TABLES

I

Conductors in Paris in 1837
(Selected Theaters)

Académie royale de musique [Opéra]	Habeneck
Société des concerts du Conservatoire	Habeneck
Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique	Girard, chef Jupin, deuxième chef Merlé, troisième chef
Théâtre-Italien	Barbereau, chef Tilmant [*aîné*], sous-chef
Musique de la Chambre du roi	Grasset

(See *Agenda Musical par Planque* [Paris, 1837], pp. 56-81)

II

Succession of Conductors of the
Opéra and Société des concerts,
1828-1872

A. Opéra

1824-31	Habeneck and Valentino[1]
1831-46	Habeneck
1846-60	Girard
1860-63	Dietsch
1863-72	Hainl

B. Société des concerts

1828-49	Habeneck
1849-60	Girard
1860-64	Tilmant *aîné*[2]
1864-72	Hainl

[1] Habeneck had been administrative director of the Opéra from 1 November 1821. He succeeded Viotti as principal conductor in 1824.
[2] Tilmant's tenure officially began on 13 January 1861, but he had been conducting concerts before then.

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THE MUSIC OF THE FRENCH CHANSON, 1810-1850

Ralph P. Locke

In memory of Philip Locke

When the young German pianist and composer Ferdinand Hiller set out for Paris in 1828, Goethe's friend Eckermann pressed him to seek out two writers there and to send him news of their recent doings. One was the successful young author Prosper Mérimée; the other, perhaps more surprising to modern observers, was Pierre-Jean de Béranger.[1] Béranger was greatly admired by Goethe, Hugo, and other literary figures, both as a poet and as a political symbol. He had recently served a term in jail for writing verses critical of the Bourbon government. (He had been imprisoned once before, in 1822, for writing *Le Vieux Drapeau*, a piece in praise of the blue, white, and red revolutionary flag.) Béranger was perhaps the most widely known and loved representative of the movement opposing the Bourbon Restoration—only Lafayette could possibly have surpassed him—and his verses were published in varied, mostly inexpensive formats,[2] and frequently in enormous press runs.[3] The influence wielded by Béranger and by the hundreds of lesser writers who emulated him derived primarily from the fact that they wrote their verses not to be read, but rather to be sung. More precisely, they wrote *chansons:* "songs" to be sung to well-known tunes, in contradistinction to *romances* and *mélodies*, which generally offered new music as well as new words.

[1] Eckermann to Hiller, 9 October 1828, in Reinhold Sietz, ed., *Aus Ferdinand Hillers Briefwechsel (1826-1885)*, I (Beiträge zur rheinischen Musikgeschichte 28) (Cologne, 1958), 7.

[2] On Béranger, his art, and his fame, see Pierre Brochon's introduction to the anthology *La Chanson française: Béranger et son temps* (Paris, 1956), and Jean Touchard's copious *La Gloire de Béranger*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1968). The authentic and pirated editions of Béranger's works (including some as small as in-64°) are meticulously listed and analyzed in Jules Brivois, *Bibliographie de l'œuvre de P.-J. de Béranger* (Paris, 1876).

[3] The pocket-size (in-32°) edition of the *Chansons nouvelles* ran to 20,000 copies, almost incomparably more than the 2,000 copies of a Lamartine volume, for example, or the 400 of George Sand's first novel, *Indiana*, both published during the same year. (Press runs reported in Archives nationales, F^{18^2} II 22 [1832], as cited in Edgar Leon Newman, "Politics and Song in a Paris Goguette: The Lice Chansonnière, 1830-1848," a chapter in his forthcoming book, *Voices from Below: The French Worker Poets of the July Monarchy and the Spirit of Revolution.*)

The topical chanson, whether literary or political in emphasis, d long been cultivated in France. During the 16th and 17th cenies in particular, verses and music had frequently been pressed o the service of religious and political causes. (Some songs were itten in support of the Huguenots; literally thousands of others atked the hated Cardinal and minister Mazarin.) In the course of 18th century the topical song began to find its way into the tle theaters," and there it flourished well into the 19th century. It o became permanent guest of honor in the chanson clubs: the hly selective *caveaux,* with their literary pretensions and fancy sine, and the numerous working-class *goguettes,* with their eager brace of politics and their cheap, corrosive wine. But its true me was, as it always had been, in the streets, in the public ares, even on the bridges: the Pont-Neuf was the favorite gather- place of chanson singers, barrel-organ players, and—not st—sellers of leaflets and brochures containing song texts.[4] These ve been frequently studied by literary, political, and social histons, but the music of the songs is almost never discussed—even by sicologists. Few take seriously a repertory which is more funcnal than "artistic," more heterogeneous than stylistically re—and extremely difficult to assemble.[5]

he best available surveys of the topical or political chansons are popuin tone and at least slightly underdocumented. See, for example, nce Vernillat and Jacques Charpentreau, *La Chanson française* (Paris, 7); Vernillat and Charpentreau, *Dictionnaire de la chanson française* ris, 1968); Vernillat, "La Chanson littéraire et les sociétés ntantes," in Roland-Manuel, ed., *Histoire de la musique* (Paris, 0-1963), II, 1477-1493; Robert Brécy, *Florilège de la chanson olutionnaire de 1789 au front populaire* ([Paris], 1978); and Pierre Saka Jean Michel Brosseau, *La Chanson française* ([Paris], 1981). One can te one's own history, to an extent, by studying the astonishingly rich d generally well documented) anthology by Vernillat and Pierre bier, *Histoire de France par les chansons,* 8 vols. (Paris, 1956-1961), the companion four-record album (Chant du monde, LDX 7446164).

éranger is not included in such comprehensive reference works and eral histories as *MGG, Baker's Dictionary, The New Grove, Riemann ikon, Larousse de la musique,* Bordas, Fasquelle, Lavignac, Combarieu, g, or Grout, nor in most histories of 19th-century music. The political nson rarely fares any better. (See, for example, Julien Tiersot's exit exclusion of the political or literary chanson from his article "La nson populaire," in Albert Lavignac and Lionel de la Laurencie, eds., *yclopédie de la musique et Dictionnaire du Conservatoire* [Paris, 3-1931], part 2, V, 3007.) Two prominent exceptions are Vernillat, anson littéraire," and Georg Knepler, *Musikgeschichte des neunzehnten*

The tunes of the early 19th-century chansons can be fruitfully explored from many points of view. The present study will focus upon three basic considerations: how songwriters matched tune and text; what kinds of tunes came into the repertory; and how songwriters came to favor different tunes as the decades passed. The resulting picture suggests that the tunes themselves were more varied and more artfully employed than previous studies might lead us to believe.

I

The tunes that Béranger and other *chansonniers* (song writers) of the 1820s, '30s, and '40s used are preserved for us in a number of published sources, most notably two large contemporary collections: an edition of the tunes to all of Béranger's chansons, edited by Frédéric Bérat,[6] and the anthology *La Clé du Caveau,* edited by Pierre Capelle.[7] How did a *chansonnier* (or *chansonnière*), faced with this veritable buffet table, decide which tune to use for a particular song? There is surely no single answer. Some writers must have begun a song by writing verses on a particular subject—say, taxes—and only later sought a tune that would match its verse meter and stanza length. (An index in *La Clé du Caveau* helped the user locate tunes in this way.) Others, as we shall see, preferred to

Jahrhunderts, I (Berlin, 1961), 247-251.

[6] The tunes for Béranger's songs were published in a volume separate from the texts, *Musique des chansons de P.-J. Béranger, contenant les airs anciens et modernes les plus usités* (Paris, 1834), which saw further editions in 1838, 1845, and 1847 (Brivois, *Bibliographie,* p. 44). I refer here to the 9th edition: Frédéric Bérat, ed., *Musique des chansons de Béranger: airs notés et modernes . . . augmentée de la musique des chansons posthumes* (Paris, 1868), which contains tunes or, in the case of many of the posthumously published songs, tune indications (*timbres*) for 416 chansons. The numbering of the songs in the 9th edition agrees with that in the other editions I have seen. Brochon, *Béranger,* gives texts for most of Béranger's songs referred to here. I have relied on 19th-century complete editions: *Chansons de P.-J. de Béranger 1815-1834 contenant les dix chansons . . .* (Paris, n.d.); and *Œuvres posthumes de Béranger. Dernières Chansons 1834 à 1851. Ma biographie avec un appendice . . .* (Paris, n.d.).

[7] The first three editions appeared in 1811, 1816, and 1827; I refer here to the 4th edition (Paris, 1847), containing 2,350 tunes. Page numbers will refer to the introduction, texts, and indices; tunes will be cited by tune- (not page-) number.

choose the tune first and to model the verses upon it. Either way, though, a songwriter eventually chose one from among a number of metrically similar tunes, and the more thoughtful songwriters sought one "appropriate to the subject I wish to treat."[8] Such "appropriateness" was conditioned by many factors. Every tune possessed a unique prosodic profile resulting from its particular arrangement of pitches and rhythms, and many tunes carried with them unshakable associations resulting from their musical style or their original or best-known text. But whereas fine details of prosody seem to have played a secondary role in the selection of a tune, considerations of style and previous text were clearly crucial. French chanson writers had long been interested in creating a vibrant interplay among a chosen tune, its previous text, and new words, as, for example, in the vaudevilles of the early 18th century.[9] Such links have been less often noted in the 19th-century repertory, but they are no less frequent or striking.

Béranger, in particular, was renowned by his contemporaries—and justly so—for selecting his tunes with unusual care.[10] His *La Vivandière*, for example, makes use of a martial tune (in rapid 6/8 meter) perfectly suited to its subject, an army canteen woman (Example 1).[11] Similarly, the song on which Béranger based his *Ma nacelle* (Example 2a)—namely *Eh! vogue la galère*—provided him not only with the central boat image and certain phrases of text, but also with a tune that is appropriately barcarolle-like in a gently rocking 6/8 meter. A more ironic relationship can be seen in

[8] Desaugier's words, as recalled by Capelle in his informative introduction (*La Clé*, p. xiv).

[9] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London, 1980), XIX, 564-567 ("vaudeville"). Earlier repertoires have been studied by, among others, Adrienne Fried Block, *The Early French Parody Noël*, 2 vols. (Ann Arbor, 1983), and Dorothy Packer (various studies, including "Horatian Moral Philosophy in French Song 1649-1749," *Musical Quarterly*, LXI [1975], 240-271; and "Political Propaganda in Chanson Verse [1547-1559]," paper read at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, November 1981 [Boston]).

[10] F. Génin, "Béranger compositeur," in Bérat, ed., *Musique des chansons*, p. 310 (an article first published in *L'Illustration* in 1855). Cf. Capelle, *La Clé*, p. v.

[11] This tune was first published by Génin, who was a professor of literature, a music critic, a composer, and a personal acquaintance of Béranger. He included the words of the original chanson ("Demain matin, au point du jour, on bat la générale"), which Béranger had learned when serving as a printer's apprentice in Péronne. ("Béranger compositeur," pp. 309-310, 315.)

Béranger's use of a *pro*-monarchist song, *Halte-là! la garde royale est là*, as the vehicle for three of his *anti*-monarchist sallies. In the first of these, *Halte-là! ou le Système des interprétations*, the opening line of the text is parodied directly: "Halte-là! la garde royale est là" becomes "Halte-là! vite en prison pour cela." The second setting, *La Garde nationale*, protests the dissolution by Charles X of the people's militia, while the tune's original text—about the militia of the *king*—underlines silently Béranger's point. Béranger's third text to *Halte-là* is the delicious *La Muse en fuite* (Example 3), Béranger's response to the government's first attempt to prosecute him, in 1821, for publishing such songs. In the song he tells his muse that she is being accused of committing crimes of state and so must put down her lyre and go to the court house: "It's the law, follow me, the King has spoken." The song obviously gained thrust from being set to a tune about the might of the king.

Béranger seems to have sensed acutely not only how music could fit his word accents and echo his imagery, but also—a more subtle matter—how it might support the mood he wanted to create. Thus, for songs primarily personal or lyrical in nature, he allowed himself to use tunes in the minor mode, often preferring those that were simple, narrow in range, and redolent of folksong or olden times. Typical examples are the barcarolle tune for the reflective *Ma nacelle* (Example 2) and the exquisite music of *La Prisonnière et le chevalier*, reputed to have been composed by Béranger himself (Example 4).[12] *Si j'étais petit oiseau* (Example 5a) is set to an "air ancien" which is no less lovely.[13] In contrast, for his more strictly political songs Béranger used lively tunes, including many contredanses in quick 2/4 meter,[14] such as the tune for the afore-

[12] Béranger wrote the words of *La Prisonnière et le chevalier* without indicating a tune, then later combined them with the present tune, which he had composed for an opéra-comique in which most of the music was to be by Wilhem (Génin, "Béranger compositeur," pp. 308-309).

[13] The tune went by two names: "Sus, amis, qu'on se réveille" and (Béranger's *timbre*) "Il faut que l'on file doux." Capelle described the tune as an "air ancien." Perhaps it tended to be sung quickly, for Capelle, in his index according to genre and structure, placed it in a category entitled "rondes de table, rondes à danser et autres airs gais populaires" and included a cheerful stanza of text which had been sung to this tune in the vaudeville *La Matinée et la soirée villageoises*. (*La Clé*, pp. 17, 208, 248). Béranger's evocative verses suggest a slower tempo.

[14] The term "contredanse" is used here in the fruitful though somewhat loose sense that it has acquired in studies of Viennese Classic music. See, for example, *The New Grove Dictionary*, s.v. "contredanse"; Leonard G. Ratner, *Classic Music: Expression, Form, and Style* (New York, 1980)

mentioned *La Muse en fuite* (Example 3).[15] Some may find these melodies vulgar or too jaunty, but they are no doubt just what Béranger wanted. He was independent, feisty, unintimidated by the oppressive Restoration government, and he wanted his songs to communicate his confidence in the ultimate victory of the people. Even before the final downfall of the Bourbons he was dancing in gleeful anticipation upon their future graves.

II

In the previous section we have looked briefly at the chansons of Béranger, and only at the relationship between their tunes and their texts. From this point on we shall broaden our view to include the full corpus of chansons in use during the period 1810-1850 and shall focus on some basic issues concerning the tunes themselves, beginning with our second large question: where and when did the tunes originate and what are their most characteristic features? The published collections are mostly vague with regard to origins. Capelle, in *La Clé du Caveau*, wrote that he was including "what are called old tunes [*vieux airs*], which were sung even before [the reign of] Henri IV."[16] This would place such tunes in the late 16th century or even earlier. But literally hundreds of tunes are described by Capelle (in identifying captions) as being old ("vieux" or "ancien") or of folk origin ("populaire"). Even if most of these tunes are in some sense "old," they surely do not all date from before the reign of Henri IV.

pp. 13-14; and Wye Allanbrook, "Metric Gesture as a Topic in *Le Nozze di Figaro* and *Don Giovanni*," *Musical Quarterly*, LXVII (1981), 99, 106-107. (Daniel Heartz, in an unpublished paper, suggests that French vaudeville tunes may in fact have influenced Haydn's "folk" style—see *Die Musikforschung*, XXXV [1982], 67.) Capelle, in his index of tunes by structure and genre (*La Clé*, pp. 151-158), lists thirty-four contredanses, but Tourterelle's tune is not among them; Capelle places it in the same category of *rondes* and lively folk tunes as Example 5a.

[15] *La Clé*, pp. 208, 217, 258. The music, by Tourterelle (1796-1821, also known as Henri Herdliska), was used in the vaudeville *Les Habitants des landes*, and then in the vaudeville *Gascon et normand* (text for the latter version on p. 217). Capelle lists it primarily by a first line that perhaps predates the "Halte-là" version: "Fille avant le mariage" (pp. 16, 15). (Whether theater musicians such as Tourterelle, Doche, and Darondeau actually composed the tunes ascribed to them, or merely arranged them for a *comédie en vaudevilles* that became successful, is an open question.)

[16] *La Clé*, p. xi.

Fortunately, many other captions in Capelle's book, though not as detailed or reliable as we might wish, do allow us to place a given tune in its approximate historical period; frequently they name the composer (or supposed composer) and the text or stage work for which it was first composed, or with which it achieved its most lasting success. A half dozen are attributed to Eustache Du Caurroy (1549-1609), who was *Surintendant de la musique* under Henri IV, and, though that attribution is almost surely erroneous, the six tunes can indeed be shown to date from the 17th century or, in some cases, from the early 16th.[17] A few dozen more are associated with *chansonniers* of the very first *caveaux* (1733 and 1762). Several of these are ascribed to the *chansonniers* themselves (e.g. Laujon) or to other composers of the time—Mouret and Lalande, for example.[18] Among other 18th-century composers, Rameau is represented by such tunes as the "Danse des sauvages" from *Les Indes galantes*; Rousseau, by a number of simple tunes; and Duni, Grétry, Gossec, Dalayrac, and Monsigny, by melodies from their operas. Snippets even appear from symphonies by Haydn and from *Les Mystères*

[17] The six tunes attributed to Du Caurroy are nos. 95 (*Charmante Gabrielle*, words by Henri IV; originally a noel), 295 (noel: *Joseph est bien marié*), 430 (noel: *Où s'en vont ces gais bergers*), 564 (noel: *Tous les bourgeois de Chastres* [our Example 6]), 622 (canon: *Vive Henri IV*), and 1051 (*Viens Aurore*, words by Henri IV). The tune for *Vive Henri IV* was first published in 1581 in a collection of noels (Vernillat and Barbier, *Histoire*, I, 129-130), and the two with texts by (or "by") Henri IV presumably date from his reign or earlier, though the ascription to Du Caurroy seems unlikely. The other three tunes were among the most popular noels of the 18th century (as can be seen, for example, from their inclusion in Balbastre's *Première Suitte de Noels*, 1770) and date from much earlier. There are no fewer than three surviving 16th- or 17th-century musical sources for the *Joseph* tune, and one of them is very similar to Capelle's version (Block, *The Noël*, tune 130c). The tune of *Tous les bourgeois* seems already to have been circulating, in some form, by 1535 (*ibid.*, I, 66-67; II, 129-134). And *Où s'en vont* was, according to Amédée Gastoué, written in the 17th century to a pre-existing chanson tune (*Noëls anciens*, 4 vols. [Paris, 1909-1922], III, 6). The mistaken ascription of various noels to Du Caurroy derives from a confusion with the lutenist-composer Albert de Rippe, seigneur Du Carois (Gastoué, *Le Cantique populaire en France* [Lyon, 1924], p. 129). For further information on the noel tunes and their origins (usually as *chansons rustiques*), see Block, *The Noël, passim*, and Howard Mayer Brown, *Music in the French Secular Theater, 1400-1550* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963). pp. 105-139, 244 (*Joseph*), 277-278 (*Tous les bourgeois*).

[18] *La Clé*, p. 256.

d'Isis (Lachnith's infamous pasticcio based on Mozart's *Magic Flute*).

It is remarkable that so many "old" or "folk" tunes, and so many composed tunes which can be dated back to fifty, one hundred, or even three hundred years earlier, remained alive into the 1830s and '40s.[19] Even a brief study of these older tunes gives some insights into the musical tastes and predispositions of the *chansonniers* and their audiences. Most of the tunes in *La Clé* and in Bérat's anthology are, as one might well expect, plainly tonal and plainly "major." The ones that we might describe as "minor" are generally labeled "vieux," "ancien," or "populaire."[20] Nonetheless, a few tunes did survive which are either undeniably modal (such as no. 622 in *La Clé—Vive Henri IV*—which is nearly pure Aeolian), modally unstable (Example 1a, whose stress on the submediant repeatedly pulls the tune from Ionian to Aeolian, and suggests a pentatonic origin), or modal at some points but not others (no. 1335 in *La Clé*,

[19] It is conceivable, to be sure, that Capelle continued to include many tunes out of veneration for their age and the historical or literary merit of their texts (see his remarks in *La Clé*, p. xi). In such cases, a tune was "alive in the 1830s and '40s" only for a handful of tradition-minded chanson-lovers (perhaps especially members of the Caveau moderne, such as Capelle, Desaugiers, and Béranger).

Fortunately, Capelle devised a mechanism for indicating that a given tune was still frequently being "used" (*ibid.*, p. 245): he included not just its title but an entire strophe of text for it in his table of *coupes* (metric schemes). Of the six attributed to Du Caurroy, the three Henri IV pieces and one of the three noels (*Tous les bourgeois*) are given this full treatment. Presumably the two remaining noel tunes were included by Capelle for the convenience of those who had a copy of the traditional words but could not remember the tunes, whereas the other four were considered true chansons. Indeed, *Tous les bourgeois*, though also still popular as a noel and, retexted, as the tune of other *cantiques* (Gastoué, *Cantique*, p. 205), had manifestly established itself as a *timbre* for real secular chansons: Capelle refers to it as an "air d'un noël employé souvent" and gives as its sample strophe not the Christmas text but some risqué lines about the varied charms of a certain Cybèle (*La Clé*, p. 224). (Yet another witty text for the tune—by George Sand—and an 18th-century version of the tune in pure Aeolian are given in Thérèse Marix-Spire, *Les Romantiques et la musique* [Paris, 1954], pp. 190-191, 599-600.) Of the three Henri IV tunes, *Vive Henri IV* was widely known in the 19th century (see retextings in Vernillat and Barbier, *Histoire de France*, I, 120-130); Franz Liszt even planned to quote it, along with the *Marseillaise*, in his (abortive) Revolution Symphony of 1830 (S. 690; cf. his later arrangement of it, S. 239).

[20] See, for instance, Examples 2a, 2c, and 5a; also Bérat, no. 8 (*La Clé*, no. 189), three folksongs in *La Clé* (nos. 613, 644, 1042), and a curious tune attributed to Doche (mentioned below in note 22).

which preserves a lowered seventh degree at the move to the dominant, thus outlining the dominant *minor* triad).[21]

Phrase structure shows even more variety. The tunes in *La Clé* described by Capelle as old or folk-derived, and those bearing more specific early ascriptions, frequently display phrases of unusual length, such as six and seven measures (Example 2c),[22] or phrases in idiosyncratic succession with little resemblance to 18th- or 19th-century conventions of tune construction.[23] A typical one, the widely known *Tous les bourgeois de Chastres* (Example 6), consists of four measures, repeated, and answered by ten that are unexpectedly grouped as two plus eight.[24] Even those which are based upon the scheme which was to become standard—four phrases of equal length, arranged A A B A—tend to make something special of it, by extending the final A to twice its anticipated length, for instance (as in Example 2a), or by inserting an additional contrasting phrase after the B section (as in Example 5a, where the added phrase expands the range suddenly and rapturously downward).

The next substantial group of old tunes comes from the early 18th century. (There are relatively few from the 17th century.) In some of these one begins to note greater symmetry of phrase structure, but still less than in later tunes. Typical is tune no. 1047 by

[21] It is not clear to what extent people sang the tunes exactly as printed in *La Clé*. Capelle appears to have chosen to reprint early versions of certain tunes (e.g. *Vive Henri IV* or our Example 2c), even when the intervening decades or centuries had given them more sharply tonal profiles. (See, for example, the more tonal version of *Vive Henri IV* published by Ballard in 1725 [Vernillat and Barbier, *Histoire de France*, I, 130].) Or did even 16th-century singers add, as Block does, "tonalizing" accidentals to tunes that appear modal on the page?

[22] Cf. two folksongs built largely of six-measure phrases (*La Clé*, nos. 669, 991). A tune attributed to Doche (Bérat, no. 107; *La Clé*, no. 794) alternates phrases of five and six measures. Could it be a folksong, or Doche's imitation of one?

[23] See, for example, Bérat, nos. 1, 8, 9, 20, and 32 (equivalent to *La Clé*, nos. 484, 180, 144, 34, and 306). Note that all of these were used by Béranger; they were not included in *La Clé* merely as relics to be sung to 18th-century words. Another marvelously irregular tune which presumably was included because of current demand was an "air russe," *Tchem tchie ia ogartchila* (*La Clé*, no. 1888). French folk-songs, of course, could be just as unpredictable (e.g. *La Clé*, nos. 3, 644).

[24] Similarly, *Charmante Gabrielle* (*La Clé*, no. 95) consists entirely of three- and five-measure phrases. Cf. also an "air ancien populaire," *La Clé*, no. 52.

Jean-Joseph Mouret (Example 7).[25] It begins with two four-bar phrases that seem to form the first half of a little binary or rounded-binary dance tune, clearly cadencing on the dominant. But the remainder of the tune (the "second half") ends abruptly, lasting only six rather than a balancing eight or sixteen measures. That tunes such as this, and the even more archaic-sounding ones attributed to Du Caurroy or to folk traditions, were still being published in a practical anthology of 1847 suggests that a number of our unspoken assumptions about musical life during this period may need to be revised—for example, that earlier musical styles were entirely unknown except to the elite audiences who attended Choron's concerts, or that the *Trivialmusik* of the Romantic period (and these chansons surely belong to that ill-defined category) conditioned listeners to accept only square four- and eight-bar phrases and standardized, predictable tonal and formal schemes. The surprisingly numerous remnants of earlier music in the chanson repertory may have provided a latent and perhaps potent counterforce to the mechanical production of square-cut quadrilles, comic-opera airs, and the like, which characterized the mainstream of "commercial" music.

Dance tunes and square-cut songs do of course appear in *La Clé du Caveau*, and in predictably great quantity. Béranger tended to prefer these sorts of melodies, as did many other chansonniers. Their reasons are not hard to guess. A tune, to be readily learned and easily retained, needed only to be simple and well constructed; the vocal range needed to be narrow (preferably no more than an octave); and the declamation had to be basically syllabic (rather than melismatic). Many of the tunes which Béranger himself used for his songs have a regular sixteen-bar structure, either the aforementioned A A B A or a variant of it in which the second A ends on the dominant (resulting in a kind of miniature rounded-binary form without repeats). Tunes of this kind almost never "modulate" in a significant sense; the B section simply hovers around the fifth (or flat third), or outlines the dominant harmony (or the relative major) for the requisite four measures, preparing nicely the return of the tonic and the opening material. (This musical return often coincides with the refrain of the text.) A typical example can be seen in the vaudeville tune which Béranger used for *Mon carnaval* (Example

[25] Capelle indicates (*La Clé*, p. 256) that the words were by the great songwriter of the first Caveau, Charles-Français Panard; he also claims (p. 15) that tune no. 836 is "le même avec le refrain changé," but in fact that tune is by Grétry (see p. 254) and completely dissimilar (as, apparently, are the words—p. 94).

8a).[26] Other tunes vary the pattern slightly, by repeating a cadential phrase or otherwise extending or inserting phrases in ways that are less artful than in Example 5a but which nonetheless bring a bit of variety into even this most standardized part of the chanson repertory.

Variety is thus one of the most notable (and perhaps least expected) features of the corpus of chanson tunes. Remarkably, too, all of the tunes mentioned above can be easily sung, even without accompaniment, and, as Donald Grout once wrote concerning the analogous repertory of a century earlier, "many of them have kept intact their freshness, their charm, and their clever and malicious sprightliness."[27]

III

How, one wonders, did this repertory change with time—over the forty years, say, from 1810 to after the 1848 Revolution? A definitive answer to this final, multifaceted question would require access to the thousands upon thousands of song leaflets now lying—often unbound and uncatalogued—in the basements of libraries across France. Substantial indications might be gleaned from a systematic comparison of the changing contents of the four editions of *La Clé* (since each new edition was substantially larger and more up-to-date than the previous one). But the usefulness of *La Clé* in this regard is complicated by the fact that it aimed to serve a wide range of users, including singers and vaudeville conductors who simply wished to have an inexpensive, handy source of arias cur-

[26] "Air du vaudeville de *la Danse interrompue*" or "Air du vaudeville des *Chevilles de Maître Adam*" (Béranger's *timbre*), *La Clé*, no. 827 and pp. 71, 258). Capelle identifies the tune as a composition by J.-B. de La Borde (*La Clé*, pp. 22, 71, 258), but a printed list of "Rectifications et additions" bound into certain copies of the 4th edition makes clear that La Borde's tune, though its text is similar in meter, is in fact no. 307 (which Capelle had previously described simply as a *chanson ancienne—La Clé*, p. 248). This leaves no. 827 without ascription to a composer; another tune, no. 878, is also associated with *Les Chevilles de Maître Adam* and is also not ascribed to a composer (p. 254). The stage work in question may perhaps be the same as *Maître Adam, menuisier de Nevers* (whose composer or arranger is unknown), produced in 1796.

[27] Grout, "Opéra bouffe et opéra-comique," in Roland-Manuel, ed., *La Musique*, II, 10.

rently in fashion.[28] The fourth edition of *La Clé* is thus larded with full-blown florid arias that no *chansonnier* would have been interested in, or capable of, performing (e.g. Raoul's "Plus blanche que la blanche hermine," from *Les Huguenots*).[29] The changes in the true chanson repertory during the July Monarchy can be more reliably charted by looking instead at two of the most important subrepertories: the new tunes and accompaniments written for Béranger's songs, and (in our final section) the tunes favored by the socialist *chansonniers* of the 1840s.

IV

Although Béranger announced his retirement as a songwriter in 1833 and published little until his death in 1857, the presses spewed forth—probably already in the 1820s but certainly with increasing volume after 1830—new versions of his best-known songs, which is to say versions in which the tunes chosen by Béranger were replaced by other tunes. These "substitute" melodies were generally of two sorts: opera tunes which happened to fit the verse meter and stanza length of Béranger's words, or melodies newly composed for the purpose. Guichard Printemps, the editor of the first collection (1834) of tunes for the Béranger chansons, opted for the fashionable operatic route, mating Béranger's texts to tunes of Boieldieu and Berton which—as the writer F. Génin later put it—"are ridiculously pretentious . . . and of which Béranger would have trouble singing a single note."[30] Génin's horror may have been widely shared, for the edition that effectively replaced Printemps's—that of Frédéric Bérat—retained few of these operatic substitutions. What it did offer in large numbers was the other sort of substitute: newly composed melodies. These, by such composers as Doche, Bruguière, and Beauplan, differ in revealing ways from the tunes that Béranger used himself. Particularly striking—and regrettable—is the fate of Béranger's minor-mode laments. They are replaced in Bérat's collection by major-mode confections which at best are "pretty" in a vapid way. The new tune for *Si j'étais petit oiseau* by Béranger's friend Wilhem

[28] Capelle states this explicitly—*La Clé*, title-page, and pp. xi-xv.

[29] The 4th edition also contains dance tunes "sur lesquels on n'a point fait de paroles," i.e. tunes to be used for dancing, not singing (*La Clé*, p. 245); this contradicts a statement to the contrary in Capelle's introduction (p. xiii).

[30] Génin, "Béranger compositeur," p. 309.

is an unusually painful example; that by Auguste Panseron for *Ma nacelle* (Example 2b) is more expert but still almost shockingly inferior to the original "air ancien" (Example 2a).

Béranger's "up-tempo" tunes suffered similarly. Jean-Antoine Meissonnier's new tune for *Mon carnaval* (Example 8b), for example, "sets" the text in a more respectable fashion. The music of mm. 9-12 sinks into low register and minor mode to support the image of a prison shrouded in darkness. Throughout, the melody declaims the verses more "correctly." (Béranger's original [Example 8a] placed downbeat accents on certain weak syllables such as "riante," "fêtais," and "le char." Meissonnier aligned these syllables in more desirable metric positions; in this he was clearly aided by his decision to use compound meter, with its extra weak beats.) Still, the tune's range of an eleventh, its ornaments, and its many awkward leaps must have made it devilish for an untrained singer. What Meissonnier produced here is, in musical terms, less a chanson—as Béranger had helped define it—than the melody line of a song for voice and obligatory accompaniment, presumably piano. This is even more clearly the case with Panseron's setting of *Ma nacelle* (Example 2b). Panseron, who in 1831 became professor of voice at the Conservatoire, here requires the singer to move chromatically through a fourth and to hold a moderately high note for five beats (in slowish tempo); at the very end, he adds ornaments, several yodel-like leaps, and even a self-conscious swell and fade on the last high note.

Collections of Béranger songs with accompaniments for piano (or guitar) were indeed published during the July Monarchy, the publishers boasting that their editions contained the handiwork of "les meilleurs compositeurs, tels que Romagnési, Panseron, Wilhem, etc."[31] Similarly, settings for two, three, or four voices were created and published for the use of the growing lay-choral-society movement. (Wilhem presumably composed *Si j'étais petit oiseau* [Example 5b] for his Orphéon choruses.)[32] The new settings were thus aimed at new markets: the comfortable middle-class family gathered around the drawing-room piano, and the (somewhat less well-off) members of the lay choruses.

[31] Brivois, *Bibliographie*, p. 42.

[32] Capelle, though, calls it a "nocturne à deux voix" and a "chansonnette," suggesting the salon (*La Clé*, no. 2023, pp. 235, 266). On Wilhem (the pseudonym of Guillaume-Louis Bocquillon, 1781-1842) and the Orphéon movement, see Henri Radiguer, "L'Orphéon," in Lavignac and La Laurencie, eds., *Encyclopédie*, part 2, VI, 3715-3747; see also Béranger's poem *L'Orphéon* (*Chansons*, pp. 593-595).

Béranger yielded willingly to the trend toward new tunes and elegant accompaniments, or so it seems. He preferred the substitute tune which Meissonnier had written for *Mon carnaval*, and he even used it—rather than the original vaudeville tune—as the basis for four new chansons.[33] He must also have approved of, or at least not objected to, Bérat's practice of including only the new tune for a chanson or of placing the new tune first and giving a "*bis*" number to the tune which Béranger himself had used. Perhaps Béranger agreed to these practices out of modesty; in 1835 Génin suggested that he was "always agreeable [*complaisant*], especially when it was a question of sacrificing his own pride [*amour-propre*]." Or perhaps he was manipulated at times by his rather ambitious musical advisors. His verses were so widely loved and demanded that a would-be composer could probably assure himself a market by setting some to music. In the case of *La Vivandière*, for example, Wilhem "convinced his friend that this little-known tune [Example 1a] would hinder the success of the chanson,"[34] but then proceeded not to seek an appropriate tune that was more widely known (the logical conclusion), but rather to write a new one himself.

Wilhem's melody (Example 1b), shapeless and awkwardly fashioned, is based almost helplessly on the rhythms of Béranger's tune, expanding its range from a seventh to a voice-straining eleventh. Nonetheless, the tune did become popular[35]—testimony to Wilhem's understanding of what would appeal to a broad musical public. Similarly, Panseron and Meissonnier, whatever their limitations as creative artists, undoubtedly had a sensitive finger on the pulse of the more affluent market that they knew and served. Béranger surely appreciated this, for he was not writing just, or even mainly, for the lowest classes. His hope—as he put it—was that his chansons, through their refinement of language, would be able to "gain entry

[33] Génin, "Béranger compositeur," p. 326. The new chansons on Meissonnier's tune are *L'In-Octavo et l'In Trente-deux*, *Le Grenier*, *Couplet écrit sur l'Album de madame Amédée de V****, and *Le Dauphin*, according to Bérat, *Musique*, p. 338. This is confirmed by the *timbres* for all four songs in Béranger, *Chansons;* indeed, certain lines of these songs could not possibly have been composed to the original tune (e.g. *Le Dauphin*, stanza 1, lines 2 and 3).

[34] Génin, "Béranger compositeur," p. 310.

[35] *Ibid.* Wilhem's tune is no. 2339 in *La Clé*. Capelle actually indicates as its alternative title "Demain matin, au point du jour," the *timbre* of the original tune to *La Vivandière*. Wilhem's tune thus not only replaced the original but also absorbed its historical identity!

into the salons in order to make conquests in the interest of their [the people's] sentiments."[36] No doubt he understood that a fashionable musical style, too, might lead to "conquests" among the powerful.[37]

V

Whether such conquests were really likely to speed the establishment of a social structure favorable to *le peuple* was both highly debatable and hotly debated. Béranger and the other liberal bourgeois made their choices; *le peuple* began making their own.[38] During the July Monarchy a number of "opposition" social movements flourished among the artisan and working classes. These movements ranged in ideology from the devoutly pacifistic to the implacably insurrectionary, and each cultivated at least one *chansonnier* to spread its message.[39] The mood of hopefulness that followed the overthrow of the Bourbons in 1830 brought the "utopian" socialists to particular prominence, and their belief that *amélioration sociale* could be achieved peacefully was voiced by such *chansonniers* as Vinçard (a Saint-Simonian) and Journet (a Fourierist). As one might well expect, these songwriters were unattracted to the new elegant style and continued rather to use the snappy dance and march tunes that Béranger had originally favored for *his* political songs.[40] Indeed, in

[36] Béranger, "Préface de l'auteur: 1833," in *Chansons de P.-J. Béranger*, p. xiii.

[37] In his later years, it should be said, Béranger reaffirmed his preference for *airs connus*, though he admitted that he had sometimes chafed under their constraints (Ferdinand Hiller, *Aus dem Tonleben unserer Zeit* [Leipzig, 1868-1871], I, 93-94; and Béranger, "Préface pour mes dernières chansons," in *Œuvres posthumes*, pp. 9-10).

[38] Béranger did express admiration for the utopian socialists in his preface of 1833 and his song *Les Fous*, but the admiration was mixed with hesitancy and irony. See Ralph P. Locke, "Music and the Saint-Simonians," Ph.D. diss. (University of Chicago, 1980), pp. 250-254.

[39] The political and social context of the working-class chanson is brilliantly illuminated in Newman, *Voices from Below* (see note 3).

[40] See the selection of songs in Brochon, *Béranger*, and *idem.*, *La Chanson française: le Pamphlet du pauvre (1834-1857)* (Paris, 1957), and especially the lists of tunes: *Béranger*, pp. 168-173, and *Pamphlet*, pp. 199-205. Major published collections include Jules [or Luc] Vinçard, *Les Chants du travailleur* (Paris, 1869); Olinde Rodrigues, ed., *Poésies sociales des ouvriers* (Paris, 1841); and Boissy, *Poésies saint-simoniennes et phalanstériennes* (Paris, 1881). For more information (including location of

one respect they were truer to Béranger's roots than Béranger himself: they wrote texts for the two best-known songs of the French Revolution, *Ça ira* and the *Marseillaise*. Béranger never used either—out of self-protection, no doubt (during the Restoration), but perhaps also out of respect for the songs and for the events that had given them birth. The Saint-Simonians and other utopian socialists leaders, in contrast, made no secret of their dislike for the violence of the Revolution and for the militaristic and chauvinistic imagery of the text of the *Marseillaise*. They repeatedly proposed replacing the text with one appropriate to a new age of peace and fraternal cooperation, and Saint-Simonian songwriters eventually did produce three new texts. But the pacifist imagery sits strangely on Rouget de Lisle's stirring and irredeemably military tune.[41] (One text concludes: "Plus de sang, plus de sang!! / Humains, embrassez-vous. / Bientôt, bientôt, l'âge de Dieu / Va luire enfin pour tous.")[42] This fatal discontinuity between music and text, it must be said, afflicts many of the chansons of the utopian socialists.

During the 1830s, while the utopian socialists were busy preaching love of one's employer to the workers, the French government brutally repressed workers' uprisings in Lyon and elsewhere. The restoration of censorship in September 1835, and the installation in 1840 of the conservative Guizot as prime minister gave rise to yet another distinct generation of songwriters: class-conscious, radical, more socialist than utopian, pointing the way toward the Revolution of 1848 and the Second Republic. Their energetic message—full of urgency, sarcasm, and foreboding—fused perfectly with the sort of tunes that Béranger had used ten, twenty, and thirty years earlier.[43] *Les Aristos* (*The Aristocrats*) by Gustave Leroy, for example, employs a tune by Darondeau that Béranger had set no fewer than six times.[44] The tune is unusually long and episodic, and it does leap

surviving copies), see Locke, "Music and the Saint-Simonians," chaps. 5-6 and appendices 2-4; and Marie-Christine Marquat, "Jean Journet (1794-1861): l'homme et l'œuvre," thèse de troisième cycle (Université de la Sorbonne nouvelle [Paris III], 1978).

[41] Locke, "Music and the Saint-Simonians," pp. 74-76, 265-271.

[42] "Marseillaise pacifique," in *L'Homme nouveau* [prospectus for a journal] (Lyon, [1833]).

[43] Texts and tunes (or at least *timbres*) in Brochon, *Pamphlet*, and Vernillat and Barbier, *Histoire de France*, VI.

[44] Leroy, *Les Aristos*, reproduced from the version in Vernillat and Barbier, *Histoire de France*, VI, 195-198. The tune, "Amis, jamais

about, but its other characteristics are by now familiar to us—quick duple meter, major mode, mostly diatonic motion, dotted rhythm, comfortable range (an octave), no ornamentation—and the text setting is almost purely syllabic, with strong beats often falling (as in Béranger) on weak syllables. The first stanza of this rough hewn but eminently singable song may be summarized as follows: "I am poor, but as long as I have a job, my mug, and my pipe, I am happier than a king. I hate a man who does not work but gets rich anyway. Our sweat is what buys him his grub. That is why I do not like *les aristos*" (Example 9).

Louis Festeau, another songwriter of this generation of the 1840s wrote: "The chansonnier is the echo and petitioner of the people. He laughs [with them] in their joys, weeps over their sufferings, and threatens with their anger."[45] Abundant "suffering" and "anger" can indeed be found in the text of Leroy's *Les Aristos*, but it is the tune—like the contredanses in Béranger—which gives the song its "joy," its hopefulness, and its defiance. *Les Aristos*, like the Béranger songs written during the harsh final years of the Restoration, and perhaps like the best chansons of any country and any age, documents the resilience of the human spirit—not just in the specific language of words, but also, more profoundly, in the universal language of music.

l' chagrin n' m'approche," is attributed to Henri Darondeau; it was used in the vaudeville *Preville et Tacon[n]et* (*La Clé*, pp. 3, 53, 262). Vernillat and Barbier have altered some of the rhythms of the version in *La Clé* in order to accommodate extra syllables, and have shortened the long high E (five measures plus fermata in *La Clé*, no. 1614).

[45] Quoted (without source) in Vernillat, "Chanson littéraire," p. 1487.

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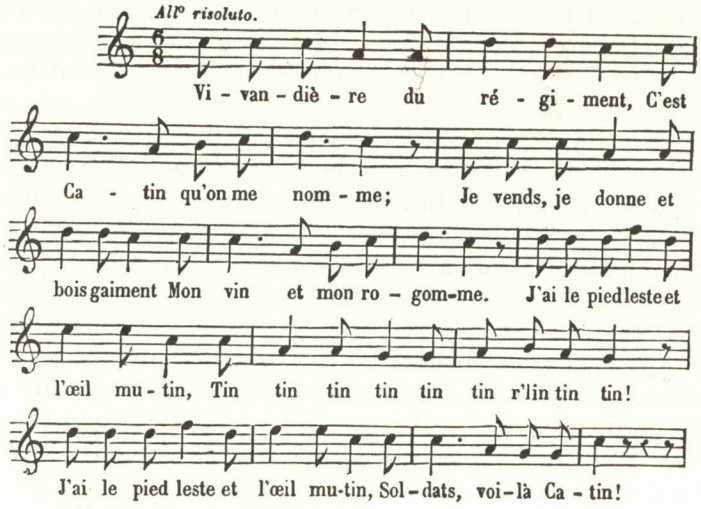
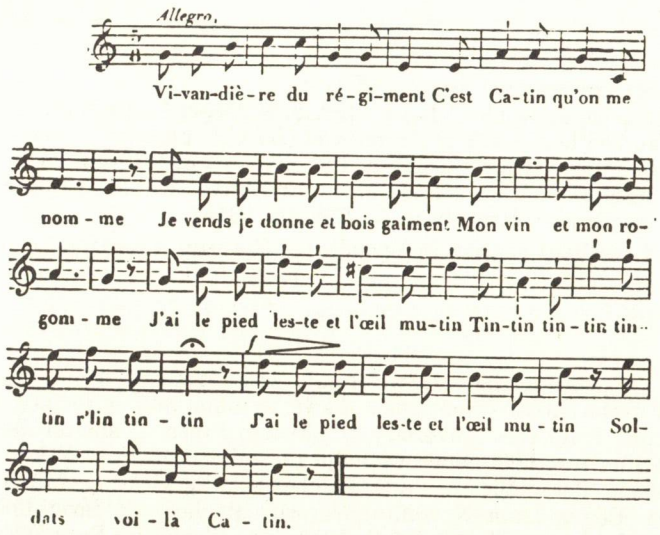
The present article draws freely on materials from the author's doctoral dissertation (mentioned above in note 38); a revised version is forthcoming from the University of Chicago Press. I should like to thank the following for their generous help and advice on this article: Adrienne Fried Block, Peter Bloom, Jane Fulcher, Philip Gossett, Marie-Christine Marquat, Edgar Leon Newman, Dorothy Packer, Frédéric Robert, Rose R. Subotnik, Jurgen Thym, Hendrik van der Werf, and Ross Wood.

MUSICAL EXAMPLES

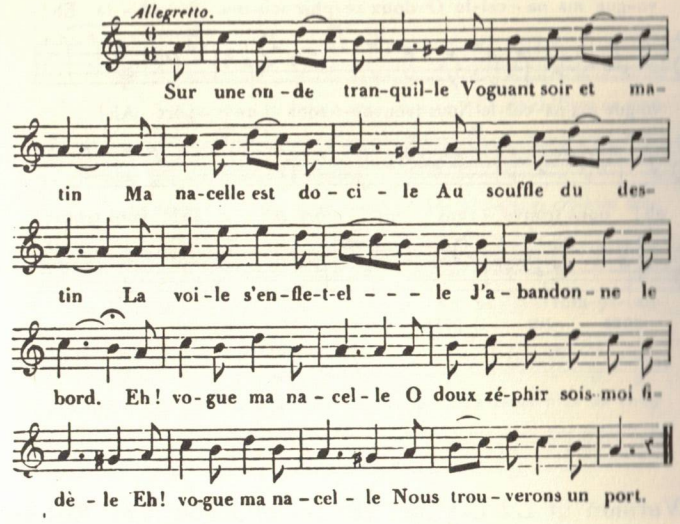
Ex. 1a. Béranger, *La Vivandière* (Bérat, p. 315—anonymous chanson tune).



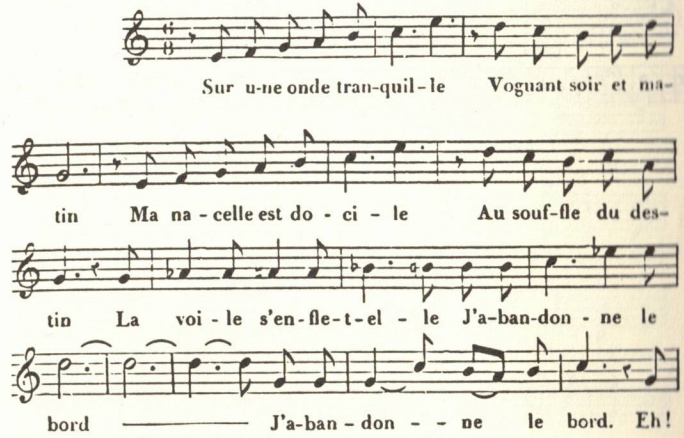
Ex. 1b. Béranger-Wilhem, *La Vivandière* (Bérat, no. 106).

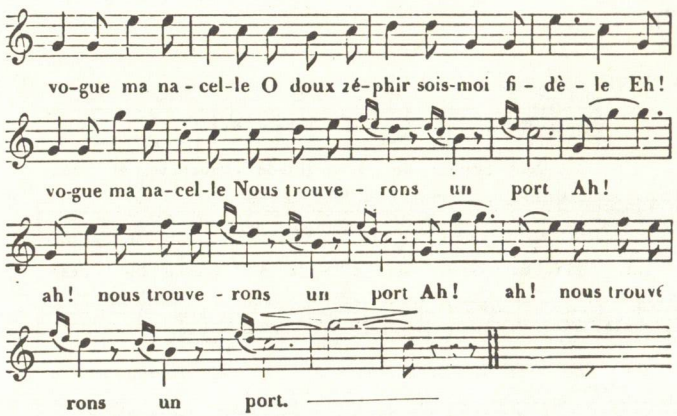


Ex. 2a. Béranger, *Ma nacelle* (Bérat, no. 111—anonymous "chanson ancienne").

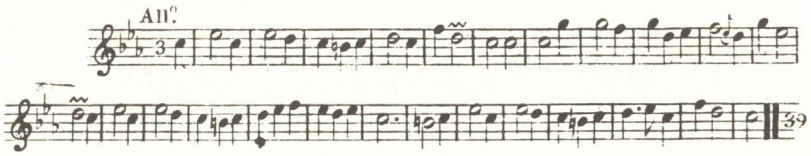


Ex. 2b. Béranger-Panseron, *Ma nacelle* (Bérat, no. 111*bis*).

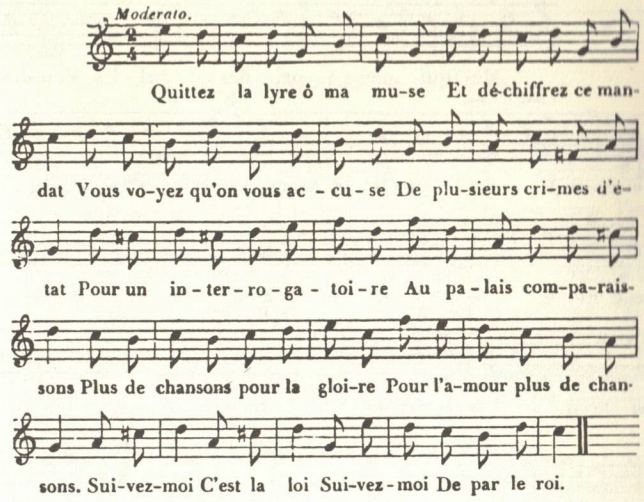




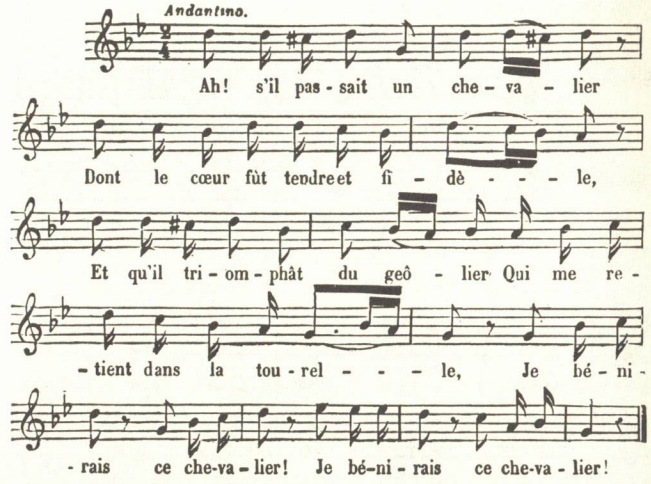
Ex. 2c. Version in *La Clé* (no. 1041—"chanson") of "Eh! vogue la galère," the tune used by Béranger in Example 2a. (Exx. 2c, 6, and 7 here are drawn from the 1816 edition of *Clé*.)



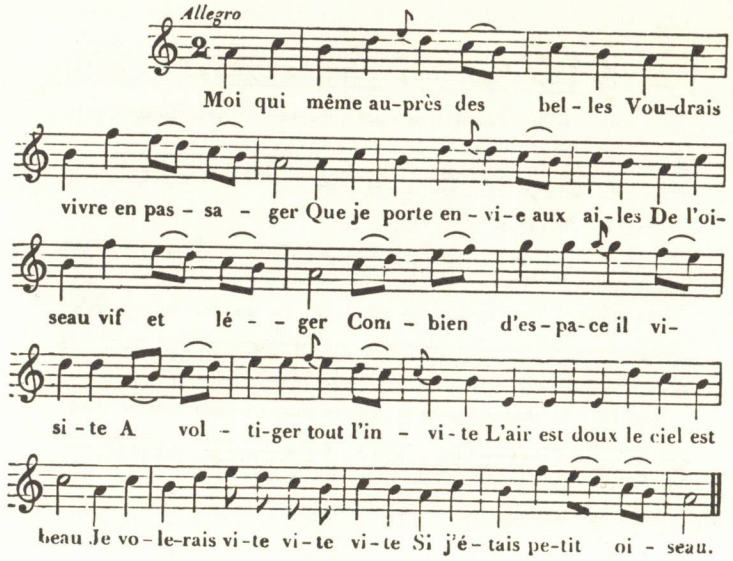
Ex. 3. Béranger, *La Muse en fuite* (Bérat, no. 170—tune by Tourterelle).



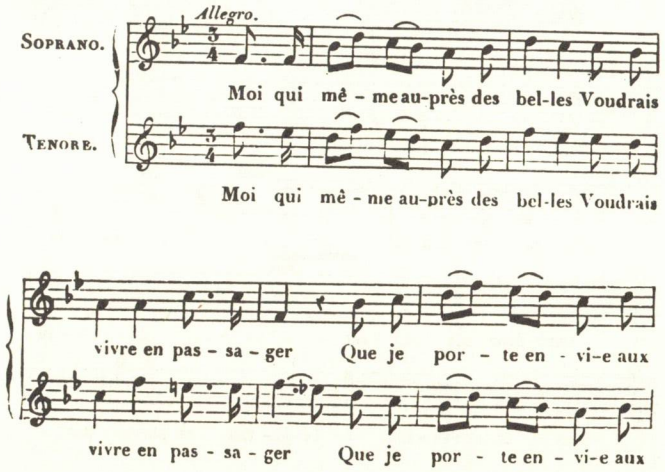
Ex. 4. Béranger, *La Prisonnière et le chevalier* (Bérat, p. 314).

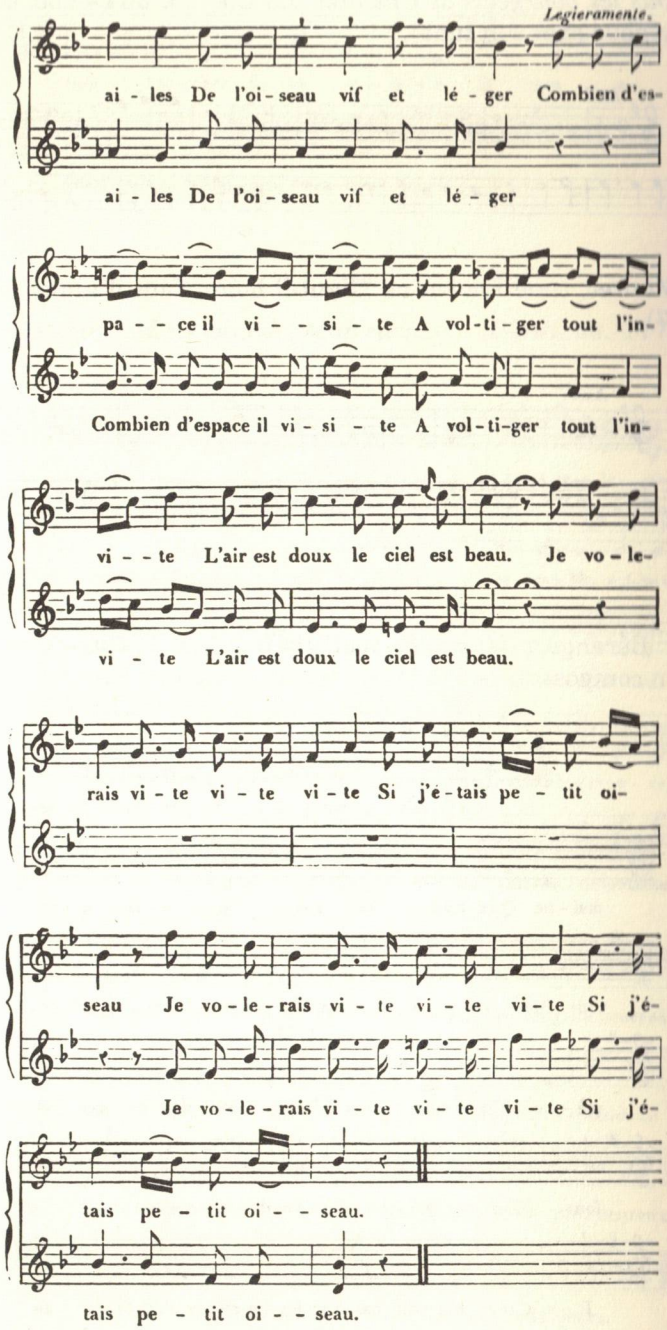


Ex. 5a. Béranger, *Si j'étais petit oiseau* (Bérat, no. 118*bis*—"air ancien").

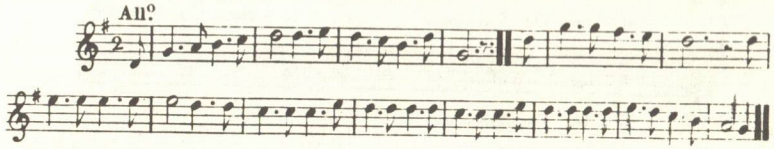


Ex. 5b. Béranger-Wilhem, *Si j'étais petit oiseau* (duet, Bérat, no. 118).

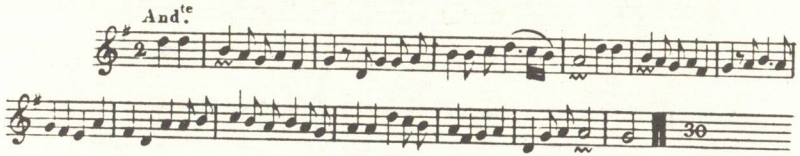




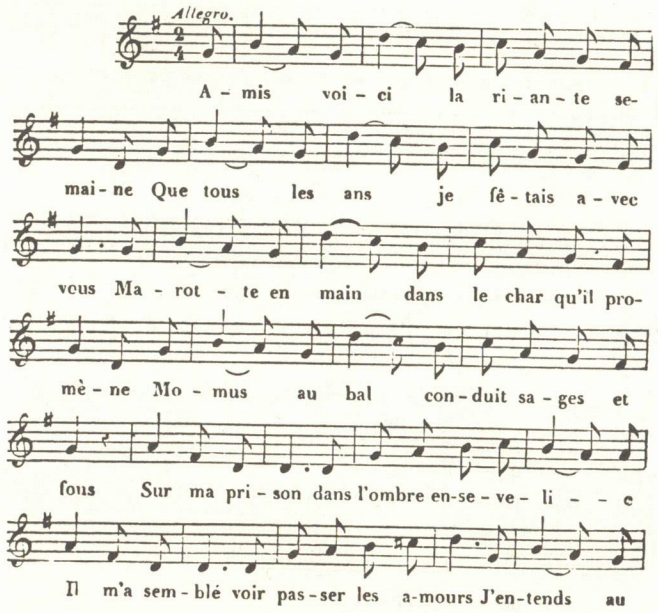
Ex. 6. *Tous les bourgeois de Chastres* (*La Clé*, no. 564—noel based on an anonymous chanson tune).

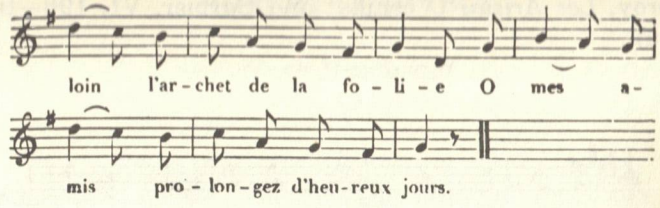


Ex. 7. Mouret, tune known as "Faut-il boire, faut-il aimer" (*La Clé*, no. 1047).

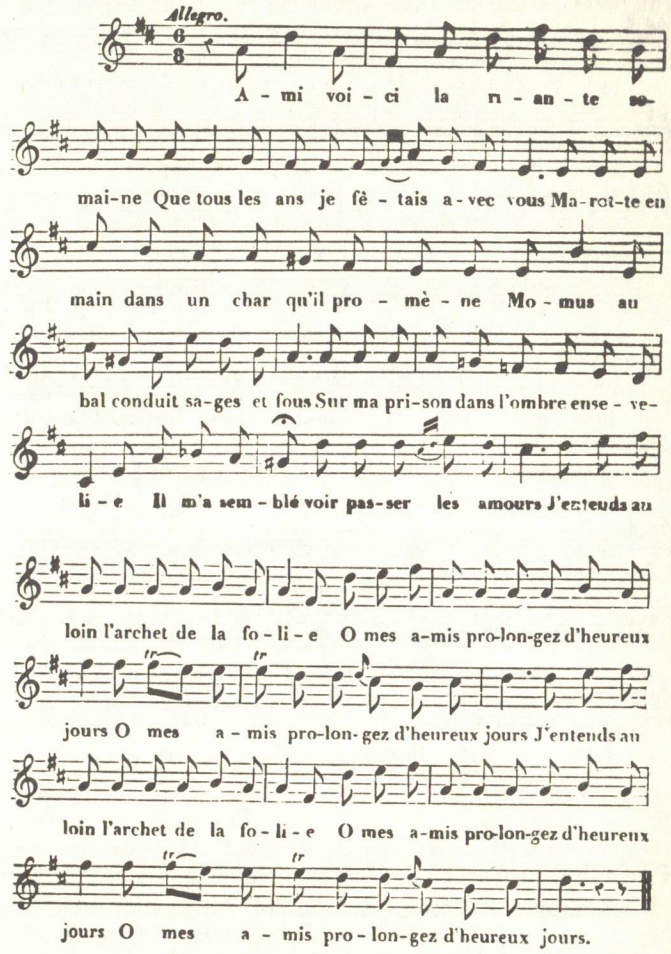


Ex. 8a. Béranger, *Mon carnaval* (Bérat, no. 177*bis*—tune by an unknown composer).

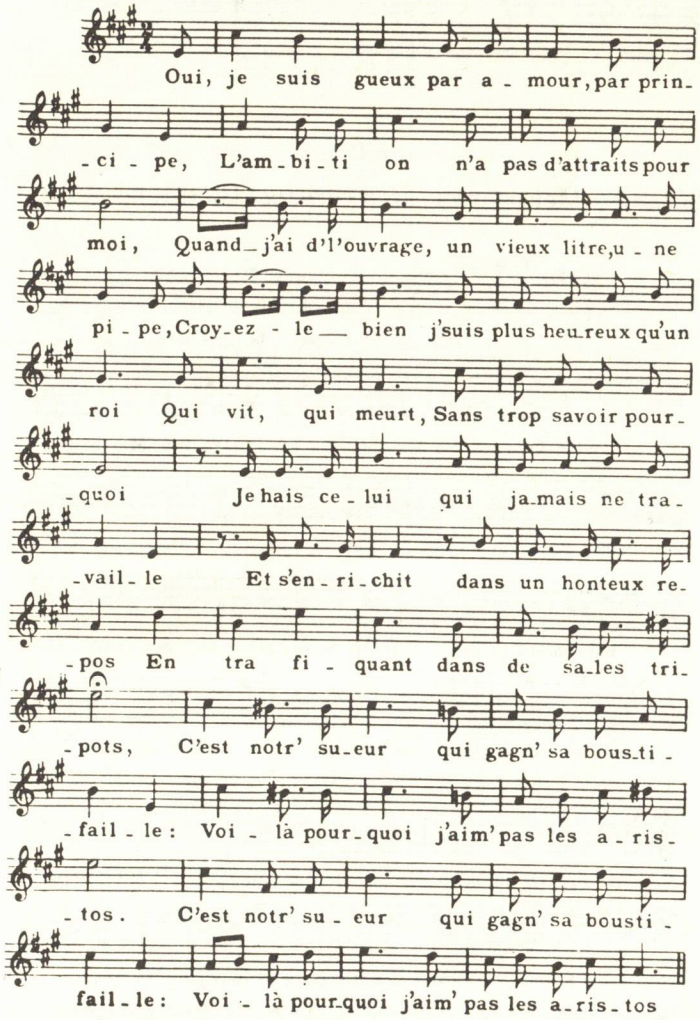




Ex. 8b. Béranger-Meissonnier, *Mon carnaval* (Bérat, no. 177).



Ex. 9. Leroy, *Les Aristos* (Vernillat and Barbier, VI, 196—tune by Darondeau).



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ROBERT LE DIABLE

Hugh Macdonald

Readers familiar with Balzac's *Gambara* will recall that a discussion of the merits of *Robert le diable* provides an unusual climax to a tale which also touches on the then modish debate about the nature of Italian and German musical sensibility. Balzac could assume a close familiarity with the opera among his readers since any opera-goer in the 1830s would have had ample opportunity to see and hear it many times. It was discussed and parodied everywhere; those who did not frequent the Opéra would have heard its tunes treated to every kind of variation and fantasy in the salon. It was the most successful single work in the city and the decade which this publication celebrates and therefore one which we can ill afford to ignore. It reached its hundredth performance at the Opéra within three years of its première in November 1831, and in the same period had been produced on seventy-seven different stages,[1] many of them, as Berlioz pointed out,[2] lamentably ill-equipped for such an elaborate and demanding piece. Wagner observed that it acted as a measure of other operas' success or, more often, failure, since if ever a new opera began to lose its audience the management would immediately announce a performance of *Robert le diable* as a way of recouping their losses.[3]

The reasons for this unprecedented success are on the whole well understood and well recognized. Scribe's crucial role in contriving this new ambitious art-form is admirably treated in Karin Pendle's study of Scribe,[4] and all writers are agreed that the rich stew which he and his poetic collaborators served up for Meyerbeer—in this case a historical setting (Sicily under the Normans), the Faustian battle between forces of good and evil for a man's soul, spectacular staging, suggestions of sacrilege and forbidden pleasures, magnificent vocal display, the full resources of modern orchestration, the blend of

[1] See Karin Pendle, *Eugène Scribe and French Opera of the Nineteenth Century* (Ann Arbor, 1979), p. 427.

[2] "De l'instrumentation de ***Robert le diable***," *Gazette musicale de Paris*, II (12 July 1835), 229.

[3] *Abendzeitung* (Dresden), 19 March 1841; cited in *Wagner Writes from Paris*, ed. Jacobs and Skelton (London, 1973), p. 111.

[4] See note 1.