904), *Symphony Concertante*, Op. 8 (1906?),

\(^{13}\) See *Album Musica*, no. 31 (1906): 76. The repertoire included the “Complete works” (*œuvres completes*) for “voice, orchestra, chamber music, organ, and piano.”

\(^{14}\) Composers such as Blas María de Colomer although not born in France were considered French. Perhaps, in the case of Colomer, musical training at the Paris conservatoire and the local recognition of composers such as Antoine François Marmontel (1817-1898) contributed to the process of his nationalization.
and Konzertstück for viola and piano (1908?). Similarly, Enoch published other pieces such as Moszkowski’s *Four Piano Pieces*, Op. 68 (1902) and *15 Études de Virtuosité*, Op. 72 (1903).\(^\text{15}\)

However, Enoch also published a repertoire more accessible to amateur performers and listeners, which often consisted of short pieces with cantabile melodies and dance-like repeated rhythmic patterns, usually written for piano or accompanied voice. Among such composers was Cécile Chaminade (1857-1944), one of the few prolific female composers whose works were published. Chaminade’s works such as *6 Feuillets d’Album*, Op. 98 (1900), *Divertissement*, Op. 105 (1901), *4ème Valse*, Op. 91 (1901), *Valse-Ballet*, Op. 112 (1904), *Valse Tendre*, Op. 119 (1906), and *Album des Enfants*, Op. 123 (1907) reflect the lighter compositional style and popular genres that Enoch also published.\(^\text{16}\)

Current views of the musical scene in fin-de-siècle Paris seem to omit the fact that not all recognized living composers were representative of the avant-garde movement and that different styles and genres shared a prominent place in the music publishing business of the time.

Another Parisian music publishing house was Durand, which is commonly recognized for its publications of works by living French composers, some of them associated with the avant-garde movement, such as Claude Debussy (1862-1918), Paul Dukas (1865-1935), Maurice Ravel (1875-1937), Gabriel Fauré (1845-1924), Camille Saint-Saëns (1835-1921), and Vincent d’Indy (1851-1931). Contrastingly, between 1894 and 1924, Durand also published the complete works of Jean-Phillipe Rameau (1683-

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\(^{15}\) The number next to each one of the works indicates the year of publication, not the date or the composition.

\(^{16}\) For a discussion of some pieces by Chaminade published in *Album Musica*, see Chapter 3.
1764) contained in 18 volumes. With a visible preference for works representing French music, Durand favored instrumental works by Paris-based composers.

The output of other publishing houses in Paris such as Colstallat was significantly less than that of Enoch’s and Durand. Between 1900 and 1908, unlike Durand, publishing houses such as Costallat and Grus favored compositions accessible to audiences and performers. Costallat published some works by Albert Chandelier (18..-19..) such as *Ondine: valse pour piano*, Op. 30 (1906), and *Chanson Triste*, Op. 27 for piano (1906). Similarly, he published equally accessible pieces by well-known composers such as *Petite Symphony* (1904) by Charles Gounod (1818-1893), a light-hearted four-movement piece for nine wind instruments written in 1885.\(^\text{17}\) Grus also published works mostly for piano solo by composers such as Chandelier, a composer also published by Costallat. By Chandelier, Grus published *Berceuse*, Op. 14 (1905) and *Two Pièces*, Opp. 12-24.

Like other Parisian publishing houses such as Enoch, Astruc’s Société Musicale did publish different genres and musical styles. However, more than three quarters of the publications by La Société Musicale are chamber pieces in accessible styles, with such characteristics as traditional tonal structures, cantabile melodies, and metrically reinforcing—often dance-like—rhythmic patterns. For the most part such pieces were in popular genres such as waltzes, marches, or *mélodies*. Likely, because of its association with poetry and melodic lyricism, the genre of songs with piano accompaniment was very popular, represented in Astruc’s catalogue by more than 35 pieces published between 1904 and 1908.

Around 1906, Astruc published *Dix Mélodies avec accompagnement de piano* by Fernand Helphen (1872-1917), a French Jewish composer trained at the Paris Conservatoire and

\(^{17}\) See note 11.
winner of the Prix de Rome second place in 1896. Despite the fact that by this time Helphen was mostly known for his orchestral output and his opera *Le Cor Fleuri* (premiered at the Opéra-Comique in 1904), evidence shows that Astruc only published his *Dix Mélodies*. Similarly, in 1906, La Société Musicale published *La Mélodie des baisers* by Jules Massenet (1842-1912). According to *Album Musica*, which published this piece in 1906, *Mélodie des baisers* was a “new composition by the Maestro, specially written for [Album] Musica” (*Composition inédite du Maître, spécialement écrit pour ‘Musica’*), which is not usually considered among his masterpieces.\(^\text{18}\) This work is the only known work by Massenet published by Astruc’s publishing house.

An advertisement of the musical editions by Astruc’s Société Musicale promotes a collection entitled “Paris-Chansons: The successful [genre] of the café-concert, music halls and artistic cabarets” (*Paris-Chansons: Les Succès du café-concert, des Music-Halls et de Cabarets Artistiques*)\(^\text{19}\) The advertisement lists 18 different chansons by seven different composers including Paul Delmet (1862-1904) and Liane de Pougy (1869-1950), a female composer mostly recognized as a “beautiful courtesan” and her role as a dancer and actress of the Folies Bergère.\(^\text{20}\) This announcement also advertises *La Joie des Enfants* a “collection of chansons, romances, duos, and choral pieces for children” composed by Prix de Rome award winner Edmond Missa (1861-1910).\(^\text{21}\) Finally, this advertisement also includes *Valses lentes à la Mode*, a collection of four waltzes by Alfred Margis (1874-?), and the waltz *Plainte Amoureuse* by François-Pierre Cortès (1874-?), which the

\(^{18}\) Jules Massenet, “Mélodie de Baisers,” *Album Musica*, no. 50 (1906): 243-245. See also, Chapter 3.

\(^{19}\) *Album Musica*, no. 37 (1905): 247.


\(^{21}\) *Album Musica*, no. 37.
announcement described as “today’s big success” (le grand succès du jour). In 1906, La Société Musicale advertised the musical editions of works by Sebastian B[enson] Schlesinger (1837-1917), which included more than 17 mélodies and other pieces.23

Although evidence shows that short, accessible, and chamber-like genres such as mélodies and chansons represent most of the output of music publications by Astruc’s Société Musicale, this enterprise also published larger-scale works from the avant-garde. Astruc published Shehérazade (1904) and String Quartet in F (c. 1904) by Maurice Ravel (1875-1937). Similarly, he published two operas by Jean Nouguès, Quo Vadis (1908) and La Mort de Tintagiles (1906). However, it seems that towards the end of the company’s existence, Astruc’s interest shifted towards other projects, most likely the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, for he sold the copyrights of some of these compositions to his competitors. For instance, in 1910 Durand acquired the copyrights of the two works by Ravel published earlier by La Société Musicale.24

Evidence shows that Astruc, like Costallat and others, also made arrangements with publishing houses in other countries to sell their musical editions. In 1905, for instance, Astruc advertised and sold the publications by the Italian music publisher Edoardo Sonzogno (1836-1926). An advertisement in Album Musica on June 1905 reveals that La Société Musicale sold La Cabrera, an opera by French composer Gabriel Dupont (1878-1914) and libretto by Henri Cain (1857-1937).25 This advertisement also indicates that Astruc sold the musical editions, translations of the libretti, and piano reductions of the operas performed during La Saison Italienne, the season of Italian opera organized by

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22 Ibid.
23 Album Musica, no. 44 (1906): 146.
24 For a discussion of Astrucs Musical editions of Ravel’s music, see below (5.3.2)
25 Album Musica, no. 33 (1905): 128. Album Musica, no. 31 and 35 (1905) also advertises these musical editions.
Astruc in Paris in 1905. Such repertoire included operas such as Francesco Ciléa’s *Adriana Lecouvreur*, *Manuel Menendez* by Lorenzo Filiasi (1878-1963), and *Zaza* and *Der Roland von Berlin* by Ruggero Leoncavallo’s (1857-1919). This business partnership with other music publishers, who, like Astruc, were also impresarios, not only allowed La Société Musicale to sell the works by composers published by Casa Sonzogno in Paris, but also to oversee performances of these works in Paris. In 1905, as shown in Chapter 4, this partnership with Sonzogno led to the organization in Paris of the first *Saison Italienne*. A similar connection with the also Italian music publishing company Casa Ricordi allowed Astruc to program operas such as *Manon Lescaut* by Giacomo Puccini (1858-1924), and *Aida* by Giuseppe Verdi’s (1837-1901) during the *Saison Italienne* of 1910.26

Most of the information related to the publishing activities of Gabriel Astruc at the Archives Nationales consists of single-page catalogues designed to appear as advertisements in magazines such as *Album Musica* or in other musical editions by Astruc’s company. These partial catalogues grouped music in different categories, including works of a single composer or a specific genre or style, as well as compositions sung or performed by a particular famous artist. However, like the works published by other French editors such as Durand, Enoch, and Costallat, most of Astruc’s music publications seem to be centered on varied genres and styles by French composers.

Among the mini-catalogues, the ones advertising the works by Léo Sachs (1856-1930) and Henri Deutsch [de la Meurthe] (1846-1919) stand out because of the number of publications and because of their connections with Astruc in other professional

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26 See Chapter 5.
realms. According to one of these advertisements, Astruc’s Société Musicale published several works by Léo Sachs. Entitled “Œuvres de Léo Sachs,” this document lists a total of five works, grouped by performing forces. Such groups include pieces for piano solo, mélodies, and one trio. The first of the titles for piano, *Pages d’Album*, Op. 57, includes six different pieces: “Sérénade,” “Simple Chanson,” “Berceuse,” “Barcarolle,” “Habanera,” “Course Folle.” According to this advertisement, each one of these works was available for individual purchase for F1,70. Contrastingly, the entire set cost F5. The other piano solo piece advertised in this document is *Doux Souvenir*, Op. 77, sold for the same price.

Two different mélodies, the popular genre for accompanied voice, also appeared in this mini-catalogue: *Il Pleut, Bergère*, Op. 25, which included two different versions, each one in a different key, and *Solitude*, Op. 67. The price for each one of the editions of vocal pieces was F1,70 as well. Finally, Sachs’ trio, originally dedicated to the “Chagneau trio,” could be obtained for F8.

The lack of dates in this document poses a great challenge for cataloguing Astruc’s editions of Sachs’ works. Some library databases reveal that Astruc’s company did publish other compositions by Sachs between 1904 and 1905. In addition, correspondence between Astruc and Sachs reveals the existence of additional works not included in existing library catalogues or in other reference material.

In a letter from June 10, 1910, Sachs wrote to his “Cher Monsieur et Ami,” Gabriel Astruc. In this missive, Sachs made reference to “my [Sachs’] mélodie, *Vespero,*

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28 Ibid.
29 Works by Léo Sachs and other composers that do not appear in library catalogues or that surfaced through other sources such as letters or contracts will also be included in a list of Astruc’s musical editions offered in the present dissertation.
which you [Astruc] edited.”30 There is no register of Vespero by Sachs in any of the documents of the collection of Astruc papers. In a letter dated on April 15, 1913, Sachs requested Astruc to send him “the following material of my [Sachs] Trois Sorcières: 1 score, 7 first violins, 6 seconds [violins], 4 violas, 4 celli, 3 double basses, the complete harmony, and 2 harps.”31 There is no further evidence of the existence of this publication either in the collection of Astruc papers. The date of both letters only suggest that the publication of these works occurred sometime before 1910, in the case of Vespero, and 1913, in the case of Trois Sorcières. However, the majority of Sachs’ compositions edited by Astruc’s Société Musicale appeared in 1904 and 1905.

The amount of publications of more conservative composers during this period indicates the popularity of music not connected to the avant-garde among music consumers. It also suggests that more popular genres as well as musique ancienne, represented in editions of composers such as Rameau, Beethoven, or Haydn, played a significant role for the work of Parisian music publishers such as Enoch, Grus, Costallat, Durand, and Astruc.

30 Correspondence between Léo Sachs and Gabriel Astruc, June 10, 1910, 409-AP Box 27, folder M. Léo Sachs, Fonds Gabriel Astruc, Archives Nationales. “ma mélodie, ‘Vespero,’ que vous avez éditée.”
31 Correspondence between Léo Sachs and Gabriel Astruc, April 15, 1913, 409-AP Box 27, folder M. Léo Sachs, Fonds Gabriel Astruc, Archives Nationales. “le materiel suivante de mes ‘Trois Sorcières:’ Une partition, 7 premier violons, 6 2ds [sic], 4 altos, 4 celli, l’harmonie au complet par múiter, et 2 harpes.”

The familiarity with which Sachs addressed Astruc in this and other correspondence reflects the close connection between them. Even though Sachs collaborated with other music editors, at the time of the present dissertation, Vespero and Trois Soicières do not appear in any of the digital databases that contain other pieces by Sachs. During the research process of this work, cases of such as Sachs’ Vespero and Trois Soicières became quite common. Other documents on the same file contain handwritten lists where Astruc itemized publishing costs for “trio” and “suite,” apparently two other pieces by Sachs.
The activities of Gabriel Astruc in the realm of music publishing served different purposes. Chapter 3 includes a discussion of how Astruc, through the magazine *Musica* and *Album Musica*, promoted the musical activities he organized. Similarly, Astruc’s activities in the realm of music publishing proved useful in other areas related to his professional activities such as fundraising and patronage. Astruc’s publications of works by composers such as Henri Deutsch [de la Meurthe] (1846-1919) and Comte Isaac de Camondo (1851-1911) represent one of the different ways in which Astruc created a permanent connection, through his professional activities, with many of his patrons, most of whom were Jewish members of the Parisian *haute société*.\(^{32}\)

5.3 *La Société Musicale and its Publishing Output: Four Case Studies*

5.3.1 *Case Study 1: Rodolphe Berger*

Rodolphe Berger (1864-1916), whose well-known waltzes, polka-marches, and other pieces were published by important Parisian houses such as Enoch and Heugel, collaborated with Astruc. Evidence that shows the nature of the connection between Berger and Astruc points to issues beyond those related to the copyrights of Berger’s work. As discussed earlier, the intertwining of Astruc’s personal and professional relationship with Enoch makes the tracing of Astruc’s early publishing efforts quite difficult. Moreover, the close proximity of their offices likely encouraged face-to-face (and record-less) communication: Astruc opened his Société Musicale at the Pavillon de Hanovre,

\(^{32}\) See Lynn Garafola, *Diaghilev’s Ballet Russes*, (New York: Da Capo Press, 1998), 278-279. In her discussion on cultivated audiences in Paris, Garafola pointed out that other supporters of Astruc’s activities include Baron Henri de Rothschild, “who wrote plays under the nom de plume of André Pascale.” The collection of Papers of Gabriel Astruc does not contain evidence that connects Rothschild’s literary output and the professional activities of Gabriel Astruc. The possibility of other connections between Astruc and Rothschild requires further inquiry on Astruc’s activities in the publishing business, his connection with other Jewish patrons in Paris, and his closeness with Baron Henri de Rothschild in other realms.
located at 33 Boulevard des Italiens, only a couple of meters, or about a half-minute walk, from Enoch’s headquarters, located at 27 of the same Boulevard.\textsuperscript{33}

Evidence of such interactions also appears in the publication of some Berger’s works. According to the Enoch & Cie online catalogue, this company published a significant amount of waltzes by Berger.\textsuperscript{34} A list of these waltzes included *Amoreuse*, *Bal Blanc*, *Colombine*, *Éternel Printemps*, *Loind du Pays*, *Nuages Roses*, *Parfums d’Hiver*, *Pendant le Flirt*, and *Souvenir Viennois* among others. Astruc’s participation in the edition of music such as Berger’s seemed unlikely, for this style did not share the same status of other musical traditions associated with art music. Nonetheless, Berger was promoted by at least one writer as one of the most important French composers of the time.

On March 2, 1901, *Le Figaro* published an article on Rodolphe Berger, also known in the press and other circles as *le Roi de la Valse*, and the status of waltz music in Paris.\textsuperscript{35} The article, written by René Lara, clarified the reasons for *Le Figaro* to feature Berger’s work in one of its issues. Within the article, Lara made reference to *Amoureuse*, a ‘slow waltz’ composed by Berger and edited by Enoch circa 1900.\textsuperscript{36} Lara’s article attempted to rescue Berger’s compositional style as well as his waltzes from the typical,

\textsuperscript{33} It seems that Gabriel Astruc maintained a collaborative relationship with his father-in-law, Wilhem Enoch, even after opening his own publishing house. According to the Enoch’s website Astruc worked as the Associated director of this publishing house. Exact dates of this professional relationship remain unknown. See, Editions Musicales Enoch & Cie, Accessed May 20, 2013. http://www.editions-enoch.com/arbres-genealogiques.php


\textsuperscript{35} Some newspaper articles addressed the composer as *le Roi de la Valse* due to the popularity of his waltzes. *Le Roi de la Valse* also appears in some editions of his work, published by Enoch.

\textsuperscript{36} None of the musical editions of Rodolphe Berger published by Enoch offered precise date or other information about these waltzes. Some library catalogues offer approximate dates of editions of Berger’s music. Other approximate dates, such as the one assigned to *Amoureuse* come from contrasting the plate numbers on the scores with Enoch’s own chronological organization of their plate numbers.
somewhat elitist categorization that rendered his music superficial: A waltz in the music section [of Le Figaro]? That is against all our habits! We, indeed, have always refused to publish this kind of music, which is, it should be said, a rather inferior genre of an often-despairing banality.[…]

Since Strauss and Fahrbach, the Viennese waltz—the true waltz which is a kind of love poem—[…] has been gradually disappearing.[…]
Rodolphe Berger is Viennese and I would be tempted to believe he is Strauss’ grandson, because this waltz could be—as Loin du Pays of which he is the author and all those which he also composed—next to the most popular works of this famous musician.
It [Amoureuse] seems easy to play: as far as the notes go, but to know how to perform its color, its pace, the… “je ne sais quoi” that gives it so much character and so much charm, that is the secret that unfortunately only Rodolphe Berger and [J.B. ?] Boldi (18..-1948) possess.

Une valse dans la page musicale? Voilà qui est contraire à toutes nos habitudes! Nous nous sommes, en effet, toujours refusé à publier ce genre de musique qui est, il faut bien le dire, un genre plutôt inférieur et d’une banalité souvent désespérante.[…]
Depuis Strauss et Fahrbach, la valse viennoise—la véritable valse qui soit une sorte de poème d’amour—[…]s’est perdue peu à peu.[…]
Rodolphe Berger est Viennois et je serais tenté de croire qu’il est un petit-fils de Strauss, car cette valse pourrait figurer—comme Loin du Pays dont il est l’auteur et toutes celles qu’il a composées d’ailleurs—à côté des œuvres les plus populaires du célèbre musicien.
Elle [Amoureuse] paraît facile à jouer: elle l’est assurément quant aux notes, mais savoir y mettre la couleur, l’allure, le… “je ne sais quoi” qui lui donne tant de caractère et tant de charme, voilà le secret que malheureusement ne possèdent que Rodolphe Berger et Boldi.⁴⁷

The personal connections of Astruc, Enoch, and Berger also became evident in the realm of music publishing. The edition of Colombine, another of Berger’s popular

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³⁷ René Lara, “Notre Page Musicale.” Le Figaro, March 2, 1901. Enoch published different editions of Berger’s Amoureuse. The work about which Lara wrote most likely consists on a set of Six Valses Chantées. In this article Lara mentioned that M. de Féraudy, a member of la Comédie-Française, wrote “words as suggestive as the[musical] motives… what is not something insignificant to say!” des paroles aussi suggestives que les motifs… ce qui n’est pas peu dire!
According to Enoch’s current catalogue, other editions under the title Amoureuse include a version for solo violin, another for accordion, and a version of solo piano.
waltzes, reveals that the composer dedicated this piece to “Madame Gabriel Astruc” who was also Enoch’s daughter, and her husband’s second cousin. Moreover, the collection of Astruc’s papers contains a file called “Edition des Chansons,” which includes early stages of various musical editions of Berger’s work as well as one work by Edmondo Filippucci (18..-19..).38 Most of these drafts contain editorial markings, different pictures of well-known performers of Berger’s works as well as different visual materials related to Berger’s music. These materials share many similarities with other drafts of publications and musical editions that Astruc coordinated throughout his career after he founded his Société Musicale in 1904. The first document related to Berger announced a recent release (c.1905) of Berger’s *valse lente, Dans les Larmes*. The draft includes a half-page photograph of the face of the well-known soprano Germaine Gallois, who recorded, for Columbia Gramophone, the first recordings of some of Berger’s compositions. Among the pieces by Berger that Gallois recorded are *Tout Passe* in 1902 and *Amoureuse* in 1905. Finding recordings of Berger’s music made during the early stages of the recording industry reflects the popularity of his music, which became representative of the French chanson of the Belle Époque. Numerous publications grouping waltzes and other pieces

38 Documents related to musical editions, n.d, 409-AP Box 2, folder *Editions de Chansons*, Fonds Gabriel Astruc, Archives Nationales. The archive contains a draft of Edmondo Filippucci’s piece *Roman d’Amour, a valse lente*. Above the title, on the top of the page appears the dedication to *Madame Georges Enoch*. This cover suggests that Enoch’s publishing house and also that he own the copyrights of this piece in London and France. However, the current catalogue of Enoch does not contain any works composed by Filippucci. Some library catalogues in Europe contain only one of Filippucci’s work published by Enoch’s. According to such catalogues *Una Page d’Amour, also a valse lente*, appeared published in 1910. However, due to the impossibility of comparing both sources at this time, it remains unknown whether this two sources correspond to the same work. See, OCLC Worldcat, Accessed May 31, 2013. http://www.worldcat.org/title/page-damour-valse-lente/oclc/489121676.
by Berger appeared consistently.\textsuperscript{39} An indication of price in each one of their front pages suggests that these pieces were published and sold individually. However, Berger’s music often appeared in differently themed volumes that grouped music either by genre or composer. The pervasive presence of Berger’s music seems indicative of the popularity of his work.\textsuperscript{40}

Likely, Astruc’s responsibilities with Enoch’s publishing company included direct supervision and design of some publications. Perhaps he was able to create his own projects sponsored by his cousin and father-in-law, Wilhelm Enoch.\textsuperscript{41}

The inclusion of Berger’s music in \textit{Album Musica} not only reveals the popularity of Berger’s music but also Astruc’s connection with it. \textit{Tout Feu Tout Flamme}, Berger’s polka for piano, became the first of his pieces included in \textit{Album Musica}. The copyright of \textit{Tout Feu Tout Flamme} belonged to Enoch’s publishing house, from whom \textit{Album Musica} obtained the required permit. The list of pieces by Berger published in \textit{Album Musica} throughout its existence also include the piano pieces \textit{Menuet Rococo}, \textit{Marche Tyrolienne}, and \textit{Joyeuse Escorte}.\textsuperscript{42}


\textsuperscript{40} See, for instance, Berger, Rodolphe, André Barde, et al. \textit{Les Amoureuses: Recueil de Vlases Chantées et de Romances}. Paris: Enoch, 1900. This volume contains Berger’s musical settings for piano and voice of poems by various French writers. The subsequent edition of this document occurred in 1902.

\textsuperscript{41} Astruc’s wife’s maiden name was Margot Enoch (1870-1955). She had two brothers, Daniel and Georges Enoch, who continued the family business after their father, Wilhelm Enoch (1840-1913). Margot was the only daughter of the family.

\textsuperscript{42} Rodolphe Berger, \textit{Tout Feu Tout Flamme}. Album Musica, no. 6 (1903), 145. _______, \textit{Menuet Rococo}. Album Musica, no. 11 (1903), 265. _______, \textit{Marche Tyrolienne}. Album Musica, no. 22 (1904), 539. _______, \textit{Joyeuse Escorte}. Album Musica, no. 47 (1906), 188.
One particular document from 1910 found in the aforementioned archive reveals that Astruc’s close connections with Berger and his work lasted for more than a decade and transcended the realm of music publishing. It also reveals that Berger’s music’s popularity grew internationally. Apparently a press release, this document shows an arrangement for the rights to perform *Claudine*, Berger’s three-act-opera published by Heugel in 1910, in the United States. The document contains information between Astruc and Gian Placido Centanini, musician, producer and the Secretary of the New York Metropolitan Opera House in 1909. This document stated that “Mr. Gabriel Astruc, the well-known Parisian editor, and Mr. G.P. Centanini have just negotiated with Mr. Rodolphe Berger for the exclusive rights of representation for public execution in the United States of *Claudine*.43 Legal aspects and other details of the connection remain unclear. However, an official missive addressed to Astruc on October 14, 1910, suggest that the affair of Berger’s *Claudine* in the United States meet everyone’s expectations.

Mr. Centanini wishes to prolong his contract for “*Claudine*” in the United States, and asks which sum he should pay to ensure this prolongation until November 10th [1910]…

*M. Centanini desirant prolonger son traité d’option pour “Claudine” aux États-Unis, et demandant quelle somme il doit payer pour assurer cette prolongation jusqu’au 10 Novembre prochain…*44

Heugel et Cie published *Claudine*, Berger’s three-act operetta with libretto by Henry Gauthier –Villars (1859-1931), in 1908. Consequently, the connection between Rodolphe Berger and Gabriel Astruc, once based on the music publishing business,

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43 Correspondence related Rodolphe Berger and Gabriel Astruc, August 1, 1910, 409-AP Box 27, folder M. Rodolphe Berger 1910, Fonds Gabriel Astruc, Archives Nationales. 
*M. Gabriel Astruc, l’éditeur parisien bien connu, et M. G.P. Centanini […] viennent de traiter avec M. Rodolphe Berger pour le droit exclusif de représentation d’exécution publique aux États-Unis de *Claudine*

44 Correspondence related to Rodolphe Berger and Gabriel Astruc, October 14, 1910, 409-AP Box 27, folder M. Rodolphe Berger 1910, Fonds Gabriel Astruc, Archives Nationales.
transcended to other professional realms. In this particular case, Astruc acted as manager and mediator of the performances of Berger’s operetta in the United States.

5.3.2 Case Study 2: Maurice Ravel

Maurice Ravel (1875-1937) became Fauré’s student in 1898 at the Paris Conservatoire, where his performance as a composer did not meet the institution’s expectations. Nonetheless, and after his dismissal from Fauré’s composition class, Ravel continued to work with Fauré as his apprentice until 1903. Despite his rigorous training and multiple attempts, Ravel did not win the prestigious Prix de Rome. At some point, Astruc became acquainted with Ravel’s work. Such connection proved fruitful for La Société Musicale published two of his works, as mentioned above: the String Quartet in F (c.1904) and Shéhérazade (1904).

Maurice Ravel wrote his String Quartet in F in early April 1903 and dedicated it to “mon cher Maître Gabriel Fauré.” Astruc’s publication of Ravel’s quartet constitutes one of the earliest works in which he used his own mark on the plates (g. 39 a.). Similarly, in 1904 La Société Musicale published Ravel’s Shéhérazade: trois poèmes pour chant & orchestre also using his own plates (g. 49, 50, and 51 a.).

The collection of Astruc papers at the Archives Nationales does not contain further evidence about the professional relationship between Astruc and Ravel. It seems possible that Fauré, who seemed close to the impresario-publisher and his enterprise, mediated their connection. However, none of the catalogues of La Société Musicale

46 All known musical publications of Gabriel Astruc are represented through the following format “g. [number] a.” Scanned copies of the third and fourth proofs of Ravel’s String Quartet in F, which include markings and annotations by Astruc and the composers, are digitalized and available at http://imslp.org/wiki/String_Quartet_in_F_major_%28Ravel,_Maurice%29
contains information about other publications of Ravel’s music by Astruc’s publishing company. Also, there is no other available evidence that shows any connection between Astruc and Ravel after La Société Musicale published the two aforementioned works by the composer, or indication of the publication of other Ravel compositions by the Société. In 1910, the music publishing company Durand et Cie sent a letter to Astruc addressing a possible transfer of the copyrights of Ravel’s music, suggesting an imminent end to the Société’s association with the composer:

We send you, attached, a draft contract for the transfer of Ravel’s works. As soon as it has your approval, we will kindly request you to give us the following documents:

1. The Ravel contract
2. Bulletin of the copyright’s registration
3. [ditto] of copyright in America
4. A discharge signed by you so that your imprimeurs can send us the planches [plates] and stones of the works in question
5. The copies you still have in stock.

Regarding the fees you have still to pay to Mr. Ravel on the sold copies, which consist of ONE HUNDRED SIXTY-SIX Francs; we will take responsibility for them, according to your wish.

Nous vous remettons, ci-inclus, un projet de traité pour la cession des œuvres de Ravel. Dès qu’il aura votre approbation, nous vous demanderons de bien vouloir nous remettre les pièces suivantes:

1. Contrat Ravel
2. Bulletin du dépôt légal
3. d° du Copyright américain
4. Une décharge signée de vous pour que vos imprimeurs nos remettent les planches et pierres des œuvres en question
5. Les exemplaires que vous avez encore en magasin.
En ce qui concerne les primes que vous avez encore à régler à M. Ravel sur les exemplaires déjà vendus, soit une somme de CENT SOIXANTE-SIX Francs, nous les prendrons à notre charge, suivant votre désir.48

Subsequent correspondence in this archive between Astruc and Durand do not reflect further discussion between them on this issue. However, the publication of Ravel’s *String Quartet in F* by Durand in 1910 reveals that Astruc’s and Durand’s publishing companies did reach an agreement for the aforementioned affair.  

Strikingly, Durand does refer in plural to the works by Ravel that his publishing company is interested in acquiring suggesting that this agreement likely included Ravel’s *Shéhérazade*, the only other known work publication of La Société Musicale of Ravel’s work. In addition, this particular letter shows that Astruc’s company owned the copyrights of Ravel’s works that it published in the United States. Despite the lack of specific evidence, the content of this document suggests that, in addition to the aforementioned pieces, Astruc’s company possibly published other compositions by Ravel. Perhaps, before 1910, when Durand acquired the copyrights of Ravel’s works, Astruc had collaborated on other projects.  

In his description of the Pavillon de Hanovre, the traditional Parisian building where La Société Musicale operated, Gabriel Astruc mentions that Ravel belonged to the highly selective group of musicians that performed regularly in this building. When describing the grand piano at the Pavillon de Hanovre, built in bois de rose, Astruc pointed out that the “entangling fingers of Paderewski, Toscanini, Ravel, Planted Francis, and Arthur Rubinstein” (*Les doigts entremêlés de Paderewski, de Toscanini, de Ravel, de Francis Planté, d’Arthur Rubinstein*), among other well-known musicians, played this instrument.

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Also, Astruc’s own perspective on his collaborations with Ravel suggest that La Société Musicale might have published at least one more of Ravel’s compositions.

The future author of *l’Heure espagnole*, as a man and an artist, was already the Ravel of today [1929]. His *Menuet antique* enabled to foresee *la Pavana pour une infante défunte* and his brutality implied that he scorned the ‘rattles of vanity’ and that he would be able to refuse the red ribbon [prize]. Ravel returned to me in 1904, accompanied by the beautiful Jeanne Hatto, when I became an editor. He brought to me his famous *String Quartet*, one of the most perfect pieces of modern music followed by his *Shéhérazade*. Destiny did not want these works to remain the propriety and the glory of my firm, [which was] swept away by the war [World War I]. My esteemed colleague, Jacques Durand, adopted them and found them a place besides Dukas’ *Sonate* and *Chansons de Bilitis*.

Astruc made explicit his admiration for Ravel’s compositional [approach] as well as his connection with modern aesthetics of the time. Unlike the very first edition of Ravel’s *String Quartet in F*, the lack of documentation related to Astruc’s edition of Ravel’s *Shéhérazade* caused this project to remain practically unknown to researchers. *Shéhérazade*’s most commonly known edition, by Durand in Paris, only appeared in 1914. Perhaps the fact that Astruc did not publish the very first edition of *Shéhérazade* explains the absence of documents related to this work in the collection of his papers.

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Astruc maintained a close connection not only with modern repertoire such as Ravel’s *String Quartet in F*, but also with other types of repertoire, including pedagogical works. The variety of published musical genres and the various technical requirements of all Astruc’s company’s catalogue, reflects the wide scope of his publications in terms of its readership.

Despite Astruc’s respect and fascination for modern and international aesthetics of the time, he exhibited a deep respect for other, more popular, music genres. Vocal genres such as the chanson or mélodie, and other instrumental pieces based on popular dances such as waltzes, polkas, and marches represented some of the musical genres in which Astruc’s publishing business showed interest. Most of his publications between 1904 and 1906 included such popular genres. During this period La Société Musicale also published compositions of Léo Sachs, Gabriel Dupont, Edmée Cazalis, François-Pierre Cortès, and André Czarda among others.\(^53\)

La Société Musicale published a significant amount of works by Issac de Camondo and Henri Deutsch [de la Meurthe]. These two personalities were not only recognized members among the Parisian *haute société* but also financial supporters of many of Astruc’s large-scale projects. Their role as amateur composers and financial supporters often intersected. For example, Astruc’s Société Musicale not only edited and published works such as Camondo’s opera *Le Clown* but also organized its premiere. Needless to say, Camondo and Deutsch, as chapters 4 and 6 show, played a key role in the success of Astruc’s career as a manager, entrepreneur, and theater director.

\(^{53}\) See the list of publications by La Société Musicale, provided as an appendix of this chapter.
5.3.3. Case Study 3: Henri Deutsch [de la Meurthe]

Henri Deutsch (1846-1919), also known as the “oil king of Europe,” belonged to a family mostly associated to wealth and patronage in technology as well as philanthropy.\textsuperscript{54} Co-founder of the prestigious Aéro-Club de France, Deutsch devoted some of his wealth to stimulate technological developments in the field of aviation. Astruc’s connection with Deutsch presumably began at an early age. As Lynn Garafola explains, Deutsch, as other wealthy patrons of Jewish background “had received religious instruction from Astruc’s father.”\textsuperscript{55} In fact, Deutsch was among “the prominent names in the arts with links to leading Jewish families and fortunes.”\textsuperscript{56}

Often, he participated and supported financially the artistic events organized by La Société Musicale in Paris. In March 1906, for instance, Deutsch paid F 500 for his subscription to the Mozart Festival in Paris and, during the same year, donated F1000 to La Société des Auteurs et Compositeurs. In April 1909, Deutsch purchased a subscription for F10,000 for the Saison Russe at the Théâtre Chatêlet, which took place in June of the same year.\textsuperscript{57} In addition, he wrote and published a significant amount of music, of which the majority consisted of chamber pieces, mélodies, and works for piano solo.

An advertisement containing a mini-catalogue of Deutsch’s works edited by La Société Musicale reveals that Astruc’s company edited Deutsch’s mélodies *Tes Yeux, Idylle Rêverie, Stances à Victor Hugo, Quand Vous Passerez, Aurore & Crépuscule, and La Nuit.* Other Société publications of Deutsch’s works include *Ronde des Petits Jardinières* and *Dans les* 

\textsuperscript{56} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{57} Correspondence between Gabriel Astruc and Henri Deutsch de la Meurthe, March 16, 1906 and April 4, 1909, 409-AP Box 46-47, folder *Correspondence Avec M. Henry* [sic] *Deutsch (de la Meurthe)*, Fonds Gabriel Astruc, Archives Nationales.
Jardins, both for choir, and En Automobile, Cambridge, Fête Religieuse, Sporting, En Métro, and Souvenir d’Arcachon, for piano solo.58

Another handwritten document in the Astruc collection at the Archives Nationales includes the titles, names of editors and printing companies, as well as other information on various pieces by Deutsch. According to this document, Astruc’s Société Musicale also published Dans le Jardin, Musica, and Piano Rendu.59

Further evidence of other works by Deutsch published by Astruc found in different sources expands this list. For instance, in 1906, Album Musica included Conte-Vert (Souvenir d’Aix-les-Bains), a valse lente for piano solo by Deutsch published in 1905 by Astruc’s Société Musicale. Above the title, in its edition for Album Musica, an editorial marking labeled Conte-Vert as a “score easy to execute, excellent for playing and dancing.”60 Another document at the collection of Astruc papers reveals that in 1905 La Société Musicale made arrangements for the publication of a “Volume de Mélodies de ‘Deutsch.’”61 The approximately sixty-eight-page volume contains ten different pieces

59 Documents related to music publications of pieces by Henri Deutsch de la Meurthe by La Société Musicale, n.d., 409-AP Box 2, folder Correspondence Avec M. Henry [sic] Deutsch (de la Meurthe), Fonds Gabriel Astruc, Archives Nationales. This list not only includes some of Deutsch’s works published by La Société Musciale, but also the titles of some works published by other publishing houses. Despite the information about musical editions contained on this list, it does not include the instrumentation or plate numbers for any of the works listed.
60 Henri Deutsch de la Meurthe, Conte-Vert (Souvenir d’Aix-les-Bains). Album Musica, no. 41 (1906), 44. Morceau d’exécution facile, excellent à jouer et danser. This particular publication does not contain the plate numbers. However, a footnote on the first page clarifies, as it was customary, that this piece “was published with the authorization of La Société Musicale (G. Astruc et Cie.)”
61 Devis du Volume de Mélodies de ‘Deutsch’ [sic], Juin 19, 1905, 409-AP Box 46-47, folder Correspondence Avec M. Henry [sic] Deutsch (de la Meurthe), Fonds Gabriel Astruc, Archives Nationales.
including Absence, Tes Yeux, Aurore et Crépuscule, La Nuit, Stances à Victor Hugo, Quand vous Passez, Ronde des Petits Jardinièrs, Dans les Jardins, Adaptation Symphonique, and Piano Rendu. The publisher seemed doubtful as to whether or not to replace the first piece, Absence, by Idylle-Rêverie on the volume. The unavailability of the actual publication prevents us from obtaining details about the finished work from its physical evidence. However, this document exemplifies one of the common practices in music publishing in France at this time, which consisted in the use the same pieces of popular genres such as the mélodie in different publications. Most of these works, which appeared first as individual publications, became part of larger volumes or appeared reprinted in musical periodicals such as Album Musica. Similar documents accompanying the aforementioned “Devis du Volume” confirm that Deutsch also composed works for larger ensembles. Some pieces of orchestra “en petit format” include waltzes such as En Metro and Sporting, Idylle-Rêverie, Cambridge March, and En Automobil. This reduced orchestra, according to the description of the orchestral formation for Deutsch’s La Nuit, consisted of “6 first violins, 5 second violins, 3 violas, 3 celli, 3 double basses.” In addition, the parts of the flute, oboe, clarinet, bassoon, horn, timpani, and harp, called for a single player each.

The case of Icaro, another work of considerable importance within Deutsch’s output, adds another layer of professional connections between the composer and Astruc. La Société Musicale not only published this opera but Astruc’s company also organized and produced Icaro’s premiere at the Paris Opéra in 1912. On October 16, 1911, a document addressed to Astruc indicates that the auditions for the production of Icaro were completed. This document confirms the roster of artists selected by La Société Musicale

for the upcoming production of Deutsch’s opera at the Paris Opéra. The magnitude of these artists’ careers suggested that a considerable financial investment and logistics surrounded Astruc’s production of this particular event. Singers such as Muratore, Delmas, Chenal, Gall, and Grandjean among others performed the leading roles of the opera.63

The substantial amount of published music by Henri Deutsch and the reputation of the publishing companies with which he collaborated, including Astruc’s Société Musicale, seems quite impressive. Noteworthy was a particular incident involving the respected music critic and composer Gustave Samazeuilh (1877-1967) and Deutsch’s abilities as a composer.

On March 24, 1908 Henri Deutsch sent a short note, written on a business card, to Gabriel Astruc. Attached to this note Deutsch included a review by Gustave Samazeuilh of a public performance which included two of Deutsch’s works. Samazeuilh’s review of the last of a series of winter concerts appeared in the widely popular journal La République Française on the aforementioned date. In this review, Samazeuilh commented on the two pieces for reduced orchestra by Deutsch included in the concert.

[… ] two works by Mr. Deutsch de la Meurthe; a symphonic episode, which rather annoyingly adds grandiloquence to banality, and the “adaptation musicale” Judith, whose poem, declaimed by Miss Roch, prevented me, as it generally occurs, from hearing the music. I will not dare to support what for me was an irreparable damage.

63 “Distribution des roles du Icaro après de la dernière audition, October 16, 1911,” 409-AP Box 46-47, folder Correspondence Avec M. Henry [sic] Deutsch (de la Meurthe), Fonds Gabriel Astruc, Archives Nationales. Chapter 4 contains a discussion, including more examples, of the activities of Gabriel Astruc in the realm of artistic management as well as entrepreneurship.
[...] deux œuvres de M. Deutsch de la Meurthe; un épisode symphonique, qui ajoute assez fâcheusement la grandiloquence à la banalité, et une “adaptation musicale” Judith, dont le poème, déclamé par Mlle Roch, m’empêcha le plus souvent ainsi qu’il advient généralement d’entendre la musique. Je n’oserai, en l’espèce, soutenir que ce fut pour moi un dommage irréparable.64

In his brief note to Astruc, Deutsch inquired the possible motivations for such a negative review. Deutsch’s note not only shows his concern about the article, but also suggests that a close rapport existed between him and Astruc. Astruc likely wrote to the critic about his harsh assessments, as suggested by a communication from Samazeuilh to Astruc related to his review of Deutsch’s music. (However, no record of a prior missive from Astruc to Samazeuilh has been found.) Worth quoting at length, Samazeuilh’s letter to Astruc, dated March 28, 1908, most likely constitutes a response to an earlier communication that Astruc might have sent.

Dear Monsieur Astruc,

It goes without saying that I do not have any personal hostility towards Mr. Deutsch de la Meurthe, whose useful role as a protector of the arts I fully recognize. The two works by him, which I heard the other day at the Sechiari concert, did not please me, that is all; and my critical conscience did not enable me to dissimulate this. I have only one regret, which is that the lack of space in the paper obliged me at the last minute to remove in my report of that day several sentences, and notably one where, in regards to “Judith” of Mr. Deutsch, I gave the reasons for which I am resistant to, in principle, musical adaptations, even those by Richard Strauss and Humperdinck.

Furthermore, Mr. Deutsch de la Meurthe must surely be all too human to be alarmed by the opinions to which every composer who presents his works in public is exposed. That he should say, as I have done in similar circumstances, that it is really no more in the power of detractors to ruin a work of value than it is in the power of zealous partisans to make it triumph, if it is not destined to survive... And I will be most happy, should a future occasion be given to me, listening to a new work by Mr.

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64 Clip from La République Française, March 24, 1908, 409-AP Box 46-47, folder Correspondence Avec M. Henry [sic] Deutsch (de la Meurthe), Fonds Gabriel Astruc, Archives Nationales.
Deutsch that pleases me more, to show him that I do not ask for anything better in order to change my mind about him.

Gustave Samazeuilh [sic]

Cher Monsieur Astruc,

Il va de soi que je n’ai aucune hostilité personnelle contre M. Deutsch de la Meurthe dont je sais le rôle utile comme protecteur des arts. Les deux œuvres que j’ai entendues de lui l’autre jour au concert Sechiari ne m’ont pas plu, voilà tout et ma conscience de critique ne m’a pas permis de le dissimuler. Je n’ai qu’un regret, c’est que le défaut de place dans le journal m’ait obligé au dernier moment à supprimer dans mon compte-rendu de ce jour-là plusieurs phrases et notamment une où, à propos de la “Judith” de M. Deutsch, je donnais les raisons qui me rendent en principe réfractaire aux adaptations musicales, même signées Richard Strauss et Humperdinck.

Au surplus, M. Deutsch de la Meurthe doit être sûrement trop homme pour s’alarmer d’opinions auxquelles tout compositeur produisant ses œuvres en public s’expose. Qu’il se dire, comme je l’ai fait en semblable circonstance, qu’il n’est pas plus au pouvoir des détracteurs de nuire vraiment à une œuvre de valeur qu’il n’est à celui de partisans zélés de la faire triompher, si elle est destinée à ne pas survivre… Et je serai fort heureux, pour ma part qu’une prochaine occasion me fût fournie en entendant une nouvelle œuvre de M. Deutsch qui m’agrée davantage, de lui montrer que je ne demande pas mieux de changer d’avis à mon sujet.

Gustave Samazeuilh [sic] 65

Strikingly, Samazeuilh’s answer to Astruc clarifies that, beyond the quality of the performance of the aforementioned two pieces by Deutsch, he challenged the composer’s abilities. Astruc’s mediation between composer and reviewer possibly extended from his loyalty to Deutsch. Perhaps, Astruc intended to strengthen his personal relationship with Deutsch as a close friend, and also to maintain the association with Deutsch as one of his most valuable supporters and patrons.

As explained, Deutsch purchased subscriptions for several projects related to Astruc’s La Société Musicale. Patrons such as Deutsch sponsored some of Astruc’s most important projects of between 1904 and 1913. For instance, as Garafola explained, while

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65 Copy of a letter from Gustave Samazeuilh to Gabriel Astruc, March 28, 1908, 409-AP Box 46-47, folder Correspondence Avec M. Henry [sic] Deutsch (de la Meurthe), Fonds Gabriel Astruc, Archives Nationales.
Astruc searched for sponsorship for Diaghilev’s first ballet season in 1909, his list of “would-be guarantors” included Deutsch as one of “Astruc’s financial ‘angels’ of long standing.” Astruc himself recognized the significance of individuals such as Deutsch as one his “faithful supporters.”

Possibly, Deutsch’s most significant gesture of support for Astruc’s professional activities occurred in 1909, when the Paris city council reversed the initially approved permit for Astruc to build the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées on the terrain at the Avenue des Champs-Élysées. Astruc looked elsewhere to find a suitable place to build. Finally, for F700,000, he managed to arrange the purchase of land at the Avenue Montaigne, where he built the theater. This new place, where the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées stands today, was conveniently located at approximately 1,000 meters southwest from the location originally intended for its construction, between the Avenues of Champs-Élysées and Gabriel. Strikingly, the terrain at the Avenue Montaigne, where Astruc erected what for him represented the pinnacles of his professional and personal life, belonged to Henri Deutsch.

In relationships mediated by relevant economic support and sociopolitical influence, such as the one between Astruc and Deutsch, music publishing became a truly effective strategy, at least in part, for attracting and sustaining the favor of such patrons.

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66 Garafola, 279. Other suscribers to Astruc’s artistic enterprises, also listed by Garafola, included Isaac de Camondo, Max Lyon, Arthur Raffalovich, Baron Henri de Rothschild, and Otto Kahn among others.

67 Astruc, 372. “mes soutiens fidèles.” Other members of this selective group included Moïse and Isaac de Camondo, Édouard Hermann, Georges Menier, and Héber Lippan.

68 A discussion of the process of conception and actualization of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées appears in Chapter 6.
5.3.4 Case Study 4: Isaac de Camondo

Similar to that with Henri Deutsch, Astruc’s relationship with Isaac de Camondo (1851-1911) started at a very early age. The Camondo family was one of the most affluent foreign financial groups that settled in Paris during the nineteenth century. A family of bankers, the Camondos arrived in Paris from Istanbul following the expansion of their profitable business through mergers with other international banks. Abraham Behor Camondo (1829-1889) and Nissim de Camondo (1830-1889), Isaac’s father and uncle respectively, arrived in Paris to run the city branch of the Camondos’ bank in 1869. Their contiguous mansions were located in one of the most glamorous Parisian areas near the Parc Monceau. In her article about the influence of the Camondos in 19th-century Istanbul, Nora Seni explains that Camondo “is a forgotten name among Jewish banking families of the 19th century, although in its time the Camondo wealth was comparable to the Rothschild or the Hirschs, and they used their wealth for philanthropy and banking in much the same way.”

In this article, Seni also made reference to the impact that families of bankers who also supported the arts such as the Camondo and the Rothschild had on the particular areas of Paris where they lived. “In the second half of the 19th century,” explains the author, “the district around this park [Monceau] became the place where rich bankers in quest of an aristocratic way of life chose to build their hôtels particuliers. The Camondos

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The Musée des Arts Décoratifs, also known as the Camondo museum, includes three different sites in Paris. The “Nissim de Camondo” branch is in fact located in the mansion of Moïse de Camondo, Isaac’s cousin, at the Parc Monceau. The museum contains some of the impressive art collection of the Camondo family, mainly acquired by Isaac and Moïse while in France. See, http://www.lesartsdecoratifs.fr/francais/nissim-de-camondo/l-hotel-et-les-collections/
speedily adopted this way of life. They acquired lands in the country next to the Rothschilds where they organized hunting parties.”⁷⁰ The location of their mansions in Paris, where the most important benefactors of many of Astruc’s projects lived, most likely played a significant role when he chose the location to build his Théâtre des Champs-Élysées.⁷¹

Isaac de Camondo (1851-1911) arrived in Paris as a child and rabbi Élide Aristide Astruc (1831-1905), Gabriel Astruc’s father, became in charge of his religious education. The Sephardic Jewish background of both families, the Camondos and Astrucs, facilitated their initial contact. “Each Sunday morning,” explained Astruc in his memoirs, “I [Astruc] accompanied my father [rabbi Élide Aristide Astruc], who taught the young count Isaac his religious duties.” (Chaque dimanche matin, j’accompagnais mon père qui enseignait au jeune comte Isaac ses devoir religieux.⁷²)

Gabriel Astruc and Isaac de Camondo, whose relationship began alongside religious instruction, later developed strong bonds through other areas, particularly artistic sponsorship and music publishing. The presence of Camondo proved decisive in the actualization and success of the majority of Astruc’s large-scale artistic projects. In his memoirs, Astruc recognized his early connection with Camondo and the importance of this association throughout his professional life: “The memory of my father [Astruc’s] held by count Isaac de Camondo, who later became the most generous of Patrons, was undoubtedly the cause of his interest in my [Astruc’s] enterprises.” (Le souvenir qu’avait gardé

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⁷⁰ Seni, 665.
⁷¹ The relatively short distance (approximately 2km, roughly a 20-minute walk) between the Parc Monceau and the initial location for the construction of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées (near the Franklin Roosevelt metro station between the Avenues des Champs-Élysées and Gabriel) facilitated the access to audiences of this area. The actual location of the theater increased this distance in approximately 1km.
⁷² Astruc, 50.
de mon père le comte Isaac de Camondo, devenu plus tard le plus généreux des Mécènes fut cause sans
doute de l’intérêt qu’il porta à mes entreprises.)\textsuperscript{73}

Largely unexplored by musicologists, the Camondo archives at Nissim de Camondo branch of the Musée des Arts Decoratifs in Paris, contain a significant amount of information related to Isaac de Camondo, including his work as a composer and unconditional sponsor of the projects of Gabriel Astruc.\textsuperscript{74} Especially noteworthy is the document dated May 5, 1904, which indicates that Camondo, through Léonce Tedeschi, his financial advisor, donated the sum of F100,000 for Astruc to create his publishing house. This amount contributed substantially to the launching of Astruc’s Société Musicale, the company through which he achieved the most significant goals of his career, including the construction of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées.

\ldots I [Léonce Tedeschi] have provided Monsieur Gabriel Astruc with: F100,000 (one thousand Francs) for the creation of a music publishing house. The amount of this share was provided by you [Comte Isaac de Camondo], and I declare through this document that it is your absolute property and, in the case of my death, my heirs will have no right of any nature over it.

\ldots j’ai commandité Monsieur Gabriel Astruc de: Fcs 100,000 (Cent Mille Francs) \textit{pour la création d’une maison d’édition de musique. Le montant de cette commandité étant fourni par vous, je déclare par la présente qu’il est votre propriété absolue et que, dans le cas de mon décès, mes héritiers n’y auront aucun droit de quelque nature qu’il soit}.\textsuperscript{75}

\textsuperscript{73} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{74} I am eternally grateful to Sophie Le Tarnec, Assistant Curator at the Musée Camondo Nissim Camondo, part of the Musée des Arts Decoratifs, who made available this rarely studied archive during my year of research residence in Paris. Her insights about the connections between Astruc and Camondo also are invaluable. This rather large archive contains information related to many members of the Camondo family. The particular section of the archive related to Count Isaac the Camondo consist of 32 boxes, which contents includes papers related to different aspects of Camondo’s life such as his activities as a banker, art collector, and composer among many others.

\textsuperscript{75} Letter from Léonce Thedeschi to Comte Isaac de Camondo, May 5, 1904, Box P.IS.M.2, folder Isaac, \textit{Société Musicale G. Astruc}, Archives Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Nissim de Camondo.
Strikingly, this document suggests that Isaac de Camondo’s donation to Astruc’s company, channeled through Léonce Tedeschi, granted him special participation in Astruc’s publishing house. The connection between Camondo, Tedeschi, and Astruc deserves special attention for evidence of it appears in other documents of the Camondo archives, particularly in those related to La Société Musicale. One document that clarifies the nature of the relationship between these three characters is an agreement between Gabriel David Astruc and Léonce Tedeschi of April 1912:

Those whose names are signed below formed a limited partnership with Mr. Astruc as sole responsible manager and Mr. Tedeschi as silent partner, under the corporate name and authorized signature: “G. Astruc & Co.” with “Société Musicale” as subtitle, whose purpose was the creation and exploitation of a collection of editions, and the sale of all sorts of music, in France as well as abroad, and the creation and exploitation, in France and abroad, of a concert agency, as well as all sorts of business associated with music, with its headquarters at 32 rue Louis le Grand in Paris.

The duration of the company was supposed to be ten years, beginning on 1 April 1904 and ending on 31 April 1914.

La durée de la Société devait être de dix années qui ont commencé à courir de premier avril 1904, pour finir le 31 April 1914.76

The influence of Isaac de Camondo during the genesis of Astruc’s Société Musicale remained unacknowledged in Astruc’s memoirs and in the collection of his papers at the Archives Nationales. This particular segment of the agreement reveals that

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76 Contract between Gabriel Astruc and Léonce Tedeschi, April 1912, Box P.IS.M.2, folder Isaac, Société Musicale G. Astruc, Archives Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Nissim de Camondo.
music publishing was at the core of Astruc’s company. In fact, according to this document, other activities of La Société Musicale such as management and concert organization branched out from the music editing and publishing business.

Noticeably, this agreement stipulates a condition in regards to the life span of La Société Musicale. The end of the agreement coincided with the year in which the publication Musica ceased to appear and the Théâtre de Champs-Élysées was liquidated.

In fact, according to this agreement, the dissolution of La Société Musicale seemed directly connected to the project of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées.

Art. 1. The parts agree to dissolve as of June 30th, 1911 retroactively, the present société, but under the condition that Mr. Astruc will have formed a société anonyme for the exploitation of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées before June 1[sic], 1912.

Art. 4 To provide Mr. Tedeschi with all his rights, Mr. Astruc will make him transfer délégation et transport of twenty shares of the société anonyme in the process of formation under la raison sociale Gabriel Astruc & Cie, having mainly for object the exploitation of the grand concert hall that belongs to the Palace Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, 13-15 Avenue Montaigne in Paris.

Art. 1. Les parties conviennent de dissoudre à compter rétroactivement du 30 juin 1911, la présente société, mais sous la condition suspensive que Monsieur Astruc aura constitué une société anonyme pour l’exploitation de la grande salle du Théâtre des Champs-Élysées avant le 1er juin 1912.

Art. 4. Pour remplir Monsieur Tedeschi de tous ses droits, Monsieur Astruc lui fera cession délégation et transport de vingt actions d’apport de la Société en commandite par actions en voie de formation sous la raison sociale Gabriel Astruc & Cie, ayant principalement pour objet l’exploitation de la grande salle de spectacle faisant partie du Palais Théâtre de Champs-Élysées 13-15 Avenue Montaigne à Paris.27

27 Contract between Gabriel Astruc and Léonce Tedeschi, April 1912, Box P.I.S.M.2, folder Isaac, Société Musicale G. Astruc, Archives Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Nissim de Camondo.
These two articles of the legal agreement reveal that Camondo became automatically an investor of the new company, created for the exclusive purpose of constructing the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. As opposed to the initial location of the theater at the Avenue des Champs-Élysées, its new location, on the Avenue Montaigne, is explicitly stated in this document. According to the public record of the new disposition of La Société Musicale, the exiting members of the company became shareholders. Such members, besides Astruc, included André-José-Marie (Comte de Goltstein[sic]), Maurice-Jacques-Robert Brussel, Léon-André-Louis Jué, Henri-Marie-Joseph Le François, and Daniel and Georges Enoch. The new name of Astruc’s company was La Société Musicale Fondation Gabriel Astruc. Out of the 300 shares of this new company, Astruc owned 270 followed by Brussel with 10. Le Comte de Goltstein owned 4 shares, Jué 5, Daniel Enoch 5, Georges Enoch 2, and Le François 4.78

Possibly, Astruc began editing and publishing some works by Isaac de Camondo before the creation of his Société Musicale in 1904. This repertoire consisted mainly of short piano pieces and mélodies, as noted above. However, between 1904 and 1910, La Société Musicale published a sizable amount of compositions by Camondo in a wider variety of genres, which included orchestral scores, string quartets, and Camondo’s only opera, Le Clown.

A non-dated catalogue listing pieces by Camondo published by La Société Musicale reveals that Camondo was probably the composer most published by the firm throughout its existence. Piano pieces designated in this catalogue include Pages brèves (a set of five pieces for piano solo), Fantasque, Pulcinellata, Rapsodie, and Et l’Enfant s’endort.

78 Petite affiche informative, November 5, 1913, Box P.IS.M.2, folder Isaac, Société Musicale G. Astruc, Archives Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Nissim de Camondo.
Pieces for piano and voice included *l’Absente*, *Au Bord d’un Ruisseau*, *Ile Bleue*, *Musette*, *Ravissement*, *Roses Fanées*, *Une Autre*, and *Rajeunissement*. *Bosphorescence: Evocation Orientale* represents the only composition for cello and piano.

The vast majority of Camondo’s works published by Astruc’s Société Musicale consists of string quartets and other pieces for larger ensembles. The string quartets include *Sur le Bosphore* (a set of three pieces), *Scènes Enfantines* (a collection of four pieces), *Au Village* (a set of two pieces), *Poussières de Valses* (a collection of four waltzes), *Carnet de Lettres* (including 3 pieces), *Pifferarina*, *Roses fanées*, *Pensée d’Amour*, *Autrefois-Regrets*, *Toi et Moi*, *Libellule*, and *Quatour*. The list of pieces of string orchestra include … et l’Enfant s’Endort: *Berceuse*, *Vers la Montagne: Tableau Symphonique*, *Bablis et Commérages: Impression Symphonique*, *Poussières de Valses*, *Le Premier Bal de Simone*. Pieces for other ensembles include *Evocation Sidérale* (for woodwinds, horns, timpani, and harps), *Evocation Sacrée* (for brass, timpani, and harps), and *Au Harem: Sur le bosphore* (for string quartet and woodwinds). The list also include two pieces for orchestra, *En Caïque: Sur la Bosphore* and *Maures et Chrétiens*, as well as *A la Taverne*, a work for orchestra an choir. In addition, this list includes *Le Clown*, Camondo’s only opera, considered by some as his masterpiece.79


This particular one-page catalogue only contains the titles of the works, their performing forces, and the price for each score. The fact that it lists Camondo’s *le Clown* suggest that this list appeared sometime after the Parisian premiere of the opera in 1909 at l’Opéra Comique. Unfortunately, none of the editions by La Société Musicale to which I had access offered the year of publication. Sometimes, this information is inferred from contracts and other documents related to the publications, but not from the publications themselves.

5.4 Conclusion

Two significant practices link the two publishing houses, Enoch & Cie and La Société Musicale, around Camondo’s music. First, even though Astruc was the main contact with Camondo and his musical compositions, Enoch & Cie published several of his works prior to the creation of La Société Musicale in 1904. In addition, some musical editions of pieces by Camondo announced in a catalogue of Astruc’s Société Musicale retained the plate numbers with the prefix “E & C,” which stands for Enoch & Cie. That is the case, for instance, of Camondo’s *Bosphorescence: Évocation orientale* and *Au Bord d’un Ruisseau*.\(^{80}\) The second suggests that since Enoch brothers, Daniel and Georges, appear as propriétaires of La Société Musicale, there was an agreement related to some of the music both houses were interested in publishing.\(^{81}\)

As aforementioned, it seems likely that Astruc began publishing with Camondo’s music before the creation of La Société Musicale, while he worked at Enoch’s publishing house. Possibly, Enoch & Cie arranged to transfer the copyrights of Camondo’s music to La Société Musicale after its creation in 1904. Perhaps, for a period of time, both publishing companies worked together to publish some of Camondo’s music. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that publications of some Camondo’s works contain a particular image linking the logos of both publishing companies, Astruc’s and Enoch’s.\(^{82}\)

\(^{80}\) Camondo’s *Bosphorescence: Évocation orientale*, for cello and piano, appears in the catalogue of the works by Camondo published by Astruc’s Société Musicale (see note 68). However, the plate numbers on this particular edition [E. & C. 5731] reflect the connection with Enoch’s publishing house. Similarly, the plate numbers of other pieces such as Camondo’s *Mélodies Au Bord d’un Ruisseau* and *Musette* [E. & C. 5301 and E. & C. 5303 respectively] connect the material with Enoch’s publishing house.

\(^{81}\) See note 67.

\(^{82}\) For instance, the edition of Camondo’s *Poussières de Valses No.1* for string quartet has the logos of both companies. However, the plate numbers [g. 3188 a.] as well as the copyrights of this material belong to “La Société Musicale C. Astrus & Cie.”
The dynamics among the relationships between both publishing houses, Enoch & Cie and La Société Musicale, appear somewhat blurred. The fact that the professional connection through music publishing between Camondo and Astruc predates the creation of La Société Musicale and that Camondo’s capital permitted the creation of such société reveals the strong support and sense of collaboration between the two individuals. La Société Musicale represents the framework in which Camondo sponsored most of Astruc’s large-scale projects and also through which Camondo’s music became known.

As shown in this chapter, the music published by Astruc’s Société Musicale includes many different of styles, technical levels, and aesthetics. Popular music represented by the waltzes, polka-marches, and mélodies by composers such as Rodolphe Berger, André Czarda, or François-Pierre Cortès contrasted the works by more avant-garde composers such as Maurice Ravel, Claude Debussy or Gabriel Pierné. Such variety of styles and aesthetics, as seen in Chapter 4, is better exemplified in the events Astruc organized. However, acquiring the copyrights for pieces such as Strauss’ Salomé and editing the French translation of Mussorgsky’s Boris Godunov represents an example of such connection. Similarly, small-scale genres such as the aforementioned dances and vocal pieces contrasted with the publication of large-scale dramatic ones such as Camondo’s Le Clown, Pierné’s La Coupe Enchantée or Nouguès La mort de Tintagiles and Quo Vadis.

The variety of styles and genres representing the output of Astruc’s Société Musical belies a consistent approach. Perhaps there are many determinant factors influencing the selection of works, including the accommodation of wealthy patrons and friends. Likely, the preferences of music consumers affected the demand for certain genres over others. Nonetheless, copies of original publications of dances and other popular
genres published by Astruc’s Société Musicale are not available. Most surviving copies of these materials are only available through other sources such as Album Musica. Perhaps, the eclectic nature of the publications such as Album Musica in which Astruc sought support to promote his music publications as well as his activities as entrepreneur might reflect his approach to music business in general. In spite of his motivations and aesthetic preferences in the realm of music publishing, the list of his available publications reflects a balanced stylistic eclecticism. In such eclecticism many contrasting works targeted specific clientele, technical levels, and approaches to music making. One thing is consistent in Astruc’s output as a music publisher, and that is that he proved willing and able to fulfill the expectations of many, if not all, Parisians interested in music.
Figure 5.1. Publications by La Société Musicale Kw: Astruc 1904-1912

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Plate Number</th>
<th>Source of Information and Other Comments</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Isaac de Camondo* (1851-111)</td>
<td>Et l’enfant s’endort : berceuse pour orchestre d’instruments à cordes</td>
<td>g.17.a</td>
<td>Camondo Archives-Printed Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaac de Camondo*</td>
<td>Vers la Montagne: Tableau symphonique pour orchestre d’instruments à cordes</td>
<td>g.19.a, g.20.a</td>
<td>Camondo Archives-Printed Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Léon Fontbonne (1859-1940)</td>
<td>Marche du Matin [pour piano] composée à l'occasion de la marche de l'armée (29 mai 1904)</td>
<td>g.22.a</td>
<td>Bibliothèque National de France-Printed Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maurice Ravel* (1875-1937)</td>
<td>Quatuor pour instruments à cordes</td>
<td>g.39.a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maurice Ravel</td>
<td>Shéhérazade: trois poèmes pour chant &amp; orchestre</td>
<td>g.49.a, g.50.a, g.51.a</td>
<td>Bibliothèque National de France-Printed Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberto Bachmann (1875-1963)</td>
<td>Chanson bohémienne pour violon et piano</td>
<td>g.55.a</td>
<td>Bibliothèque National de France-Printed Music</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alberto Bachmann</td>
<td>Chanson provençale pour violon et piano</td>
<td>g.56.a</td>
<td>Bibliothèque National de France-Printed Music</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alberto Bachmann</td>
<td>Eglogue pour violon et piano</td>
<td>g.57.a</td>
<td>Bibliothèque National de France-Printed Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberto Bachmann</td>
<td>5 morceaux : pour violon avec accompagnement de piano. 4, Zapateado</td>
<td>g.58.a</td>
<td>Bibliothèque National de France-Printed Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul Delmet (1862-1904)</td>
<td>A vingt ans!</td>
<td>g.60.a, g.61.a</td>
<td>Poésie de M. Cerny.</td>
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* Indicates physical contact with the document.
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Series</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paul Delmet</td>
<td>Baiser suprême!</td>
<td>g.62.a</td>
<td>Poésie de Albert Sérieys. Bibliothèque National de France-[MS]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Léo Sachs (1875-1930)</td>
<td>Doux Souvenir [pour piano]. Op. 79</td>
<td>g.77.a</td>
<td>Bibliothèque National de France-Printed Music</td>
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<tr>
<td>Léo Sachs</td>
<td>Pages d'album pour piano</td>
<td>g.79.a</td>
<td>to g.83.a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fernand Lemaire (1883-1914)</td>
<td>Air à danser pour piano, Op.22</td>
<td>g.87.a</td>
<td>Bibliothèque National de France-Printed Music</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fernand Lemaire</td>
<td>Menuet du Roy pour piano, Op. 23</td>
<td>g.88.a</td>
<td>Bibliothèque National de France-Printed Music</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fernand Lemaire</td>
<td>Au fil de l'eau, 2me barcarolle [pour piano], Op. 24</td>
<td>g.90.a</td>
<td>Bibliothèque National de France-Printed Music</td>
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<tr>
<td>A. Bachmann</td>
<td>Mazurca de concert</td>
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<tr>
<td>Albert Roussel</td>
<td>Solitude</td>
<td>g.92.a</td>
<td>Poème de Édouard Granier. Bibliothèque National de France-Printed Music</td>
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<tr>
<td>Michel Maurice Lévy</td>
<td>Un soir d'été: poème lyrique en un acte</td>
<td>g.109.a</td>
<td>Poème de René Fauchois. Loeb Music Harvard Depository Mus 735.868.610</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jean Nouguès (1875-1932)*</td>
<td>Thamyris, conte lyrique en 4 actes et 1 prologue.</td>
<td>g.135.a</td>
<td>Poème de Jean Sardou et Jean Gounouilhou. Loeb Music Harvard Depository Mus 751.858.608</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabriel Dupont (1878-1914)*</td>
<td>Poèmes d'automne: pour chant et piano</td>
<td>g.143.a</td>
<td>to g.150.a</td>
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<tr>
<td>Emile Bonnamy (1883-1920)</td>
<td>Les six Filles de Mme Durand Chanson.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Emile Bonnamy</td>
<td>Colas, voulez-vous t'y finir! Chanson.</td>
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</table>
### Figure 5.1. Publications by La Société Musicale Kw: Astruc 1904-1912 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Poem by</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paul Delmet</td>
<td>Berceuse de rêve!</td>
<td>Poésie d'Eugène Casanova</td>
<td>Bibliothèque National de France-Printed Music.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paul Delmet</td>
<td>Chemin d'Avril.</td>
<td>Poésie d'Albert Sénéys</td>
<td>Bibliothèque National de France-[MS].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul Delmet</td>
<td>Inquiétude!</td>
<td>Poésie de Maurice Boukay</td>
<td>Bibliothèque National de France-[MS]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jean Roger-Ducasse</td>
<td>Petite suite pour piano à 4 mains</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bibliothèque National de France-Printed Music.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hector Dumas</td>
<td>Chez Colonne. 20 lithographies originales</td>
<td></td>
<td>National de France. Although appears in different catalogues as ‘Printed Music,’ this document is a set of 20 high-quality lithographies related to the work of Edouard Colonne.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tirées sur Chine volant, avec remarques.</td>
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</tr>
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### 1904 or Earlier

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Available at</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Isaac de Camondo*</td>
<td>Pages Brèves pour piano seul</td>
<td>Camondo Archives. Also advertised in Album Musica No. 23, 1904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaac de Camondo*</td>
<td>Fantasque pour piano seul</td>
<td>Camondo Archives. Also advertised in Album Musica No. 23, 1904</td>
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</table>
### Figure 5.1. Publications by La Société Musicale Kw: Astruc 1904-1912 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Isaac de Camondo*</td>
<td>Pulcinellata pour piano seul</td>
<td>Non-dated material available at the Camondo Archives. Also advertised in Album Musica No. 23, 1904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaac de Camondo*</td>
<td>Rapsodie pour piano seul</td>
<td>Non-dated material available at the Camondo Archives. Also advertised in Album Musica No. 23, 1904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaac de Camondo*</td>
<td>l'Absence, Piano et Chant</td>
<td>Non-dated material available at the Camondo Archives. Also advertised in Album Musica No. 23, 1904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaac de Camondo*</td>
<td>Au Bord d’un Ruisseau, Piano et Chant</td>
<td>Non-dated material available at the Camondo Archives. Also advertised in Album Musica No. 23, 1904</td>
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<tr>
<td>Isaac de Camondo*</td>
<td>Ile Bleue, Piano et Chant</td>
<td>Non-dated material available at the Camondo Archives. Also advertised in Album Musica No. 23, 1904</td>
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<tr>
<td>Isaac de Camondo*</td>
<td>Musette, Piano et Chant</td>
<td>Non-dated material available at the Camondo Archives. Also advertised in Album Musica No. 23, 1904</td>
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<tr>
<td>Isaac de Camondo*</td>
<td>Ravissement, Piano et Chant</td>
<td>Non-dated material available at the Camondo Archives. Also advertised in Album Musica No. 23, 1904</td>
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<tr>
<td>Isaac de Camondo</td>
<td>Roses Fanées, Piano et Chant</td>
<td>Advertised in Album Musica No. 23, 1904</td>
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<tr>
<td>Isaac de Camondo*</td>
<td>Une Autre, Piano et Chant</td>
<td>Non-dated material available at the Camondo Archives. Also advertised in Album Musica No. 23, 1904</td>
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<tr>
<td>Isaac de Camondo*</td>
<td>Bosphorescence, Piano et Violoncelle</td>
<td>Non-dated material available at the Camondo Archives. Also advertised in Album Musica No. 23, 1904</td>
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**Figure 5.1. Publications by La Société Musicale Kw: Astruc 1904-1912 (continued)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
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<th>Details</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Isaac de Camondo</td>
<td>Babils et Commérages, Orchestre</td>
<td>Advertised in <em>Album Musica</em> No. 23, 1904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaac de Camondo*</td>
<td>L’Enfant s’Endort, Orchestre</td>
<td>Non-dated material available at the Camondo Archives. Also advertised in <em>Album Musica</em> No. 23, 1904</td>
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<td><strong>1905</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Paul Delmet</td>
<td>Pour vos seize ans!</td>
<td>g.68.a Poésie de Vadorin de Volgré. Bibliothèque National de France [+MS for engraving]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fernand Lemaire*</td>
<td>Marionnettes, pièce caractéristique pour piano, Op. 20</td>
<td>g.85.a Bibliothèque National de France-Printed Music. Also published in <em>Album Musica</em> No. 52, 1907.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fernand Lemaire</td>
<td>Fantasia pour piano, Op. 21</td>
<td>g.86.a Bibliothèque National de France-Printed Music Published in <em>Album Musica</em> No. 48, 1906.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaac de Camondo*</td>
<td>Et l'enfant s'endort : berceuse</td>
<td>g.106.a Camondo Archives-Printed Music. Piano version of the 1904 edition.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Claude Lélio</td>
<td>Recueillement ! Duo pour voix de femmes</td>
<td>g.121.a Poésie de Gaston A. Guérin. Bibliothèque National de France-Printed Music. Plate numbers are suggested in the collection of Astruc papers at the Archives Nationales 409-AP, Box 27.</td>
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<td>Composer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Magdeleine Symiane</td>
<td>Joli Mai!</td>
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<td>Magdeleine Symiane</td>
<td>Par le Bois!</td>
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<tr>
<td>Magdeleine Symiane</td>
<td>L'Amoureux prodigue.</td>
<td>g.124.a</td>
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<td>Maurice Petitjean</td>
<td>Petite Bergère.</td>
<td>g.125.a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maurice Petitjean</td>
<td>Tu mettras dans les cheveux! Poésie de</td>
<td>g.126.a</td>
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<tr>
<td>François-Pierre Cortès</td>
<td>Plainte amoureuse Valse lente pour piano</td>
<td>g.142.a</td>
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<td>Edmée Cazalis</td>
<td>Larmes d'amour. Valse lente pour piano</td>
<td>g.155.a</td>
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<tr>
<td>André Czarda</td>
<td>Tendrement ! Valse lente pour piano</td>
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**Figure 5.1. Publications by La Société Musicale Kw: Astruc 1904-1912 (continued)**

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<th>Title Details</th>
<th>Catalog No.</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tr>
<td>Henri Deutsch de la Meurthe (1846-1919)*</td>
<td>Partridges. March, Symphonie exécutée au dîner du Perdreau [pour piano]</td>
<td>g.171.a</td>
<td>Published in <em>Album Musica</em> No. 41, 1906. Morceau d'exécution facile, excellent à jouer et danser. Also advertised in <em>Album Musica</em> No. 46, 1906.</td>
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<tr>
<td>François-Pierre Cortès (1874-?)*</td>
<td>La Vallée de larmes Valse lente pour piano</td>
<td>g.195.a</td>
<td>Bibliothèque National de France-Printed Music.</td>
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<tr>
<td>François-Pierre Cortès*</td>
<td>Bock-march, pour piano</td>
<td>g.197.a</td>
<td>Bibliothèque National de France-Printed Music. Also published in <em>Album Musica</em> No. 49, 1906. Copyright 1905.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Claude Lélio (?)</td>
<td>Centrale-Marche pour piano</td>
<td>g.201.a</td>
<td>Bibliothèque National de France-Printed Music.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Henri Deutsch</td>
<td>Souvenir de juin, Pastorale.</td>
<td>g.206.a</td>
<td>Bibliothèque National de France-Printed Music. Also advertised in <em>Album Musica</em> No. 46, 1906.</td>
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Figure 5.1. Publications by La Société Musicale Kw: Astruc 1904-1912 (continued)

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Published in Album Musica No. 41, 1906.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maurice Petitjean (1876-1962)</td>
<td>Fleurette! Petite valse parisienne pour piano</td>
<td>Bibliotheque National de France-Printed Music</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maurice Petitjean</td>
<td>Mondaine! Valse viennoise pour piano</td>
<td>Bibliotheque National de France-Printed Music</td>
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<td>Armande de Polignac</td>
<td>Valse naïve pour piano</td>
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<tr>
<td>Armande de Polignac</td>
<td>Jardin du roi, pour chant et piano</td>
<td>Poème de Robert d'Humières. Bibliotheque National de France-Printed Music</td>
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<td>Armande de Polignac</td>
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<td>Léo Sachs</td>
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<td>Marche nuptiale pour grand orchestre, Op. 50</td>
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<td>Alfred Margis</td>
<td>Les Valses Lentes à la Mode</td>
<td>Advertised in <em>Album Musica</em> No. 37, 1905.</td>
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<td>Henry Perry</td>
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<td>Advertised in <em>Album Musica</em> No. 37, 1905.</td>
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<td>Raymond de Burlet (18..-19..)</td>
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<td>g.212.a Loeb Music Harvard Depository Mus 735.868.610</td>
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<td>Isaac de Camondo * (18..-19..)</td>
<td>Le clown : nouvelle musicale en 2 actes</td>
<td>g.222.a Published with Enoch. Camondo Archives. Also advertised in <em>Album Musica</em> No. 70, 1908.</td>
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<td>Ferdinand Halphen (1872-1917)</td>
<td>Dix Mélodies avec accompagnement de piano</td>
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<td>Fernand Lemaire</td>
<td>Fleurs fanées! Mélodie pour chant</td>
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<td>André Pollonais (18..-1932)</td>
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Figure 5.1. Publications by La Société Musicale Kw: Astruc 1904-1912 (continued)

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**Figure 5.1. Publications by La Société Musicale Kw: Astruc 1904-1912 (continued)**

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<td>La mort d'Orphée; tragédie lyrique en deux actes.</td>
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**1911**

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<td>Marcel Bertrand (1883-1945)</td>
<td>Les Heures de l'amour. Pièce lyrique en trois tableaux de Madame Roussel-Despierrres</td>
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**Non-dated**

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...Il me faudra un volume pour raconter l’histoire vérédique, miraculeuse, désolante de l’édification de ‘mon théâtre.’

Gabriel Astruc.1

Legal battles, civic disputes, the Rite of Spring “riot,” and financial collapse marked the turbulent early history of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, perhaps the most important project during Astruc’s life as an impresario. Among these disturbances, the infamous premiere of Stravinsky’s ballet may be the Théâtre’s most tenacious association, but a fuller history reveals that it was only one of many public affaires surrounding this institution. In the present chapter, the lesser-known difficulties of its creation and first year of operation will be explored as the process of conception and realization of the Théâtre is chronicled. As backdrop to Astruc’s plans for the Théâtre, this chapter discusses the growing demands for a new theater in Paris exclusively dedicated to concerts of symphonic music and the possible connections with Astruc’s idea of building a multipurpose theater suitable not only for symphonic music, but also for solo recitals, chamber music, benefit concerts, art exhibits, academic lectures, and even shareholder meetings.

In his plans for and development of the theater, Astruc appears to have responded to and acted in concert with the views and desires of leading figures in the musical press and within the musical establishment. Since the early 1900’s, Musica and other journals voiced the opinions of composers and writers such as Camille Saint-Saëns, Pierre Lalo, and Charles Joly, who spoke of their dissatisfaction with the lack of appropriate spaces for...
music performance in the French capital. Some details of these writings, however, suggest that their authors used the term music to represent, in general, music performance which extended to a large array of genres and styles. In these writings, as discussed in the first section of this chapter, authors advocated for a new space with characteristics strikingly similar to the one Astruc later built: a hall with adequate acoustics for the performance of various vocal and instrumental genres from different time periods, an infrastructure suitable to meet the demands of the modern mise-en-scène, and a high-quality organ (an instrument important to large-scale choral works, as well as selected symphonic and operatic works).

The second section offers a chronology of the construction of Astruc’s Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. It will begin by illustrating the existing discrepancy between the name of the theater and its actual geographical location at the Avenue Montaigne. Next, this chapter traces, through a review of representative moments from its planning up to its opening in 1913, the history of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. Through a survey of surviving materials from different archives, mostly consisting of correspondence, contracts, and other documents, this section illustrates some of the most significant moments of the planning process. This section will show the sociopolitical turmoil and the division generated by Astruc’s original project of building his theater on the Avenue des Champs-Élysées. Such division became explicit within the Parisian city council as well as among the residents of the exclusive 8ème arrondissement in Paris. This chapter discusses some of the campaigns against Astruc’s project as well as the struggles this project overcame before its brief first season, prematurely interrupted by the theater’s financial collapse and closure during the same year. Additionally, it traces the process through which Astruc obtained,
in 1906, the permission to build his theater at the desired location on the Avenue des Champs-Élysées and the subsequent withdrawal of such permit in 1909.

In addition, this section also presents evidence of the financial backers who made the realization of Astruc’s project possible, some of whom were influential personalities from the international elite. This section also explores the close connections between the published calls for a new theater, the journal that voiced such opinions, and Astruc’s own pragmatic ideas, social-political values, and musical aesthetics. Moreover, it considers links between this culminating project of Astruc’s life and the aesthetic path followed by La Grande Saison de Paris from its beginnings in 1905 up to the opening season of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, in 1913. This section concludes by tracing the process through which Astruc managed to find other property on the Avenue Montaigne and to begin the construction of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées in 1911.

This historical reconstruction is based on materials dating as early as c.1902, with the earliest surviving evidence that contains a direct reference to the project of the theater, up to its inaugural season in 1913. Other published sources, also dating from 1902, will serve to reinforce some of the connections between the proposed theater on the Avenue des Champs-Élysées and the alleged need for the construction of a new theater in Paris. Fortunately, such a need was expressed in writing by many important personalities of the time, resulting in a significant amount of records related to this particular issue.

The remaining sections of the chapter present hypotheses regarding possible aesthetic concepts that influenced the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. First, it finds an affinity between the acoustic ideas voiced in the articles published in Musica by Charles

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Joly (1902) and Camille Saint-Saëns (1907), and in *Le Temps* by Édouard Lalo (1904) and the apparent, though difficult-to-measure, changes in sonic perception and in the soundscapes of Paris. It discusses events such as the auditions téléphoniques at the 1889 Parisian World Fair in which audiences could listen, for the first time, to an entire opera through the telephone. It argues that the massive implementation of new technologies such as the telephone or the phonograph shifted existing paradigms of sound and space affecting audiences’ reception of music. The collision of new concepts of listening and viewing with traditional expectations in the theater experience could offer alternative explanations to scandals and difficulties linked to some of Astruc’s large-scale projects, such as the hissing and booing of Stravinsky’s *Le Sacre du Printemps* (1913) or, perhaps, the financial collapse of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées.

Although financial failure within one year of the theater’s inauguration derailed Astruc’s long-range plans, some of his aesthetic preferences can be traced not only in the programming of *Le Sacre du Printemps* and other provocative works of the first season, but also in the productions intended for later seasons. Perhaps to an even greater degree than in his previous projects, Astruc seems to have wanted his theater to become a medium for artistic and theatrical progressiveness. Not only did he plan for it to be artistically inclusive and newly communicative – with new types of spaces for art exhibits and social interaction, for example – but he viewed it as a French theater that would openly embrace Wagner opera and Wagnerian ideals. Undoubtedly aware of the troubled past of Wagnerian productions at the Paris Opéra, and perhaps wanting to expand the late-nineteenth-century *Wagnerisme* of the symbolists and other enthusiasts to a wider French
public, Astruc incorporated plans for performances of Wagner opera. This section explores the underpinning characteristics connecting these opinions and Astruc’s close alignment with them and with the journal that voiced such opinions.

Finally, this chapter also addresses the possibility that the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées may have been intended as a representation of or vehicle for Wagnerian aesthetics in Paris. Although a Wagnerian association was publicly denied by Astruc, previously unstudied documents contained at the National Archives Nationales (Fonds Gabriel Astruc, 409AP) offer a significant amount of evidence suggesting that Astruc’s project may have been inspired by the Bayreuth Festspielhaus, in Bayreuth, Germany, as

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well as the Prinzregententheater (Prince Regent Theatre) in Munich, Germany. A study of correspondence, concert programs, contracts, and minutes of business meetings offers sketches of a relationship between the production of “Wagnerian sounds”\(^4\) in Paris and the acoustic concepts of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. In addition to considering personal correspondence and legal documents, this section includes other relevant evidence consisting of programs, publicity, and other publications of extensive social diffusion such as the music journal Musica and its supplement, Album Musica.

6.1 The Question of a “New Space”: Debussy, Saint-Saëns, Lalo, and Joly

Musica, the illustrated music journal conceived by Astruc (see Chapter 3), exemplifies the role of the press in Astruc’s professional activities, for it became a determinant vehicle for promoting his music publications and events. Articles in this periodical provide valuable clues about the aesthetic ideals, in particular Wagnerian sounds and concepts, that influenced the impresario’s most important project, the realization of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées.

Created and organized by La Société Musicale G. Astruc et Cie from 1905 to 1913, La Grande Saison de Paris became one of the most important artistic events of Parisian cultural life. Musica covered in detail all the musical activities of each season. Every year from April to June, La Grande Saison season featured a significant number of musical events, which included a great variety of genres, styles, and musical traditions. The events of the season were spread throughout the city, in different theaters, and featuring some of the most celebrated artists around the world. Unquestionably, La Grande Saison de Paris was at the center of cultural life in Paris during the first decade of the twentieth century. Astruc’s

plan for 1913 included centralizing *La Grande Saison* at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. In other words, in 1913, and for the first time since the creation of this ambitious series under his auspices, the diverse types of artistic events that in previous seasons had occurred in different venues throughout the city, would be united in the newly constructed space.

In the first issue of *Musica*, as briefly discussed above, Charles Joly, editor of this magazine until 1905 and Astruc’s close friend, wrote the article “Un Théâtre de musique idéal.” Joly made clear references to an alleged need for a new theater in Paris suitable for symphonic music, while emphasizing that Parisian theaters such as L’Opéra Comique did not offer the appropriate conditions for the performance of symphonic music. For Joly, two theaters epitomized the ideal conditions for both opera and symphonic music, theaters that were “intelligently conceived: that of Bayreuth and that of the Prince Regent in Munich” (*intelligemment conçus: celui de Bayreuth et celui du Prince Régent a Munich.*). With such direct references to Wagnerian theaters, possible influences of Wagnerian aesthetics on Astruc’s ideas for the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées could also be inferred.

Since their inauguration, the Bayreuth and Prince Regent theaters featured performances of Wagner’s music consistently. The Bayreuth Festspielhaus, famously constructed under Wagner’s supervision with the special acoustical design of a covered orchestral pit, opened in 1876 with the premiere of the four-opera cycle *Der Ring des Nibelungen*. By the time of Joly’s article, the theater had become a near sanctuary of Wagnerian performance, overseen by the composer’s widow Cosima Wagner. The

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5 Charles Joly. “Un Théâtre de Musique Ideal” *Musica*, October 10, 1902, 7-8. This article is among many others that also established similar relationships with Wagner repertoire and Wagnerian aesthetics.

6 Joly, 7.
Prinzregententheater (Prince Regent Theater) opened on August 20, 1901 featuring the third act of *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*.

Joly’s article argued for the necessity of having a theater with the comfort, acoustics, and other architectural specifications of the aforementioned German theaters. He advocated the “building a new hall that would satisfy the requirements of modern staging and decoration” (*l’édification d’une salle nouvelle qui serait in état de satisfaire aux exigences de la mise en scène et de la décoration modernes.*)7 Despite contemplating the idea of a theater fully equipped with the features to meet the needs of expanded Wagnerian orchestras as well as a modern repertoire, neither the features, nor the technical needs or repertoire appear specified in the article. It remains unclear what modern mise-en-scène and scenery the author had in mind that required the construction of a new space. Likely, Joly, in addition to symphonic repertoire, alluded to other genres such as opera and ballet.

The two main new features of the aforementioned German theaters associated with Wagner repertoire were the inclusion of a double proscenium and an orchestra pit recessed (and hiding the orchestra) under the stage. The first affected the visual relationship between audiences and the mythical themes of Wagner operas. It gave audience the false impression of the stage being further away than it actually is.8 The latter had a profound impact on the balance between the orchestra and the singers. Despite the unspecified technical aspects praised by Joly in his article, he seems to focus on the new acoustic experience that such theaters offered to their audiences rather than

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7 Ibid.
the structural or visual innovations. Perhaps, Joly’s reference to opera theaters when discussing symphonic music might be connected not only to the expanded sections (especially brass) of Wagner’s orchestras but also to the special dramatic treatment and timbral nuances of the orchestra in Wagner operas. Nonetheless, in Joly’s contribution, the term music seems to include genres not necessarily associated to symphonic music.

It seems unlikely that the same Parisian theaters that throughout the nineteenth century presented lavish, large-scale, technically demanding operas and ballets were unable to adapt to the technical necessities of such new repertoire. After all, large-scale dramatic works by composers such as Meyerbeer, Auber, Halévy, Gounod, Verdi, and Massenet among others were successfully produced throughout the nineteenth century in Parisian theaters. Moreover, programs presented in theaters such as the Châtelet, Sarah-Bernhardt, and Opéra during La Grande Saison de Paris before 1913 were not too dissimilar from the repertoire programmed at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées during its inaugural season. Either way, according to Joly, such features remained absent from traditional Parisian theaters of the time. Perhaps alluding to Astruc and his well-known abilities as an impresario, Joly pointed out that the absence of capable leadership was in part the cause for Paris not having a proper space for certain performances of music, or perhaps for the proper “hearing” of music. In Joly’s opinion, previous attempts to undertake the task of building a new “musically intelligently conceived” theater, such as the Festspielhaus or

9 Joseph Abram, *Auguste et Gustave Perret: Le Théâtre des Champs-Élysées* (Paris: Jean-Michel Place, 2004). Abram not only points out the importance of using béton armé (reinforced concrete) as the structural material of the building but also traces the work of the architects Auguste Perret (1874-1954) and Gustave Perret (1876-1952) as main architects and designers of the project.

10 See note 5.
the Prinzregententheater, failed because “they were trusted to the most ignorant entrepreneurs.”

Musica also voiced the opinions of some of the most respected French musicians and art connoisseurs, such as Camille Saint-Saëns and Pierre Lalo, who found Parisian theaters equally unsuitable for the music performances that they had in mind. Clearly, the issue was not the number of theaters in Paris, for the city had enough spaces to accommodate the significant amount of performances. The issue for the aforementioned writers seemed to be the lack of acoustically adequate concert halls in Paris.

Curiously enough, the majority of these articles appeared in Musica close in time to Astruc’s plans for building the theater, and the authors clearly seemed to know about the project of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées even before they wrote about the dearth of Parisian spaces with appropriate acoustics for music. These articles proved very useful for supporting Astruc’s project, for they legitimized the need for a new theater in a city already saturated with spaces for theatrical and music performances. Of particular interest is that Astruc possessed the drafts of all these articles before they were published in Musica. Possibly, he worked in collaboration with personalities such as Claude Debussy, Pierre Lalo, and Charles Joly among others to empower his project through the press. Astruc’s strategic usage of the press throughout his life contributed to the promotion of his professional activities and his own cultural agenda.

In 1906, Saint-Saëns, echoing Joly’s opinion, published in Musica the article “Il faut une salle de concerts a Paris.” In this document, voicing what he called “l’âme des concerts,” Saint-Saëns expressed his concern for the lack of an appropriate space for symphonic concerts as well as oratorio performances in Paris:

11 Joly, 1902, 7.
I [the soul of concerts], the Muse, I, the essence of divine music, will I ever have, in this Paris so proud of its artistic value, a space worthy of me? Must I always take refuge in circuses, where the smell of the stables floats, or in theaters, made for special conditions which are not mine? To feel at home, I can only find the Trocadero, where I get lost, or the Saint-Didier Hall, where everyone walks, where everyone runs, but [where to find] a real concert hall, suitable for the symphony and the oratorio, neither too large nor too small, and provided with a beautiful organ?

*Moi [l’âme des concerts], la Muse, moi, l’essence de la divine musique, n’aurai-je donc jamais, dans ce Paris si fier de sa valeur artistique, un asile digne de moi? Faudra-t-il toujours me réfugier dans des cirques, où flotte le relent des écuries, ou dans les théâtres, faits pour des conditions spéciales qui ne sont pas les miennes! Pour être chez moi, ne trouverai-je que le Trocadéro, où je me perds, ou la Salle Saint-Didier, où tout le monde vit, où tout le monde circule, une vraie salle de concerts, propre à la symphonie et à l’oratorio, ni trop grande, ni trop petite, et pourvue d’un bel orgue?*

Alluding to the actual uses of circus spaces for concerts (by Berlioz and others), Saint-Saëns, like Joly, points out the need for more appropriate concert spaces in Paris.

Except for the inclusion of a *bel orgue*, Saint-Saëns did not offer any specific information as to what “special conditions” the Salle de Concerts needed to include. Perhaps, Saint-Saëns refers to the need for a stage more workable for symphony orchestras, rather than the “pit” for opera orchestras, or perhaps to the necessity of an altered relationship between the audience and the placement of the symphonic orchestra. Perhaps, Saint-Saëns was thinking of his own “symphonic” organ works when describing the characteristic of these spaces. In the meantime, recognized music critic Pierre Lalo (1866-1943), son of the composer Edouard Lalo, also wrote a piece advocating for a new Salle de Concert in Paris. Even though, in this essay published by *Le Temps*, Pierre Lalo made reference to various theaters around Europe, his remarks about music in Germany and its identification with symphonic music are quite explicit:

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It is true that in Germany the taste for music, and especially for symphonic music, is extremely common and that it is, in a way, a national character, and [it is] natural that an essentially musical people has not neglected the means to contain its inclination.

Il est vrai qu’en Allemagne le goût de la musique, et particulièrement de la musique symphonique, est extraordinairement répandu; que c’est en quelque manière un caractère national. Et qu’il est naturel qu’un people musicien par essence n’ait point négligé les moyens de contenir son inclination.\textsuperscript{13}

Lalo’s statement resonated with his admiration for Wagner’s music and the influence of the German composer’s aesthetic ideas that influenced some of his writings.\textsuperscript{14} It seems possible that such a strong influence also redefined in Lalo his conception and understanding of German identity. If so, it seems feasible that Lalo visualized the ideas of German music mostly in light of Wagner’s work. That is to say, what Lalo defined as German music possibly was Wagnerian in essence. Wagnerian ideas of artwork, conceived around the inclusion and interaction of multiple art forms, as true of all opera, also embraced space as an essential component. In his article, Lalo exhibited comprehensive knowledge of the theaters around Europe, including several in Germany. Festivals featuring Wagner’s repertoire reinforced Wagnerian ideas associated with the

\textsuperscript{13} Pierre Lalo, “La Musique,” \textit{Le Temps}, August 16, 1904, 3. For an edited version of this essay, under a different title, see Pierre Lalo, “d’Une Salle de Concert à Paris,” n.d. Fonds Gabriel Astruc, 409-AP Box 36, Archives Nationales. This version, published by La Société Musicale was used to support the project of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées.

central Wagnerian theater, the Bayreuth Festspielhaus, as well as the aforementioned Prince Regent Theater of Munich.\textsuperscript{15}

Correspondence between Astruc and some of Wagner’s immediate family reveals that Astruc tried untiringly to obtain the rights for Wagner’s music for a number of years prior to the opening of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. Evidence shows that by 1910 Astruc had written numerous times to Siegfried Wagner, son of the composer, owner of the copyrights, and director of the Bayreuth Theater between 1908 and 1930, to negotiate with him the rights to perform Wagner’s music. Astruc’s attempts included a personal invitation to Cosima Wagner, Wagner’s second wife and the protector of his legacy, to become \textit{Patronesse} of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. His efforts proved unsuccessful, for Cosima, although more tactfully than her son Siegfried, also declined Astruc’s invitation.\textsuperscript{16} Sadly for Astruc, and for many others, \textit{Parsifal} was never performed in Astruc’s theater. Not even the close relationships that Astruc developed with the Metropolitan Opera Company and Toscanini, who widely performed Wagner’s

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{15} Besides Lalo, others may also be thinking of spaces to offer orchestral/concert performances of Wagner operas. See Déirdre Donnellon, “French Music Since Berlioz: Issues and Debates,” in \textit{French Music Since Berlioz}, ed. Richard Langham Smith and Caroline Potter (Aldershot, Eng.: Ashgate, 2006), 4: “Although Pasdeloup’s performance of a brief extract from \textit{Rienzi} (1842) was the only orchestral performance of Wagner’s music in 1871, by 1885 he was honoured with twenty-nine performances of orchestral extracts from the operas, and by 1895 this figure had reached thirty-five. Concert performances proved the main form of transmission of Wagner’s music during these years, although productions of \textit{Tannhäuser} (1845), \textit{Lohengrin} (1850), \textit{Die Walküre} (1856), \textit{Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg} (1868), \textit{Der fliegende Holländer} (1843) and \textit{Tristan und Isolde} (1859) also took place in Paris before the turn of the century.” Also see Danièle Pistone, “Wagner et Paris,” \textit{Revue international de musique française} 1 (Feb. 1980): 7-84.
\item \textsuperscript{16} See Fonds Gabriel Astruc, 409-AP Box 27, Archives Nationales. Although most of the correspondence between Astruc and Cosima and Siegfried Wagner contained in this archive is undated, it is certainly before 1913.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
repertoire, affected Astruc’s abilities to program Wagner’s music at his theater. It seems that Astruc was drawn to Wagnerian ideals about the interaction of the arts, the centrality of expansive orchestral sounds in concerts and operas, and, seemingly, innovative approaches to music listening. (He may have even shared Wagner’s philosophies about the social and communal aspects of art works, but such speculations cannot be further explored here.) Such affinities could explain not only Astruc’s personal empathy with Wagner’s work but also his interest in associating such repertoire with his new theater.

6.2 The Théâtre des Champs-Élysées without the Champs-Élysées: Local Politics and the Parisian Elite

One might think that the Théâtre de Champs-Élysées is located on the famous boulevard of that name. However, most visitors soon come to realize that the theater is located on the Avenue Montaigne, near its intersection with the Avenue Georges V, significantly closer to the Seine than to the Avenue de Champs-Élysées.

The discrepancy between the name of the theater and the actual location of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées on the Avenue Montaigne, almost half a mile from the Avenue des Champs-Élysées, appears rooted in the division that Astruc’s project caused among the Parisian elite and within the city council. Traces of these civic disagreements can be found in numerous documents among Astruc’s papers at the Archives Nationales that are related to the conception and realization of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées.18

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17 For a discussion of the connections between Astruc’s Société Musicale and the Metropolitan Opera Company, see Chapter 4.
18 Due to time constraints and the necessity to work with copious amounts of unorganized archival material at the Archives Nationales, I did not have the opportunity to consult the Archives at the Bibliothèque historique de la ville de Paris. However, I expect that further details would emerge from such research. For more information on these sources, see Paris: Mairie de Paris, accessed September 3, 2013, http://www.paris.fr/politiques/archives-de-paris/archives-communales/conseil-
As one might expect, the theater was initially conceived to be located on the Avenue de Champs-Élysées. On February 3, 1906, Gabriel Astruc sent a letter to the Président du Conseil Municipal in Paris in which he wrote:

According to the conversation that the Baron Henri de Rothschild and I had with you yesterday afternoon, I have the honor to summarize below the conditions under which I request the concession, at the Champs-Élysées, of the site of the old Cirque d’Été, for the purpose of building there a “Philharmonic Palace,” such as exists in nearly all the big cities of Europe and America, except in Paris.

On April 23, 1906, Léonce Carnoy, chef de bureau du domaine de la ville, sent a letter to Gabriel Astruc requesting a meeting to discuss his recently submitted request. This letter confirms his request: “you [Astruc] filed an application for the concession of land at the Champs-Élysées for building a concert hall.” (Vous [Astruc] avez formé une demande de concession de terrain aux Champs-Élysées pour y établir une salle de concerts.)

The active exchange of communications between Carnoy and Astruc also reveals information related not only to the location of the theater but also to other relevant aspects of the license of the property.
For instance, on June 8, 1906, Astruc responded to a letter from Carnoy, in which he notified the administrator that the blueprints for the theater were ready. He also reveals details about the duration of the concession as well as the annual revenue such a concession would generate for the city:

… I sent beforehand to Mr Bouvard, Director of Architectural Services of the Ville de Paris, five blueprints of the project for the Philharmonic Palace, which I plan to build on the site of the old Cirque d’Été.

Regarding the duration of the concession, the authorities, which I myself addressed, do not believe that the business is possible if the concession lasts less than 60 years.

Regarding the rent and other conditions related to location, I had stated that I am prepared to pay an annual installment ranging from F10,000 to F15,000, in addition to a percentage to be paid to the Ville de Paris, a sum yet to be established.

Regarding the support of the financial guarantees that I have in relationship to the realization of the project, I still have to give to the City the absolutely precise information it is entitled to expect; so far I have obtained the agreement of important people, whose names are at your disposal, for the entire capital.

… J’ai eu l’avantage de faire remettre à monsieur Bouvard, Directeur des Services d’Architecture de la Ville de Paris, cinq plans du projet de Palais Philharmonique que je projette de construire sur l’emplacement de l’ancien Cirque d’Été.

[...]

En ce qui concerne la durée de la concession, les personnalités auxquelles je me suis adressé ne croient pas que l’affaire soit possible si la concession est inférieure à 60 ans.

En ce qui concerne la chiffre du loyer et les différentes conditions de location, j’ai déclaré être prêt à payer une annuité de 10 à 15,000 Frs., avec allocation d’un pourcentage à payer à la Ville de Paris, au dessus d’un chiffre de bénéfices à établir.

En ce qui concerne la justification des garanties financières que je possède concernant l’exécution du projet, je ne puis encore donner à la Ville les renseignements absolument précis qu’elle est en droit d’attendre; j’ai jusqu’ici recueilli l’adhésion de personnalités considérable dont je tiens les noms à votre disposition de la totalité du capital.21

21 “Letter from Gabriel Astruc to Léonce Carnoy,” June 8, 1906, 409-AP Box 36, folder Lettres de M. Astruc à la direction des affaires municipales (et réponses) Avril 1906-Mai 1909, Fonds Gabriel Astruc, Archives Nationales. This document is a response to a missive by Carnoy to Astruc, which he received only three days before, on June 5, 1906. Unfortunately, there is no evidence of the letter sent by Carnoy.
This letter reveals the originally intended location for the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, the place of the old Cirque d’Été. The building of the Cirque d’Été, demolished shortly after the 1889 Exposition Universelle in Paris, was located between the Avenues Gabriel and Champs-Élysées, and in front of the Avenue Matignon. Today, this place still serves as the location of the Théâtre Guignol des Champs-Élysées, founded in 1818, and other privately owned businesses.

A copy of another lengthy missive from June 21, 1906, addressed to “Monsieur le Directeur des Affaires Municipales,” is also extant. This document offers further insights about the early stages of the process, when Astruc sought the concession of the land on the Avenue de Champs-Élysées to build his theater, and clarifies his plans for three halls for the performance of diverse types of music and theater, as well as two other halls for the display of visual art and other functions. This particular document seems to be a follow-up to a previous meeting between Astruc, accompanied by Baron Henri de Rothschild, and the director:

[…] The Philharmonic Palace will have three halls of various dimensions where one could schedule, according to the size of each hall and the purpose of each event, large symphonic performances, such as the concerts Colonne and Lamoureux, large lyric or theatrical representations with or without orchestra, or more restricted musical performances (small orchestra), recitals by virtuosos, charity concerts, and, in the smallest room, gatherings with a quartet. The layout of two halls makes it possible to have expositions [of paintings and artworks, conferences, and even shareholder meetings].[…]

[…] The terrain that I request would have about the proportions of the Cirque d’Été, that is to say that it would cover a surface of 2,200 to 2,300 square meters.[…] I request from the council the authorization to keep, for the duration of the concession, the amount of 99 years that I proposed in my explanatory booklet. […] I offer the City an annual stipend of F 20,000. As for the duration of the concession, it would be, as mentioned, of 99 years maximum, but could be reduced by mutual agreement as low as 75 years.
Le Palais Philharmonique comprendrait trois salles de différentes dimensions dans lesquelles on donnerait, selon la grandeur de la salle employée et selon le but qu’on se proposerait des grandes auditions symphoniques, dans le genre des concerts Colonne et Lamoureux, de grandes représentations lyriques ou théâtrales avec ou sans orchestre, des auditions musicales plus restreintes (petit orchestre), des récitals virtuoses, des concerts de bienfaisance et, dans la salle la plus petite, des séances de quatuor. Une disposition spécial de deux salles permet d’organiser des exposition de peinture et d’objets d’art, de conférences, et voire même de réunions d’actionnaires. […]

Le terrain que je demande atteindrait à peu près les proportions du Cirque d’Été, c’est-à-dire qu’il couvrirait une superficie de 2,200 à 2,300 mètres. […]

Je demande au Conseil l’autorisation de maintenir, pour la durée de la concession, le chiffre de 99 ans que j’ai mis en avant dans ma brochure explicative. […] j’offre de verser à la Ville une subvention annuelle de Frs. 20,000. Quant à la durée de la concession, elle serait, comme je l’ai dit, de 99 ans au maxime, mais pourrait être réduite d’un commun accord à un chiffre minimum de 75 ans.22

The detailed information offered in Astruc’s proposal to the council reveals some of the intricacies of the large-scale project such as length of the concession, financial retribution to the city, and the dimensions of the terrain. In addition, the presence of Henri de Rothschild joining Astruc during this meeting suggests his backing of Astruc’s project. Rothschild’s willingness to stand by his side figuratively and physically demonstrates that his support of Astruc surpassed the normal realms of financial patronage and also that he and Astruc shared a strong personal connection. Astruc likely was aware of the fact that the presence of this member of one of the most prestigious banking families of Europe and of France could create an atmosphere at the meeting that would be beneficial throughout the stages of his project.

At this point, Astruc was still in the process of acquiring the capital required by the council to study his proposal for the concession of the land. In the same three-page
document, Astruc asked the unnamed Director to grant him an extension to submit the requested documents showing that the project had the necessary capital to be completed:

[...] I would be very thankful, Mr. Director, if you would understand that a time extension is necessary for me to present a final plan and the definitive evidence of financial support. [...] I foresee that if the council wants to grant me a conditional concession, subject to certain restrictions, not having to exceed 6 to 7 months, I would be able to finish all my negotiations. If within the agreed-upon time span I have not finalized all my plans and arranged for the entire capital, the City will regain its freedom to take action. But it is of course clear that, if I respond to the desiderata which would be imposed on me, I would be the definitive recipient of the concession, without it being necessary for a new municipal deliberation.

[...] Je vous serais très obligé, Monsieur le Directeur, de vouloir bien envisage qu’un délai m’est nécessaire pour présenter un plan définitive et une justification financière décisive. [...] J’estime que si le Conseil veut bien m’accorder une concession conditionnelle, soumise à certaines restrictions, ne devant pas excéder 6 à 7 mois, j’aurais le temps de terminer toutes mes négociations.

Si dans les délais convenus je n’aurais pas arrêté tous mes plans et fait souscrire la totalité de mon capital, la Ville reprendrait sa liberté d’action. Mais il est bien entendu que si je répondais aux desiderata qui me seraient imposés, je serais titulaire de la concession définitive, sans qu’il soit nécessaire pour cela d’une nouvelle délibération municipale.23

The council requested that Astruc provide documentation demonstrating a capital of F3,500,000 before approving his proposal. On June 21, 1906, the Parisian local government officially received the request to lease the terrain on the Champs-Élysées in order to build Astruc’s “Palais philharmonique.”24


On August 4, 1906, the Official Municipal Bulletin indicated that the “Prefect of the Seine is authorized to grant Mr. Gabriel Astruc a promesse de concession of the old location of the Cirque d’Été, on the [Avenue des] Champs-Élysées.” (M. le Préfet de la Seine est autorisé à consentir à M. Gabriel Astruc une promesse de concession de l’ancien emplacement du Cirque d’été, aux Champs-Élysées.)^{25} Stipulations of this arrangement included that for the 50-year lease Astruc should pay, in addition to a percentage of ticket sales, an annual rent of F20,000. This document also specified that the building had to be finished within two years. That is to say, the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées initially needed to be ready sometime during the fall of 1908 at the site on Avenue des Champs-Élysées.

Other stipulations, also contained in previous correspondence exchanges, appeared in this document. For instance, it specified the dimensions of the building, including the maximum surface of 2,220 square meters, about 23,681 square feet. In addition, it outlined the purpose of the theatre and the activities for which it was conceived.^{26} Reinforcing the idea that Astruc’s plans for the theater related directly to his entrepreneurial experiences and artistic preferences, the list of activities included in this document appear connected to most of the projects in which Astruc had been involved professionally prior to this date, particularly following the creation of his Société Musicale.

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^{26} Ibid.
6.3 Supporters and Detractors of Astruc’s Project on the Avenue des Champs-Élysées.

Several groups related to Parisian cultural, political, economic, social, and possibly religious milieus opposed the construction of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. For instance, some groups contested Astruc’s plan to centralize the cultural events of La Grande Saison de Paris, previously hosted by many theaters in the city, in one single space. Some artistic venues such as the Opéra, Opéra Comique, Châtelet, Théâtre Sarah Bernhardt, and Salle Pleyel, which often hosted concerts, ballets, balls, and other activities organized by Astruc’s Société Musicale, perceived this project as a financial threat to their interests. Some others, including musical leaders such as Édouard Colonne, opposed the aesthetic implications of a theater with the proposed characteristics of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. However, the most powerful campaign against Astruc’s project originated from the local city council. The council’s campaign attacked the project by arguing that the location Astruc requested to build his theater was unsuitable for the intended purposes.

In his memoirs, Astruc portrays himself as a fighter against the “territorialism” and jealousy of theater directors and conductors as well as the antagonism of city officials, as he offers an inventory of the main opponents of his project. Although some of his claims are difficult to document through primary sources, he likely must have encountered at least some of the opposition he describes:

The struggle was hard, cruel. On my side there were a few enthusiastic friends. Against me a hundred forces had gathered together. And what were they? […]

[…] Against me were the Opéra and the Opéra Comique, [which had been] alerted by the success of my Saisons. Also opposing me was Edouard Colonne, who considered Berlioz and Beethoven his private fiefdom. Opposing me – although supposedly on my side – were les Concerts Lamoureux which had obtained in advance from the city council the privilege of presenting performances during my Sunday matinées for a
price of 200,000 francs a year! Another adversary was Pleyel, who was already planning his project in the Faubourg St. Honoré, and whose manager provided the Comité Technique in Paris arguments against my future music hall. Against me, the anti-Semitism of a city councilor supported by *La Libre Parole*, and the open hostility of a municipal magistrate, a close friend of music, but an even closer friend of the Opéra.

La lutte fut dure, cruelle. Pour moi, quelques amis fervents. Contre moi, cent forces coalisées! Et quelles sources? […] Contre moi, l’Opéra et l’Opéra-Comique, que le succès de mes Saisons avait alertés. […] Contre moi, Édouard Colonne, qui considérait Berlioz et Beethoven comme ses fiefs. Contre moi—bien qu’avec moi—les Concerts Lamoureux que par anticipation avaient obtenu du conseil municipal le privilège de mes matinées du dimanche pour 200,000 francs par an! Contre moi Pleyel, qui concevait déjà son projet du faubourg Saint-Honoré et dont le manager donna au Comité technique de la Ville de Paris des arguments contre ma future salle […] Contre moi, l’antisémitisme d’un conseiller municipal, soutenu par la Libre Parole, et l’hostilité ouverte d’un édile-gentilhomme, ami de la musique, mais plus ami encore de l’Opéra! […]

Astruc’s project coincided with the sudden interest of third parties, who also submitted proposals to the local authorities for the usage of the property on the avenue des Champs-Élysées to build other projects related to music. Surviving documents show that Astruc’s initiative competed with at least one initiative, also presented to the city council by Camille Chevillard (1859-1923), which consisted in the usage of the location of old Cirque d’Été for the construction of a concert hall. Chevillard was an accomplished orchestral conductor who collaborated with the renowned Lamoureux Orchestra between 1897 and 1923. Founded in 1881 by Chevillard’s father-in-law and its first conductor, Charles Lamoureux (1834-1899), the Lamoureux Orchestra occupied an important role in the Parisian musical scene during this time period.

27 Astruc, *Pavillon*, 364. Founded in 1892, *La Libre Parole* was the French newspaper recognized for its anti-Semitic and anti-capitalistic discourse, particularly visible after the Dreyfus affair. Although I acknowledge the implication of anti-Semitism affecting of the project of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, I recognize the need for further research in this regard to address properly the issues related to a possible anti-Semitic campaign against Astruc’s initiative.
An unsigned copy in the collection of Astruc’s papers of a written communication sent to local authorities on July 3, 1906 reveals Chevillard’s intention of competing with Astruc for the location on the Avenue des Champs-Élysées and possibly of other projects also bidding for the same property. Strikingly, according to this document, the alternate proposal was submitted while the council was about to reveal its final decision in regards to Astruc’s proposal:

When the city council is about to vote on the license application from Mr. Astruc [...] an application for a new concession has appeared unexpectedly. It is important that the council be informed about this situation in detail, for the interests of the city may be seriously compromised. Granting such a huge plot of land solely to Concerts Lamoureux would be an error as great as it would be to give the concession of the Métropolitain or the city lighting [company] to companies that would be equipped to serve only a single area of Paris.

This document also points out that unlike Chevillard’s proposal, Astruc’s project “offered to the municipality the inclusion of an organ, which Paris lacks, in a building that represents five times the value of Chevillard’s.” *(M. Astruc offre à la Municipalité un organe vital qui manque à Paris, en un immeuble qui représente cinq fois le valeur matérielle de celui de M. Chevillard.)* In addition, it underlines that Astruc, through the activities of La Société Musicale, had in the past two years paid more than F3,000,000 to organizations such as

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29 Ibid.
La Société des Auteurs, some of the most important journals, representative orchestras 
(including Chevillard’s Lamoureux Orchestra), soloists, concert hall owners, and other 
personnel. The content of this document presents Astruc’s initiative as beneficial to the 
general audience while it presents Chevillard’s as designed to glorify the already famous 
Lamoureux Orchestra:

While Mr. Chevillard proposes to the city to build a hall to the glory of the 
Lamoureux Orchestra, M. Astruc wants to create a group of halls to meet 
all the needs of Music and which could be used for art in general.

[...] Conclusion: The Chevillard project, like Leoncavallo’s and 
Charpentier’s, is a petty project for the purposes of a particular goal, and it 
is of very little value to the city of Paris.

Alors que M. Chevillard propose à la Ville de construire une salle à la gloire de 
lorchestre Lamoureux, M. Astruc veut créer un ensemble se salles répondant à tous les 
besoins de la Musique et utilisables pour l’art in général.

[...] Conclusion: Le projet Chevillard, comme le projet Leoncavallo et le projet 
Charpentier est un projet d’allure mesquine de but particulier, et très peu intéressant pour 
la Ville de Paris.30

There is no other reference in the document or in the rest of this archive that 
explains the Leoncavallo and Charpentier projects.31 It is unclear if such reference was 
intended to support the general argument of the document legitimizing it or if, in fact, the 
Leoncavallo and Charpentier projects represented other alternatives to Astruc’s proposal 
of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées.

In a letter dated July 10, 1906, Astruc addressed the President of the city council 
in Paris, informing him that he had learned about “the letter that Mr. Camille Chevillard, 
Director of the Lamoureux concerts sent you on July 9.” j’ai [Astruc] pris connaissance de la

30 Ibid.
31 Other archives of Leoncavallo and Gustave Charpentier at locations such as the New 
York Public Library, not yet consulted, are likely to include, besides printed music, 
correspondence illustrating the projects of these personalities for the property at the 
Avenue des Champs-Élysées.
lettre que Monsieur Camille Chevillard, Directeur des concerts Lamoureux vous a écrite à la date du 9 Juillet.)

It is unclear how, but the date of this particular missive suggests that Astruc knew about this communication within the first 24 hours after the council received it. It is clear that Astruc perceived Chevillard’s proposal to the council as a serious threat to his own project. In the letter, Astruc presented to the council a counteroffer:

If the municipal council of Paris gives me the concession of terrain at the Champs-Élysées for the purpose of constructing a Philharmonic Palace, I initially agree to rent my large hall to Monsieur Camille Chevillard for 24 concerts to be held between October and April on Sunday afternoons […]

Si le conseil Municipal de Paris m’accorde la concession du terrain des Champs-Élysées à l’effet d’y construire un Palais Philharmonique, j’accepte en principe de louer ma grande salle à Monsieur Camille Chevillard pour 24 concerts qui doivent avoir lieu d’Octobre à Avril le Dimanche après midi […]

Likely, Chevillard’s project did not pose a significant obstacle to Astruc’s project to construct the theater on the Avenue des Champs-Élysées. In fact, the aforementioned commitment between Astruc and Chevillard facilitated the process of deliberation and approval of Astruc’s project to build his theater on the Avenue. A public document issued by the city council underlined that Astruc needed to “provide the larger hall [of the theater] to M. Chevillard for 25 concerts […] each year” ([Astruc] est donné acte d’un engagement qu’il a pris de fournir sa plus grande salle à M. Chevillard pour 25 concerts […] par an.)

Seemingly, Astruc’s inclusion of Chevillard’s orchestra in the activities of the theater put the possible power struggle between both parties to rest.

33 Ibid.
However, other obstacles awaited Astruc’s proposal during this process. Although many Parisian citizens expressed support of Astruc’s plan for a “philharmonic palace,” others manifested clear opposition against it. Documents at the Archives Nationales reveal the extent of the struggle between Astruc and the project’s detractors.\textsuperscript{35} In an undated and unsigned copy of a document sent by “residents of the quartiers of Champs-Élysées, la Madeleine, and Faubourg du Roule,”\textsuperscript{36} they stated their opposition to Astruc’s initiative. Arguments against the construction of the theater included its negative aesthetic impact on the city and, particularly, on the “most beautiful promenade of the world” (\textit{la plus belle promenade du monde}).\textsuperscript{37} According to this document, the construction would also “need to destroy some of the most beautiful trees of the Champs-Élysées” (\textit{la construction nécessitera l’abattage de quelques-uns des plus beaux arbres des Champs-Élysées}).\textsuperscript{38} The signers of the document voiced their concern about the problems and dangers that the increased number of vehicles could bring to the neighborhood. Astruc’s response to the residents of the quartier of Champs-Élysées addressed each one of their concerns. However, Astruc’s most effective strategy against the aforementioned missive consisted of obtaining the support from other members of the same community. On March 23, 1906, these residents from the 8\textsuperscript{th} arrondissement in Paris sent a petition to the members of the city council requesting authorization for the “construction of a theater and a concert hall, which undoubtedly would attract to this place a significant influx of the public and [would generate] a significant amount of commerce” (\textit{en autorisant la construction d’un}

\textsuperscript{35} It is likely that further material regarding this project and the controversies surrounding it can be found in the Archives de Paris, not consulted for this dissertation.


\textsuperscript{37} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{38} Ibid.
Théâtre et d’une salle de concerts, qui attireraient undubitablement à cet endroit une grande affluence de public et de un sérieux mouvement d’affaires.)

In the same way, some musical critics of important Parisian journals sent to the city council a letter requesting the approval for Astruc’s project. Personalities who signed this support letter included Gabriel Fauré (Director of the Paris Conservatoire and music critic of Le Figaro, Pierre Lalo (from Le Temps), Alfred Bruneau (from Le Matin), Robert Brussel (from Le Matin), Léon Kerst (from Le Petit Journal), Henry Gauthier-Villars (from L’Echo de Paris), Louis Schneider (from Gil Blas and Radical), and Alfred Bruneau (from Le Gaulois):

The undersigned, music critics of the main Parisian newspapers, appeal to the earnest attention of the President and Members of the City Council regarding the project of building the Philharmonic Palace that Mr. Gabriel Astruc, Director of the Musical Society, has presented for their approval.

The construction of a set of music halls of various dimensions that allows performances of opera, great symphonic works, chamber music and soloists, represents an absolute need.


La construction d’un ensemble de salles de musique de différentes dimensions, permettant de donner des représentations lyriques, de grandes auditions symphoniques, des concerts de musique de chambre et des auditions de virtuoses, répond à un besoin absolu.

Similarly, some of the most notable musical figures of the city, including Camille Saint-Saëns, Jules Massenet, Théodore Dubois, Claude Debussy, Paul Dukas, Pierre Lalo,

All these efforts seem to have had the desired effect. The Parisian Bulletin Municipal Officiel of August 4, 1906 shows that Astruc was, in fact, given the “promesse de concession” by the local authorities to carry on with his project. However, this document also shows that Astruc was given a six-month extension to provide the supporting documents that proved that he had accumulated the necessary capital to build the project: “Mr. Astruc must, within a period of six months beginning from the notification of this deliberation, verify the financial resources necessary for the realization of his project, and provide the final blueprints…”

There is no evidence that shows exactly when Astruc obtained and submitted the required evidence of financial solvency to the local authorities. However, in a letter dated October 29, 1907, Astruc notified the Préfet that “the Société that I [Astruc] had assembled for the construction of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, on the site of the old Cirque d’été, has arrived at the moment of its definitive constitution” (la Société que j’ai

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42 See note 13.
43 See note 13.
entrepris de former pour la édification du Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, sur l’emplacement de l’ancien Cirque d’été, est arrivée au moment de sa constitution définitive.\(^{44}\)

Different documents contain the names and addresses of more than sixty members who belonged, as shareholders, to the Société d’Exploitaition du Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. Some of these also indicate the amount of money invested and the professional activity of each member. According to a document contained in a file labeled “Société d’Exploitaition du Théâtre des Champs-Élysées” at the Archives Nationales, each share cost F5,000.\(^{45}\) These documents do not only reveal the recognizable personalities that participated in Astruc’s project or the caliber of their investment, but also that the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées represented an enterprise of international proportions, which attracted investors from different continents, including North America.\(^{46}\) The dates and content of these documents also seem to suggest that Astruc had satisfied the requirements of the city council by October 1907. If this was the case, Astruc significantly exceeded the six-month window beginning August 1906 that the local authorities initially granted him to submit the required documents, although he might have obtained further extensions not yet documented.

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\(^{46}\) See also, 409-AP Box 4, folder Capitaux de garantie, Fonds Gabriel Astruc, Archives Nationales. This file contains documents showing the list of ‘subscribers’ to different projects organized by Astruc as well as the amount of money paid by each person. The projects listed in these documents include the Mozart festival of 1906, the premiere of Strauss’s Salomé in 1907, the 1909 Saison Russe, the Italian season of 1910, and the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées in 1913.
Figure 6.1. Shareholders with 100 or More Shares of the Société Immobilière du Théâtre des Champs-Élysées

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Shares</th>
<th>Capital (in Francs)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gabriel Astruc</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ernest Cassel</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goldschmidt, Kahn, and Teutsch</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>187,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baron Henri de Rothschild</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>175,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otto Kahn</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Pierpont Morgan</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Stillmann</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William K. Vanderbilt</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rothschild Frères</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Armand de Rothschild</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>60,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arthur Spitzer</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaac de Camondo</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henri Deutsch de la Meurthe</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferdinand Halphen</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georges Heine</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mme J. [eanne?] Paquin</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.4 A Divided Council

For reasons unknown at the present, the project to build a new theatre seems to have been on hold from Octobre 1907 for more than a year, when serious obstacles arose in what was apparently a divided city council. One of the earliest known pieces of evidence regarding the city council’s division over Astruc’s project appeared in the January 31, 1909 issue of the Parisian journal *Les Nouvelles.* In the column devoted to local affairs, the journal states that André Hallays, French journalist, writer and advocate

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of French patrimony, made a proposal to the Commission du Vieux Paris, founded in 1897 by an initiative of Alfred Lamouroux, member of the city council, and focused on “finding the vestiges of the old Paris, creating an inventory, noting their actual location, taking care as much as possible of their conservation, [and] collecting the remains of those which are impossible to preserve…” (Chargée de rechercher les vestiges du vieux paris, d’en dresser l’inventaire, de constater leur état actuel, de veiller dans la mesure du possible à leur conservation, de recueillir les épaves de ceux qu’il serait impossible de conserver…)

Hallays argued that “the Champs-Elysées be officially restricted and that the site formerly occupied by a circus from now on [1909] could be neither rented nor sold.” (Que les Champs-Elysées soient officiellement classés et que l’emplacement jadis occupé par un cirque ne puisse désormais être ni loué ni vendu.)

André Hallays’ campaign of preventing any construction at the location where Astruc planned to erect his theater acted as a catalyst for the division of the Parisian city council. Shortly after the aforementioned article published by Les Nouvelles, the Bulletin Municipal Officiel also cited a petition Hallays had brought to the council:

He recalled that the issue of construction of a theater at the site of l’ancien cirque [d’Eté] is increasingly threatening. Most recently, fences were set up, defining the space to be conceded to the future theater[…]

... Everyone is aware, moreover, that to build a great theater in the middle of Champs-Élysées would represent the massacre of the promenade, unique in the world, because in effect, it will surround it with tracks and paths for cars, pedestrians, and other arrangements required by the services of police and hygiene. And are we sure that this concession will not attract other requests which it will be difficult not to deny?

50 Ibid.
Il rappelle que la question de construction d’un théâtre sur l’emplacement de l’ancien cirque, est de plus en plus menaçante. Tout dernièrement, des piquetages furent faits, délimitant l’espace à concéder au futur théâtre[…]

[…]Tout le monde se rend compte, d’ailleurs, que construire un grand théâtre au milieu des Champs-Élysées correspond au massacre de cette promenade, unique au monde, Car en effet, il faudra l’entourer de voies et de chemins pour les voitures, pour les piétons, et autres dégagements demandés par tous les services de police et d’hygiène. Et puis, est-on sûr que cette concession n’attirera pas d’autres demandes auxquelles il sera bien difficile de ne pas donner satisfaction?51

The opposition generated by André Hallays with his proposal before the city council gained immediate support. The aforementioned Bulletin of March 12, 1909, also indicates that M. André Laugier, another member of the city council, “strongly supported M. Hallays proposition” (M. André Laugier appuie vivement la proposition de M Hallays).52

Astruc’s collection of papers reflects that he followed closely the debates related to his project on the Avenue des Champs-Élysées. The documents he gathered in this regard include clippings from different sources as well as annotated transcriptions from official meetings of the city council and the chamber of deputies.

Although permission for the construction of Astruc’s theater on the Champs-Élysées was given in 1906 – as discussed above and as confirmed by a transcription of the debate of the city council published on July 6, 1909 – this 1909 Bulletin also makes clear that the campaigns against Astruc’s project caused the local authorities to reconsider the previously awarded permission. In one of his various interventions André Lefévre, an avid supporter of Astruc’s project, explained that:

52 Ibid.
what we need to examine is whether or not we are obligated, at least morally, since in 1906 we did grant the concession, and whether or not, since then, the Administration has taken a certain number of steps while, at the same time, continuing to negotiate with M. Astruc . . .

ce que nous avons à examiner c’est si nous ne sommes pas engagés, au moins moralement, puisque en 1906 nous avons accordé la concession, et si, depuis lors, l’Administration n’a pas fait un certain nombre d’actes en continuant à négocier avec M. Astruc . . .

Astruc also kept a detailed list of those members of the council who supported his project, those who rejected it categorically, and those who, according to his documents, remained doubtful. A particular handwritten document specifies, in alphabetical order, the names of 79 members of the city council and their position vis-à-vis Astruc’s project. According to this list, 23 members were “contre,” while 24 “pour” the project. Of the remaining 32 members, this document listed 9 as “abstentions” and 23 as “douteux.” Within the list of 23 undecided members, 14 were “pour” and 9 “contre.” Strikingly, the list of council members with unclear voting intentions was quite large. Whatever doubts that were now raised could be balanced against the earlier arguments in favor of the theater and the council’s previous commitment. However, letters, contacts, promises, and legal documents proved unfruitful. In 1909, the license previously awarded to Astruc in 1906 to build his Théâtre des Champs-Elysées at the location of l’ancien Cirque d’Été was officially revoked by the Paris city council. According to Astruc’s letter to Le Figaro (see below), he counted 41 édiles (out of 79) who rejected his proposal. Apparently, the

55 See notes 24 and 25.
dynamics of voting against the project were much more agitated than that. In his memoirs, Astruc recalled that, “a high official of the Republic, on the day of the vote, said to the timorous advisers: Abstain [from voting]! It is said that there is money down there. Abstain! It is the only way to prevent what we suspect! ...” (un haut fonctionnaire de la République qui, le jour du vote, disait aux conseillers timorés. ‘Abstenez-vous ! On dit qu’il y a de l’argent là-dessous. Abstenez-vous ! C’est le seul moyen d’empêcher qu’on vous soupçonne !...)56 In the end, Astruc’s delay in turning in some of the requested financial documents served as the legal argument for those against the project.

Astruc, however, had not entirely given up, although he admitted that his original plan could not come to fruition. In a letter sent to the editor of Le Figaro, published on the first page of its issue of July 7, 1909, he offers some details not only about the council’s decision but also the future of his project:

God gave it to me, God took it from me!
The city council had promised me the concession of the site at the Champs-Elysées. City council withdrew its promise. And I stay with an incorporated company and 3,500,000 francs of capital subscribed for the construction of a theater.
Will you help me find this promised land that forty-one merciless councilors withdrew from me so cruelly? [...] I await the response of your readers and I do wish that this call be heard by them.

Dieu me l’a donné, Dieu me l’a repris!
Le Conseil municipal m’avait promis la concession du terrain des Champs-Elysées. Le Conseil municipal a retiré sa promesse. Et je reste avec une société constituée et 3, 500,000 francs de capital souscrits pour la construction d’un théâtre.
Voulez-vous m’aider à retrouver cette terre promise que quarante et un édiles impitoyables m’ont retirée si cruellement?[…]

56 Astruc, Pavillon, 365.
J’attends la réponse de vos lecteurs et je fais des vœux pour que cet appel soit entendu par eux. […]\textsuperscript{57}

The bitter tone of this communication suggests that, in one way or another, Astruc had foreseen this negative outcome. The editors of\textit{Le Figaro} included a somewhat favorable response following Astruc’s letter. While they strongly supported Astruc’s idea of building a theater with the characteristics of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, they seemed protective of the space at the Champs-Elysées.

It is well to wish, indeed, that this site be discovered as soon as possible. The theatre that Mr. Gabriel Astruc proposes to build will render the greatest services to French art. And it seems that elegant Paris is big enough that one could find a place to build a splendid theatre without touching the splendid garden of the Champs-Élysées.

\textit{Il est bien à souhaiter, en effet, qu’on découvre le plus tôt possible cet emplacement. Le théâtre que M. Gabriel Astruc se propose de construire rendra les plus grands services à l’art français. Et il semble bien que le Paris élégant soit assez grand pour qu’on trouve à y loger un théâtre magnifique sans toucher au splendide jardin des Champs-Élysées.}\textsuperscript{58}

Astruc’s strategy to reach the general public, represented in the readership of\textit{Le Figaro}, leads one to assume that he prepared a course of action in the event that such an outcome occurred. Describing himself as stoic and determined, he recalled: “Shortly after the municipal vote that swept my Elysian dream away, I [Astruc] was never discouraged. The cyclone passed, I gathered the broken stones, once more I got courage, and I started again to build” (\textit{Le lendemain du vote municipal qui balayait mon rêve élyséen, jamais

\textsuperscript{57}Gabriel Astruc, "Letter to the Editor of Le Figaro," \textit{Le Figaro} (July 7, 1909): 1. The issues of\textit{Le Figaro} during the subsequent days do not contain any published responses from the readers.

\textsuperscript{58}Ibid.
je ne fus découragé. Le cyclone passé, je ramassais les pierre effondrées, je reprenais courage et je recommençais à bâtir.)

6.5 The Aftermath and the New Location

Legal actions followed the scandal triggered by the council’s decision to revoke Astruc’s license to construct his theater on the Avenue des Champs-Élysées. According to existing records, on July 26, 1911 Astruc filed a lawsuit against the city of Paris requesting the local government an “economic compensation for the non-execution of a promise of concession of a location (Construction of a Philharmonic Palace on the Champs-Élysées)” (indemnité pour inexécution d’une promesse de concession d’emplacement [Édification d’un Palais Philharmonique aux Champs-Élysées]).

However, as mentioned above, Astruc had already begun the search for a new location for his project. The search did not take long. Archival material in the collection of Astruc papers shows that by the beginning of 1910, the Société du Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, led by Astruc, had purchased new property in the same arrondissement. A set of handwritten amendments made during the general assembly of the Société du Théâtre des Champs-Élysées on January 15, 1910 reflects that a site at 13-14 Avenue Montaigne had been purchased by La Société du Théâtre des Champs-Elysées for F2,000,000.

59 Astruc, Pavillon, 365.
61 See “Note sur la Société du Théâtre des Champs-Elysées,” 409-AP Box 38, folder Société du Théâtre des Champs-Elysées, Fonds Gabriel Astruc, Archives Nationales. This particular document contains some of the financial mechanisms followed by the Société du Théâtre des Champs-Élysées in order to raise the funds to cover the extra expenses for the relocation of the entire project to the new site on the Avenue Montaigne. According to this document, the Société needed to obtain F2,800,000 on top of the F3,500,000 it already had.
The challenge was to convince the existing patrons and supporters of the benefits of modifying the original project. In addition, the increasing financial needs also called for including more patrons, or more support from the existing ones. Many written communications requesting support went to existing and potential patrons in France as well as in other countries where Astruc’s project obtained support. For instance, a telegram from January 11, 1910 to Madame Barney, from New York, stated that:

[...]

Documents indicate that, as expected, many of Astruc’s supporters, remained faithful to the project. Others, such as Baron Zuylen, Emilien Dumoulin, and Guillaume Beer, among others, decided that an investment under such conditions was not safe enough for them. In his letter to Astruc, Baron Zuylen, for instance, stated that “as much as I [Zuylen] was in favor of the Concert Hall, Avenue of the Champs-Elysées, I am not interested in your project of the Avenue Montaigne.” (Autant j’étais partisan d’une Salle de Concert, Avenue des Champs-Elysées, autant je ne m’intéresse pas à votre projet de l’Avenue Montaigne.)


In spite of Astruc’s defeat before the local city council, the project, still called Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, began at the new site, with construction underway sometime before August 1911.\textsuperscript{64} By the beginning of 1913 the theater was almost ready, as stated in a report of February 2, 1913.\textsuperscript{65} Before opening to the general public, the nearly finished Théâtre des Champs-Élysées opened its doors to different art schools and organizations, which had expressed interest in observing the innovations in architecture, engineering, technology, style, and aesthetics that the new building presented. Several notes of gratitude sent to Astruc reveal the interest that the newly constructed theater triggered in the Parisian community.\textsuperscript{66}

Astruc’s decision to retain not only the basic concept of the new theater, but also the name of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, even when the location changed, most likely, reflect some of the conditions that surrounded the process of its planning and construction. For instance, it could reflect Astruc’s desire to connect with the Parisian elite, which supported it financially. Perhaps, maintaining the name represented the victory over the threatening anti-Semitic and political campaigns from different Parisian groups. It might simply have been that “Champs-Élysées” in its name would give it prestige regardless of its actual street address.

\textsuperscript{64} The Astruc papers contain some photographs of the early stages of the construction of the theater. The earliest picture dates from ‘August 1911’ and includes only some columns and elements of the structure of the building. See 409-AP Box 37, folder \textit{Construction du Théâtre}, Fonds Gabriel Astruc, Archives Nationales.
\textsuperscript{66} See 409-AP Box 37, folder \textit{Construction du Théâtre}, Fonds Gabriel Astruc, Archives Nationales. This particular file contains messages from groups such as “la Société de Propagande Artistique et de Vulgarisation Scientifique” and “la Société des Amis du Louvre,” in which they express gratitude after they had guided visits of Astruc’s theater.
6.6 The Théâtre des Champs-Élysées as a “Multi-purpose” Space for Repertoire New and Old, French and International.

On October 13, 1933, the sixty-nine-year-old Gabriel Astruc wrote a letter to the director of the Parisian journal *Le Quotidien*, firmly requesting that his missive be published.67 This document carried a stern response to an earlier statement, written by a character under the pseudonym of “M. de Paris,” published in the same journal. Astruc’s reaction occurred when M. de Paris, in his article, referred to the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, allegedly Astruc’s most important project, as the “beautiful theater on the Avenue Montaigne once built by Gabriel Astruc to house Wagnerian sonorities” (*beau théâtre de l’Avenue Montaigne construit autrefois par M. Gabriel Astruc pour y abriter les sonorités wagnériennes.*68 Astruc rejected categorically M. de Paris’s statement in relationship to the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. Astruc asserted that he hoped to “destroy a legend that has nothing dishonorable, far from it, but, like most legends, borders somewhat on the fantasy and imprecision” (*détruire une légende qui n’a rien déshonorant, loin de là, mais qui, comme la plupart des légendes, côtoie quelque peu la fantaisie, et même l’inexactitude.*)69 In the remainder of the letter, Astruc provides evidence related to the programming at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, emphasizing the French repertoire.

Allow me to remind you that the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, opened on April 30th, 1913 with a Concert of French Music: Saint-Saëns, Vincent d’

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67 Gabriel Astruc, "Letter to the editor of Le Quotidien," October 13, 1933. This is a letter for sale found in the catalogue of the dealer. See Schubertiade Music LLC, "Spring-Summer 2010 Catalog, lot 3." Accessed August 7, 2013. https://d1rde5anzutevo.cloudfront.net/catalog-12/Astruc-TLS.jpg

68 Ibid. The identity of M. de Paris is very difficult to determine. As explained in Chapters 1 and 2, writers often used more than one pseudonym. The usage of “Paris,” “Parisine,” and “Parisis” were common among Parisian journalists and writers. See, for instance, Georges D’Heylli, *Dictionnaire des Pseudonymes* (Paris: Dentu & Cie, Ed.), 333.

69 Ibid.
Indy, Gabriel Fauré, Claude Debussy and Paul Dukas conducted their works that evening; that the following day, on May 1, the stage curtains opened with a series of representations of Benvenuto Cellini, by the French musician Hector Berlioz — Benvenuto, which had not been performed in Paris for more than 30 years. Then there was Pénélope, by Gabriel Fauré, one of the works that honor greatly our national art; la Péri, of Paul Dukas; Jeux, La Mer, les Sirène by Claude Debussy; le Cygne, by Saint-Saëns, created [at the] Avenue Montaigne by Pavlova; […] Where does one perceive in this list the ‘Wagnerian sonorities’ of which your collaborator’s article speaks?

Notably, this letter omits repertoire by other non-French composers such as Stravinsky, whose work became significant during the opening season of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. Astruc’s statements in this letter pose a series of questions associated with the planning and construction of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, the project’s original concept, and the aesthetic currents that might have influenced it along the way.

M. de Paris’s linkage between the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées and the Wagnerian aesthetic is worthy of scrutiny. Considering the controversial reception of Wagner’s music in Paris during the second half of the nineteenth century, the idea of Wagnerian ideals influencing a Parisian landmark such as the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées seems possible. The author reflects what seems to be a common belief that the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées was a place created for the performance of Wagner’s

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70 Ibid.
71 See note 3.
repertoire. Such belief seems to be a consequence of Astruc’s plan to produce Wagner’s *Parsifal* in 1913 and, perhaps, because some of the writings (e.g. those by Saint-Saëns, Lalo, and Joly) before the theatre was built seem to refer to Wagner. As in France, the international press had announced Astruc’s project and described as the “French Baireuth[sic].” Although Astruc seems to be denying or underplaying the Wagnerian connections late in his life, undoubtedly French attitudes toward Germanic associations shifted between 1913 and 1933. World War I, which had ended in 1918, still reverberated in France and in Europe as a whole. In Astruc’s 1933 statement, his emphasis on the French repertoire featured in his theater likely reflects the intensification of his own nationalistic spirit by this time – but it does not rule out the likelihood that he had been affected by the Wagnerian aesthetic in the years leading up to 1913, nor undermine the significance of his serious efforts towards bringing *Parsifal* (and perhaps other Wagner operas) to the theater as well as his multiple trips to Bayreuth to attend productions of Wagner operas.

Some of the documents from the collection at the Archives Nationales suggest other connections between Astruc and Wagner. For instance, the minutes from a board meeting of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées occurring on January 13, 1913 reveal significant details about the process of construction as well as the immediate future of Astruc’s theater. This document stated that “the opening [of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées] will occur irrevocably on Wednesday, April 2 with a concert of French Music” (*l’inauguration aura lieu irrévocablement le mercredi 2 Avril avec un concert de Music Française*).  

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72 See notes 11, 12, and 16.
Featuring exclusively French repertoire during the opening night of the inaugural season of the new theater, and in fact throughout the season, as noted in Astruc’s 1933 letter, was truly significant. A French program helped designate and brand this place as a symbol of national identity, especially for the international audience it intended to welcome.

In contrast, another significant reference to Wagner in the repertoire of the following season, 1913-1914, also appears in the aforementioned minutes:

_Parsifal_ will be performed at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées beginning January 1, 1914, the day when the works of Richard Wagner become public domain, without objection or process, and will coincide with the French representations at l’Opera.

_Parsifal sera donné au Théâtre des Champs-Élysées dès le 1er Janvier 1914, date d’entrée des œuvres de Richard Wagner dans le domaine public, sans contestations ni process, et cela concurrement avec les représentations françaises de l’Opéra._

75 Printed programs for the second season of 1913-1914 announced Wagner’s _Parsifal_ and _Tristan und Isolde_. Astruc engaged Camille Chevillard and Ernest Van Dyck as musical and stage directors respectively for _Parsifal’s_ “ten exceptional performances following Bayreuth’s staging” (dix Représentations exceptionnelles conformes à la mise en scène de Bayreuth [sic]).76 The same program informs that, between 1905 and 1912, La Société Musicale of Gabriel Astruc organized in Paris “more than one thousand theatrical representations [i.e. opera and ballet] and great concerts.”77

Nonetheless, a closer look at the program for the 1913-1914 second season at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées reveals that Wagner’s _Parsifal_ and _Tristan und Isolde_ were two

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75 Ibid.
77 Ibid.
of a larger list of pieces, which included works by avant-garde French as well as non-French composers. This program shows that almost half of the works programmed for this second season (14 out of 30 compositions) were, in fact, by French composers.

Furthermore, in this particular program Wagner’s operas appear under the “Œuvres Classiques” category with composers such as Mozart and Weber (Figure 6.2). On January 1914, and possibly promoting Parsifal, Album Musica published a special issue featuring Wagner’s work. However, neither the Parsifal performances, nor any of the rest of the planned season took place, and Astruc’s struggles to program Parsifal seem to have come to an end.

**Figure 6.2 Repertoire for the Second Season, 1913-1914, at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées**  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Œuvres Françaises</th>
<th>Œuvres Classiques</th>
<th>Œuvres Étrangères</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hector Berlioz: Benvenuto Cellini</td>
<td>Mozart: Le Nozze di Figaro</td>
<td>M. Mussorgsky: Boris Godunov, Khovanschina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boieldieu: La Dame Blanche</td>
<td>Weber: Freischütz</td>
<td>(sung in French)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emm. Chabrier: Le Roi Malagre</td>
<td>Richard Wagner: Tristan und Isolde, Parsifal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camille Saint-Saëns: Ascanio</td>
<td></td>
<td>Felix Weingartner: Abel et Cain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabriel Fauré: Pénélope</td>
<td></td>
<td>Manuel de Falla: La Vida Breve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vincent d’Indy: Le Chant de la Cloche</td>
<td></td>
<td>Donizetti: Lucia di Lammermoor, L’Elisir d’Amore, and Don Pasquale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>André Messager: Béatrice</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rossini: Il Barbire di Sipigia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louis Aubert: La Forêt Bleue</td>
<td></td>
<td>Verdi: La Traviata and Rigoletto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alfred Bruneau: Lazare</td>
<td></td>
<td>Puccini: Manon Lescaut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isidore de Lara: Les Trois Masques</td>
<td></td>
<td>Wolf-Ferrari: Le Secret de Suzanne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xavier Leroux: 1814</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. Deutsch et C. Erlanger: Icare</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jules Mazelier: Graziella</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexendre Georges: Miarka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

78 Of particular interest is that, by programming Benvenuto Cellini, Astruc might have been competing with Colonne for Berlioz, who had been crowned the “French Wagner” in status by this time. See Lesley Wright, “Berlioz in the Fin-de-Siècle Press,” in The Cambridge Companion to Berlioz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 253-268.
6.7 The Failure of the Theater

Different documents at the Archives Nationales illustrate that, shortly after its opening, the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées experienced financial problems and entered the process of “Bankruptcy” (liquidation judiciaire.) Some scholars find the premature closing of Astruc’s theater rather logical and expected. “In an age when seventy- or eighty-piece orchestras were de rigueur,” says Garafola, “when ballet, like opera, filled the grand stage with huge companies and richly costumed armies of extras, costs precluded production on a regular basis outside subsidized institutions.”

As with many other artistic institutions on the eve of war, ticket sales and private support could not provide the revenue to keep the theater running. Additionally, Astruc’s theater did not receive the full or partial subsidy that the government provided for other French theaters before and contemporary with the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. The closing of Astruc’s theater on November 17, 1913, came, ironically, on the heels of the great opening season, which had featured Schmitt’s Tragedy of Salomé, Debussy’s Jeux, and Stravinsky’s Le Sacre du Printemps.

The theater closed during World War I, and reopened in 1919 under new management and, since then, has been under different ownership. Currently, the theater reflects Astruc’s original concept only in part. The halls have been separated and common spaces divided. Visitors are still able to experience the magnificent art deco

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80 Garafola, Diaghilev’s Ballet Russes, 182.
style, but that is only a glimpse of the artistic dialogue that characterized this space a hundred years ago.

6.8 Conclusion

Events organized by Astruc’s Société Musicale from its creation in 1904 to 1913 suggest that Astruc became familiar with the scandalous atmosphere that surrounded some of his most well-known projects, such as the premieres of Debussy’s Prelude à l’après-midi d’un faune and Strauss’ Salomé. Some of the selections in the program of the 1913-1914 season (figure 6.2) suggest an affiliation between the idea of the theater as a space for ‘the new’ rather than, as suggested by M. de Paris’s aforementioned article in Le Quotidien, a place exclusively inspired by Wagner’s repertoire. Consequently, it seems very likely that Astruc’s idea for the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées resonated more with his intentions of building a multipurpose theater characterized by the interaction of chamber music, opera, solo recitals, academic lectures, symphonic festivals, and ballet. The programs for La Grande Saison de Paris in 1913 at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées included precisely not only a great diversity of genres but also a significant variety of styles. The Saison Russe not only featured the recognized Sergei Diaghilev’s ballet company performing choreographies inspired by Frederic Chopin’s piano works or Paul Dukas’s La Peri, but also premiering Igor Stravinsky’s provocative Rite of Spring. Symphonic music festivals featuring Beethoven’s works as well as opera productions of Berlioz’s Benvenuto Cellini, Gioachino Rossini’s Barber of Seville, Modest Mussorgsky’s Boris Godunov, and Gabriel Fauré’s Penelope, not only reflect Astruc’s eclectic approach to programming but also his desire to represent, in a single space, the contrasts between the ancien and the avant-garde, French and international repertoires, the provocative and the conservative.
The scandalous reception of the most significant events organized by La Société Musicale might suggest that Astruc consciously challenged social boundaries as he promoted new aesthetics in Paris. His approach to projects such as the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées and La Grande Saison de Paris suggest Astruc’s possible conviction that transgression is not exclusive to the avant-garde. Perhaps, his plan of creating a space that resonated with his artistically inclusive programming included adopting other manifestations of artistic expression in the form of art exhibits, architectural design, or even social interaction.

Astruc’s view of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées as a French theater that would openly embrace Wagner and Wagnerian ideals does not necessarily indicate that his was a French version of the Bayreuth Festspielhaus or the Prinzregententheater. Perhaps, Astruc’s familiarity with and admiration of Wagner’s work influenced him to formulate his own approach to the concept of total-art-work. The original distribution of the space at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées offers evidence of how audiences and different artistic disciplines interacted within the same building. The Grand Salle, mainly devoted to orchestral music, opera and ballet, had the capacity to host an audience of 2500 people. The Salle Moyenne, devoted to virtuosi and chamber music (up to 50 musicians), could seat up to 1200 people. Finally, the Petite Salle, devoted to ‘small recitals and diverse artistic expositions,’ hosted up to 800 people. In the proposal to obtain the lot on the Avenue of Champs-Élysées for the construction of the theater submitted by Astruc to the chamber of deputies, he compares each one of these halls with other Parisian venues with similar characteristics. As a place d’art total, the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées facilitated the integration of the various spaces through common areas intended for social interaction.
interaction. In addition, it enabled a dialogue among different works and disciplines as well as among audiences with different artistic interests.\textsuperscript{81}

Today, and after multiple renovations, the all-encompassing artistic experience that the building of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées initially offered does not exist. The different theaters have been separated and are no longer accessible through the same space. The Grand, Moyenne, and Petite salles are currently independent one from another and they are operated by different administrations. In addition, the room initially conceived as an art gallery is currently utilized mostly for auctions. The artistic dialogue that these spaces facilitated, and which represented Astruc’s aesthetic ideals, is no longer facilitated.

During its inaugural season in 1913 the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées did not host Wagnerian sonorities, at least not in works by the German master himself. In fact, Wagner’s large-scale works never took place at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées while Astruc acted as its director. However, the resonance of Wagner’s work with Astruc’s personal life and professional activities, evidenced in pieces such as M. de Paris’ article in \textit{Le Quotidien}, leaves us with the intriguing thought of how the inclusion of \textit{Parsifal} during the 1913 season would have affected historical narratives. Perhaps, such claims could reflect the apparent desire for creating a multipurpose space rather than the urge of building a theater to produce Wagner’s operas in Paris.

Understanding the multi-stage process of development and realization of a project such as Astruc’s Théâtre des Champs-Élysées in light of its historical context provides us with a different perspective on its cultural meaning and significance. Tracing this process

\textsuperscript{81} Initially, the theater had three halls all opening into the same common space. See, Fonds Gabriel Astruc, 409-AP Box 36, Des Archives Nationales.
in such a fashion allows us to establish a contrasting cultural and historical narrative that not only considers the opening season of the theater, but also the underlying elements of entrepreneurship, artistic management, systems of patronage, sociocultural policies, and aesthetic trends operating in early-twentieth-century Paris.
Chapter 7. Conclusion

Astruc lamented the fate of his Théâtre des Champs-Élysées in “A propos d’un temple enseveli,” an article published by the Parisian journal *Gil Blas* in 1913.1 Little is known about his life or professional activities thereafter. The collection of Astruc papers at the Archives Nationales contains only a very few documents peripherally related to his professional activities after 1914. In this archive, there is no evidence of Astruc conducting business through La Société Musicale after this date. Biographical information offered by various non-scholarly sources suggest that Astruc maintained a somewhat active career after the financial collapse of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. Despite these implications, I was not able to find evidence to support any such career activity.

For instance, the finding aid for Astruc’s papers at the New York Public Library suggest that in 1915 “[Astruc] planned a production of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* with Cocteau and Gamier to be given at the Cirque Medrano, which was never presented.”2 However, I was not able to locate any documents related to this project. Moreover, the claims in Wikipedia that Astruc, after World War I, “worked in the field of radio and advertising, and in 1929 served as the manager of the Théâtre Pigalle for Phillippe de Rothschild”3 have no supporting evidence in the archives I studied. In his memoirs,

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1 Gabriel Astruc, “‘A propos d’un temple enseveli,’ *Gil Blas* (December 15, 1913): 1.
Astruc reveals his close connection with the recognized French writer Marcel Proust (1871-1922). Some scholars have described the connection between Astruc and Proust:

Astruc bought a copy of Swann’s Way [...] As he underlined the typos and other slips, Astruc, totally captivated by the book, made original marginal notes for himself, never dreaming that Proust would read them. When finished he had found nearly a thousand misprints. Reynaldo [Hahn] who knew Astruc really well, told Marcel about Astruc’s copy. A new printing of Swann’s Way was imminent, and Proust wrote and asked to borrow Astruc’s copy [...] Proust thanked Astruc [...] the author had found the marginal comments penetrating [...] 4

It is likely that Astruc maintained his connections with artists and those sponsors from the elite with whom he also had personal relationships. However, some of these connections, like that with Isaac de Camondo, had already ended (Camondo died in 1911) and the hard economic climate during the war definitely would limit the opportunities for impresarios in Europe to organize large-scale events or maintain events such as La Grande Saison de Paris.

Yet in the time period of the impresario’s active years, a period characterized by the challenging and re-defining of aesthetic and musical conventions, Astruc and La Société Musicale seemed actively involved in facilitating the dialogue between many different trends. Despite the financial motivations behind such facilitation, the outcomes of their activities significantly contributed to the shaping of the Parisian cultural landscape, particularly during the first two decades of the twentieth century. In presenting a comprehensive study of the professional activities of Gabriel Astruc in the context of the fin de siècle, this dissertation has presented the multifaceted roles of this successful

impresario, particularly those that reveal his abilities as skillful businessman and as cultural promoter. Thus the impresario, beyond organizing cultural events, also contributed to establishing new aesthetics and reaffirming others. The analysis of the music published by Astruc as well as the events he organized reflects that he was interested in music not only by ‘serious’ composers such as Wagner, Beethoven, Mozart, Massenet, and Berlioz but also by non-canonic composers such as Rodolphe Berger or Henri Deutsch. Music genres published by Astruc’s Société Musicale, which also reflect his broad and eclectic aesthetic interests, includes operas, string quartets as well as waltzes and mélodies. Advertisements and publications of Astruc’s Société Musicale in Musica and Album Musica, the illustrated music magazine and supplement that Astruc helped to create in 1902, reflect the variety of genres and styles that Astruc favored.

The study of Musica reflects some of the ways in which Astruc promoted not only his activities and projects but also his aesthetic preferences. The aesthetic views of editors and different contributors of Musica, particularly those of Charles Joly and George Pioch, echoed those of Astruc’s. For instance, Joly’s article for the very first issue of Musica, as seen in Chapter 3, parallels Astruc’s project of the construction of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées.\(^5\) Additionally, many of the musical events and the artists managed by Astruc’s Société Musicale often were covered and featured in Musica. Most likely, the coverage of large-scale events such as La Saison Italienne in Paris (1905 and 1910) or the Parisian premiere of Strauss’ Salomé (1907) contributed greatly to their success. Astruc’s role in the creation of the Musica, his close connection with Joly, Brussel, Pioch, and other contributors to the magazine, and the synchronicity between many of the affairs of

Astruc’s Société Musicale and the content of *Musica* proved very effective in promoting Astruc projects, particularly those involving large financial investments such as *La Grande Saison de Paris*. Additionally, with the creation of *Musica* and its supplement, Astruc managed to bridge, at least in theory, the tastes of the elite with those of the middle class through a set of musical aesthetic values. Musical publications of elite members of society such as Camondo appeared in *Album Musica*, which, along with the magazine itself, was geared mainly to the Parisian middle class. Repertoire and public events largely sponsored by the Parisian elite were also advertised and covered by this magazine. By publishing musical repertoire, advertising musical editions, and announcing and covering musical events, *Musica* provided the middle class with the sense of aesthetic refinement that only the privileged seemed to enjoy during their private gatherings.

Astruc championed, through his publications, artists of his own circle of sponsors and friends, such as Deutsch and Camondo. Through the connections with these and other members from the Jewish Parisian elite, Astruc was able to realize important projects such as the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées or *La Grande Saison de Paris*. Family names such as Camondo, de la Meurthe and Rothschild, among many others, often appear among his closest supporters. Presumably, the power and money that characters such as the aforementioned injected into Astruc’s projects not only helped him to achieve his most costly artistic goals but also allowed him to connect with other patrons of similar wealth. Through the interrelation of programs and other events and publications, Astruc’s company facilitated the dialogue between seemingly unrelated musical traditions and practices such as the so-called *light classical* and the *avant-garde* as well the *national* vis-à-vis the *foreign*. Perhaps the fact that most of the support to his activities came from Jewish donors could suggest that, by financing the *avant-garde* movement in Paris during this time...
period, its musical progressiveness could be seen as a cultural representation of the Jewish community and its aesthetic priorities.

As suggested in the introduction to this dissertation, there are a significant number of interrogations that I will pursue in my immediate future. The first is related to the silent professional life that Astruc seemed to have after the closing of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. It is unlikely that a character with the versatility of Astruc would have vanished from the cultural landscape that, through his activities, he helped to create. As new evidence becomes available it is my goal to conduct research to trace Astruc’s activities after 1914 and, perhaps, be able to study the role of the impresario in Paris during World War I. Another important topic to consider is the impact that Astruc’s business had on other countries, including the United States. As shown in Chapters 4 and 5, Astruc clearly facilitated artistic exchanges between Paris and the United States. Archival sources show that La Société Musicale sent, sometimes upon request, catalogues of its music publications to American libraries. A comparison between Musica and Album Musica with other late-19th-century journals that featured illustrations might offer new insights of transatlantic connections in music journalism. Comparisons with American journals such as The Etude and Musical Courier could reveal whether Astruc had been influenced by these publications or other popular journals, especially since he spoke about the importance of his American experiences in Chicago during the World’s Fair of 1893.

His American adventures and other important musical connections between Astruc’s activities before 1900 remain unstudied, for sources related to Astruc’s activities before 1902, including his involvement at the World’s Fair of 1893 in Chicago, consist of his own memoirs and a limited number or other sources. As shown throughout this present work, most of the material current available related to Astruc’s professional
activities, for instance the collection at the Bibliothèque Nationale, contain documents dated post-1900. In addition, such material seems connected to activities surrounding large-scale projects such as the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées or artists and repertoire of art music. Sources in consulted archives that connect Astruc with popular music or with his penname, “Surtac,” are scarce and this seeming lack therefore poses a significant challenge worthy of a second long-term research project.

Nonetheless, as shown in Chapter 2, evidence shows that Astruc performed numerous activities related to literature and music before and around 1900.\(^6\) In the literary field we have identified humor among the common denominators of his style in published writings to which we had access, such as *Les Morales du Rastaquouère* (Ollendorff, 1886), *Le Bain de la Mariée* (Ollendorff, 1888), and *La Matérielle* (Librairie Molière, 1903).\(^7\) The presence of comedy in his output is of relevance, for evidence suggests that he also wrote texts for circus revues, theatrical productions that involved humoresque topics. Surviving copies, mostly posters and reviews of these circus revues, not only suggest that composers and performers such as Satie and Yvette Guilbert often participated but also that music played an important role in such productions.\(^8\)

The extent of Astruc’s involvement in circus revues remains unknown. Sources do not show whether new music was commissioned, composers recycled their own work, or

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\(^6\) This evidence consists mostly of posters advertising the events, reviews of these events in newspapers, and other secondary sources. For a discussion of Satie and Astruc in the context of circus revues since 1888, see Steven Moore Whiting, *Satie the Bohemian: From Cabaret to Concert Hall* (New York: Oxford, 2002).

\(^7\) See Chapter 1.

if the musical selection depended on third parties. Similar situations occur with the texts used in these activities. However, sources do reveal that the production of circus revues occupied an important place among Astruc’s activities, particularly before 1900.

Consequently, further inquiry might show not only Astruc’s involvement with the production of circus revues but also unknown details of this genre and its possible impact on Parisian culture during the *fin de siècle*.

Lastly, one of the most significant discoveries of this work is the network that supported Astruc and facilitated the actualization of his most important projects, including the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. Like Astruc, his closest financial sponsors, who included some of the wealthiest and most powerful bankers and investors of the time, were Jewish. Family names such as Camondo, de la Meurthe and Rothschild, among many others, often appear among his closest supporters. Presumably, the power and money that characters such as the aforementioned injected into Astruc’s projects not only helped him achieve his most ambitious artistic goals but also allowed him to connect with other patrons of similar wealth. Chapter 6 has shown that Astruc created an international network of wealthy patrons such as Vanderbilt, Pierpont Morgan, Sachs, and Otto Kahn. Such international circles were vital to the construction of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées and the establishment of the infrastructure that facilitated the artistic exchange between Paris and the Americas.

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9 See Chapter 6.
10 As an entrepreneur Astruc enjoyed the recognition of the press in the United States. See, for instance, “M. Astruc Coming Here,” *The New York Times* (December 7, 1907). In an interview for this U.S. journal, Astruc affirms, “I am particularly enthusiastic over the support which the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées has already received in America. As you know, the American committee, which is headed by Mrs. W. K. Vanderbilt, includes Mrs. J.J. Astro, Mr. and Mrs. Otto Kahn, J. Pierpont Morgan, and James Stillman, I have the utmost faith in any enterprise which combines American enterprise and French art, and
conductors, and even an entire opera company that traveled from and to Paris from the United States during the beginning of the 20th century shows the impact of such a strong network of supporters.

Most likely, it was through his closest network of patrons that Astruc managed to expand his connections and enlarge his group of financial supporters, which enabled his Société Musicale to work internationally with different artists. Consequently, the circle of Jewish patronage that Astruc created around his professional activities and personal life is worthy of further scrutiny for it could provide valuable information about the extent of Jewish support in shaping the cultural milieu around this important time for music historiography. In addition, it could help identify the impact of Jewish sponsorship for the trans-Atlantic artistic exchange that, through some of Astruc’s projects, occurred between Paris and the Americas, particularly the United States. It is my hope to address the aforementioned issues as I continue to explore new archives in other cities in Europe and the Americas and to present these and other findings in book form.

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this entente, which has so long existed between France and America, is constantly growing stronger.”

11 Jann Pasler has acknowledged the connection between Astruc and characters such as Countess Greffulhe. Pasler cites a review published in La libre parole of the Parisian premiere of Strauss’ Salomé 1907. See Jann Pasler. Writing Through Music: Essays on Music, Culture, and Politics (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).
Bibliography

The present bibliography has been divided into two different lists, illustrating primary and secondary sources gathered thus far. In order to present a clearer context, secondary sources are listed alphabetically, and primary sources, with the exception of the archives list, chronologically.

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CURRICULUM VITÆ

1977, Bogotá, Colombia

Education


Professional Experience

2013-2014. Sewanee: The University of the South: Assistant Professor


July 2013. Deuxième Congrès Mondial d’Ecologie Sonore: Assistant Director.

2009-2010. FOCUS University of Kentucky Graduate Student Association for Music Research: Founder and First President.