Lili Boulanger (1893–1918) and World War I France: Mobilizing Motherhood and the Good Suffering

By

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my best creations—my son, Owen Frederick and my unborn daughter, Clara Grace. I hope this dissertation and my musicological career inspires them to always pursue their education and maintain a love for music.

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Contents

Introduction

In 1918, as bombs fell on the streets of Paris, hundreds braved the war-torn city to pay their respects to the late composer Lili Boulanger (1893–1918) at the Église de la Trinité. In their eulogies, the primary newspapers in Paris compared the twenty-four-year-old Boulanger to the virgin martyrs of antiquity, whose sacrifices allegedly brought victory to valorous armies.[1] In her short life, Boulanger had received notoriety in 1913 as the first female winner of France's Prix de Rome, the country's most prestigious compositional prize. Her contemporaries and critics applauded her for maintaining a serene, submissive, and frail persona as she entered the public, masculine domain of composition, and they now mourned the loss of a talent still in its prime. As seen in newspapers, magazines, and interviews, Boulanger's perceived and constructed identity as a sickly, delicate, sacrificial child-genius enabled her to negotiate a public compositional sphere typically off limits to women and to become one of the most highly successful French composers of the early twentieth century.

Boulanger's story is not wanting for drama. The tragedy, the talent, and the heroism emphasized by many scholars in their telling of her tale, however, fails to engage with important questions about both her gendered position within French society and musical culture, and her compositional choices within the larger social, cultural, and political framework of the First World War. Boulanger was, I argue, essential to the Parisian musical community during the war for several reasons. She created, organized, and edited *La Gazette des classes du Conservatoire National,* a newspaper distributed to hundreds of the Conservatoire's mobilized students (1915–1918). The publication of the *Gazette* was one of the main activities of Comité Franco-

[1] Léonie Rosenstiel, *Nadia Boulanger: A Life in Music* (New York and London: W. W. Norton and Company, 1982), 135.

Américain du Conservatoire, a large network of musicians including Gustave Charpentier, Théodore Dubois, Gabriel Fauré, Émile Paladilhe, Camille Saint-Saëns, Paul Vidal, and Charles Widor.

Furthermore, Boulanger's musical compositions exemplified leading contemporary French musical styles that French musicians fervently debated and defined as key to musical French identity. These compositions included those Boulanger wrote during the war, such as *Vieille prière bouddhique* (1914–1917), Psaume 129 (1916), Psaume 130 (1914–1917), *Dans l'immense tristesse* (1916), and those she wrote prior to the war, but which were used in wartime benefit concerts, such as *Pour les funérailles d'un soldat* (1912–1913) and *Clairières dans le ciel* (1913–1914). As I will discuss throughout the dissertation, these compositions also reveal several of the foremost gendered wartime themes and concerns, such as suffering and melancholia, motherhood, childhood, negotiations of Self, Other, and exoticism.

My dissertation engages the interrelations between gender, music, and war through an examination of Boulanger's contributions to French musical communities and institutions during the First World War. Boulanger's wartime musical compositions, along with her war charity work and her intentional representation of maternal gender roles, both challenge and broaden the conventional masculine narratives of World War I and French cultural identity. Boulanger and her colleagues, critics, family, and friends mobilized her femininity to symbolize dominant contemporary conceptions of French wartime motherhood, the *marraine de guerre*, the *femme fragile*, and the Catholic Good Sufferer. Her music adds a transformative layer to the traditional musical wartime narrative as it highlights and explores subjects that her male contemporaries did not broach. These aspects of Boulanger's public and private persona underscore the leading gender concerns, instabilities, and debates during the war. Through an analysis of Boulanger's

reception, her own constructed public and private personae, and her compositions, I argue that Boulanger, at various times, became a *marraine de guerre,* a Mimi Pinson, or a Thérèse of Lisieux; in other words, she symbolized France. Boulanger, however, did not just stand in for France, but specifically for an artistic, musical France during World War I.

Boulanger's Biography

Boulanger's life was shaped by continuous illness. In 1895, at just two years old, she contracted bronchial pneumonia, from which her immune system never fully recovered. For the remainder of her short life, she battled episodes of intestinal tuberculosis, now known as Crohn's Disease, and other infectious diseases. Her mother, Raïssa, frequently accompanied Boulanger around the country to try different treatments for her illnesses. Her health made it nearly impossible to attend classes or activities on a regular basis. Even the time Boulanger spent at the Villa Medici to complete her Prix de Rome tenure was marred by serious bronchitis and malaria and her illnesses forced her to compose from her bed during much of her Villa Medici stay.[2] Boulanger's health worsened considerably throughout1917, and she died on March 15, 1918 of intestinal tuberculosis.

Boulanger is not unlike several historical composers whose biographies have revolved around either their disabilities and/or illnesses. Musicologists Neil Lerner and Joseph N. Straus discuss common disability tropes in their scholarship; composers and musicians either overcome their disabilities and succeed, and/or resign to them.[3] Medieval monk and musician Notker Balbus, for example, was known as the "stammerer," Francesco Landini was blinded by

[2] Léonie Rosenstiel, *The Life and Works of Lili Boulanger* (London: Associated University Press, 1978), 118–19.

[3] See Neil Lerner and Joseph Straus, *Sounding Off: Theorizing Disability in Music*, ed. by Neil Lerner and Joseph N. Straus (New York: Routledge, 2006).

smallpox in childhood, and J. S. Bach lost his vision later in life. Perhaps best-known is Ludwig van Beethoven's deafness. The classic narrative of Beethoven celebrates his ability to overcome his deafness, composing some of the best-known works in the Western classical repertoire.

Boulanger's illnesses were different from disabilities such as deafness. Her reception, however, was inundated by comments that highlight both the stereotypical overcoming narrative as well as her tragically short life. To an extent, Boulanger's narrative is reduced to her illness. In other words, her illness becomes the most important aspect of her life. Most of Boulanger's contemporary reviews mention her illness within the first few sentences and her posthumous reviews often begin with her untimely and tragic death. In a 1921 article on Boulanger, for example, musicologist Camille Mauclair began: "I shall retrace here both the history and the legend of an existence—that of a young lady—who is dead."[4] Despite Boulanger's consistent battles with ill health, her story also revolves around her ability to look past her illness and contribute important compositions to the Parisian musical community.

I am not interested in reproducing a narrative in which Boulanger overcomes her illness or ultimately concedes to it. It nevertheless always stands central to her life because of the dominant place it has assumed in her reviews. I examine the reception of Boulanger's illness as a cultural and social construction of its time rather than simply a pathology of the body, as Lerner and Straus suggest, in order to understand why it was so crucial to her own gendered performance and to her contemporary and posthumous reception.[5] What many saw as her fate to suffer—and to suffer gracefully and silently—resonated strongly in the wartime climate as a

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[4] Camille Mauclair, "La vie et l'œuvre de Lili Boulanger," *Revue musicale* 10 (1921): 147. "Je retracerai ici tout ensemble l'histoire et la légende d'une existence: celle d'une jeune fille de génie—qui est morte."

[5] Lerner and Straus, *Sounding Off*, 5.

noble feminine attribute. Boulanger's sickness and suffering thus became essential to her mobilization of feminine wartime roles, and to her ultimate relevance to and acceptance during the First World War.

Besides the predominance of sickness in Boulanger's life, much of her biography emphasizes her musical family. Her heritage and the opportunities her family provided contributed greatly to her ability to succeed. She came from a long familial lineage of musicians, and her immediate family circulated in the most influential Parisian musical communities. Her paternal grandfather, Frédéric Boulanger (1777–?), was a noted cellist and professor at the Paris Conservatoire, while her paternal grandmother, Marie-Julie Boulanger (1786–1850) was a mezzo-soprano at the Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique. Lili Boulanger's mother, Raïssa Mischetzky (1858–1935), an alleged Russian princess, came to Paris to study voice with Ernest Boulanger (1815–1900), Boulanger's father. Ernest Boulanger was an opera composer and himself won the Prix de Rome in composition in 1835. He married Raïssa in 1877.

The Boulanger family socialized with some of the most prominent French musicians of the day. Georges Caussade, Claude Debussy, Gabriel Fauré, Charles Gounod, Raoul Pugno, Paul Vidal, among others frequented the Boulanger home for afternoon and evening musical soirées. These soirées provided Lili and her older sister, Nadia (1887–1979), opportunities to both perform and premiere their own compositions with some of France's most influential musicians in attendance. In 1912, for example, Lili recorded in her diary that Nadia and Pugno performed two of her compositions—*Les sirènes* (1911) and *Renouveau* (1911)—at an evening concert at her home.[6]

[6] Caroline Potter, *Nadia and Lili Boulanger* (Burlington, VT.: Ashgate, 2006), 12.

Nadia was a constant and formidable influence in Lili's life. At nine years of age, Nadia Boulanger entered the Paris Conservatoire to study harmony with Vidal and composition with Widor and Fauré. After winning numerous top prizes at the Conservatoire, she went on to win second prize in the 1908 Prix de Rome competition.[7] She became a composer and concert organist and pianist. Two years after Lili's death, however, she gave up her compositional career because she believed Lili had been and remained the more compositionally gifted of the two. After 1920, Nadia concentrated her career not only on promoting Lili's music, but also on her own teaching and conducting careers. Nadia became one of the twentieth-century's leading pedagogues, renowned in both France and the United States. A founding member of the American Conservatory at Fontainebleau in 1921, she became its director in 1948 and a professor of piano accompaniment at the Paris Conservatoire (1946–57). Her students included such performers, composers, and conductors as Elliot Carter, Aaron Copland, Dinu Lipatti, Igor Markevitch, Thea Musgrave, and Ástor Piazzolla. Due to her reputation as a pedagogue and her long-lasting and influential musical career, she has remained the better known of the two sisters.

Lili accompanied Nadia to her classes at the Conservatoire from a young age and began auditing Auguste Chapuis's harmony class at the Conservatoire in 1898 and Fauré's composition class in 1901. She then studied privately with Caussade beginning in 1910 and officially entered the Conservatoire in 1912, studying composition with Vidal as well. Following in the footsteps of her older sister, Lili entered the Prix de Rome competition in 1912, but ill health forced her to withdraw.

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[7] For an in-depth discussion of Nadia Boulanger's experience at the Prix de Rome, see Annegret Fauser, "'La Guerre en dentelles': Women and the 'Prix de Rome' in French Cultural Politics," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 51, no. 1 (Spring 1998): 83–129.

A year later, however, Boulanger became the first woman to win the coveted Prix de Rome in composition with her cantata *Faust et Hélène.* The press, colleagues, and friends praised Boulanger's cantata. On July 5, 1913, the Institut de France, Académie des Beaux-Arts, for example, issued a statement on their decision to grant Boulanger the Prix de Rome. They wrote that her cantata displayed "intelligence of subject, precision of declamation, sensibility and warmth, poetic sentiment, intelligent and colorful orchestration; [it is] a remarkable cantata."[8] Another review from *Le Monde Musical* stated, "Mlle Lili Boulanger gave us one of the most beautiful cantatas that has been heard in many years. . . . Her work is completely superior and captured everyone even at first hearing. . . . We must congratulate Mlle Lili Boulanger for having, at her age, such an ability, such a sense of the stage, a touching musicality, turn by turn caressing and despairing, rude and supple, and the innate ability to see and attain exactly the right means of expression. Her cantata was the revelation of the day."[9] In a letter to Nadia Boulanger, Maurice Ravel wrote that he had a conversation with Gabriel Fauré about Lili Boulanger and believed that if "she had heard the opinion of [Fauré] she would have been proud of her triumph."[10]

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[8] "Procés-Verbal 1913-1914," Institut de France, Académie des Beaux Arts 66 (July 5, 1913); quoted in Carole Bertho Woolliams, *Lili Boulanger Compositrice du XXe siècle* (Paris: Le Jardin d'Essai, 2009), 34. "Intelligence du sujet. Justesse de la declamation. De la sensibilité et de la chaleur. Sentiment poétique. Orchestre intelligent et coloré. Cantate remarquable."

[9]Auguste Mangeot, "Mlle Lili Boulanger," *Le Monde musical* 25 no. 13–14 (July 1913): 173; quoted in Rosenstiel, *The Life and Works of Lili Boulanger* (London: Associated University Press, 1978), 80.

[10] Maurice Ravel, letter to Nadia Boulanger (August 28, 1913); quoted in Jérôme Spycket, *À la recherche de Lili Boulanger: Essai biographique* (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 2004), 191. "Non, je n'aurai pas le cynisme de féliciter votre soeur. . . Et pourtant depuis près de deux mois, l'intention ne m'en a pas manqué. Surtout après la conversation que j'ai eue avec Fauré à son sujet. Je crois bien que si elle avait entendu l'opinion de ce grand artiste, elle en aurait été aussi fière que de son triomphe. . . J'achève les 2 poèmes de Mallarmé, ce qui me

Boulanger's success led to a contract from the publisher Tito Ricordi in 1913, which assured her a fixed yearly income and resulted in the publication of her prize winning cantata. In 1916, Ricordi further published several of Boulanger's other compositions, including *Nocturne* (1911), *Reflets* (1911), *Attente* (1912), *Le Retour* (1912), *Clairières dans le ciel* (1913–1914), *Soir sur la plaine* (1913), *D'un vieux jardin* (1914), *D'un jardin clair* (1914), and *Cortège* (1914).

As stipulated by her award, Boulanger began her tenure at Rome's Villa Medici. The onset of the First World War, however, forced many of her male colleagues who were also at the Villa Medici to enlist, and Boulanger chose as well to leave the Villa Medici. In January 1915, the Académie des Beaux-Arts, who oversaw the Prix de Rome, gave Boulanger permission to return to the Villa Medici, but she had already decided to devote herself to the war effort. As I will discuss in Chapters Three and Four, during the war Boulanger became the co-founder and secretary of the Comité Franco-Américain and the editor-in-chief of its *Gazette des Classes de Composition du Conservatoire*, a newspaper distributed to mobilized students. Although her wartime charity took up a great deal of her time, Boulanger continued to compose until her death. She died not knowing what was to become of France or when the war would be over. She died not knowing the future course of French music, and she died before many of her compositions received their premiere performances. One reviewer wrote, "her death is a real loss

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permet de me reposer en mettant à jour ma correspondance de plusieurs mois . . . Priez votre soeur de me pardoner, excusez-moi aussi et veuillez presenter à Madame votre mère le respectueux souvenir de votre dévoué." Years later, in 1919, Walter Damrosch called Boulanger's *Faust et Hélène* a "masterpiece of modern music." Rosenstiel, *Life and Works of Lili Boulanger*, 206.

for young French music and is a brutal and sad reminder of the realities."[11] Boulanger was, albeit indirectly, another wartime victim.

Women and War

More than 1.3 million French soldiers were killed and 4.3 million wounded during the First World War.[12] These figures do not include the civilian casualties or the soldiers missing in action. No one could escape the horrific suffering the war caused, including the French women who participated in war efforts from the home front, or lost a spouse, a child, or a friend. While many historical accounts of the First World War focus on the experiences of male soldiers, war is not solely a man's activity. War is a gendering activity, one that both solidifies and challenges gendered expectations and roles. Gender during World War I France is particularly complicated because of the proximity of the home front and the fluidity of soldier's movement between the home front and the front lines. This overlapping of space led to increased gender anxieties. Unlike in Great Britain, Russia, the United States, or Germany, France did not authorize women into military auxiliary corps during the First World War, nor did they officially mobilize or militarize them because they did not have to send them overseas to fight. Instead, French women's participation in wartime activities was done purely through individual and private organizations, which did not threaten gender boundaries as easily as it did in countries that

[11] *Annuaire official de 1919, rubrique Nécrologie, du CNSMD de Paris*, document non coté; quoted in Carole Bertho Woolliams, *Lili Boulanger Compositrice du XXe siècle* (Le Jardin d'Essai, 2009), 58. "Devant cette mort qui est une réelle perte pour la jeune musique française et qui est un si brutal et si triste rappel aux réalités."

[12] Catharine Savage Brosman, *Visions of War in France: Fiction, Art, Ideology* (Baton Rouge, LA.: Louisiana State University Press, 1999), 137.

officially recognized women's service.[13] In recent decades, several historians have begun to focus on women's work and roles in the First World War.[14]

Margaret H. Darrow and Susan R. Grayzel's scholarship, in particular, is crucial to my interpretation of Boulanger and her wartime work.[15] These two historians provide accounts of individual women and their wartime roles, which are lacking in so many historical accounts of France and the First World War.[16] More importantly, however, Darrow and Grayzel explore multifaceted constructions of gender to analyze the complexities and slippages that comprised dominant French feminine roles such as mothers, nurses, factory workers, and the *marraine de guerre*, among others. They, along with other historians such as Mary Louise Roberts,

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[13] Writers such as Léon Abensour argued that because the British mobilized and militarized women, the British women were gaining traits of masculinity, while the British men were losing their's. Léon Abensour, *Les Vaillantes: Héroïnes, Martyres, et Remplaçantes* (Paris: Librairie Chapalot, 1917), 242–43.

[14] These include: Margaret H. Darrow, *French Women and the First World War: War Stories of the Home Front* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2000); Susan K. Foley, *Women in France Since 1789: The Meanings of Difference* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Susan R. Grayzel, "Mothers, Marraines, and Prostitutes: Morale and Morality in First World War France," *The International History Review* 14, no. 1 (1997): 66–82; idem., *Women's Identities at War: Gender, Motherhood, and Politics in Britain and France During the First World War* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); Margaret Randolph Higonnet, Jane Jenson, Sonya Michel, Margaret Collins Weitz, eds., *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987); Lois Ann Lorentzen and Jennifer Turpin, eds., *The Women and War Reader* (New York: New York University Press, 1998); James F. McMillan, *Housewife or Harlot: The Place of Women in French Society, 1870–1940* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981); and Françoise Thébaud, *La Femme au temps de la guerre de 14* (Paris: Stock/Laurence Pernoud, 1986).

[15] See Darrow, *French Women and the First World War;* Grayzel, "Mothers, Marraines, and Prostitutes," and *Women's Identities at War.*

[16] Very few women have war stories of their own. The most well-known occurs in England—Vera Brittain's *Testament of Youth*, first published in 1933. There are few accounts of French women's experiences in war, including Noèlle Roger's nursing sketches, *Carnets d'une infirmière* (1915). Darrow, *French Women and the First World War,* 2.

understand war as a complicated gendering activity. As Roberts argues, gendered rhetoric during wartime does not reveal much about *actual* lived gender changes and relations, but rather highlights the importance attached to concepts of masculine and feminine.[17]

This idea departs from traditional gendered wartime watershed themes, such as women gaining new opportunities during World War I, women gaining political rights for their service, women's presupposed fundamental apathy to war, and the war's short and long term impacts on women's work and women's lives.[18] Historians such as Jean-Jacques Becker, Darrow, Grayzel, and James McMillan have called into question the validity of these themes.[19] These historians conclude that women's emancipation due to wartime conditions, specifically in France during the First World War, was an illusion. Instead, they argue that the war helped to concretize normative gender roles and ideologies already embedded in French society. In other words, the war created conditions which highlighted fluctuating gender roles and concerns. Simultaneously, these wartime conditions prompted leaders to emphasize and normalize gender identities such as motherhood in order to combat gender destabilization.

Nowhere is this confirmation of traditionally prescribed gender roles more evident than in the wartime French mobilization of noble, sacrificial, suffering motherhood as a way to identify *all* women. Indeed, ideas of French wartime motherhood dominate Boulanger's reception and are therefore points of departure throughout this dissertation. The predominance of wartime images

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[17] Darrow, *French Women and the First World War,* 8.

[18] Scott, "Rewriting History," 19–30**.** Scott argues that these watershed themes are too simplistic and do not answer key questions about gender and war.

[19] For more information see Darrow, *French Women and the First World War*; Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Women and War* (New York: Basic Books, 1987); Foley, *Women in France Since 1789;* Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War;* James F. McMillan, *France and Women, 1789–1914: Gender, Society, and Politics* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000); idem., *Housewife or Harlot.*

that feature mothers continued post-war in numerous wartime memorials. I rely upon the work of historian Daniel Sherman, whose scholarship on World War I examines French collective memory about World War I and its normalization of traditional gendered expectations.[20] Drawing from the work of Darrow, Grayzel, Roberts, Sherman, and others, I thus explore how we can better understand Boulanger's life and works using the complex and often contradictory mobilizations of wartime gendered roles, in particular that of the maternal.

Gender as an Analytical Category

In primary documents, such as newspaper reviews of her performances, compositions, and contemporary and posthumous reception, Boulanger's gender always emerges as central. Similar to Darrow and Grayzel's engagement with the complexities of wartime gender, I examine the rhetoric and metaphoric uses attached to concepts of femininity, particularly as they relate to the foremost gender instabilities of wartime. As historian Denise Riley suggests, scholars need to study the lived effects of political language in conceptualizing and forming gendered roles for women.[21] Riley's methodology helps us understand how political language affected Boulanger's life and how she also used such rhetoric for her own benefit. Wartime rhetoric sometimes concurred with a woman's reality and other times simply did not. Political language, while constructed and in constant flux, had substantial consequences on actual experience and posthumous remembrance for women composers, often forcing their musical contributions to the sidelines.

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[20] See Daniel J. Sherman, *The Construction of Memory in Interwar France* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

[21] Joan Scott, "Rewriting History," in *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars,* ed. Margaret Randolph Higonnet, Jane Jenson, Sonya Michel, and Margaret Collins Weitz (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987), 29.

Boulanger's contributions to French musical culture during the First World War, and throughout her life, thus demands that gender as an analytical category remain fundamental. Theorized by Joan Scott, gender as an analytical category enables us to view gender as a pronounced, polarizing force during war that cemented and divided volatile gender roles and images, and shaped all societal, political, and cultural context.[22] Gender, in its constant state of construction, encompasses and gives meaning to an entire system of power relationships, cultural constructions, and knowledge. While gender should not solely be employed for analyses of women and music, or limited to explaining the lives and music of those who stand outside the traditional musical canon, it is nevertheless critical in placing Boulanger within the context of music in France during World War One. Marcia Citron argues this point well when she writes that gender "works the spaces between the individual and the group," and helps to "reshuffle the categories" in musical historiography.[23] Citron continues that gender as an analytical category exposes the ideologies and assumptions of conditions that have been regarded as value-free. These "conditions" include the institutions in which composers work, whether they are schools, performance spaces, or musical competitions, as well as broader ideologies of French musical identity, colonialism, and exoticism.

Besides drawing upon Scott and Citron's work on gender as an analytical category, I also rely upon Judith Butler's ideas of gendered performativity.[24] Butler argues that

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[22] See Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Analysis," in *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 28–50.

[23] Marcia J. Citron, "Gender and the Field of Musicology," *Current Musicology* 53 (2003): 68.

[24] See Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990).

> gender is in no way a stable identity or locus of agency from which various acts proceed; rather, it is an identity tenuously constituted in time—an identity instituted through a *stylized repetition of acts.* Further, gender is instituted through the stylization of the body and, hence, must be understood as the mundane way in which bodily gestures, movements, and enactments of various kinds constitute the illusion of an abiding gendered self.[25]

Boulanger's gender was therefore not something innate, but something performed publicly and privately again and again over time.

Her public and private gendered performativity mobilized key characteristics of gender identities such as the *marraine de guerre* and the *femme fragile,* discussed in Chapters Two and Three, while simultaneously pursuing a competitive and professional career. Because, in part, of the ways Boulanger performed her gender, she successfully navigated the masculine profession of composition while quelling male colleagues' fears about her sex. Her gendered performative choices were particularly relevant during the First World War, as they often embodied, and sometimes challenged, all that French officials and propaganda encouraged in women during the war— purity, sacrifice, loyalty, and endless devotion. The way critics viewed Boulanger's gender, and the way she performed it, had even more significance during the First World War than before the outbreak of the war because the war fueled fears about gender instabilities and complications. In order to understand how Boulanger mobilized particular feminine identities, such as motherhood, the *marraine de guerre,* and the *femme fragile* during the war, I rely heavily on several histories and analyses of women's constructed roles and representations during the First World War, particularly those of Darrow and Grayzel.[26] Previous scholarship on Boulanger

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[25] Judith Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory," *Theatre Journal* 40, no. 4 (December 1998): 519.

[26] See Darrow, *French Women and the First World War;* Grayzel, "Mothers, Marraines, and Prostitutes" and *Women's Identities at War.*

has generally not discussed Boulanger's roles during the war, save for brief mentions of her work with the *Gazette.* It also has not analyzed Boulanger's compositions within a wartime context.

Boulanger within Musicology and Musical World War I Histories

Boulanger is often completely omitted from leading twentieth-century music history texts such as Robert Morgan's *Anthology of Twentieth-Century Music*, or the most recent edition of *A History of Western Music*.[27] Other musicologists, such as Richard Taruskin in his *Oxford History of Western Music*, include Boulanger within discussions of French musical style at the *fin-de-siècle.*[28] Similar to much scholarship on Boulanger within a general history of Western music, however, Taruskin relegates her to an afterthought and focuses on her personality and career as an exception to her sex (although he does highlight gender issues introduced by Annegret Fauser). In a rich chapter that covers the musical essence of *fin-de-siècle* France, Wagnerian influence, symbolism, and impressionism, he casts Boulanger's compositions as not critical to or emblematic of the major trends of the day. Taruskin's analysis of one of Boulanger's compositions, *Pie Jesu* (1918), for example, simply indicates Fauré's influence and similarities to Wagner's chromaticism.

During Boulanger's life, her compositions were frequently reviewed, and I draw upon these reviews throughout this dissertation. In the decade following her death, several articles appeared as tributes to Boulanger's life and works, the most substantial being Camille Mauclair's

[27] See Robert Morgan, *Anthology of Twentieth-Century Music: A History of Musical Style in Modern Europe and America* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1991); J. Peter Burkholder, Donald J. Grout, Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music Eighth Edition* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2009).

[28] See Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

"La Vie et l'œuvre de Lili Boulanger."[29] In 1930, Boulanger was the first woman composer to appear in a significant article in the American journal, *Musical Quarterly.* Paul Landormy, author of the article, declared that "woman's music had just been born" with Boulanger.[30] Both articles by Mauclair and Landormy focus on Boulanger as an extraordinary exception to her sex, infantilize her by referring to her as *l'enfant*, provide a basic biography of family, education, and success, and briefly mention some of her works without providing in-depth analysis. While there were a few short articles on Boulanger during the 1960s and 1970s, there was no further noteworthy Boulanger scholarship until Léonie Rosenstiel's biography in 1978.[31]

Rosenstiel's biography, *The Life and Works of Lili Boulanger,* remains critical to Boulanger scholarship because she first presented a rich source of primary documents from Boulanger's life that had never before been researched. It is, however, a compensatory history of Boulanger which seeks to reinsert Boulanger back into the musicological canon, but does not analyze Boulanger's life or works within a historical, cultural, social, and gendered context. Like much of Boulanger scholarship, Rosenstiel divides Boulanger's biography into two sections: life and works. This division creates a false dichotomy and does not allow us to understand how the two were always intertwined. Nevertheless, Rosenstiel's biography provided the necessary background for scholars to continue further research on Boulanger.

Decades later, Caroline Potter's monograph, *Nadia and Lili Boulanger* (2006), also relegates their biographies to the first part of the book and then analyzes both sisters'

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[29] Camille Mauclair, "La Vie et l'œuvre de Lili Boulanger," *La Revue Musicale* 10 (August, 1921): 147–55. Mauclair was a well-known French *fin-de-siècle* music critic, essayist, novelist, and symbolist poet.

[30] Paul Landormy, "Lili Boulanger," *Musical Quarterly* 16 (October 1930): 510–15.

[31] See Rosenstiel, *Life and Works of Lili Boulanger.*

compositions using traditional theoretical tools. It does not place their works within any cultural context or discuss their music in-depth. Like Rosenstiel's biography, this division often leads to a disjointed picture of how Lili Boulanger's music, her gender, her profession, and her cultural, social, and political surroundings were intricately intertwined. More recent monographs on Boulanger include Jérôme Spycket's *À la recherche de Lili Boulanger: Essai biographique* and Carole Bertho Wooliams's *Lili Boulanger: Compositrice du XXe siècle*. Both Spycket and Wooliams offer many useful quotations from primary sources, such as reviews and letters, but again, provide little in the way of analysis and social context.

Scholarship on women and music, however, moved past the compensatory stage through the work of many feminist scholars beginning in the late 1980s. Karin Pendle published the first comprehensive textbook on women and music, *Women and Music: A History*. While compensatory, it offers a wealth of basic compositional and biographical information necessary for further research about women musicians all around the globe.[32] Jane Bowers and Judith Tick's *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150–1950* is in part a compensatory history of women and music, but is also an early attempt to analyze how women's experiences in music have been shape by outside factors.[33] The essays, however, look at women as a distinct sociological group, ignoring issues of race, class, and sexuality.

In the 1990s, several important monographs, collections, and articles began to center gender, sexuality, race, and class as critical analytical categories in the lives and works of women composers. These included, but are not limited to, Susan McClary's *Feminine Endings: Music,*

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[32] See Karin Pendle, *Women and Music: A History* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991).

[33] See Jane Bowers and Judith Tick, eds., *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150–1950* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987).

Gender, and Sexuality: Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship, edited by Ruth A. Solie; and *Cecilia Reclaimed: Feminist Perspectives on Gender and Music,* edited by Susan C. Cook and Judy Tsou. The latter compilation was the first in the field to emphasize feminist perspectives and methodologies, ask how gender shaped musical practices, and draw upon interdisciplinary research in feminist literary criticism, black feminist theory, history, anthropology, media studies, among others.[34]

In the following decade, feminist musicological scholarship continued and evolved. Musicologists began to examine broader issues of music and identity, which were not solely limited to the lives of women. This scholarship included, but is not limited to, *Audible Traces: Gender, Identity and Music*, edited by Elaine Barkin and Lydia Hamessley, Marcia Citron's *Gender and the Musical Canon,* and *Queering the Pitch: The New Gay and Lesbian Musicology,* edited by Philip Brett, Elizabeth Wood, and Gary C. Thomas.[35] These works' methodological and analytical tools provide indispensable models for my own examination of Boulanger within the political, social, and cultural context of the First World War.

Boulanger remains conspicuously absent from scholarship about World War I and music. She has never been considered a central player in any narratives about French musical identity and war either by musicologists or cultural historians. The most thorough study of music's role

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[34] See Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991); Ruth A. Solie, *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Susan C. Cook and Judy Tsou, eds., *Cecilia Reclaimed: Feminist Perspectives on Gender and Music* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

[35] See Elaine Barkin, Lydia Hamessley, and Benjamin Boretz, eds., *Audible Traces: Gender, Identity, and Music* (Zurich and Los Angeles: Carciofoli, 1999); Marcia Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000); and Philip Brett, Elizabeth Wood, and Gary C. Thomas, eds., *Queering the Pitch: The New Gay and Lesbian Musicology* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

in World War I remains Glenn Watkins's *Proof Through the Night: Music and the Great War*.[36] Watkins devotes five chapters to music in France, concentrating mostly on music by Claude Debussy and Igor Stravinsky, while also including a chapter on Maurice Ravel and one on the debates between the Right and Left ideologies of various musical institutions. Watkins treats the wartime contributions of Boulanger in a few sentences and only discusses the roles of gender in war in a brief mention of French popular music, suggesting that concert music was immune to such issues.[37] Nevertheless, Watkins' monograph remains the most thorough explanation of World War I music and was a major influence in my decision to pursue a dissertation on Boulanger's music within the First World War. His monograph places the critical role of wartime music at the intersections of a larger historical, political, and cultural study. He draws on methodology and sources from areas such as art and literary history, and cultural studies.

The most recent scholarship on Boulanger and her work during the war is by Annegret Fauser. Her articles "'*La Guerre en dentelles*': Women and the 'Prix de Rome' in French Cultural Politics" and "Lili Boulanger's *La princesse Maleine:* A Composer and her Heroine as

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[36] Glenn Watkins, *Proof through the Night: Music and the Great War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

[37] For a more in-depth discussion of gender and French popular music see Regina Sweeney, *Singing Our Way to Victory: French Musical Politics and Music during the First World War* (Hanover, N.H.: Wesleyan University Press, 2001).Throughout her monograph, Sweeney acknowledges that songs and the act of singing provided gender representations that shaped French culture and men's and women's roles in the war. Representations of femininity (such as the sacrificial mother, the nurse, or the eroticized *marraines de guerre*, or godmothers of war) were constantly in flux and stood in opposition to ideals of masculinity. Sweeney's work and methodology is therefore significant for my dissertation because she examines and analyzes women's contributions to the war through representations in sheet music and performance of song. These analyses reveal the complexities of gender roles in wartime France, but her work is limited to the realm of café-concerts and sheet music. In addition, her work does not include information on women as musical creators, concentrating rather on their roles as performers and interpreters.

Literary Icons" explore Boulanger's performance of gender in order to succeed in the compositional world, and how colleagues and critics received her as a composer.[38] Fauser's scholarship is thus critical to my methodology and my dissertation as a whole because it provides a needed focus for using gender as an analytical category to unravel the many complexities of Boulanger's life and works. While Fauser's work concentrates on images and constructions of Boulanger as a *femme fragile,* she does not situate Boulanger's image or compositional output within a larger wartime context.[39] My dissertation builds upon Fauser's scholarship through a specific engagement with the First World War and by examining alternative mobilizations of Boulanger's femininity and its reception during the war.

Monographs that mention Boulanger's music and work during the war often limit a discussion of her contributions to a cursory comment on her work with the Comité Franco-Américain. These monographs do not further explore how her work with the *Gazette* both contested and adhered to prescribed gender norms during the war. Neither do they show how critical the *Gazette* was to musicians' debates surrounding contemporary musical Frenchness and in the war itself, as explained by Watkins. Musicologist Charlotte Segond-Genovesi, on the other hand, recently published an article on the *Gazette*, which specifically focuses on its employment

[38] Fauser, "'La Guerre en dentelles'"; idem., "Lili Boulanger's *La princesse Maleine:* A Composer and her Heroine as Literary Icons," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 122, no. 1 (1997): 68–108.

[39] Although the term *femme fragile* did not appear until much later in Arian Thomalla's *Die 'femme fragile': Ein literarischer Frauentypus der Jahrhundertwende* (Bertelsmann GmbH/Bertelsmann Universitätsverlag, 1972), Thomalla argues that popular constructions of the *femme fragile* as a bourgeois, sickly, graceful, child-like woman have dominated art and literature since the nineteenth century.

of *l'union sacrée,* used by French President Raymond Poincaré during the war to describe a sought-after French unity.[40]

World War I and French Musical Identity

As Watkins argues, World War I was not simply about a military operation, but the ultimate goal was to secure a fundamental issue of cultural identity.[41] One of the ways the French defined their national identity was by establishing musical national goals that acquired "a spiritual or moral tone for society that seemed to be beyond the power of the written word or visual image."[42] For France, that meant identifying a musical "Frenchness" based on its own defense of *civilisation* and classicism, as opposed to Germany's defense of their own *kultur.* German *kultur* implied a specifically German exclusiveness and dominance in all areas of the arts. French *civilisation,* on the other hand, included international influences from the perspective of a specifically French national art.[43]

Besides Watkin's work, the most convincing arguments for the connection between the First World War and French musical cultural identity occur in the recent scholarship of Jane Fulcher and Jann Pasler.[44] Neither Fulcher nor Pasler, however, include Boulanger in their

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[40] Charlotte Segond-Genovesi, "De l'Union sacrée au Journal des débats: une lecture de la *Gazette* des classes du Conservatoire (1914–1918)," in *La Grande Guerre des musiciens,* edited by Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, Esteban Buch, Myriam Chimènes, Georgie Durosoir (Lyon, France: Symétrie, 2009), 175–90.

[41] Watkins, *Proof Through the Night,* 4.

[42] Watkins, *Proof Through the Night,* 3.

[43] Watkins, *Proof Through the Night,* 21.

[44] See Jane Fulcher, *French Cultural Politics and Music: From the Dreyfus Affair to the First World War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); idem., *The Composer as Intellectual: Music and Ideology in France, 1914-1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005);

discussions. Fulcher and Pasler contend that the examination of French political culture's engagement with French musical culture enables us to discover new perspectives on French musical meanings and values previously regarded as autonomous from political, social, and cultural discourse. They show that musicians, like French intellectuals in other fields, were deeply engaged with French political ideologies and used their art to respond to and shape the foremost debates regarding French national identity. Fulcher's and Pasler's methodology and analysis thus exposes music's central influence and importance in the larger arena of French culture and politics, especially during times of crisis.

Fulcher and Pasler, for example, focus on quarrels between French composers who were associated with different educational institutions over what constituted "Frenchness" in music following the inflammatory Dreyfus Affair (1890s–early 1900s).[45] Fulcher writes, "No French composer during this period could escape awareness of these structures of meaning or of the

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and Jann Pasler, *Writing Through Music: Essays on Music, Culture, and Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

[45] The Dreyfus Affair was a political scandal that divided France in the 1890s and early 1900s. It had several ramifications in the following decades not only in politics, but in all areas of culture, including music. In November 1894, Captain Alfred Dreyfus was sentenced to life imprisonment for purportedly conveying French military secrets to the German Embassy in Paris. Dreyfus's Jewish heritage ultimately became central to his reputation and conviction. Two years later, a French Army major named Ferdinand Walsin Esterhazy as the real perpetrator, but the military courts acquitted Esterhazy. Dreyfus was finally exonerated in 1906. Writers, such as Émile Zola, proclaimed in his article, "J'accuse!" (January 13, 1898) that the French used Dreyfus as a cover-up and anti-semiticism played a critical role in his guilty verdict. An intense political scandal ensued that divided many French citizens into those who supported Dreyfus and those who did not, or those who espoused the authority of the army, church, nation, versus those who asserted egalitarian ideals of French Revolution. French composers did not escape the ramifications of the Dreyfus Affair. The Dreyfus Affair furthered aesthetic and philosophical divisions between institutions such as the Schola Cantorum and the Conservatoire and intensified the desire to define musical Frenchness. French composers, such as d'Indy, for example, became ideologically engaged with issues of the Dreyfus Affair and based his musical aesthetic ideologies on the centrality of the French military and Catholic Church. D'Indy's anti-Dreyfusard message was in his opera *La Légende de Saint Christope* and his 2nd Symphony. For a further discussion, see Fulcher, *French Cultural Politics and Music.*

battles and tensions that continually subtended the litigious French musical factions."[46] These musical schisms—as voiced by the teachings and beliefs of the Schola Cantorum and the Conservatoire—argued the definition of French musical culture on the basis of values and authority of the church/nation/army, and the egalitarian ideals of the French revolution, respectively. All musical institutions defined Frenchness as classical through its Latin purity, as opposed to German Nordic Romanticism; musicians from opposing institutions could not actually agree on what classicism meant.

Musically, French classicism depended upon clarity of line, sense of proportion, and concision. The traditionalists, especially those associated with the Action Française and the Schola Cantorum, defended the rational order and balance of classicism against the supposed romantic irrationality of German "Huns."[47] The conservative, or traditionalist side of French musical politics, led by d'Indy (a prominent member of the Schola Cantorum), and noted writers such as Maurice Barrès and Charles Maurras, founder of the *Ligue de l'Action Française*, emphasized sacred music, counterpoint, and symphonic writing as essentially French and argued that classicism could be achieved with a return to the principles of monarchy in the *Ancien Régime*. A return to monarchy equaled a return to order, and Maurras associated musical classicism with an orderly, hierarchical model of Catholicism, one that emphasized balance.[48] D'Indy believed that French heritage was "classic," but maintained that the Germans and Austrians appropriated France's "classic" musical culture during the Revolution and insisted that France now had to reclaim it during the First World War. During the war, d'Indy held

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[46] Fulcher, *French Cultural Politics and Music*, 10.

[47] Fulcher, *French Cultural Politics and Music*, 21.

[48] Fulcher, *French Cultural Politics and Music*, 21.

conferences for the purpose of comparing French and German music and upheld the idea of classicism and French nationalism as stemming from the Catholic tradition.[49] The "Left," however, linked French classicism to ideas derived from the French Revolution. The Left was comprised mostly of those at the Conservatoire de Musique, such as Gabriel Fauré, who rejected what he interpreted as absolutist dogma from the Schola. Like d'Indy, this left wing claimed French music as embodying "clarity of expression and purity of form," but did not "advocate stylistic or formal 'molds.'" Debussy and others like him associated with the Conservatoire looked to Rameau and also to other clavecinistes, such as Couperin, to create French music lineage.[50]

Composers were thus actively involved in shaping French musical lineages and defining Frenchness in contemporary music. In 1915 Debussy wrote, for example, "For many years now I have been saying the same thing: that we have been unfaithful to the musical tradition of our race for more than a century and a half . . . since Rameau we have had no purely French tradition. . . . Today, when the virtues of our race are being exalted, the victory should give our artists a sense of purity and remind them of the nobility of French blood." [51] During the war other composers including Maurice Ravel also urged French composers to "work for their country in making music."[52] Similarly, Gabriel Fauré, in his "Appeal to Musicians," (1917) claimed that "we

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[49] Watkins, *Proof Through the Night,* 166.

[50] Fulcher, *Composer as Intellectual,* 40.

[51] Claude Debussy, *Debussy on Music*, edited by Richard L. Smith (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977), 322.

[52] Patrice Marcilloux, *Chefs-d'Œuvre et circonstances: Trois concerts* (Pas-de-Calais, France: Archives départementales du Pas-de-Calais, 2000), 20.

musicians can be useful to the same degree as that occurring in all areas of thought."[53] War, in this case, created conditions in which French composers exalted the strength of their nation and shaped the tone of French wartime society, thus contributing artistically to the cause of war.

From songs in the trenches to *café-concerts,* and salon gatherings to concert halls, wartime music thus reflected and shaped the tone of French wartime society.[54] French wartime music is critical to our knowledge of how citizens shaped their nation, boosted morale, mourned their lost, and ultimately crafted a story of remembrance. Fulcher, Pasler, and Watkins also show that music written and/or appropriated during wartime was not simply a propagandistic tool or an escapist entertainment for troops and those on the home front. Vincent D'Indy's Third Symphony (1916–1918), Claude Debussy's *En blanc et noir* (1915), as argued by Watkins, and Nadia Boulanger's *Soir d'hiver* (1915), and Lili Boulanger's *Vieille prière bouddhique* (1914–1917), for example, are among many compositions written during World War I that were not necessarily overtly political, but could not help but engage with wartime subjects and instill and develop cultural identity and national memory.[55] Music critics such as Debussy, Simon Gantillon, and Mauclair hailed Boulanger's music as portraying an essence of pure "Frenchness"

[53] Gabriel Fauré, "Appel aux musiciens Français," *Le courier musical* (15 March 1917): 33. "Cependant notre effort, à nous, musiciens, peut être utile au même degré que celui qui se produit dans tous les domaines de la pensée."

[54] For more information on World War I popular sheet music and *café-concerts,* see Sweeney, *Singing Our Way to Victory.*

[55] For further discussion on d'Indy's Third Symphony and Debussy's *En blanc et noir,* see Watkins, *Proof Through the Night,* 157–69 and 91–95, respectively.

in music, and yet, scholars continue to overlook Boulanger's contributions to contemporary musical debates.[56]

Primary Sources and Methodology

Throughout this dissertation, I use primary sources such as concert reviews, the *Gazette*, personal letters, and other correspondence, and examine how Boulanger's music upholds central ideals of musical Frenchness. Most of my primary source material came from two research trips to the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. There, I examined numerous documents related to Boulanger's work with the Comité Franco-Américain and the *Gazette des classes de composition du Conservatoire*. I also surveyed written correspondence between Boulanger and many of her contemporaries, including well-known music critic Émile Vuillermoz, performers such as Claire Croiza, and composers Gustave Charpentier, Théodore Dubois, and Gabriel Fauré, among others. Furthermore, I examined various documents related to performances of Boulanger's compositions and her Prix de Rome win.

In this dissertation, I aim to directly analyze Boulanger's musical and textual choices within a cultural, social, and political context. I use her compositions to create interlocking dialogues between her life, works, and larger societal and political issues prevalent during the First World War. In each chapter, save for the fourth chapter on the *Gazette*, I explore one or more of Boulanger's compositions to reveal, critique, and broaden the conversations surrounding the complicated mobilizations of wartime identities. Thus, analyses of both her compositions and her gendered performativity and reception become equally important and intertwined within each chapter.

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[56] Claude Debussy, "Sur Faust et Hélène," *La Revue musicale* (December 1913): 44; Simon Gantillon, "Un anniversaire. Sur la tombe de Lili Boulanger," *La Revue hebdomadaire* (12 March 1921): n.p.; Mauclair, "La vie et l'œuvre de Lili Boulanger," 147–55.

Chapter Outline

Chapter One examines wartime mobilizations of French motherhood. This dominant French construction embodied characteristics of silence, nobility, sacrifice, and suffering. I explore the contradictions and complications associated with other female wartime roles that exemplified qualities of motherhood, such as nurses, and those which supposedly stood in opposition of motherhood, such as the *femme nouvelle*. Boulanger mobilized images of wartime motherhood in her 1916 composition, *Dans l'immense tristesse.* However, the text by Madame Galéron de Calone and Boulanger's musical setting complicate traditional notions of motherhood by providing a disturbing glimpse into the world of melancholia, a psychopathology first described by Sigmund Freud during the First World War. The text illustrates the trauma of losing one's child, and Boulanger's musical setting masterfully unravels the complexities of the mother's unattainable desire for her dead son through mimetic musical signifiers. *Dans l'immense tristesse* therefore provides an alternative reading of motherhood that questions the reality of noble, sacrificial wartime motherhood.

Chapter Two analyzes the popular Catholic notion of Good Suffering and examines why the Catholic Church and many French citizens saw it as critical to wartime victory. Good Suffering shaped not only the beliefs and lives of many French people, but much of Boulanger's public persona as well. I contrast her public persona as a Good Sufferer, however, against her private writings, which reveal misery and self-pity. I examine Boulanger's constructed child-like qualities and their essentialness to both her Good Suffering and her acceptance as a female composer during the war. As historian Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau asserts, during the First World War, France mobilized the concept of childhood as a critical propaganda tool necessary to

French victory.[57] Boulanger's child-like traits emerge in the ways she infantilized herself in private letters and public interviews, and in the ways public discourse compared her to *l'enfant* and to virgin martyrs such as Thérèse of Lisieux, who became an important figure to World War I soldiers. The mobilization of Boulanger as a Good Sufferer and as an ill, graceful, and humble child additionally strengthens her identification with the *femme fragile*, as previously asserted by Annegret Fauser.[58] The French understood feminine suffering not simply as an admirable personal trait, but as a political necessity for French victory. Boulanger became a central performer of feminine suffering during the war, and therefore an emblematic symbol of France itself.

I analyze Boulanger's portrayal of individual, political, and Catholic suffering in several of her compositions performed in wartime concerts or composed during the war. These include *La princesse Maleine* (1912–1918), *Reflets* (1911), selections from her song cycle, *Clairières dans le ciel* (1913–1914), Psaume 129 (1916), Psaume 130 (1914–1917), and *Pour les funérailles d'un soldat* (1912–1913). Some texts, and Boulanger's settings of them, conform to traditional Catholic beliefs about Good Suffering. Others adhere to gendered divisions that equated men with national citizenship and women as spiritual redeemers from suffering. Still, other compositions, such as her unfinished opera, *La princesse Maleine,* provide alternate readings of women's political roles during war. Her religious works, including the two Psaumes and *Pour les funérailles d'un soldat* also illustrate how Boulanger drew upon popular traditional musical styles such as *musique ancienne*, continuing a lineage of musical Frenchness rooted in the Catholic musical practices.

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[57] Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, *La guerre des enfants, 1914–1918: Essai d'histoire culturelle* (Paris, 1993), 186.

[58] See Fauser, "'La Guerre en dentelles.'"

Chapter Three argues that Boulanger mobilized the popular gendered wartime concept of the *marraine de guerre* to give herself specific wartime agency as "secretary-founder" of the Comité Franco-Américain and its subsequent *Gazette*. Several organizations and newspapers specifically propagated the idea of the *marraine de guerre* as a way that French women could contribute as maternal non-combatants to the war effort. The aim of the *marraine de guerre* was to provide material and emotional support to the adopted *filleul,* or godson, and also to remind him why he fought for France. The *marraine de guerre,* and Boulanger in turn, thus also personified France as the maternal, selfless, devoted, sacrificial motherland. Boulanger's participation both behind the scenes of the Comité as secretary, and in the more public role as co-founder of the Comité and editor of the *Gazette,* complicated the traditional images of the *marraine de guerre.*

The wartime symbolism of the fictional character Mimi Pinson, based on Alfred de Musset's *Mademoiselle Mimi Pinson: Profil de grisette* (1845), also reflected the *marraine de guerre.* In the twentieth century, Pinson became associated with bourgeois values (although she was still a working-woman), feminine self-sacrifice, and the "symbolic guardian[ship] of French taste."[59] I argue that Gustave Charpentier connected Boulanger and her music to Pinson through both a letter published in the *Gazette* and his 1915 wartime concert, "Exposition des Cocardes de Mimi-Pinson," which prominently featured Boulanger's music. I examine Boulanger's compositions that appeared on Charpentier's concert, including "Elle était descendue au bas de la prairie" and "Deux ancolies se balançaient sur la colline" from *Clairières dans le ciel*. I argue that these two songs echoed the youthful, innocent, feminine nature which Pinson supposedly exuded.

[59] Patricia Tilburg, "Mimi Pinson Goes to War: Taste, Class, and Gender in France, 1900–18," *Gender and History* 23, no. 1 (April 2011): 92, 94.

Chapter Four turns to Boulanger's specific wartime work. I examine and analyze the contents of the *Gazette,* a wartime publication from 1915–1918 created, edited, and managed by Lili and Nadia Boulanger under the auspices of the Comité Franco-Américain du Conservatoire. Lili and Nadia's creation and management of the *Gazette* not only provided a strong sense of musical community, but their work ultimately created this essential wartime document that is critical to our understanding of musical life and debates during wartime France.

The *Gazette* provides a tangible document of Boulanger's wartime activity and soldiers' musical lives at the front. An analysis of the *Gazette* reveals that musicians, many whose voices are absent in other wartime musical narratives such as Watkin's, Fulcher's, or Pasler's work, engaged in a national wartime project in which they debated terms of musical Frenchness, the war itself, and the specific roles they could play as musician-soldiers in victory. While the tenor of the *Gazette* generally adhered to *l'union sacrée,* as it had to pass through government censors, the Boulangers left some room for dissent. These debates about Frenchness in music and the war's effect on French music expose disunity in the idealized *l'union sacrée.*

Chapter Five demonstrates Boulanger's critical participation in defining musical Frenchness through both her consumption and *production* of musical exoticism. I analyze her unpublished (and heretofore largely unstudied) cantata, *Maïa* (1911), and song *Vieille prière bouddhique: Prière quotidienne pour tout l'Univers* (1914–1917). These two works represent and challenge traditional ideas about Self and Other, and the links between the feminine and exotic. As a wartime work, *Vieille prière bouddhique* also offers a unique view of a world without war and without national and gendered dichotomies. In other words, this final chapter takes us in a different direction than the previous four. It explores Boulanger's more general

construction and criticisms of French national identity during the war and offers a vision of the future, which she did not live long enough to witness.

While divisions of Self and Other and musical exoticism were not new to the First World War, the concepts became exacerbated during war as French leaders attempted to define musical Frenchness and create a unified France under *l'union sacrée.* The evocation of musical exoticism was one of the chief avenues French *fin-de-siècle* composers such as Debussy, Maurice Delage, and Albert Roussel employed to delineate Self and Other and create a unique musical Frenchness. Energized by the scholarship of Edward Said, many historians, cultural historians, and musicologists have studied exoticism only within the realm of masculine production and consumption and have linked the feminine and exotic together as something to be acted upon.[60] Boulanger disrupts this common narrative however by her active production of French musical exoticism. While Boulanger's cantata *Maïa* conformed to gendered divisions of Self as masculine and Other as feminine, her wartime work *Vieille prière bouddhique* questions the divisions of Self and Other and the correlation of the feminine with the Other. It is also unlike the majority of works written in the last years of her life in that the text does not specifically reflect ideas of Catholicism and French Catholic identity. Instead, the text espouses a universal call to peace and the end of suffering for all human beings, no matter their beliefs. *Vieille prière bouddhique* further suggests alternative power structures to the horrors of wartime realities, violence, and peace. These compositions thus prompt a reconsideration of French women's shaping of an exotic and musical Frenchness. They force us as well to engage with the links between exoticism and war.

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[60] Scholarship on exoticism which does focus on gender includes Reina Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism: Race, Femininity, and Representation* (New York: Routledge, 1996); Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995).

It is my hope that this dissertation not only expands upon the critical work already done by feminist musicologists, but contributes to the burgeoning field of musicological research on war and music. I aim to continue the conversations begun by Fulcher, Pasler, and Watkins about composers' and their music's fundamental role in defining wartime national identities and, in particularly, Lili Boulanger's and her music's engagement with French politics and culture. Drawing upon methodological and historical resources from a variety of disciplines, including history, literature, art, and cultural studies, my dissertation demonstrates that music cannot be separated from its political, social, and cultural surroundings. Finally, this dissertation attests to the fact that Boulanger was not simply an exception to her sex, or a young, sweet, suffering female composer. She was a central participant in French musical life and one who constructed and represented a musical, artistic France.

Chapter 1
Dans l'immense tristesse:
Wartime Motherhood and Melancholia

Lili Boulanger mobilized the concept of wartime motherhood in her compositions, her constructed public and private persona, and her wartime work as a *marraine de guerre.* This statement may seem peculiar to anyone knowing Boulanger's biography as she never became a biological mother. From childhood she probably knew that marriage and children were not possibilities given her continuous ill-health.[1] Family members, particularly her sister Nadia, likely impressed upon Lili as well the belief that women had to choose family *or* career, but could not do both. In a response to a 1912 article in *Femina,* for example, Nadia Boulanger, at the age of twenty-five, proclaimed, "From the day when a woman wants to fulfill her true role of mother and spouse, it is impossible for her also to fulfill her role as artist, writer or musician . . . she must give her decision long and careful consideration and weigh in the balance the joys of a family and the joys of a life dedicated to art."[2] Thus Lili Boulanger's ill health helped choose a career for her.

Boulanger was immersed in a culture in which *fin-de-siècle* French leaders upheld and promoted distinct qualities and ideals of motherhood to which they encouraged *all* French women to aspire. Lili Boulanger scholars such as Annegret Fauser, Caroline Potter, and Léonie Rosenstiel, however, have not explored connections between Boulanger and the various

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[1] Léonie Rosenstiel writes, "She [Lili] was a properly brought-up young lady and since her state of health made life uncertain and marriage impossible, the only thing for her to do was to choose and occupation in keeping with her abilities and concentrate on it until she had achieved any long-range goals she might set for herself." Léonie Rosenstiel, *The Life and Works of Lili Boulanger* (London: Associated University Presses, 1978), 46.

[2] Léonie Rosenstiel, *Nadia Boulanger: A Life in Music* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1982), 101.

constructions of *fin-de-siècle* and wartime French motherhood. In general, these biographies emphasize first and foremost that despite her health limitations and the gendered restrictions placed upon her by society, Boulanger devoted her life to composition and succeeded as a composer in an otherwise masculine profession.[3] Fauser's scholarship, on the other hand, eloquently examines how Boulanger publicly performed the ideals of the *femme fragile,* an interpretation I take up in the following chapter.[4] As I argue throughout this dissertation though, we should not separate gendered constructions of either the *femme fragile* or motherhood as they overlap. The identities that Boulanger performed and those that others constructed for her, centered around the primary attributes of wartime motherhood: patriotism, sacrifice, duty, and noble and silent suffering.

In this chapter, I first explore various constructions of French wartime motherhood. I then examine Boulanger's particular mobilization of wartime motherhood through an interpretation of her composition *Dans l'immense tristesse* (1916). Boulanger and the text's author, Madame Galéron de Calone, drew on the well-known Catholic image of the *mater dolorosa* (Mother of Sorrows) by depicting a mother coming to a "holy place" to grieve for her dead son. Boulanger's musical setting, however, also exposes the much more disturbing notion

[3] For more information on gendered biases that Boulanger encountered in the Conservatoire and the Prix de Rome see Janet Esser, "The Relationship of the Composer with the Conservatoire de Paris and the Music Establishment in France in the Late 19th- and Early 20th Centuries" (MA thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1973); Fauser, "'La Guerre en dentelles"; D. Kern Holoman, *The Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, 1828–1967* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2004); and Emmanuel Hondré, ed., *Le Conservatoire de Musique de Paris: Regards sur une institution et on histoire* (Paris: Association du bureau des étudiants du CNSMDP, 1995).

[4] See Annegret Fauser, "'La Guerre en dentelles': Women and the 'Prix de Rome' in French Cultural Politics," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 51, no. 1 (Spring 1998): 83–129; and "Lili Boulanger's *La princesse Maleine:* A Composer and her Heroine as Literary Icons," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 122, no. 1 (1997): 68–108.

of feminine melancholia, a concept that Sigmund Freud identified during the First World War after working with soldiers suffering from war-related trauma. I interpret *Dans l'immense tristesse* as a musical memorial, much like the physical wartime monuments that later dotted the French landscape.[5] Boulanger's audible monument provides critical *female* agency so often missing from our discussions of gender relations during war and constructions of gender through memory.

French Motherhood and World War I

During the Third Republic (1870s–1914), Republican leaders promoted separate spheres for men and women, placing women's primary role in society as homemakers. Not all women assumed this role, and there were wives and mothers who involved themselves in influential political spheres. During the Paris Commune (March–May 1871), for example, many French women played public active roles in political debates and some even took up arms against the Versailles government, calling themselves *Citoyennes,* a term that suggested they had voting rights, which they did not receive until April 21, 1944.[6]

French leaders expressed anxiety about depopulation. Following France's defeat in the Franco-Prussian War (July 1870–May 1871), they worried that their defeat was caused, at least in part, by a disruption of normative gender roles. As historian Margaret H. Darrow claims,

> France after the Franco-Prussian War was unquestionably another society that experienced a humiliating defeat as a failure of masculinity and social change as the collapse of gender polarity. According to a host of commentators at the end of the

[5] For an in-depth discussion on French wartime memorials, see Daniel J. Sherman, *The Construction of Memory in Interwar France* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

[6] Susan K. Foley, *Women in France Since 1789* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 132.

> nineteenth century, the French family, society and nation were all in desperate straits because women refused to be feminine and men were not sufficiently masculine.[7]

The public fear of unstable gender roles stemmed in part from the small, yet visible, gains women made in professional public arenas. The Académie des Beaux-Arts, for example, admitted one woman, Rosa Bonheur, the Académie des Sciences admitted Marie Curie, and a handful of women entered the professions of law and medicine.[8]

These concerns about changing gender roles and depopulation continued steadily in the following decades and certainly did not end with the Armistice on November 11, 1918. Historian Joshua H. Cole concurs that many *fin-de-siècle* natalist writers "used demographic literature to demonstrate that the decline in the French birthrate was caused by women who were placing their own economic and sexual pleasure before the needs of the country."[9] In response to gendered debates during the decades and years preceding World War I, French leaders, doctors, scientists, and moral figureheads expressing Catholic, Republican, and Socialist viewpoints made French women's maternity a top priority both to combat depopulation, solidify traditional gender expectations, and ultimately preserve the French nation. Cole writes that French leaders proposed several new remedies to curb depopulation in the decades leading up to the First World War, thus constantly constructing and shaping motherhood to meet modern needs and concerns. These included:

> encouragement of maternal breastfeeding, assistance to mothers (both married and single), the regulation of women's employment, mandatory maternity leaves for pregnant

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[7] Foley, *Women in France Since 1789*, 132.

[8] Margaret H. Darrow, *French Women and the First World War: War Stories of the Home Front* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2000), 9. Darrow notes that by 1900 there were only eight women admitted to the French bar and approximately a dozen female doctors.

[9] Joshua H. Cole, "'There Are Only Good Mothers': The Ideological Work of Women's Fertility in France before World War I," *French Historical Studies* 19, no. 3 (1996): 658.

> women, abrogation of the divorce law, penalties for unmarried adults, fiscal encouragements for large families, and increased penalties for abortion and the sale of contraceptive devices.[10]

The overall anxiety about depopulation and newly emerging gender roles increased dramatically as World War I disrupted norms further, especially the divisions of home and work and threw natalist concerns to the forefront. The very nation and identity of France was in a precarious position and potentially under German rule.[11] Newspapers, magazines, and other forms of popular print culture thus called upon women to become pregnant to ensure French victory. Dr. Just Sicard de Plauzeoles, for example, declared in 1914 that France should not just encourage women to become mothers, but "it should outlaw work for women who are pregnant or just delivered; mercenary nursing and artificial feeding should be outlawed; maternal nursing should be made compulsory; mothers should be indemnified, put on salary, subsidized."[12] The *Revue philanthropique* devoted a 1917 issue to divulging the problems of depopulation and

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[10] Cole, "There are Only Good Mothers," 642.

[11] There were several strands of French feminism prominent at the *fin-de-siècle* and it is too simple to say that men worked and women stayed at home, even if the Republican government promoted these roles. By 1906, women represented nearly thirty-eight percent of the French labor force and twenty percent of married women worked, one of the highest proportions in Western Europe. Most of these women worked as domestics, or factory works, but twelve percent owned their own business, eight percent were clerical workers, and by 1914, several hundred women were doctors and teachers and thousands earned baccalauréat degrees. Several strands of French feminism included "Christian feminism," which emphasized the maternal role and societal power and duties of women from within the home, "Secular feminism," represented by Marguerite Durand and *La Fronde*, which demanded equal civil and political rights, attacked patriarchy, called for more education for girls, and shamed men for the oppression of women's bodies. Michelle Perrot, "The New Eve and the Old Adam: Changes in French Women's Condition at the Turn of the Century," in *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars*, ed. Margaret Randolph Higonnet, Jane Jenson, Sonya Michel, and Margaret Collins Weitz (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987), 52–55.

[12] Karen Offen, "Exploring the Sexual Politics of Republican Nationalism," *in Nationhood and Nationalism in France: From Boulangism to the Great War, 1889-1918*, ed. Robert Tombs (London: HarperCollins, 1991), 200.

ordering women that "pregnancy was their patriotic duty."[13] Likewise, Jane Misme's paper, *La Française* (May 11, 1917), exhorted French women to procreate if France was to be victorious.[14]

Historian Mary Louise Roberts identifies three dominant images of French women in the post-war period: *la femme moderne* (synonymous with *femme nouvelle*), *la mére,* and *la femme seule* (a woman who moved back and forth between *la femme moderne* and *la mére,* often a wage or domestic worker).[15] I prefer the term *femme nouvelle* because it was coined earlier than *femme moderne.* The term *femme nouvelle* came into increased usage with the inception of the periodical *La Femme Nouvelle*, edited by Suzanne Voilquin, Désirée Veret (Gay), and Jeanne Deroin. In the late nineteenth century, well-known writers such as Émile Zola and Maurice Barrès linked feminism and the *femme nouvelle* to social degeneracy.[16]

The *femme nouvelle* was a woman who supposedly abandoned her more traditional role of *la mère* for characteristics associated with boys and men. James McMillan identifies the heroine of Victor Margueritte's novel, *La Garçonne* (1922), as the epitome of the *femme nouvelle* concept, in which the *femme nouvelle* was responsible for the collapse of moral values instilled into young bourgeois women pre-World War I. [17] The *femme nouvelle*'s physical appearance included short haircuts and a preference for trousers over dresses or skirts

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[13] *La Revue philanthropique* 20, no. 38 (1917); quoted in Darrow, *French Women and the First World War,* 59. Jane Misme (1865–1935) was a feminist French journalist.

[14] Darrow, *French Women and the First World War,* 59.

[15] Roberts, *Civilization Without Sexes,* 151.

[16] Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy,* 10.

[17] James McMillan, *Housewife or Harlot: The Place of Women in French Society, 1870–1940* (New York: Saint Martin's Press, 1981), 99. Her appearance as a *garçon,* or boy—with pants and short hair—played a large role in this supposed moral and social disruption. Boulanger and her critics crafted her image as the opposite of this.

contributed to her non-normative masculine image. Many French saw her burgeoning independence, her entrance into the workforce, and even her enthusiasm for activities normally deemed masculine, such as bicycle riding, as a rebellion from the prescribed maternal role of women.

Roberts, who associates *femme moderne* specifically with post-war women, examines how gendered constructions of the *femme nouvelle, la mère,* and *la seule* provided the French with a critical way to voice post-war concerns of all kinds.[18] While Roberts focuses on the post-war years, she notes that these gendered constructions were evident before and during the war. She writes, for example, that "One wartime observer noted by the end of 1914, Paris had become a 'city of women,'" who were taking over the public spaces and jobs of men.[19] Thus, the idea of the *femme nouvelle,* as opposed to *la mère,* generated new wartime gender anxieties as several media sources increased their coverage on the rising *femme nouvelle.*[20] Fears of the *femme nouvelle* prompted leaders and authors of newspapers, literature, and propaganda to promote the more traditionally accepted bourgeois feminine roles, such as motherhood. Reflecting on the war and women's roles, Jacques Boulanger (1924), editor of the literary weekly *L'Opinion,* summarized *la femme moderne:*

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[18] Roberts, *Civilization Without Sexes,* 4.

[19] Quoted in John Williams, *The Other Battleground: The Homefronts, Britain, France, and Germany* (London: Constable and Co, 1972), 29; quoted in Roberts, *Civilization Without Sexes,* 21.

[20] Print culture treated the "new woman" excessively in the 1880s and 1890s in journals. *La Nouvelle Revue* and *Revue des deux Mondes,* for example printed articles concerning the unruly femme nouvelle. Wartime gender anxieties once again brought the concerns of the *femme nouvelle* to the forefront of French society. For more see Mary Louise Roberts, *Disruptive Acts: The New Woman in Fin-de-Siècle France* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

> The war has undeniably had an enormous influence on young girls and young women; and I assure you, once again, that the *femme moderne* is above all a creation of the war. Without a doubt, she is freer in her behavior than women before the war. . . . Nestled in the arms of her partner, she dances without a corset; she swims in a maillot. . . . Above all, she has a taste or desire for independence, or rather . . . she is absolutely determined to be independent.[21]

Boulanger's quotation most importantly highlights how the war created conditions in which fluctuating gender roles exacerbated fears of female independence and agency. Because of these fears, French leaders upheld motherhood as the "normative" role for women, one which would aid the French to victory.

Historian Susan R. Grayzel writes that in order to quell fears of social change to many, French leaders used motherhood as a way to talk about *all* women, regardless of whether or not they were biological mothers and regardless of nationality, race, age, and class.[22] Grayzel argues that the French government, for example, emphasized that women who replaced men in wartime factory work were still first and foremost mothers. Wartime work was thus a "temporary deviation from a normative family life."[23] Grayzel continues that by "linking women with mothers and men with soldiers, wartime rhetoric stressed the 'naturalness' of these normative categories, thus conveniently eclipsing other kinds of masculinity and femininity. . . Motherhood was figured and reconfigured during the war to speak to every aspect of women's lives by an

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[21] Jacques Boulanger, "La Femme moderne: Devant le feu." *Illustration* (6 Dec 1924), n.p.; quoted in Roberts, *Civilization Without Sexes*, 104. I use *femme moderne* here because Boulanger wrote this article post-war and used the term himself.

[22] Susan R. Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War: Gender, Motherhood, and Politics in Britain and France During the First World War* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 5.

[23] Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War*, 89.

enormous range of voices."[24] For example, in 1915, Dr. François Helme from *Le Temps* directly equated the category of mothers with all French women. He suggests as well that the bravery and honor of French women rested upon their maternal sacrifices.

> French women! Ah, who will praise them as they merit? We speak endlessly about the progress of our armaments and tactics . . . All that is nothing, however, beside the human armaments that the mothers have known to supply. Oh! The brave boys, their children, how proud they can be of their work! Speak of them, sing their praises, you can never say enough.[25]

Different kinds of maternal sacrifice became central attributes of wartime French motherhood. Articles and books, such as Yvonne Pitrois's *Femmes de 1914–1915,* praised French mothers for "giving more than her life" by sacrificing her son(s) for the nation, essentially showing that Pitrois believed the lives of male soldiers to be more valuable than that of mothers.[26] Newspapers and magazines published statements by mothers whose sons had gone to war. One report indicated that a wife of an important French industrialist had exclaimed, "I have only two sons, both soldiers at this moment. Even if I must weep for the rest of my life, I would sacrifice one of them if we are to be victorious."[27] Wartime propaganda also argued that mothers sacrificed by working outside of the home while simultaneously raising children. An article by Émile Bergerat, for example, praised women who carried "little ones on her back" while working in the factories.[28] The French government and other wartime propaganda thus

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[24] Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War,* 2, 245.

[25] Dr. Françoise Helme, "Menus propos d'un médicin," *Le Temps* (28 April 1915): n.p.; quoted in Darrow, *French Women and the First World War,* 58.

[26] Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War,* 205.

[27] Darrow, *French Women and the First World War,* 60.

[28] Émile Bergerat, "La femme française," *Le Figaro* (11 May 1915); quoted in Grazyel, *Women's Identities at War,* 204.

articulated ideals of motherhood in new, modern ways, relevant to fluctuating wartime gender concerns.

When women were not biological mothers, propaganda authored by the leaders of France similarly encouraged them to exhibit motherly traits of sacrifice, courageous suffering, and faithfulness. French leaders called upon them to do "the housekeeping of France" by participating in prescribed feminine activities such as sewing for soldiers, nursing, or becoming a *marraine de guerre*. According to Darrow, the French considered these activities a type of pseudo-motherhood.[29] Each wartime charitable activity directly served and supported the male soldiers, as women devoted themselves to the needs of the soldiers rather than their own needs. The idealized nurse, for example, was:

> The angel of mercy and devoted surrogate mother to the *petit poilu*, whose feminine nature supported the war effort. . . All agreed that volunteer nursing was maternal and personal rather than abstract, national service. She was never a heroine in her own right. Her patriotism was worked on his body, her commitment to the national cause was expressed in her devotion to him.[30]

The nurse cared for the soldier, who then in turn served the nation, similar to the ways in which mothers raised their sons and then gave them to the nation as soldiers.

Like any constructed image of a feminine role, however, nurses' sexuality and their relations to soldiers complicated any maternal role. The complex nature of feminine sexuality also became evident in the relationships between the *marraines de guerre* and their *poilus,* as I will discuss in Chapter Three. Darrow documents that nurses and wounded soldiers often developed erotic relationships with each other. Thus, in a public letter to *La Renaissance* in 1916, Juliette Martineau, herself a nurse, warned her readers, "Please don't believe those cute

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[29] Darrow, *French Women and the First World War,* 83.

[30] Darrow, *French Women and the First World War*, 136–37.

stories that come out several times a week on the fourth page of the newspaper . . . the young nurse, white and blond under her veil who, this year, has abandoned the tango for the Red Cross . . . Invariably they fall in love, will fall in love, or already have been in love."[31]

French propaganda ignored the multifaceted roles women took on during the First World War. Instead, they created an elevated notion of motherhood as the quintessential quality of womanhood, and identified traits of motherhood as those to which all French women should aspire. In other words, although many women challenged normative gender roles during the war, French leaders continued to promote the model of motherhood as the most "natural" way to show national support, which ultimately reinforced traditional gendered categories destabilized during the war. By appealing to the "mother-like" qualities in all women and encouraging women to become actual mothers, propaganda and other writings connected the maternal with civic virtue and ultimately the victory of the French nation.[32]

The romanticized feminine qualities of wartime motherhood were so central to French belief in victory that many propaganda posters, postcards, popular songs, and covers of popular sheet music placed women-as-mothers front and center.[33] Propaganda posters, such as one

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[31] Juliette Martineau, "Les infirmières au front," *La Renaissance* 4, no. 4 (22 January 1916): 23–24; quoted in Darrow, *French Women and the First World War,* 156.

[32] Much historical research has also connected the maternal body to victory and nationhood, especially emphasizing mothers as the victims of wartime rape. Grayzel writes, "Much has been written on the nation as the woman, as in the term 'rape of Belgium,' but the discourse about atrocities and motherhood demonstrates the significance of women as the nation: suffering, pure, and- because of their capacity for regeneration – greater than the sum of their parts. . . .The rape of women by the enemy became part of the construction of a set of narratives about atrocities and the war that made the maternal body another site of conflict and the act of motherhood, no matter what the circumstances, the ultimate source of women's patriotism and agency." Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War,* 85.

[33] Cultural historian Regina Sweeney, for example, examines how popular music shaped French cultural politics, including gender roles, during World War I. She demonstrates not only

entitled “La Femme Française Pendant la Guerre” portrays three women, two of whom are tending to crops.[34] The woman in the center appears to be a mother who holds a baby in her arms while an older child gives her a letter, presumably from the father and her husband at the front. Another poster from 1918, “Pour nous rendre entière la douce terre de France,” also shows a woman working in the field, but the central focus is on her glancing down at her child who stands by her side.[35]

Motherhood and Wartime Commemoration

Not surprisingly, many post-armistice memorials displayed women with young children, or women with dying soldiers in their arms.[36] Historian Daniel Sherman examines how post-war memorials not only shaped French collective memory about World War I, but continued to normalize traditional gender roles such as motherhood. He argues that monuments that likened French women to mothers “served twin purposes: they domesticated the abstract forces represented, notably the nation, and implicitly cast as normative the domestic and gender

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how World War One affected cultural transitions and debates about mass culture, but also how popular song and the act of singing played a critical role in defining what it meant to be French, and gender concerns always stood at the forefront. However, Sweeney’s examples of popular music and its covers is confined to representations of female eroticism. Regina Sweeney, *Singing Our Way to Victory: French Cultural Politics and Music during the Great War* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 2001).

[34] “The French Woman during the War,” poster of the cinematographic section of the French army. Reprinted in Grayzel, *Women’s Identities at War,* 106.

[35] “To Return to Us Entirely the Gentle Earth of France,” poster for the 1918 French National Loan. Courtesy of the Imperial War Museum. Reprinted in Grayzel, *Women’s Identities at War,* 107.

[36] For more information on specific French wartime memorials see Grayzel, *Women’s Identities at War,* 226–42; Sherman, *The Construction of Memory in Interwar France*; Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 52.

relations that the war had disrupted."[37] These French commemorations therefore "reauthoriz[ed] a masculinist vision of French society," which suppressed public female independence gains during the war and reinforced more traditionalist roles established by the Third Republic.[38]

Sherman writes that "three registers of experience [that] played a crucial role in constructing memories of World War I in France and endowing them with a collective dimension: war narratives, battlefield tourism, and visual imagery."[39] Wartime narratives include trench newspapers, novels, poetry, etc., much of which excludes female authorship, although, as I discuss in Chapter Four, Boulanger's *Gazette* functioned much like a trench newspaper. However, in all "three registers" Sherman describes, women have no agency. They sacrifice and suffer in silence and are observed and acted upon by others.

Dans l'immense tristesse **(1916)**

Boulanger's song, *Dans l'immense tristesse* (1916), provides an alternate musical monument, composed during the war, not after. Unlike post-war monuments, Boulanger's composition gives voice to and complicates the popular wartime tropes of sacrificial and suffering motherhood. Her setting and its text mobilizes prominent issues of female suffering during the war, but Boulanger creates an alternative reading on popular wartime beliefs of noble motherly suffering. Instead, both the text and Boulanger's setting reveal a private, painful side of suffering rarely discussed. *Dans l'immmense tristesse* is not simply about the gendered act of mourning, but uncovers the heart wrenching and psychologically disturbing trend of Freud's

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[37] Sherman, *The Construction of Memory in Interwar France,* 202.

[38] Sherman, *The Construction of Memory in Interwar France,* 8.

[39] Sherman, *The Construction of Memory in Interwar France,* 15.

melancholia during the First World War. The song depicts a grieving mother coming to her son's graveside, but instead of accepting his death, she continues to believe he will wake again.

A family friend, Marthe Bouwens, introduced Boulanger to the collection of poems, *Dans ma nuit* (originally published in 1890) by poet Bertha Galéron de Calone (1859–1936).[40] Boulanger then asked Galéron de Calone's permission to set her poem *Dans l'immense tristesse,* to which she agreed. Boulanger wrote this song during the summer of 1916 in Gargenville at a time when her health at age twenty-two was declining rapidly due to Crohn's Disease, forcing her to curtail most of her normal activities.[41] Singer Claire Croiza, who frequently performed Boulanger's works, premiered the song at the Salle de la Sociéte des Concerts two years later in 1918—only six days before Boulanger's death.[42] To date, scholarship on this composition centers on the obvious autobiographical reasons Boulanger may have composed a song. Rosenstiel, for example, speculates that Boulanger was probably intrigued by this poet because of Galéron de Calone's similar determination to create artistic works despite her multi-sensorial

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[40] Caroline Potter, *Nadia and Lili Boulanger* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2006), 108. We do not know a lot about Bertha Galéron de Calone or her popularity in France. While she has other smaller publications, *Dans ma Nuit* is her most extensive collection of poetry.

[41] Rosenstiel, *Life and Works of Lili Boulanger*, 123.

[42] These programs were not included in Boulanger's portfolio of concerts, which is held in the Bibliothèque National de France and I therefore do not have further information on other works programmed. These concerts are listed in Alexandra Laederich, *Nadia Boulanger et Lili Boulanger: Témoignages et études* (Lyon, France: Symétrie, 2007), 359, 387. Though we do not have any evidence of her intentions, it is not surprising Croiza performed these two pieces in particular, perhaps as opportune reminders of wartime hardships. She was intensely involved in the war effort and performances, dedicating many of her concerts to the soldiers and to war's victims, such as concerts subtitled, "Work for the tubercular patients of the war," "Mobilized artists, blind artists, prisoners of war, and those who died in action, and "Work to clothe the wounded." Catherine Mary Schwab, *The 'Mélodie Française Moderne:' An Expression of Music, Poetry, and Prosody in Fin-de-siècle France, and its Performance in the Recitals of Jane Bathori (1877–1970) and Claire Croiza (1882–1946)*, PhD Dissertation (University of Michigan, 1991), 213.

handicaps; Galéron de Calone was blind, deaf, and mute.[43] Rosenstiel also claims that Boulanger would have been attracted to this poem because of her own depressed state of mind during the summer of 1916.[44]

Boulanger's musical setting of this Galéron de Calone's poetry exposes the complexities of a wartime construction of motherhood. Despite French leaders' attempts to normalize motherhood as indicative of all women's roles, Boulanger's song suggests that maternal experiences were anything but monolithic. In particular, Boulanger's song offers us a glimpse of a mother's sacrifice that is highly disquieting, and it thus reminds the listener that wartime motherhood was more ambiguous and difficult than propaganda made it appear.

1. Dans l'immense tristesse et dans le lourd silence,	In an infinite sadness and in heavy silence,
Un pas sé fait entendre, une forme s'avance,	a step is heard, a shadow advances,
Et vers une humble tombe,	and to a humble grave,
Elle vient se pencher,	She comes to lean over,
O femme, en ce lieu saint	Oh, woman, in this holy place
que viens-tu donc chercher?	for what do you search?
2. Pourquoi viens tu troubler la paix	Why do you come to disturb the peace
Du cimetière?	of the cemetery?
As tu donc un trésor caché sous	Do you have a treasure hidden under
Quelque pierre?	some stone?
Ou viens-tu mendier, à l'ombre des tombeaux,	Or do you come begging in the shadow of the tomb's,
Pauvre vivante,	Poor living creature,
Aux morts, un peu de leur repos?	You seek the peace allowed the dead?
3. Non, Rien de tout cela jusqu'ici ne l'amène,	No, none of these reasons brings her here,
(La lune en cet instant éclairait cette scène.)	(The moon suddenly lights up the scene).

[43] Rosenstiel, *Life and Works of Lili Boulanger*, 123.

[44] Rosenstiel, *Life and Works of Lili Boulanger*, 191. Rosenstiel does not elaborate upon what caused Boulanger's particularly depressed state, other than her illness.

Et ce que cette femme, (Hélas! Le Coeur se fend.) ce que cette femme vient chercher, c'est un frêle et gracieux enfant,	And what this woman (Alas! The heart breaks). and what this woman comes to find is an innocent and fragile child
4. Qui dort sur cette tombe, et qui, dans sa chimère, (Depuis qu'il a vue là disparaître sa mère, Doux être!) s'imagine en son naïf espoir Qu'elle n'est que cachée et qu'il va la revoir.	Who sleeps under a gravestone and who, in his dreams, (Since there he saw his mother disappear, sweet being!) Could imagine in his naïve hope that she only was hiding and that he would see her again.
5. Et l'on dirait, le soir, en vision secrète, Lorsque le blond enfant sent s'alourdir sa tête, Et que sa petite âme est lasse de gémir, Que sa mère revient chanter pour l'endormir.	And one might say, in night, in secret dreams That when this blond child feels his head grow heavy, and when his little soul is weary of groaning, That his mother comes back to sing to him.[45]

Both music and text in the song include multiple ambiguities, only some of which Boulanger clarifies later in the work. The slow unveiling process of the sigh motive in the poem acts to dispel ambiguity about the trauma suffered by the woman. The opening lines of the text gradually expose the presence of the woman by first revealing a step, then a form, and finally a woman—dispelling ambiguity about the subject of the poem: "In the immense sadness and in the heavy silence, a *step* makes itself heard, a *shadow* advances, and towards a humble tomb *she* comes to lean over; O, *woman*, in this holy place, for what do you search?" We do not know what the woman seeks until the third stanza, and are not even aware that this woman is the dead child's mother until the fourth stanza.

Freud's definitions of mourning and melancholia enhance our understanding of how the mother deals with the loss of her child in the poem. While *Dans l'immense tristesse* depicts a

[45] Translation mine.

mother mourning the loss of her child, the extent to which the mourning occurs suggests a type of melancholia. Freud first described melancholia and differentiated it from mourning in his essay, "Mourning and Melancholia" (1915, published in 1917). During the war, Freud spent a great deal of time observing his patients who had suffered from trauma directly related to the ravages of the war and began to create theories of melancholia. Although mourning and melancholia are similar, melancholia, according to Freud, is the pathological reaction to the loss of a loved person or thing. Freud argued the distinction between the two is that people experience mourning as a loss of something separate from oneself, whereas a person experiences melancholia as a loss of part of one's ego due to too much attachment to the person or thing lost. The manifestation of melancholia presents itself pathologically in extreme depression or self punishment.[46] World War I historian Winter cites sculptor Käthe Kollwitz as a particular maternal sufferer of wartime melancholia. Kollwitz erected a war memorial to her son eighteen years after he was killed in the war. Until that time, Kollwitz could not accept her son's death. She believed she could speak to him and constantly thought he was there. She felt guilt for sacrificing her son to a war that she ultimately believed was wrong.[47]

Freud asserts that mourning is a natural reaction to the loss of a loved one and will be overcome by time, when the ego, the more-or-less conscious aspect of the self that interacts with the world perceived outside of the self will once again become free.[48] However, when the libido, a type of "energy" invested in and tying an external object's value to the self, is unable to

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[46] Sigmund Freud, "Mourning and Melancholia," in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud,* vol. 14 (1914–16), ed. and trans. by James Strachey (London: Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 1957), 243, 246.

[47] Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning,*110–11.

[48] Sigmund Freud, "Mourning and Melancholia," in *Collected Papers,* IV (New York: Basic Books, 1959), 153–54.

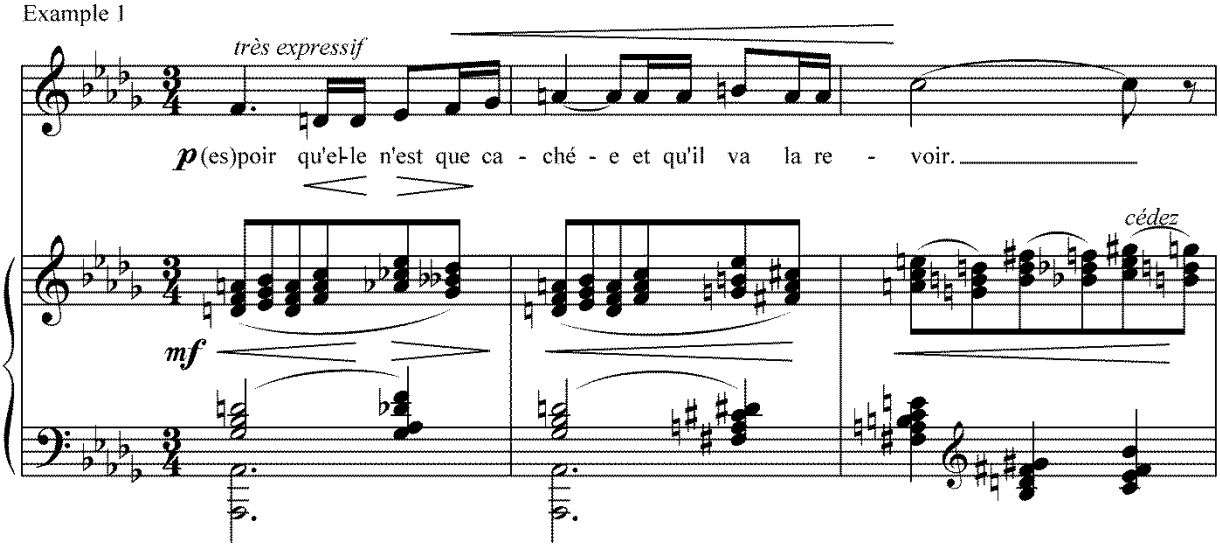
withdraw from its attachment to the mourned object, it can turn away from reality. The libido may cling to the object "through the medium of hallucinatory wish-psychosis."[49] The mother in *Dans l'immense tristesse* displays a kind of wish-psychosis in seeking the child, but the child is, of course, unattainable. Through her wish-psychosis, she yearns for the child's desire for her, but because the mother's wish cannot be fulfilled, she seeks and laments endlessly, experiencing melancholia rather than simple mourning. Freud wrote that melancholia occurs when the loss of a mourned object becomes transformed into a loss in the ego.[50] A loss in the ego promotes feelings of unworthiness, or guilt, and often leads one to seek an object that will fill that void.

However, the child-as-object cannot actually fill the egoistic void no matter how much the mother seeks, and Boulanger's music provides insight into the nature of the mother's loss. In the fourth stanza, in which the mother projects her desire for the child's reciprocal desire by imaging the child's wish for her to return, Boulanger inserts a descending melodic passage in the piano, comprised of dissonances. As shown in Example 1, the piano accompaniment then moves into a series of minor triads—the only place in the song in which Boulanger employs such traditional tertian harmony. The emphasis on minor sonorities underneath the passage about hope musically suggests the unlikeliness of the situation, the ironic truth about the mother's unattainable desire.

[49] Freud, "Mourning and Melancholia," 154.

[50] Freud, "Mourning and Melancholia," 159.

Example 1



In addition to the use of minor sonorities in a passage about false hope, Boulanger's selective use of rolled chords throughout the song helps reveal that the woman grieves unnaturally for her child. Following the first occurrence, Boulanger marked the score, "comme une cloche," or "like a bell," but the rolled chords coincide to a specific singular motive of octave Fs, one of which is slightly displaced as a preceding tied grace note, and one which takes on greater significance. Contemporary audiences, as Glenn Watkins argues, would have understood the correlation between bells, or more specifically carillons, and the war, as they were well-known symbols for victory and national strength over the Germans.[51] In Belgium, German soldiers melted carillons to make ammunition, and the Belgium townspeople went to great lengths to protect their carillons and prohibit Germans from playing their national anthem on them.[52] In Boulanger's song, however, the three occurrences of rolled chords are more

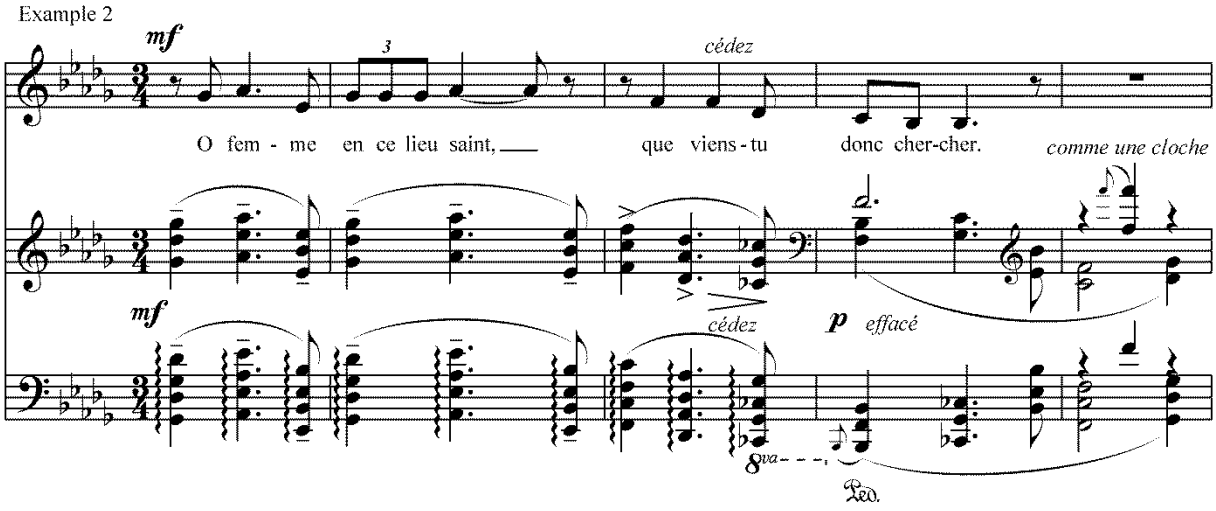
[51] See Glenn Watkins, *Proof Through the Night: Music and the Great War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 40–41.

[52] Watkins, *Proof Through the Night*, 41. Nadia Boulanger used the marking "comme un carillon" in her wartime work, *Soir d'hiver* (1914–1915) that depicts a mother cradling her baby awaiting her husband's return from war. Other composers, especially in England, composed several works depicting carillons, most notably Edward Elgar's *Carillon* (1914).

ambiguous than simply a musical depiction of bells. Instead, I argue that the rolled chords' correspondence with the text highlights the child's relationship with his mother, especially as a desired object.[53] The first takes place with the line, "O woman, in this holy place, for what do you search?" The second occurrence is on the line, "The moon at that moment illuminated this scene," and the final appearance accompanies the line, "Since there he saw his mother disappear, sweet being."

In their first occurrence, as shown in Example 2, the rolled chords metonymically reinforce the textual question, "Oh woman, for what do you search?" The rolled chords move in parallel open fifths, and the tonality is as uncertain as the question.

Example 2

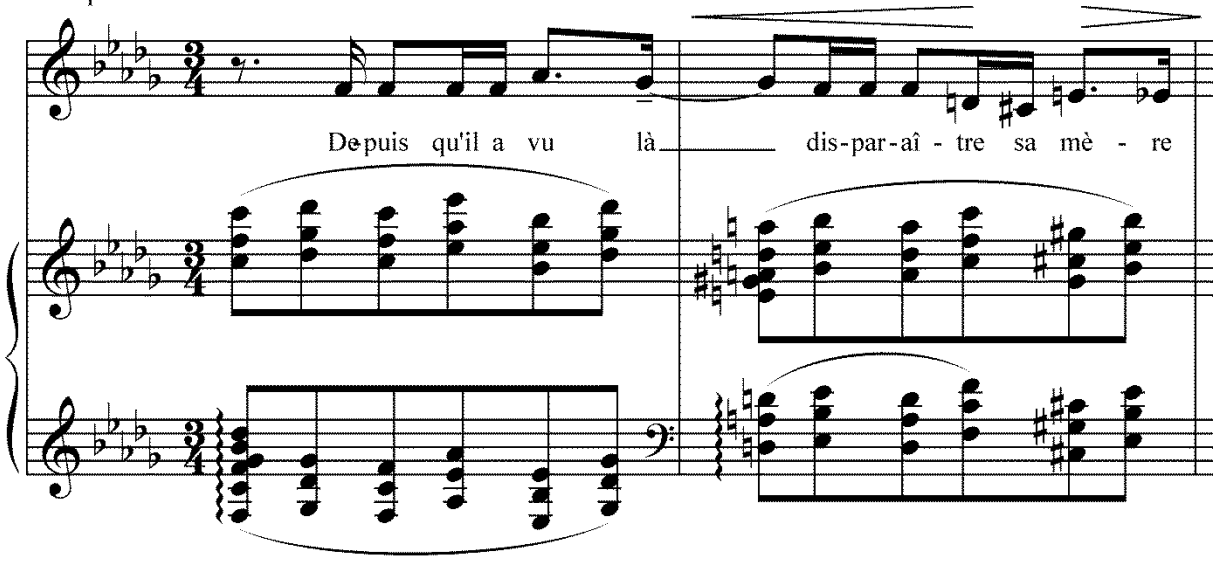


At this point in the poem, one does not know what or whom the woman seeks; therefore, the use of open fifths corroborates a feeling of incompletion and uncertainty, seeking resolution—the answer to the question, which will come with the third occurrence of the rolled chords. Intervening between them, the second occurrence of the rolled chords mimetically illustrates the moon's revealing light, but the moon in this passage illuminates in more than one way. It is only

[53] These do not include places in the text which describe the actual child.

after the moon "lights up the scene" that the poem discloses the woman's reason for coming to the cemetery—to see the child. We now see, as if illuminated, the relationship between the woman and the dead child, one of the grieving *mater dolorosa* and son. As illustrated in Example 3, the final instance of the rolled chords suggests an answer to the question stated in the first occurrence. The mother comes to seek her child in the graveyard, since this was the last place he had "seen" her (probably not literally). The rolled chords contain open fifths, as in the first occurrence, but this time dissonant notes and harmonies infiltrate them.

Example 3

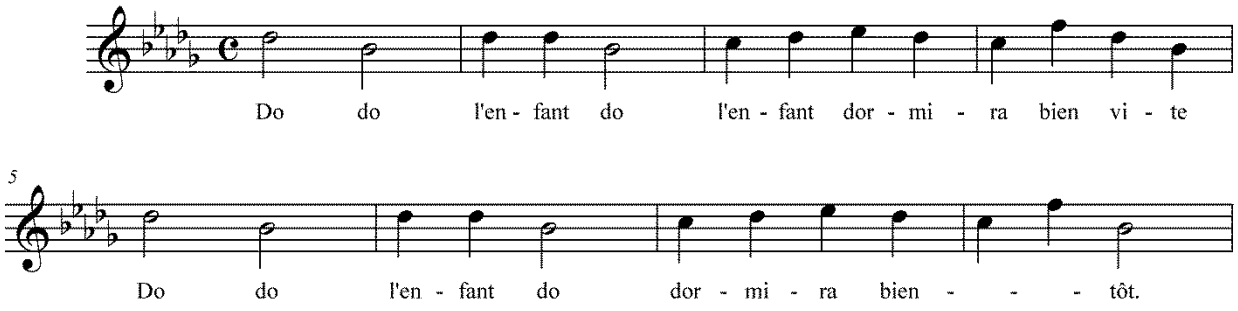


The question here is not as uncertain; she comes to seek the child, but something in the answer is not right. The text, underscored with these dissonant infiltrations, suggests that the definitive answer to the question of what she seeks is, in fact, disturbing—the child is not really waiting for her; he is dead.

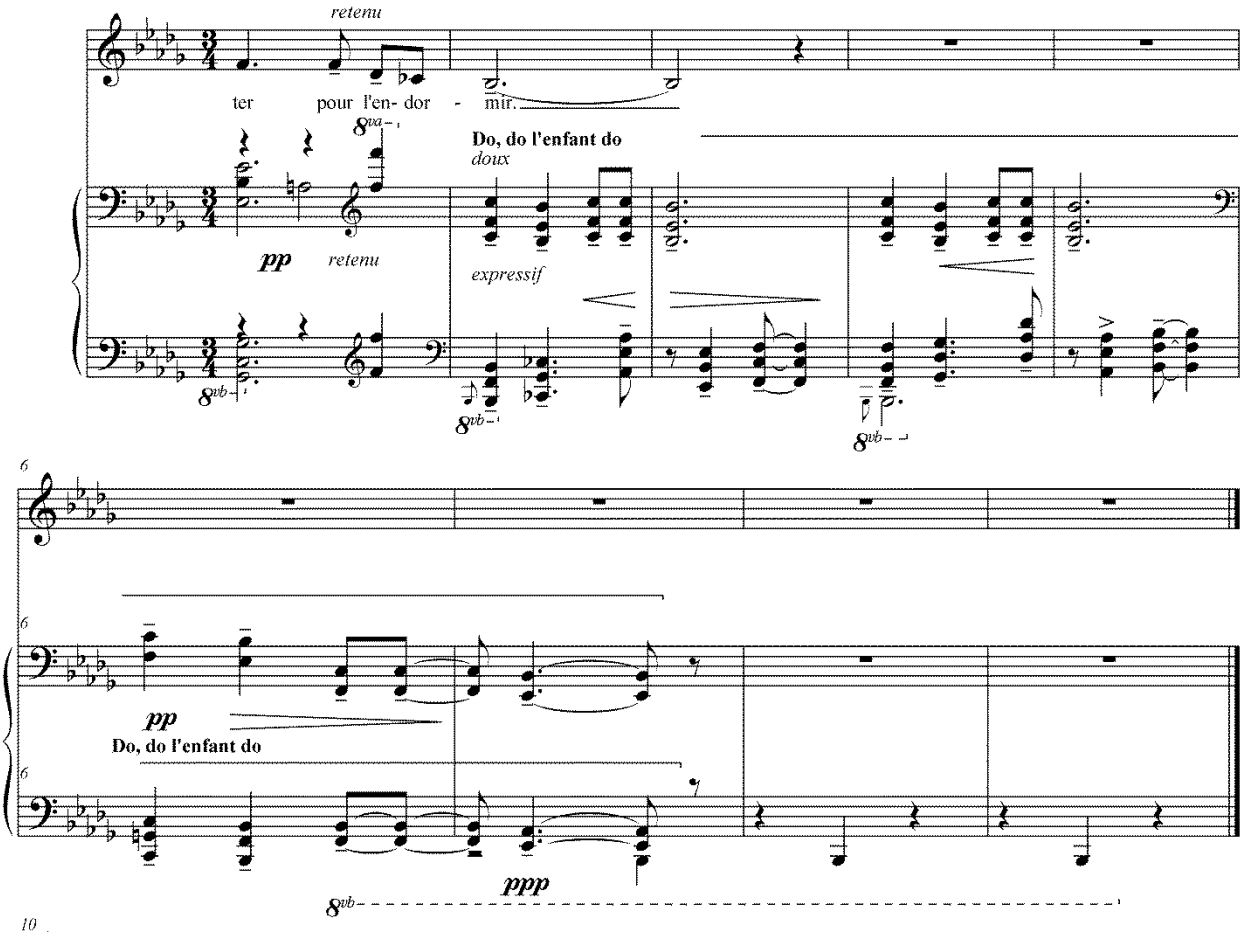
Since the mother cannot replace her dead child, the insertion of a lullaby superficially fills the void in her ego. The text does not actually state that the woman sings a lullaby. It says that the woman sings the son back to sleep, but at the end of the song Boulanger adapted a tune from the traditional French lullaby "*Do, do, l'enfant do.*" The tune appears in the right hand of

the piano several times.[54] Example 4 provides the original tune, followed by Boulanger's slight variation in Example 5.

Example 4



Example 5



[54] Rosenstiel, *Life and Works of Lili Boulanger*, 191. Debussy also quotes "Do, do l'enfant do" using a major second instead of a third in "Jimbo's Lullaby" from *The Children's Corner.*

Unlike most soothing lullabies, Boulanger troubles this particular setting of the lullaby with dissonance between the piano and the voice, dissonances that would hardly lull a child to sleep—unless, of course, the child was already in eternal slumber. Boulanger's musical commentary on the mother's desire again reveals the reality that she will never actually obtain her desire; it is, instead, a wish-psychosis as her futile attempt to fulfill her desire, and replace the loss in her ego, is indicated by the insertion of "*Do, do, l'enfant do.*"

One way to understand the significance of the lullaby quotation is to consider Donald W. Winnicott's concept of the transitional object. This concept refers to objects such as teddy bears, which children embrace as substitutes for the temporary loss of their mothers on their path to emotional independence. Marjorie McDonald uses Winnicott's term to formulate her own musical theory about "transitional tunes." McDonald posits that "certain melodies may function as a substitute for a lost mother in for example the process of falling asleep."[55] This lullaby functions as a substitute for a similar loss.

Instead of the lullaby acting as a transitional object for the child, however, here Boulanger applies it to the mother. The mother sings the lullaby as a substitute for the lost child. By singing the lullaby, the mother transposes qualities of the maternal onto herself that she no longer possesses because of her child's death. In terms of Freud's concept of introjection, the subject (the mother) transposes objects (the lullaby) and their inherent qualities (maternalism) from the outside to the inside (of herself).[56] In terms of Freud's melancholia, the lullaby's

[55] Marjorie McDonald, *Transitional Tunes and Musical Development* (n.p.: Feder, Karmel & Pollock, 1994), 85; quoted in Hroar Klempe, "A Freudian Perspective on Musical Signification," in *Musical Signification: Between Rhetoric and Pragmatics,* ed. Gino Stefani, Eero Tarasti, and Luca Marconi (Bologna: Cooperativa Libraria Universita Editrice Bologna, 1998), 264.

maternalism introjects a quality onto the woman's ego, which was damaged with the loss of the child.

The mother has suffered a traumatic loss and Boulanger's music supports Freud's notions about trauma. Trauma manifests through symptomatic behavioral repetition, normally unveiled slowly in disguised form. Freud discovered during the First World War that forms of trauma produced such symptoms of repetition, which were not directly associated with the organism's tendency to seek out pleasurable experiences.[57] Through such repetitive symptomatic behavior, the psychoanalyst could expose the core of the underlying problem or trauma. One way to express trauma musically may be through such repetition. The presence of the quoted lullaby leads to the most explicit unveiling of a musical "sigh gesture," the stepwise rocking and falling motion in the piano, which resembles that of lulling a child to sleep, as shown in Example 5. The sigh gesture in *Dans l'immense tristesse* is a form of musical repetition. It does not suddenly appear at the end of the song, although it is revealed most fully after "*Do, do l'enfant, do*." The gesture, as shown in Example 6, is embedded in the musical texture throughout the song, beginning under the line, "Do you have a treasure hidden under some stone?" See F-E and B-B-flat in the right hand, along with D-flat C as marked in the left hand.

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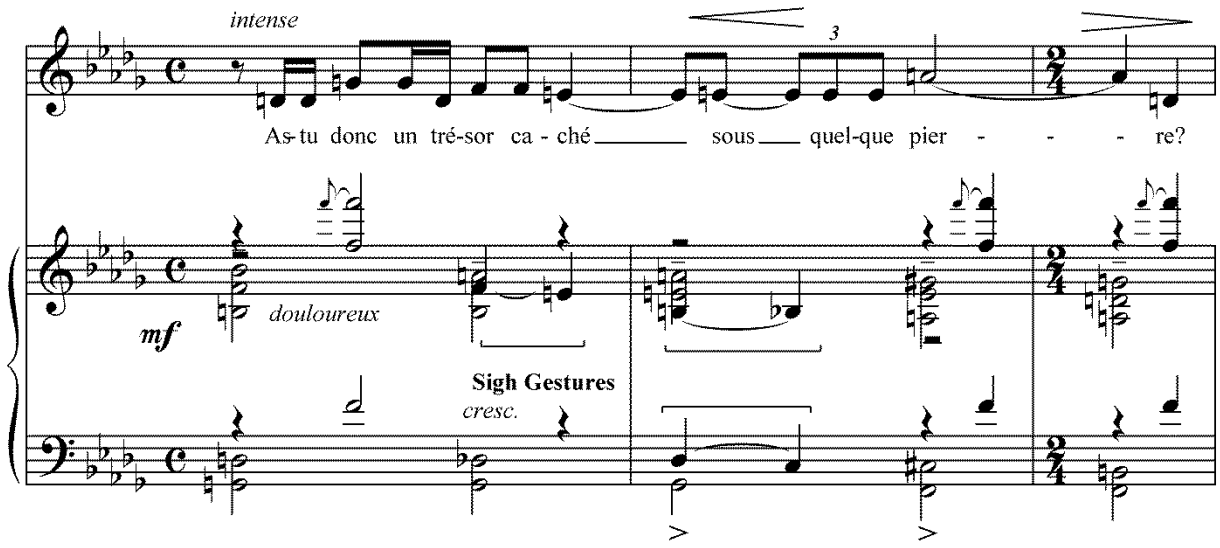
[56] Jean Laplanche and J. B. Pontalis, *The Language of Psycho-Analysis*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1973), 229.

[57] Schwarz, *Listening Subjects*, 68.

Example 6



While the sigh gesture does not occur in every measure thereafter, its veiled presence throughout the song remains evident. Just as symptomatic behavioral repetition is normally unveiled in disguised form, so is the sighing gesture throughout the song, as it is embedded, or hidden, in the inner voices of the piano accompaniment, and then reconfigured as the main melodic material at the end of the song. That the sigh gesture's most obvious, and most sustained appearance occurs after the lullaby shows that, indeed, the lullaby and the trauma are related. The lullaby fills the melancholic void left by the trauma of the child's death, but this substitution is weak and seems merely to raise the trauma all over again in the form of the sigh gesture's repetitive recurrence.

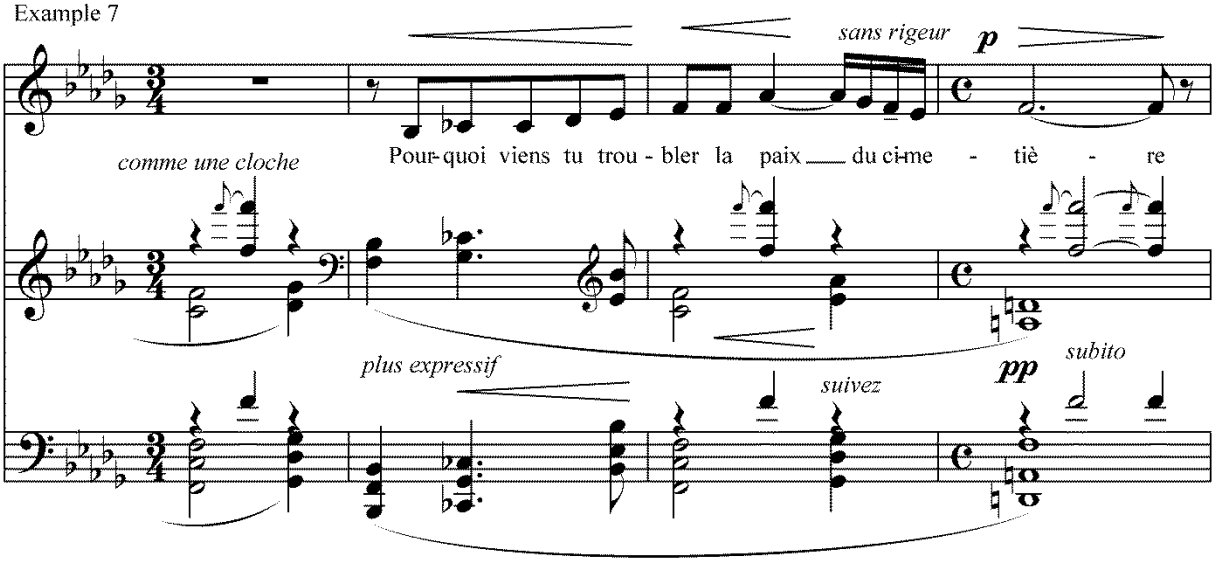
One of the unsolved ambiguities of the song is the question of voice in the text. There is clearly a narrating role in the poem, but it is unknown whether the questions addressed to the woman are asked by a narrator, her dead son, or some other person. The two parenthetical asides further complicate the matter, as they are specifically directed toward the reader/listener and not the mother. The text and music are saturated with ambiguities capable of sustaining many interpretations, but they become clearer as they progress and divulge more information.

Boulanger's music, for example, helps resolve such ambiguities in a particular set of instances when a clear mimetic musical signifier functions beyond its original mimetic implications.

The musical signifier in question represents a bell, which first appears as a clear mimetic device but becomes ambiguous through its transformation into a signifier of a different kind. As illustrated in Example 7, the F octave gesture in measure 16, originally preceded by an F grace note, is marked "*comme une cloche,*" as originally marked in Example 2. The F octaves, sounding once or twice per measure, begin directly before the line "And why disturb the grave-like peace of the cemetery?"[58]

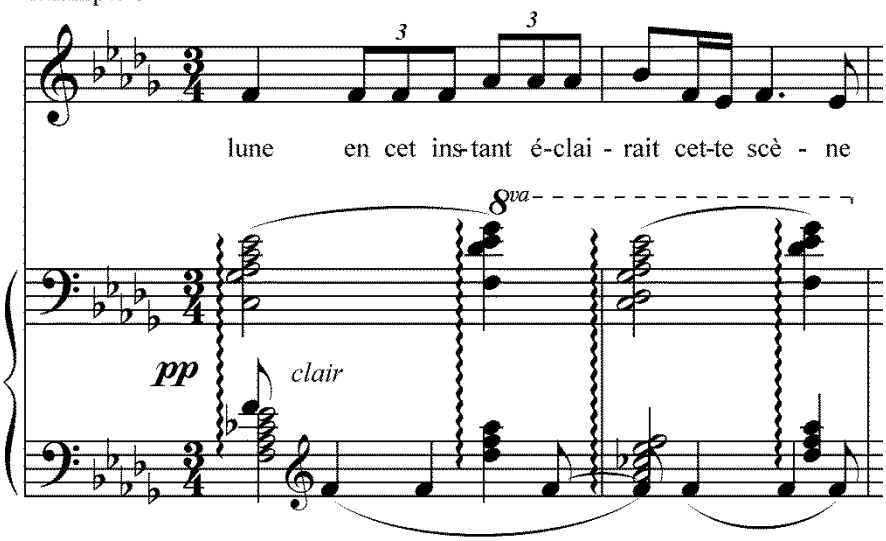
[58] Certainly the chiming of the bell sound can withstand many interpretations. Rosenstiel points out that the bell effect in the piano is also found in Boulanger's prewar composition *Pour les funérailles d'un soldat.* Rosenstiel, *Life and Works of Lili Boulanger,* 191. Although Rosenstiel does not directly state the significance or the connection between the pieces, she hints that the bell effects are funereal. Also, the bell/chiming effect first appears with the line "grave-like peace." Boulanger most likely would have been aware of the connection between bells and peace in both the First World War and the Franco-Prussian war. Glenn Watkins states that the power of the carillon as a symbol of peace was evident in both wars. A popular chanson at the time of the Franco-Prussian war, for example, reflects this sentiment with its words, "Nous, nous chantons des Marseillaise; Nous sommes des cloches française" (We sing the Marseillaise; We are the bells of France). Madeleine Schmidt, ed., *Chansons de le revanche et la Grande Guerre* (Paris, 1985), 111; quoted in Watkins, *Proof Through the* Night, 437. It is therefore possible that the chiming bells could symbolize the peace allowed the dead from the war-torn world. Unlike strong, resounding victory or peace bells, however, this chiming motive is more tentative. The F octaves strike softly on beats two and four in common time and then become syncopated. Never do they state their arrival clearly or emphatically.

Example 7



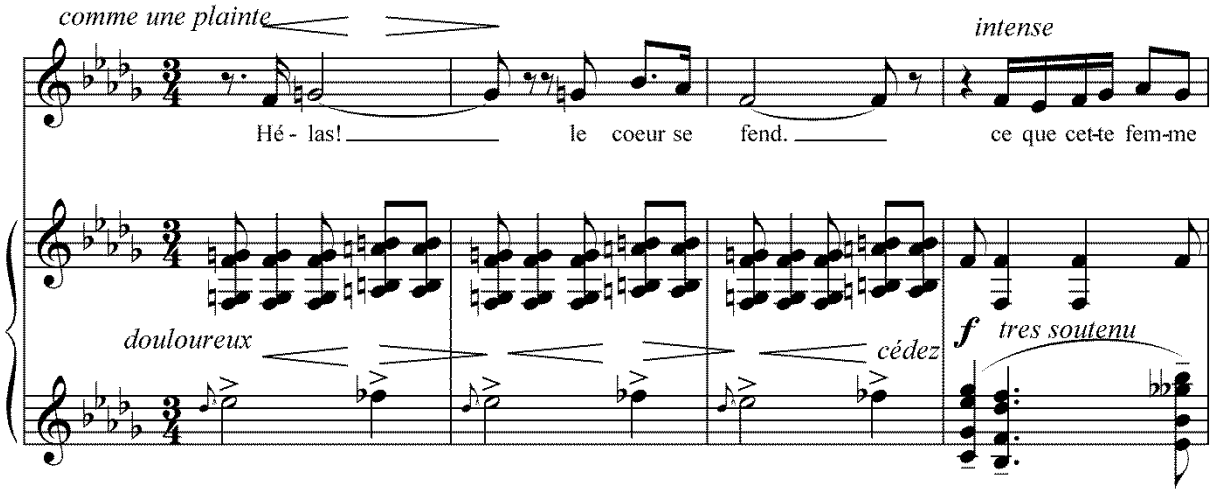
They continue nearly every measure until another parenthetical insertion, “the moon at that moment illuminated this scene,” shown in Example 8.

Example 8



Underneath the rolled chord in this passage, the Fs continue, but now occur only as single notes in a new, syncopated rhythmic pattern. Octave doubling returns before “Alas, the heart breaks,” at which point the F octaves are paired with dissonant seconds, shown in Example 9, and continue intensely in a syncopated rhythmic pattern and leading to the first *forte* in the song.

Example 9



This dissonant rhythmic pattern at "Alas, the heart breaks" mimetically acts as a heartbeat—not a regular and steady heartbeat, but rather one that is disturbed, saddened, and irregular, marked by Boulanger, "*comme une plainte,*" or "like a lament."

The bell signifier thus migrates into a different signifier, that of the heartbeat, which musically represents the line, "the heart breaks." However, the heartbeat changes back into the bell gesture by the end of the song, a transformation supported by the text. After the line, "Alas, the heart breaks," the syncopated pattern continues, but contains only F octaves instead of dissonant seconds and eventually thins out to single note Fs. The syncopated rhythmic pattern stops and the octave F chimes, like the original statements of the Fs, return at the end of the work. This re-transformation occurs at this point in the poem when the text talks about how the child let out one final sigh and drifted off to "sleep," accompanied by the mother's song. At the point when the child takes his last breath, the musical heartbeat signifier stops and the bell signifier resumes. Time has run out, death has won, and the bell becomes softer until it is barely audible. This transformation renders the original signifier, *"comme une cloche"* ambiguous in that musically, from a mimetic representation of an external, even national and public sound to

an internal, biological one and then back to an external sound. This process functions similarly to the process of Freud's introjection, though mimetically, rather than psychically. The bell sound (as an external object) becomes internalized (as the heartbeat), and then it becomes externalized again back into the bells. In this crucial difference with the psychical introjection process, the re-externalization of the signifier heightens rather than dispels ambiguity. Written within a wartime context, we can understand the transformation of the bell signifier as both a private and public sound of grief.

It is this kind of ambiguity that renders the poem and Boulanger's musical setting so compelling. The unsettledness of voice, of interpretation, and of musical signifiers—only some of which are resolved—is both disturbing and uncomfortable, but then so is melancholia which pervades the song. As with melancholia, reality becomes distorted and disturbed textually and musically, as in Boulanger's transformation of a mimetic musical signifier into something else, or the use of a lullaby to fill a void in a melancholic woman's ego. Boulanger's song and the poem then is aptly titled; in an immense sadness, Boulanger offers a fascinating glimpse into the distorted and ambiguous world of feminine loss, trauma, and melancholia. There is nothing glorious about this *mater dolorosa*. Boulanger comments upon and exposes the harsh, and often un-discussed realities of French wartime propaganda regarding motherhood. The mother's pain of losing a son is private, but Boulanger's choice of text and her setting provides a very public context for gendered feminine suffering, and perhaps even renders the bleak actuality of France's larger national grief.

Chapter 2

"From the Depths of the Abyss:" Good Suffering and the *femme fragile*

In 1916, Father Arthur Desprez wrote to Nadia Boulanger regarding her sister's ill health: "I believe that God has given your sister a great work ethic, that he similarly gave to the poet, Coppée, for the 'Good Suffering.' He sculpts, he chisels the heart with the chisel of the disease . . . and because of this last, and supreme imperfections . . . her suffering has been 'the Good Suffering.'"[1] Lili Boulanger died at the age of twenty-four from what we now know as Crohn's Disease. Her contemporaries and posthumous critics similarly appropriated, feminized, and idealized her illness as the Good Suffering, as understood within the Catholic tradition. In particular, feminine suffering was at the core of French Catholicism's understanding of spiritual redemption. Feminine suffering was critical to Catholic propaganda during the First World War, and vital to dominant conceptions of different types of femininity, including the *femme fragile* and wartime motherhood. While Catholicism was central to Lili Boulanger's life, as it was to her family and to the majority of the French nation, Boulanger's private writings, however, reveal that she did not necessarily believe her suffering to be the Good Suffering.

In this chapter, I examine how French Catholicism shaped both suffering in general and feminine suffering as vital to individual and wartime national redemption. I then explore how Boulanger's private letters and diary entries reveal her personal self-pity, which differed drastically from her colleagues', critics', friends', and family's public construction of her illness

[1] Letter from Arthur Desprez to Nadia Boulanger on Nov 6, 1916; quoted in Jérôme Spycket, *À la recherche de Lili Boulanger* (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 2004), 328. "Je crois que le Bon Dieu fait sur votre petite sœur une grande œuvre morale, celle qu'il a faite naguère sur le poète Coppée, par la *Bonne Souffrance*. Il sculpte, il burine son âme avec le ciseau de la maladie . . . parce que de cette derniès scories, les suprêmes imperfections. . . Sa souffrance aura été pour elle aussi 'la Bonne Souffrance.'"

as the noble Good Suffering. Central to Boulanger's public enactment of Good Suffering was her supposed child-like nature. Critics frequently referred to Boulanger as *l'enfant* and compared her to virgin martyrs such as Thérèse of Lisieux, who became popular with World War I soldiers. Boulanger, however, was also responsible for this public self-image as she infantilized herself in both private letters and in public interviews. I argue that the dominant construction of Boulanger as a Good Sufferer and as an ill, graceful, and humble child strengthens her identification with a second gendered image of the *femme fragile*. Boulanger's suffering made her personality and music resonate during the First World War, and helped her navigate and succeed in a male-dominated field.

I analyze how Boulanger portrays individual, political, and Catholic suffering in several of her compositions performed in wartime concerts or composed during the war. These include *La princesse Maleine* (1912–1918), *Reflets* (1911), selections from *Clairières dans le ciel* (1913–1914), Psaume 129 (1916), Psaume 130 (1914–1917), and *Pour les funérailles d'un soldat* (1912–1913). Some texts and Boulanger's settings of them, conform to traditional Catholic beliefs, which equate men to participants in the nation and women as spiritual redeemers from suffering. Others, such as *La princesse Maleine*, provide alternate readings of women's public and political roles during war.

French Catholic Feminine Suffering

Paul wrote to the Colossians (1:24), "it makes me happy to suffer for you, as I am suffering now, and in my own body to do what I can to make up all that has still to be undergone by Christ for the sake of his body, the Church."[2] Vicarious suffering, illustrated in Paul's letter became a major tenant of Catholic belief and later, French national identity. Following the

[2] *The Catholic Comparative New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 1345.

execution of Louis XVI in January 1793, and the execution of his queen Marie Antoinette in October 1793, counterrevolutionary writers such as Joseph de Maistre (1755–1821), Louis de Bonald (1754–1840), and Pierre-Simon Ballanche (1776–1847) promoted self-martyrdom not only as a way to save oneself, but necessary to save the entire French nation. France, which as a nation participated in the murder of "*alter Christus*, the King" therefore must be redeemed.[3] Historian Richard E. Burton argues that the suffering body of Christ, the martyred body of Louis XVI, the body of the Pope, and the Church all became metaphorical equivalents of one another. Thus only through individual suffering, one could vicariously redeem others and the French nation, just as Christ had sacrificed for the world.[4]

This Catholic doctrine of vicarious suffering came to the forefront during the First World War. It consoled both male soldiers and women and others at the home front, assuring them that their suffering was for the greater good of the nation. For example, in April 1915, one priest wrote on the death of a well-known Action Française militant, Dominique-Pierre Dupouey that "every death, indeed every wound, blister, or louse-ridden greatcoat, could be turned to positive account in the great investment bank of sufferings, graces, and merits."[5] In a Catholic-identified nation, many soldiers adhered to the doctrine of vicarious suffering, finding comfort in their own sacrifices. In other words, public French propaganda generally believed that their soldiers died for a cause and not in vain.

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[3] Richard D. E. Burton, *Holy Tears, Holy Blood: Women, Catholicism, and the Culture of Suffering in France, 1840–1970* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2004), xvi.

[4] Burton, *Holy Tears, Holy Blood,* xvii.

[5] Burton, *Holy Tears, Holy Blood,* xviii.

Many soldiers found solace in female Catholic figures, who not only suffered, but supposedly protected them and granted victory. Soldiers carried trinkets (lockets, cards, etc.) of Joan of Arc, the Virgin Mary, and Thérèse of Lisieux. Not only did these women protect and console soldiers, but soldiers related to their particular suffering and sacrifices, which ultimately gained them sainthood. Historians Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau and Annette Becker write, "Like the soldiers, the 'female saints' were young and had suffered; they had sacrificed their lives just as the soldiers were sacrificing their lives for their country."[6]

The reliance on and importance of Catholic female figures demonstrates the critical nature of feminine suffering and its redemptive power. Burton argues that post-1870, French Catholic hierarchy officials and writers of the *fin-de-siècle* French Catholic literary renaissance focused specifically on the Christ-like sufferings of women.[7] Most obviously, the Virgin Mary suffered by sacrificing her Son so future souls could be redeemed.[8] Catholicism thus mobilized the role of women to "serve, obey, care for the suffering, and to suffer herself."[9] All French women obviously did not adhere to these Catholic ideals, but French officials upheld these qualities as central to the multifaceted maternal roles women took on during the First World War. As discussed in the previous chapter, mothers suffered as part of their expected role. Similarly, these characteristics were critical to the role of the *marraine de guerre*, which I will address in the following chapter.

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[6] Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau and Annette Becker, *Understanding the Great War*, trans. Catherine Temerson (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000), 131.

[7] Burton, *Holy Tears, Holy Blood*, xiv.

[8] For an in-depth discussion of the suffering of eleven prominent Catholic female figures, see Burton, *Holy Tears, Holy Blood.*

[9] Burton, *Holy Tears, Holy Blood,* xxi.

Wartime nurses, for example, also supposedly embodied the devotion, service, sacrifice, and suffering evident in the idealized imagery of both mothers and Catholic nuns. One nurse, Mme Daudet, reported in a memoir: "From time to time a nurse crosses the tracks, dressed all in white with a . . . Red Cross on her bonnet and on the obligatory arm band, the other cross, that of prayers, on a chain at her chest."[10] Nurses dressed and often acted like Catholic nuns, but as mentioned in the previous chapter, the nurses' primary role was also maternal. The nurse served the soldier, or the *petit poilu*, as she would her own child, and that soldier further served the nation.[11] Her personal work on the soldiers' bodies was therefore political because the soldiers' bodies in turn served France. Nurses not only cared for those suffering, but suffered themselves, often contracting communicable diseases such as typhoid fever; some died at the front.[12]

Feminine suffering became not only an admirable personal trait, but a political necessity for French victory. During the war Maurice Barrès wrote, "This suffering is all necessary to national salvation; as for victory, it is simply the sum of all this suffering."[13] Darrow likewise echoes core elements of Catholic vicarious suffering when she argues that by suffering courageously "women held out the promise of the ultimate victory to be awarded to the braver and more righteous."[14] Specifically with regard to French wartime motherhood, Darrow

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[10] Daudet, *Journal de famille,* 61; quoted in Darrow, *French Women and the First World War: War Stories of the Home Front* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2000), 134.

[11] Darrow, *French Women and the First World War,* 136.

[12] Darrow, *French Women and the First World War,* 142. Darrow claims that the Red Cross recorded the deaths of more than twenty nurses at the front.

[13] Maurice Barrès, preface to *Havard de la Montagne, La vie agonisante,* iii; quoted in Darrow, *French Women and the First World War*, 101.

[14] Darrow, *French Women and the First World War*, 101.

continues, "The smile, the freshly laundered curtains and plump babies only added up to feminine heroism if they were achieved as a triumph over tears. There could be no heroism without sacrifice and no sacrifice without suffering."[15] The suffering of women, just as Mary suffered and took on the suffering of Christ, ultimately would heal the nation.

The Good Suffering? Boulanger's Public and Private Suffering

As I argued in the previous chapter, Boulanger's *Dans l'immense tristesse* provided a powerful depiction of feminine suffering and melancholia that suggested that private maternal suffering was not as "natural" or monolithic as wartime propaganda or French Catholicism advocated. Her own private suffering further complicates the dominant image of feminine Good Suffering, even as her publicly constructed image adhered to that of the Good Sufferer.

Boulanger's funeral invitation included the following: "I offer to God my sufferings, so that they may shower down on you as joys."[16] Léonie Rosenstiel attributes this statement, a clear evocation of the Good Sufferer, to Lili Boulanger herself, as she supposedly said it to her friends and family while on her death bed.[17] Boulanger's funeral took place during the war on a day when the Germans bombed Paris heavily. Thus the hundreds present at her funeral who read this statement would easily have understood her death as a sacrifice in the larger sense of the wartime climate, even though it was not an immediate result of war atrocities. Both in death and in her career, the public focus on Boulanger's Good Suffering highlighted how her sacrifices would ultimately help others. In other words, her untimely death was not in vain.

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[15] Darrow, *French Women and the First World War*, 66.

[16] Léonie Rosenstiel, *Nadia Boulanger: A Life in Music* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1982), 135.

[17] Rosenstiel, *Nadia Boulanger*, 135.

Boulanger, however, frequently found no glory in her personal suffering, but she did not divulge these feelings publicly. Privately, Boulanger discussed her suffering with those closest to her, especially her best friend, Miki Piré. In a 1916 letter to Piré, Boulanger wrote,

> It is no use being gravely ill, but I cannot tell you how much some days I feel discouraged. It is not because of boredom, but because I understand that I will never have the feeling in me that I did what I want . . . since I cannot pursue anything without being interrupted for longer than my effort could not last![18]

In Boulanger's original music sketches for *La princesse Maleine*, now housed at the Bibliothèque Nationale, she also grieved privately by writing text and music about her own pain. Her melody's lyrics were:

> I have pains in the back. I have pains, little pains. I have pains in the back, the whole back, little pains. I have pains . . . in the back, in the whole back. I can't go out because it's raining. Now I'm hot, I'm not cold any more, but I'm too hot. I'm pretty ill, poor little thing. Why am I always in pain? It's not fair, poor little thing, so little. Being too hot, being too cold, that's my lot. It's not fun.[19]

While Boulanger never appears to have publicly displayed self pity, these few examples call into question Good Suffering, and show her frustration and depression that her physical suffering caused. Her lyrics also reveal how she infantilized herself as a "poor little thing."

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[18] Letter from Lili Boulanger to Miki Piré on April 2, 1916; quoted in Spycket,*À la recherche de Lili Boulanger*, 309. "J'ai beau ne pas être gravement malade, je ne puis te dire combien certains jours je me sens découragée—non pas à cause la souffrance qui est si peu existante cette fois, non pas à cause de l'ennui, tout simplement—mais parce que je comprends que je ne pourrai jamais avoir en moi le sentiment que j'ai fait ce que je voudrais, ce que je dois, puisque je ne puis poursuivre quoi que ce soit sans être interrompue pour plus longtemps que mon effort n'a pu durer!"

[19] From sketchbook, Act IV, scene iii; quoted in Caroline Potter, *Nadia and Lili Boulanger* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), 118. "J'ai des fréponds dans le dos, J'ai des fréponds des petits fréponds, J'ai des fréponds dans le dos, dans tout le dos, des petits fréponds, J'ai des fréponds dans le dos, dans tout le dos, J'sortirai pas parce qu'il pleut. Maintenant j'ai chaud je n'ai plus froid, mais j'ai trop chaud. J'suis bien malade pauv'tout petit pourquoi toujours avoir mal ce n'est pas just' pauv'tout petit si petit avoir trop chaud avoir trop froid c'est là mon sort. Ce n'est pas gai."

Boulanger publicly played upon her own child-like status. In an interview with the *Musical Leader* after winning the Prix de Rome, Boulanger revealed that when she was a little girl she dreamt of teaching her dolls to play the piano, to which her mother added, "You see, she is still only a child."[20] It is unlikely that Boulanger or her mother meant to undermine her compositional success, but this quotation from the interview cast her in the role of a distinctly feminine child (one who teaches her dolls to play piano) rather than as an ambitious, mature composer.

Wartime Childhood and the Good Suffering

Boulanger's colleagues, friends, and family also highlighted her child-like nature to strengthen her image as a Good Sufferer. In one of the more lengthy posthumous reviews of Boulanger's life and works, Camille Mauclair continually referred to her as *l'enfant*.[21] Mauclair thus bolstered her child-like reception. He began, "This is a story of a departed child of twenty-four years who almost never ceased suffering, and the story of a genius, who revealed herself in this fragile and charming body."[22] Another review reflected upon her death:

> How tragic is the long and conscious suffering of this child of twenty-four years, who watched her impending death without losing her moral force, without complaint . . . Those who knew her will not forget her pure and serious look, her simple immense melancholy before so much shattered richness. Her death is a real loss for young French music and is a brutal and sad reminder of reality.[23]

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[20] "Young French Women Winning Honors," *The Musical Leader* 26 (1913); quoted in Fauser, "*La Guerre en dentelles*," 124.

[21] See Camille Mauclair, "La Vie et l'œuvre de Lili Boulanger," *La Revue musicale* 2, no. 10 (1921): 147–155. Mauclair (1872–1945) wrote one of the most comprehensive reviews of Boulanger following her death. Mauclair was a French poet, novelist, travel writer, and art critic. He was interested in the works of symbolist writers such as Stéphane Mallarmé and Maurice Maeterlinck. Several of Mauclair's poems were set to music by composers, such as Ernest Bloch, Gustave Charpentier, Ernest Chausson, and Nadia Boulanger. He also authored several books about music, including *Schumann* (1906), *The Religion of Music* (1909), *The History of European Music from 1850-1914* (1914) and *The Heroes of the Orchestra* (1921).

[22] Mauclair, "La Vie et l'œuvre de Lili Boulanger," 147.

This review similarly refers to Boulanger as a child, upholds her innocence, and idealizes her suffering as good, silent, brave suffering. It also places her death specifically within a wartime context, as another victim—albeit an indirect one—of war.

During the war, the French would have been easily sympathetic to the imagined role of a Boulanger as a child who dedicated herself to the war effort and suffered endlessly and gracefully. Audoin-Rouzeau asserts that France may have produced "the first grand moral and intellectual mobilization of the concept of childhood in the field of European politics" during the First World War.[24] Some French propaganda employed images of wartime childhood by focusing on the horrors of children dying, particularly at the hands of German soldiers, while others upheld children for their vital role in winning the war. The Catholic Church mobilized children in the war effort by organizing children's prayers. This "Children's Crusade," the Church claimed, took place under the protection of the Virgin Mary and Joan of Arc.[25]

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[23] *Annuaire official de 1919, rubrique Nécrologie, du CNSMD de Paris*, document non coté; quoted in Carole Bertho Woolliams, *Lili Boulanger Compositrice du XXe siècle* (Le Jardin d'Essai, 2009), 58. "Combien tragique est la longue et consciente agonie de cette enfant de 24 ans, qui a regardé venir la mort sans perdre sa force morale, sans se plaindre jamais, alors qu'elle était triste pourtant devant sa jeunesse von vue, devant son œuvre inachevée, devant les coeurs qu'elle savait laisser meurtris. Ceux qui l'ont connue n'oublieront pas son pur et grave regard, sa simplicité enfantine . . . immense mélancolie devant tant de richesses anéanties, devant cette mort qui est une réelle perte pour la jeune musique française et qui est un si brutal et si triste rappel aux réalités."

[24] Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, *La guerre des enfants, 1914–1918: Essai d'histoire culturelle* (Paris, 1993), 186; quoted in Glenn Watkins, *Proof Through the Night: Music and the Great War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 115. Similarly, music also partook in the propaganda of childhood themes. Watkins, in his survey on music in the First World War, devotes a chapter to "War and the Children" in France, but does not include Boulanger in his discussions. Watkins analyzes two of Debussy's compositions which depict the horrible results war has on children. "Noël des enfants qui n'ont plus de maisons" (1916) is a heart-wrenching song that describes French orphan children who have no families, no home, and no Christmas.

[25] Watkins, *Proof Through the Night,* 115.

Propaganda even went so far as to compare the French children's innocence and sacrifice to those of infant saviors—particularly Jesus.[26] According to Audoin-Rouzeau, documents from the Catholic Church, schools, children's drawings, homework, and letters indicate children's reactions to and representations of wartime culture. Twelve-year-old Anaïs Nin, for example, wrote that she imagined herself as a young Joan of Arc freeing France.[27] Audoin-Rouzeau writes that the emphasis on Catholicism in children's education during the war focused on how they could help soldiers win the war through prayer. In wartime pamphlets, writers encouraged children to "inflame their hearts with zeal" in order to achieve a "soul of heroes."[28] This French propaganda to "enlist" children's support and participation the in war effort preached that "heroic children are essential because [they] . . . oppose the ruthless force of [German] weakness."[29]

Two reviews directly compared Boulanger to young Catholic virgin martyrs, Joan of Arc and Thérèse of Lisieux, the latter of whom shared several similarities with Boulanger, as I will discuss. Following Boulanger's Prix de Rome win, a review from *La Matin* declared: "The suffragettes smash windows and burn houses. But a maiden of France [Lili Boulanger] has gained a better victory."[30] The reference to a maiden of France alludes to Joan of Arc specifically, and differentiates her (and Boulanger) from the suffragettes, or *femme nouvelles*, as

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[26] Audoin-Rouzeau, *La Guerre des Enfants,* 40.

[27] Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau and Annette Becker, *Understanding the Great War* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2003), 11.

[28] Audoin-Rouzeau, *La Guerre des Enfants,* 27-28.

[29] Claude Digeon, *La Crise allemande de la pensée française, 1870–1914* (Paris: PUF, 1959), 568, 62; quoted in Audoin-Rouzeau, *La Guerre des Enfants*, 109.

[30] *Le Matin*, 6 July 1913, 2; quoted in Fauser, "*La Guerre en dentelles*," 126.

discussed in the previous chapter. In addition, a posthumous review compared her to the virgin martyrs of antiquity, whose sacrifices brought victory to valorous armies.[31]

Before and through World War I (and even into World War II), political leaders, artists, writers, and musicians manipulated and exploited Joan of Arc's image for religious and moral justification and as wartime propaganda. Depending upon a group's or individual's purpose, Joan of Arc could represent a specific ideal of French identity and challenge or solidify gender roles which were vulnerable during wartime. Her first modern biographer, Jules Michelet (1798–1874), reinvented her image for a post-Revolutionary era. Michelet's vision of Joan of Arc was similar to that of Gounod's opera, which transformed Joan of Arc into a Republican heroine, who embodied a masculinized ideal of French citizenship. The Franco-Prussian War shaped Joan of Arc's image into one of a simple peasant abandoned by the King and her Church, but also of a savior of France. Brigitte Coste argues that the modern sense of ownership—left or right—of Joan of Arc began during the Franco-Prussian War.[32] During the Dreyfus Affair, the religious Right, however, used Joan of Arc as a symbol of a "pure" French race to help justify anti-Semitism. This symbolic relationship with the Right dominated Joan of Arc's image up until World War One. Coste writes that the Anti-Dreyfusards "pointed out that Joan, a country girl, was pure French, simple and healthy; on the contrary the Jews were foreigners, city merchants, and given to the maladies generated by bad blood."[33]

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[31] Léonie Rosenstiel, *The Life and Works of Lili Boulanger* (London: Associated Press, 1978), 135.

[32] Brigitte Coste, "Reminiscences of a Compatriot: Right or Left, Who Owns Joan of Arc?" in *Joan of Arc at the University*, ed. Mary Elizabeth Tallon (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1997), 107.

[33] Coste, "Reminiscences of a Compatriot: Right of Left," 108.

The comparisons of Boulanger to Joan of Arc drew from idealized notions of maternal femininity. Despite views of Joan of Arc's androgyny and her masculine role which became even more inflammatory post-war, French leaders, especially those associated with Catholicism, promoted Joan of Arc's femininity in terms related to motherhood to make her safe.[34] One member of the *Action française*, for example, wrote, "Joan of Arc is rebirth; she is fertile peace after a cruel war. She is the motherland once again taking charge of its destiny, which was threatened for such a long time. She is the eternal youth of our people, who after heroism produce work and, after death, bring forth life."[35] This brief description is laden with imagery that links Joan of Arc to both motherhood, youth figures, and nationhood as motherland—all ideas that came to the forefront during World War One. These qualities of motherhood thus distinguished Joan of Arc from the feared *femme nouvelle*, suggested in Joan of Arc's masculine soldier image. Both Joan of Arc and Boulanger did not gain victory by smashing windows or burning houses, but by performing a type of femininity that continued to solidify the dominant construction of French wartime motherhood.

The review that compared Boulanger to the virgin martyrs of antiquity likely referred to Thérèse of Lisieux (1873–1897). According to Burton, Thérèse of Lisieux's popularity peaked in World War I, which led to her canonization in 1925. During the war, soldiers addressed Thérèse of Lisieux as "the little sister of the trenches" and the "combatants' favorite wartime

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[34] See Timothy Wilson-Smith, *Joan of Arc: Maid, Myth, and History* (Stroud: Sutton, 2006) and Mary Louise Roberts, *Civilization Without Sexes: Reconstructing Gender in Postwar France, 1917–1927* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994) for more in-depth discussions about the arguments surrounding Joan of Arc's androgyny.

[35] Author unknown, "Fete de Jeanne d'Arc," *Action française* (9 May 1920); quoted in Martha Hanna, "Iconology and Ideology: Images of Joan of Arc in the Idiom of the Action Française, 1908–1931," *French Historical Studies* 14, no. 2 (1985): 227.

godmother."[36] Thérèse of Lisieux and Boulanger's reputations rested upon their selfless ability to sacrifice and to quietly and nobly suffer within a Catholic context. Equally important, their popularity also stemmed from their "littleness" and reputations as godly children.

Both Thérèse of Lisieux and Boulanger became ill during childhood and both died at the age of twenty-four. Thérèse of Lisieux's reputation came from her "cult of childlikeness" and her insistence that everything she did was "little."[37] Burton records that Thérèse of Lisieux used the word "petite" no fewer than 1,175 times in her correspondence and 374 times in the remarks recorded during her last illness.[38] Furthermore, Burton writes that no other French Catholic of her time insisted more than Thérèse of Lisieux that Catholics must "become as little children" in order to enter the kingdom of God (Matthew 18:3).[39] This emphasis on childhood is remarkably similar to Boulanger's colleagues' descriptions of her, and Boulanger's own insistence that she was a "poor little thing." However, Boulanger's private writings show self-pity not seen in documents by Thérèse of Lisieux. Boulanger's publicly performed persona, on the other hand, aligned with the Good Suffering demonstrated by Thérèse of Lisieux.

According to Burton, Thérèse of Lisieux believed that "suffering alone can give birth to souls."[40] Thérèse of Lisieux died of tuberculosis, and her writings illustrate how she accepted the fate of her suffering and death. She wrote: "I thought immediately of the joyful thing that I had to

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[36] Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker, *Understanding the Great War*, 131. The latter highlights constructions of the *marraine de guerre*, which I will address in the following chapter.

[37] Burton, *Holy Tears, Holy Blood*, 21.

[38] Burton, *Holy Tears, Holy Blood*, 41.

[39] Burton, *Holy Tears, Holy Blood*, 39.

[40] Sainte Thérèse de l'Enfant Jésus, *Manuscrits autobiographiques* (Office central de Lisieux, 1980), 86; quoted in Burton, *Holy Blood, Holy Tears*, 28.

learn, so I went over to the window. I was able to see that I was not mistaken. Ah! my soul was filled with a great consolation; I was interiorly persuaded that Jesus, on the anniversary of His own death, wanted to have me hear His first call!"[41] She also wrote, "I long to shed my blood for you, my Saviour, to the last drop. Martyrdom was the dream of my youth. . . . a single form . . . would never be enough for me, I should want to experience them all. I should want to be scourged and crucified as you were."[42] The ways in which Thérèse of Lisieux publicly offered her suffering and death up to God with piety, humility, and the desire to sacrifice ultimately shaped her reputation and led to her sainthood. Boulanger's statement on her funeral invitation likewise crafted her posthumous image as one of the Good Sufferer.

Femme Fragile

Both women's emphases on their littleness, their noble suffering, and their early death also encompass the main characteristics of the *femme fragile.* The *femme fragile,* according to Friederike B. Emonds, is a woman in a child-like body usually of aristocratic or bourgeois status, who exudes "cerebral spirituality, refined sensitivity, and grace. . . . Her ill condition typically leads to an early, beautiful death in which she finds her fulfillment."[43] While the term *femme fragile* did not emerge until 1972 in Arian Thomalla's literary criticism, she argues its representations appeared in novellas, portraits, and fairytales of the nineteenth century and

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[41] David S. Barnes, *The Making of a Social Disease: Tuberculosis in Nineteenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 66.

[42] Marina Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 271.

[43] Friederike B. Emonds, "Femme Fragile," in *The Feminist Encyclopedia of German Literature*, ed. Friederike Ursula Eigler and Susan Kord (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997), 165–66.

beyond.[44] Most of these were German, but the French nevertheless adopted the image in a similar manner. Nineteenth-century visual artworks by English pre-Raphaelites, Maurice Maeterlinck's play *La princesse Maleine* (1889), Hugo von Hofmannsthal's short narrative "Die Frau im Fenster" (1897), Rainer Maria Rilke's book "Heiliger Frühling" (1897), and Heinrich Mann's novellas *Das Wunderbare* (1894) and *Contessina* (1894), among others, all popularized the *femme fragile.*

Annegret Fauser claims that Boulanger, her colleagues, family, and friends all utilized her illness and suffering to create her image as a *femme fragile*. She embodied morbid fragility, sickliness, and beauty—all of which converged to create a perverse kind of feminine purity and nobility.[45] Several writers who knew Boulanger also promulgated her image as a *femme fragile.* Paul Landormy wrote, for example, that "Lili Boulanger had a prescience of human misery, and an intensely tragic depth of feeling that were actually disconcerting."[46] He described Boulanger's weak, sacrificial body: "[Her] emaciated body which remained so gracious and so pure was no longer an excuse for a soul to remain for some time on earth."[47] Mauclair also referred to her as a "charming and fragile being" and Albert Spalding wrote that she was "slight, fair, and frail. . . . It was evident even then that the flame of Lili's talent was likely to overtax her meager physical

[44] Arian Thomalla's *Die 'femme fragile': Ein literarischer Frauentypus der Jahrhundertwende* (Bertelsmann GmbH/ Bertelsmann Universitätsverlag, 1972).

[45] See Annegret Fauser, "Lili Boulanger's *La princesse Maleine:* A Composer and her Heroine as Literary Icons," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 122, no. 1 (1997): 68–108.

[46] Paul Landormy, "Lili Boulanger," *Musical Quarterly* 16, no. 4 (1930): 513.

[47] Mauclair, "La Vie et l'œuvre de Lili Boulanger," 149. "Le corps émacié qui demeurait si gracieux et si pur n'était plus qu'un prétexte pour qu'une âme restât encore quelque temps sur la terre."

resources."[48] These quotations show not only her supposedly frail body, but portray her fragility through grace, humility, and purity. The ways in which Boulanger's colleagues and critics mobilized her image as a *femme fragile* thus upheld the core aspects of the Good Suffering. As Fauser rightly notes, images of Boulanger as a *femme fragile* have harmed her reputation as a serious, professional composer in modern narratives by focusing on her physical weakness rather than her compositional achievements.[49] However, Boulanger's mobilization of the *femme fragile* and the Good Sufferer also helped her navigate and succeed in a male-dominated field, and made her contemporary reputation as a humble, sacrificial, and suffering female resonate in the wartime situation.

Boulanger's Professional Career as a *Femme Fragile*

Boulanger's construction as a *femme fragile* is most obvious in her public photographs printed in newspapers and magazines, as well as in her conducting performance of *Faust et Hélène* at the Prix de Rome competition in 1913. Whether she consciously *chose* to perform the *femme fragile* or not, her images and reviews conform to the critical ideas of a *femme fragile,* and differ from those of her male peers, or even her sister.[50] In many photographs of Boulanger from before and during the war, she gazes away from the camera and often sits nonchalantly in a figureless white dress. Her sideways glance averts authority; she is looked at. The figureless

[48] Mauclair, "La Vie et l'œuvre de Lili Boulanger, 147; Albert Spalding, *Rise to Follow: An Autobiography* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1943), 160; quoted in Rosenstiel, *Life and Works of Lili Boulanger,* 62. Spalding (1888–1953) was an American violinist who studied at the Paris Conservatory.

[49] Fauser, "Lili Boulanger's *La princesse Maleine*," 107.

[50] Upon winning second prize in the Prix de Rome in 1908, French and American newspapers and magazines photographed Nadia. In many of these photographs, documented in Rosenstiel's *Nadia Boulanger,* Nadia stares directly into the camera, exuding confidence and asserting authority. Photographs show her wearing pant suits rather than dresses, and working studiously at the piano. These photographs contrast greatly with those of Lili Boulanger.

white dress suggests both youth and purity, and her choice to wear ill-fitting clothes emphasizes an asexual, child-like body. Photographs also show Lili leaning on the piano, or separated from the piano completely in a moment of leisure. In one photograph, she gently strokes her dog on a bed.[51] The photographs give her no musical agency. Likewise, in 1908, critic Camille Sainte-Croix described Boulanger as "very tall, thin, supple, she makes light and lively gestures that belie the dreamy nonchalance of her beautiful, absent-minded gaze."[52] These pictures and Sainte-Croix's description identify her not as a hard-working composer, but more as a lady of leisure who plays music as a hobby rather than as a profession. Boulanger's physical appearance adhered to so many other French images of mothers gazing away from the camera (usually at children, sewing, a postcard from their husband, etc.), silently casting authority away from themselves.

Even though Boulanger was a driven, successful composer who won France's highest compositional honor at the Prix de Rome in 1913, reviews of her resulting performance stress those qualities that again adhere to the *femme fragile.* In a 1913 review of the Prix de Rome concert, Vuillermoz wrote, "Mlle Lili Boulanger has just triumphed in the last Prix de Rome competition over all its male contestants and has carried off, on her first try . . . the First Grand Prize with an authority, a speed, and an ease apt to seriously disturb the candidates who, for long years, cried tears and sweated blood while laboriously approaching this goal."[53] Instead of

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[51] Photographs provided in Rosenstiel, *Life and Works of Lili Boulanger,* 81, 88. The one where she leans on the piano was taken shortly after her Prix de Rome win in 1913.

[52] Camille Sainte-Croix, "Une jeune fille moderne," *La petite république* (22 July 1908): 83; quoted in Rosenstiel, *Nadia Boulanger,* 72.

[53] Émile Vuillermoz, "La Guerre en dentelles," *Musica* 131 (August 1913): 153. "Mlle Lili Boulanger, vient de triompher, au dernier concours de Rome, de tous ses concurrents masculins et a enlevé, avec un autorité, une rapidité et une aisance propres à inquiéter

acknowledging Boulanger's hard work equal to her colleagues, Vuillermoz focused on her demure performance and supposed lack of authority.[54] He wrote of Boulanger's conducting, "The frail grace of Lili Boulanger only moved spectators. . . Her modest and simple mien, her eyes lowered on the score, her immobility during the performance, her complete willingness to give her excellent performers free reign—she did not once let herself beat time or indicate a nuance."[55] While it is unlikely that she did not actually conduct, what is of most importance is that Vuillermoz's language conveyed Boulanger as a non-threatening female despite her professional compositional prominence. He emphasized how she let others (the musicians) speak for her rather than assert her authority. Even though Boulanger's winning cantata musically displayed *her* compositional agency, Vuillermoz stressed her silence, fragility, humility, and femininity—qualities central to both the *femme fragile* and wartime motherhood. We cannot speak for Boulanger's intentions during her Prix de Rome performance of *Faust et Hélène.* However, the ways in which others received her as embodying the Good Suffering in a child-like body, contributed to musical prominence in both her professional field and in a larger wartime

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sérieusement les candidats, qui, depuis de longues années, suent sang et eau pour se rapprocher laborieusement de ce but." Émile Vuillermoz (1878–1960) was one of the foremost music critics in Paris and one of Boulanger's most prominent critics, publishing in the *Mercure Musical*, *L'illustration*, *L'éclair*, *Comoedia, Le Temps*, *Excelsior*, (The New) *Revue Musicale*, *Candide*, *Cahier d' Aujourd'Hui*, and *Paris-Presse*. He was also the chief editor for *Revue Musicale.* He was a composer and studied with Gabriel Fauré at the Paris Conservatoire. In addition, he was a musicologist and published *Musiques d' Aujourd'hui* (1923), *Histoire de la Musique* (1949), *Claude Debussy* (1957), and *Gabriel Fauré* (1960).

[54] Vuillermoz, "La guerre en dentelles," 153. "La frêle grâce de Mlle Lili Boulanger n'a ému que les spectateurs . . . Son maintien modeste et simple, ses yeux baissés sur la partition, son immobilité pendant l'exécution, son abandon absolu à la volonté de ses excellent interprètes à qui elle ne se permit pas une seule fois de batter la mesure ou di'indiquer une nuance."

[55] Vuillermoz, "La guerre en dentelles," 153.

climate. Her Good Suffering was both personal and public. In other words, her suffering not only affected her, but others viewed it within the larger political context of World War I.

Personal and Political Suffering: Boulanger's Compositions

Many of Boulanger's compositions and their texts revolve around the concept of suffering. Some of this suffering depicted may have been personally motivated, but her textual and musical choices provide multifaceted insights and alternate readings of gendered suffering, soldiers' suffering, and more generally, Catholic suffering, all critical parts to the national construction of Frenchness. Some works, such as Psaume 129, adhere to more common stereotypes in which men speak as citizens of the nation and women act as spiritual redeemers of earthly suffering. In other works, such as Psaume 130, her changes in textual and musical settings also suggest her desire to provide a more personal response to a text, and even a unique political commentary, as seen in *La princesse Maleine.* As in the previous chapter, my musical and textual analyses explore how Boulanger complicated personal and political suffering within her wartime climate.

On the same program that Claire Croiza premiered *Dans l'immense tristesse* on March 9, 1918 at the *Salle de la Société des concerts,* as the 416th concert of *la Société Nationale de Musique,* she also performed *Reflets* (1911), *Attente* (1910), and two selections from *Clairières dans le ciel,* "Si tout ceci n'est qu'un pauvre rêve," and "Vous m'avez regardé avec toute votre âme."[56] We do not know if Croiza or someone else chose these songs to perform, but it is not far-fetched to posit that the performers and audience could have easily understood the solemn

[56] This program was not included in Boulanger's portfolio of concerts, which is held in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and I therefore do not have further information on other works programmed. Alexandra Laederich lists these works under Croiza's 1918 performance. Alexandra Laederich, *Nadia Boulanger et Lili Boulanger: témoignages et études* (Lyon, France: Symétrie, 2007), 359, 387.

nature of these selections as reflection upon the cost of war. Croiza was heavily involved in wartime charity concerts and was a member of "L'Aide affecteuse aux Musiciens," one of the first musical groups devoted to helping musicians and other victims of the war, and thus was likely well aware of programming compositions relevant to wartime.[57]

Boulanger's compositions on Croiza's program depict aspects of personal suffering that assumes neither glory nor nobility. This type of secular suffering is usually the result of lost and unrequited love. Because of the strong emphasis on suffering and loss on this particular wartime concert of Boulanger's music, the audience could have easily interpreted the somber selections as a reflection upon war and loss. Sometimes the suffering is most evident in only the text, as is the case with the eighth song from *Clairières dans le ciel,* "Vous m'avez regardé avec toute votre âme," and *Attente.* Both of these songs describe different types of longing for a love unfulfilled or a love that is simply an illusion. Boulanger's musical setting, however, does not lend itself to analysis of musical suffering. Boulanger's musical settings in *Reflets* and sixth song of *Clairières dans le ciel*, "Si tout ceci n'est qu'un pauvre rêve," however, enact both suffering and relief from pain. The suffering in these two songs, however, is secular and departs from the ideals of the Good Sufferer.

The first song Croiza performed was *Reflets,* which Boulanger composed in 1911 on a poem of Maeterlinck, from his collection, *Serres Chaudes* (1893). With a soaring arpeggio piano accompaniment, the voice oscillates between monotone and expressive declamation, as the narrator sadly reflects upon fear and perhaps even death. Although Boulanger composed *Reflets*

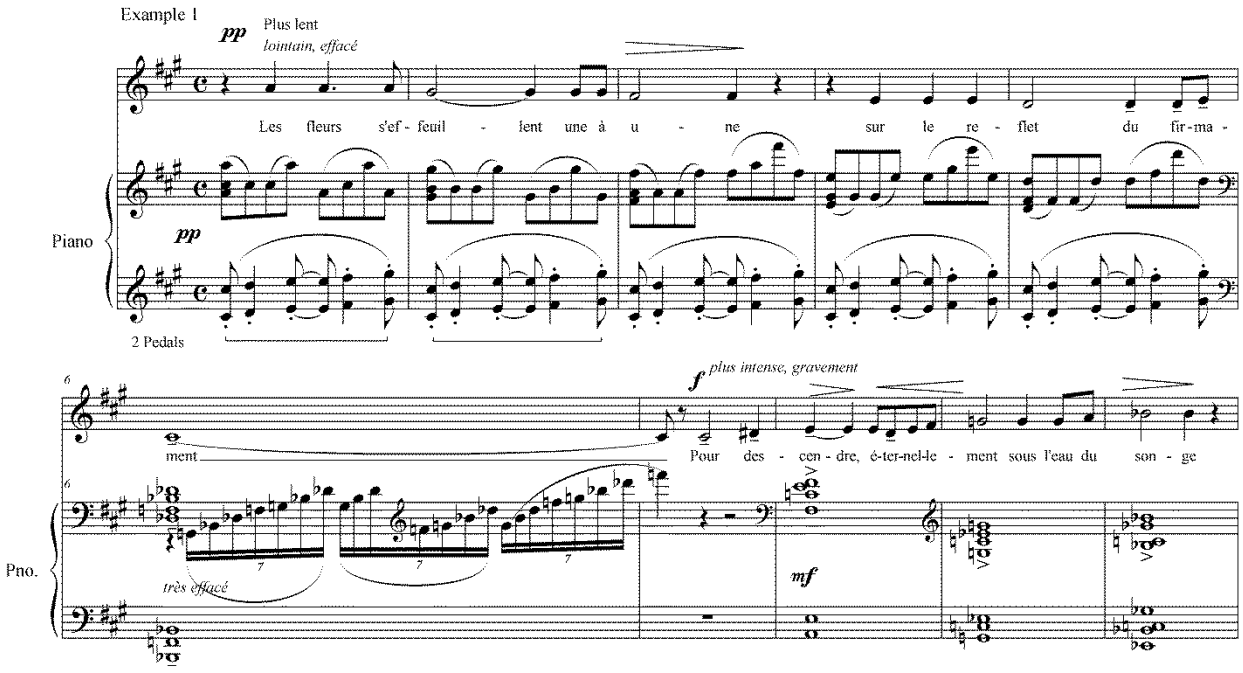
[57]Catherine Mary Schwab, "The 'Mélodie Française Moderne: An Expression of music, poetry, and prosody in fin-de-siècle France, and its performance in the recitals of Jane Bathori (1877-1970) and Claire Croiza (1882-1946)," (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1991), 213.

before the war, the subject matter exhibits the same melancholy quality as in *Dans l'immense tristesse.*

Sous l'eau du songe qui s'élève	Within my soul where thoughts are streaming
Mon âme a peur,	My heart is fearful,
Et la lune luit dans mon coeur	In my heart the moon, like a spear
Plongé dans les sources du rêve!	Has plunged to the depth of my dreams.
Sous l'ennui morne des roseaux.	Under the dull tedium of the reeds,
Seul le reflect profond des choses,	only the deep reflection of things,
Des lys, des palmes et des roses	of lilies, of palms, and of roses
Pleurent encore au fond des eaux	still cry in the water's depth.
Les fleurs s'effeuillent une à une	And from the flowers, one by one,
Sur le reflet du firmament.	The petals fall on the reflection of the skies.
Pour descendre, éternellement	Descending forever
sous l'eau du songe	under the water of the dream
Et dans la lune.	And into the moon.

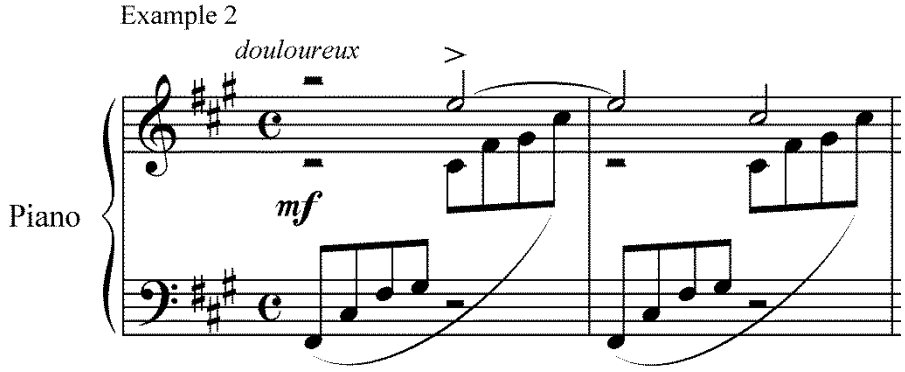
Boulanger eloquently creates complexity and anxiety of fear in her musical setting by her unstable harmonic and melodic movement. Although the song is in F# minor, Boulanger never harmonically establishes any strong sense of tonic, other than a prolonged pedal of F# on the downbeat of every measure. The harmonic movement functions more as a drawn-out chromatic ascent and descent, ending the first half of the song on octave C pedal notes. As shown in Example 1, the second half's quick mood change (as the petals fall from the flowers) continues its uneasiness with a dramatic rhythmic change as the music abandons ascending arpeggios and moves into a syncopated figure in the left hand while the right hand plays steady eighth-notes. Lasting only a few measures, Boulanger adds disquieting text painting on the phrase "and the petals fall on the reflection of the skies." The accompaniment rises in sixteenth-note arpeggio figures on a diminished seventh harmony. The figurative ascent of the light quickly falls to descent, and the listener is left with the F# pedal at the end of the composition, but the diminished seventh harmony at the end forestalls closure.

Example 1



Boulanger added a further musical indicator to express suffering, one that could go by unnoticed as it occurs solely in the accompaniment. Before the second stanza, "Sous l'ennui morne des roseaux," Boulanger marked "*douloureux,*" over a clear sigh motive (E falling to C#), demonstrated in Example 2. Boulanger frequently used this sigh motive, perhaps as an indicator of distress, as discussed in the previous chapter's analysis of *Dans l'immense tristesse.*

Example 2



The next song Croiza programmed was the sixth song of *Clairières dans le ciel*, "Si tout ceci n'est qu'un pauvre rêve." Boulanger's based her song cycle on symbolist poet Francis

Jammes' collection of twenty-four poems, *Clairières dans le ciel* (originally titled *Tristesses*). The poems depict the conflicting and complicated emotions of a love affair. In the last poem Boulanger chose to set in the cycle (which is also the final poem in Jammes' collection), the male character reflects upon his love affair with grief for his deceased beloved. Boulanger chose to set only thirteen of the poems from Jammes's original collection and composed the cycle in December 1913, June 1914, November 1914, and orchestrated it during 1916. It is one of her best-known works and besides *Faust et Hélène*, it has received more attention from scholars than her other compositions given its early publication and multiple recordings. There are many elements that yield Boulanger's song cycle to theoretical and historical analysis. These include Boulanger's use of popular tropes, such as the Tristan motive discussed in the previous chapter, and common structural elements, including quotations of previous motives and union of disparate elements in the final song. Along with *Faust et Hélène,* Boulanger also received a contract from Ricordi for *Clairières* its publication. Ricordi was not able to publish the proof until shortly after her death because two thirds of its employees were mobilized at the front.[58]

"Si tout ceci n'est qu'un pauvre rêve" illustrates the gripping pain and realization that the narrator's love may have only been such an illusion. Throughout the score, Boulanger's expressive markings reinforce the somber tone of the poem with directions such as "*douloureux et résigné*," "*avec agitation contenue*," and "*tristement tendre*."

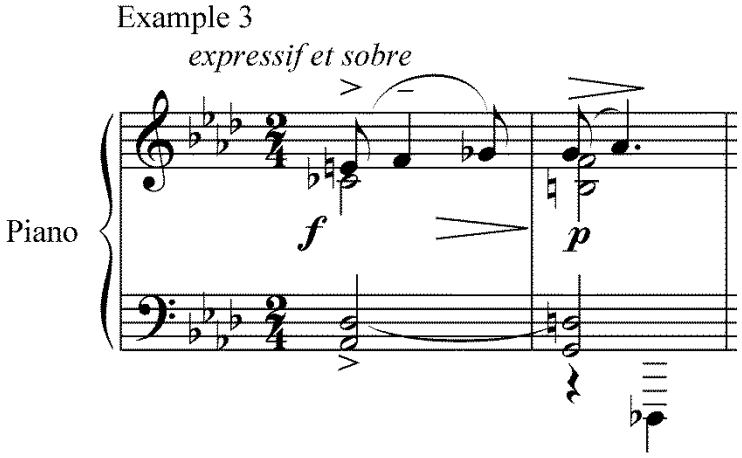
Si tout ceci n'est qu'un pauvre rêve,	If all this is no more than a dream,
Et s'il faut que j'ajoute dans ma vie,	and if once again in my life
Une fois encore, la désillusion. . . aux désillusions;	I must add disillusion. . . upon disillusion;
Et si je dois encore, par ma sombre folie,	and if I must, once again in my melancholy distraction,
chercher dans la douceur du vent et de la pluie	seek in the gentle wind and rain

[58] Spycket, *À la recherche de Lili Boulanger*, 316.

les seules vaines voix que m'aient en passion.	the only hollow voices which have impassioned me,
Je ne sais si je guerirai, ô mon amie.	I do not know if I shall ever recover, oh my friend.

As shown in Example 3, Rosenstiel notes that the main motive in this song, repeated almost all the way through, exhibits traits of the melodic opening to Wagner's *Tristan,* because of its chromatic half-step climb and rhythm.[59]

Example 3



The resolution of the motive furthermore moves to a dominant ninth, which strengthens Rosenstiel's comparison. Rosenstiel posits that Boulanger's paraphrasing of the Tristan motive may have been a nod to her friend Piré who took her to a concert in Nice where she heard the *Tristan* prelude.[60] However, audiences who heard Boulanger's song would have understood it as a popular trope used by other French composers influenced by *Wagnerisme*, such as Debussy's parody of it in *Golliwog's Cakewalk,* or the strong influence of the Tristan motive in César Franck's fifth *Béatitude* (1875) and *Les Eolides* (1876). When we try to understand the Tristan motive within the context of the poem, the motive adds further historical depth to the emotional struggle and heartbreak of love. Wagner writes of his Prelude that there is

[59] Rosenstiel, *Life and Works of Lili Boulanger,* 179.

[60] Rosenstiel, *Life and Works of Lili Boulanger*, 179.

> henceforth no end to the yearning, longing, rapture, and misery of love: world, power, fame, honor, chivalry, loyalty, and friendship, scattered like an insubstantial dream; one thing alone left living: longing, longing unquenchable, desire forever renewing itself, craving and languishing; one sole redemption: death, surcease of being, the sleep that knows no waking![61]

Boulanger's inclusion of the Tristan motive, as understood within its historical context, similarly suggests pain, disillusion, and surrender to the disillusion of love and happiness.

Several scholars, such as Bonnie Jo Dopp, Caroline Potter, and Rosenstiel have identified personal connections between Boulanger's suffering and that of the heroine in *Clairières dans le ciel*, particularly associating both the key and note of B-flat with Boulanger.[62] In Dopp's analysis of the cycle, for example, she provides a complex argument surrounding the intricate relationship between B-flat and D minor. "Je garde une médaille," song twelve in the cycle, for example, is in D minor and includes all pitches except for B-flat. When B-flat is finally sounded in the bass, it is held over the word "elle." Dopp posits that the connection between "elle" or "L" and B-flat could refer to Boulanger's initials. In addition, the lily flower is a central symbol to the cycle and appears on the cover of the published song cycle. On the line "sur le lys" or "on the lily," B-flat is strategically placed on the word "lily." This evidence leads Dopp to believe that the song cycle is actually about Lili Boulanger. Dopp further strengthens her convictions by arguing that Boulanger also favored the key of B or B-flat and particularly B-flat minor in many of her pieces, including Psaume 130, *Clairières dans le ciel* (song 7), *Pour les funérailles d'un soldat,* and *Dans l'immense tristesse*, which as pointed out in the previous chapter, ends with two lone,

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[61] Robert Bailey, ed., *Richard Wagner:* Prelude and Transfiguration from *Tristan und Isolde* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1985), 47.

[62] Scholarship on the personal connections between Boulanger and the heroine in *Clairières dans le ciel* include Bonnie Jo Dopp, "Symbolism in the Music of Lili Boulanger"; Potter, *Nadia and Lili Boulanger*; and Rosenstiel, *Life and Works of Lili Boulanger.* This idea is, of course, not limited to Boulanger's works—J. S. Bach, for example, used a musical signature of B-flat, A, C, B-natural.

pianissimo B-flats. If true, Boulanger may have connected the note and key of B-flat to her own suffering and to the larger, public suffering of France.

La princesse Maleine and Wartime Suffering

Annegret Fauser has also argued that several of Boulanger's contemporaries, including Nadia, directly related her suffering with that of Maleine, the heroine of Boulanger's unfinished wartime opera, *La princesse Maleine.* In an interview with Rosenstiel, for example, "Nadia insisted that Lili 'identified herself with Maeterlinck's poor little heroine' just as she had already felt a sense of union between herself and the young girl evoked by Francis Jammes in *Clairières.*"[63] Mauclair's 1921 review of Boulanger's life and works also connected her to Maleine. He wrote that Boulanger was a "child so innocent and so bowed under fate the poor little princess Maleine," once again strengthening the child-like imagery of Boulanger.[64]

Fauser aptly claims that descriptions of Boulanger and analyses connecting biography to compositions such as *La princesse Maleine* have masked her competitive success, and her place as an avant garde composer of her day.[65] However, as Fauser also notes, the current events of World War I may have been Boulanger's ultimate deciding factor to write the opera. Convinced by Fauser's scholarship, I argue that Boulanger's unfinished opera tells us not only about her professional ambitions and her authority to shape Maeterlinck's play into something *she* wanted,

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[63] Fauser, "Lili Boulanger's *La princesse Maleine,"* 73.

[64] Mauclair, "La Vie et l'œuvre,"154. "Cette jeune fille concilie en chaque page de son œuvre une puissance grave, une autorité, une énergie rythmique qui sont d'un homme, et une sorte d'allégresse, de faculté de rêve tendre, soudain portée à la violence déchirante et éperdue, qui est à la fois d'une femme ayant tout deviné des tragédies du Coeur, et d'une enfant aussi innocente et aussi courbée sous la fatalité que la pauvre petite princesse Maleine dont elle voulut commenter le destin, symbole du sien."

[65] Fauser, "Lili Boulanger's *La princesse Maleine*," 108.

but it also provides insights into her ideas regarding wartime violence and suffering. Musically, Boulanger highlights wartime connections again through her use of the "bells motive," already discussed in Chapter One.

Maeterlinck's play *La princesse Maleine* received its Parisian premiere in 1890, one year after Maeterlinck wrote it.[66] Several composers, including Debussy and Erik Satie, approached Maeterlinck with interest in setting his play, but he only considered giving permission to Vincent d'Indy.[67] Boulanger scholars such as Rosenstiel, Fauser, and Potter have all speculated on why Boulanger was attracted to Maeterlinck's libretto and why Maeterlinck finally agreed to let her set it as an opera. This shared conjecture includes Boulanger's interest in Debussy's *Pelléas et Mélisande* on a Maeterlinck text, as well as Maeterlinck's association of Boulanger with Maleine. Potter, for example, argues that there are several connections between *La princesse Maleine* and Debussy's *Pelléas et Mélisande.*[68] Boulanger began writing *La princesse Maleine* as part of her contract with Ricordi, which stipulated that she "complete two operas within eight years, each of them forming a complete stage spectacle."[69] Boulanger died before completing her first contracted opera. What survives is two versions of the libretto, a short score of Act I, scene ii, and a late sketchbook with corrections to the opera's Act I, scene ii, and several other extracts from other acts and scenes, now housed at the Bibliothèque Nationale, département de la

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[66] Maurice Maeterlinck (1862–1949) was a symbolist playwright, poet, and essayist.

[67] Potter, *Nadia and Lili Boulanger*, 110.

[68] Potter, *Nadia and Lili Boulanger*, 111.

[69] Letter from Tito Ricordi to Nadia Boulanger, 12 July 1913 (Milan, Archivio Storico Ricordi, *Copualettere 1913–14*) no. 337; quoted in Fauser, "Lili Boulanger's *La princesse Maleine*," 71. "Deux opéras qui formeront chacun spectacle complet."

Musique. Potter claims that at least four more sketchbooks containing music for the opera have not survived, but those that do make reference to these now lost sketchbooks.[70]

Boulanger, along with Ricordi, heavily manipulated the libretto of Maeterlinck's text. Her textual changes not only show her compositional confidence, but illustrate how she molded Maeterlinck's original text into a story mainly about war and about women's involvement in the war.[71] In Fauser's analysis of the libretto changes, she concludes that "despite [Boulanger's] two male collaborators, Boulanger tried to create a woman's text about war and its horrors, leaving all glorious and militaristic aspects aside."[72] However, Boulanger's interpretation of Maeterlinck's libretto also portrays women in important political positions, rather than as mothers, nurses, or other types of caregivers. Boulanger's adaption of *La princesse Maleine* therefore provides yet another alternative reading of women's wartime roles, albeit through the lens of the Middle Ages.

The plot centers around a war between two Dutch kings in the Middle Ages. Maleine, daughter of King Marcellus and Queen Godelive (rulers of parts of Holland), falls in love with Hjalmar, the son of another king in Holland. Hjalmar, however, is supposed to marry Queen Anne of Jutland. Queen Anne left her husband for Hjalmar, but tries to seduce Hjalmar's son instead. Queen Anne then imprisons Maleine when she refuses to give up Hjalmar, but Maleine breaks out of prison and returns to her home, finding it destroyed by war. Maleine returns to

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[70] Potter, *Nadia and Lili Boulanger*, 116.

[71] Fauser documents the negotiations between Boulanger, Ricordi, and Maeterlinck on the adaption of the libretto. Maeterlinck provided Boulanger with many of the dramatic cuts and changes she requested. According to Fauser, Maeterlinck cut nine scenes and retained only parts of the remaining fifteen. He switched the order of two scenes in Act I and combined several in Acts 2 and 4, removed more than half the text, and reduced the number of characters.

[72] Fauser, "Lili Boulanger's *La princesse Maleine*," 87.

Hjalmar disguised as a chamber maid, and when she reveals her true identity, Hjalmar falls in love with her. Anne strangles Maleine. The King refuses to help Anne kill Maleine. Hjalmar then stabs Anne and then finally kills himself.

Fauser interprets Anne and Maleine as allegorical, representing good and evil forces. The men act as instruments in the hands of the women, who ultimately control the situation. Fauser argues that at the end of the opera, the King has been emasculated and is only capable of uttering nonsense syllables, "ha ha ha ha." Boulanger added these nonsense syllables to Maeterlinck's libretto, which Fauser interprets as a feminine ending. [73] She writes, the "undoing of culture as the only result of war: none of the opponents survive the conflict, and the men impersonating culture either die (Prince Hjalmar) or lose exactly those differentiating agents that make them 'cultured' (the Old King)."[74] In other words, there are no victors amongst men or women. Fauser also notes in Boulanger's libretto changes that there is an apparent lack of male strength.[75] War destroys all.

I further argue that Boulanger uses the specific musical trope of the bells, or carillons, as a particular way to understand war as I previously discussed in Chapter One. The bells motive in *La princesse Maleine* may function doubly as a reminder of war and a reminder of time quickly passing in Boulanger's life. Example 4 shows the bells motive, which occurs throughout her sketches for *La princesse Maleine.*

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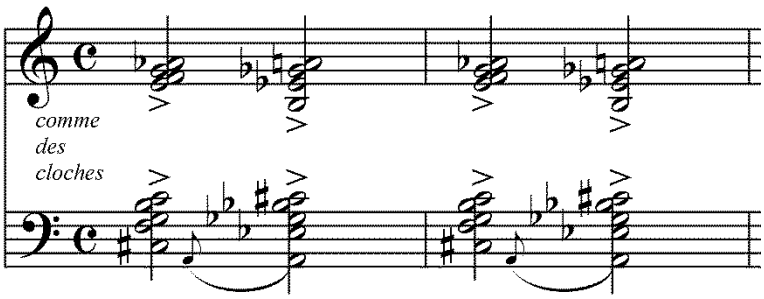
[73] Susan McClary popularized the term "feminine ending." See Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minneapolis, MN.: University of Minnesota Press, 1991).

[74] Fauser, "Lili Boulanger's *La princesse Maleine*," 88.

[75] Fauser, "Lili Boulanger's *La princesse Maleine*," 105.

Example 4

Fatalité



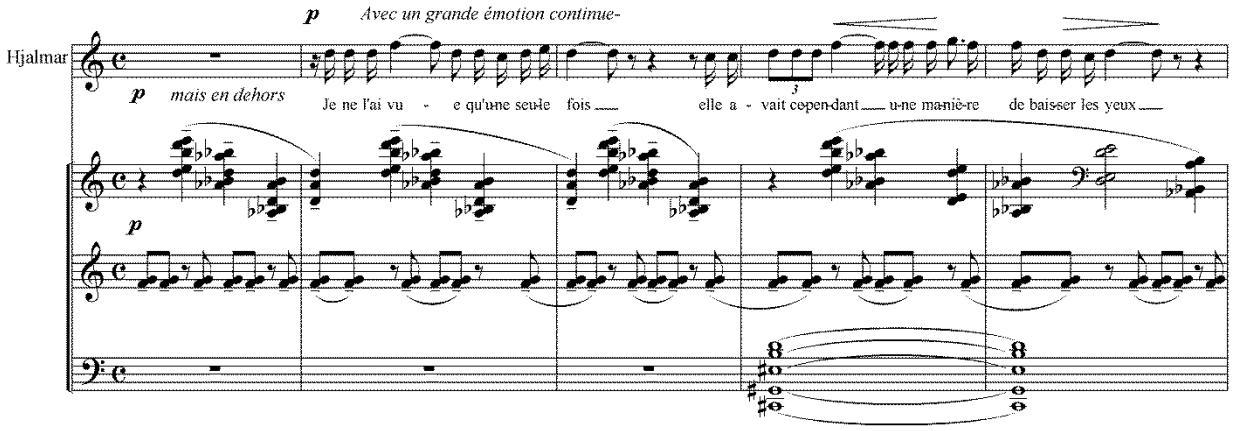
In Boulanger's original score, she specifically marks this motive, "Fatalité, comme des cloches." If we understand this opera within the context of war, both in plot and time of composition, the so-called bells motive may have a double significance. On the one hand, the bells, laden with ambiguous and dissonant harmony, provides a sense of an unsettling fate because of its association with morbidity, and the chiming of bells, seen in their association with Belgium, also have wartime significance. Next to Boulanger's sketch of this motive and of Princesse Maleine's motive, she wrote, "Il faut tout finir avant le 1st Janvier, il faut!!! Le Pourrai-je?" (I must finish before the first of January, I must!!! Can I?")[76] There is a poignant urgency to this note to herself and a sense of impatience and uncertainty that expresses itself with the bell motive as well. The bells signifies the passing of time, perhaps indicating that Boulanger knew she did not have much time left in her life.

The bells motive occurs several times throughout the opera in relation to death. In Act I, scene ii, for example, there are echoes of the bells motive. As shown in Example 5, the bells motive is found in the top treble line of the accompaniment with its dissonant second and a similar sonority-oscillating, rhythmic regularity presented in the original bell motive. The bells motive occurs in the accompaniment after Hjalmar learns of Maleine's death. Other than the

[76] Lili Boulanger, *La princesse Maleine*, sketches, F-Pn: département de la Musique, MS 19470, f. 19. Boulanger noted that she had copied this in December, 1917.

distinct quality of the chords and the ostinato pattern that occurs in the right hand, the chiming clocks are obscured.

Example 5



As suggested by Nadia and other Boulanger scholars, Lili may have felt a personal connection to Maleine because she knew her illness would shorten her life. However, her choice to set this particular opera about a war and her choice to mold Maeterlinck's text to suit her (omitting the personal backgrounds of the women, and instead focusing on the political nature of war) highlight the nonsensical nature and suffering of war. Such suffering was not noble Good Suffering, just foolish.

Pour les funérailles d'un soldat

Even though Boulanger composed *Pour les funérailles d'un soldat* (1912) before the war, it remains her only composition that dealt unambiguously with the wartime suffering of soldiers. Boulanger's frequent use of text painting depicts a battle scene, the death of a soldier, and his ascent to heaven. The text, by Alfred de Musset (1810–1857), emphasizes the Good Suffering associated with heroic soldiers' deaths, in a specific Catholic context. Boulanger's musical employment of *musique ancienne*, as I will discuss, also associates this work with popular and traditional notions of French Catholicism that became critical to defining a French musical identity and lineage during the war.

Pour les funérailles d'un soldat received two performances at the Concerts Colonne-Lamoreux during the war. The first, on November 29, 1914, also included Debussy's *Berceuse héroïque* (1914–1915), which he wrote for *King Albert's Book.*[77] In 1914, several prominent people from politics, literature, art, and music compiled *King Albert's Book* to support the Belgian Relief Program. While originally started in London, people from around the globe contributed to the book, including Winston Churchill, William Howard Taft, Andrew Carnegie, Edith Wharton, Sarah Bernhardt, Rudyard Kipling, Romain Rolland, Edward Elgar, Debussy, and Ignacy Jan Paderewski.[78] It is therefore not surprising that Glenn Watkins argues for *Berceuse héroïque*'s propagandist tone as it quoted Belgium's national anthem.[79]

Years later, music critic J. G. Prod'homme also wrote of this concert and cited Boulanger's work as *Funérailles d'un Héros*.[80] The change in title suggested a more propagandist purpose than the original, as it specifically referred to the French soldiers as heros, thus summoning national support and pride. We do not know whether the original program renamed her composition to "héros" instead of soldiers, or whether Prod'homme simply made a mistake. The *Société des Concerts Colonne-Lamoureux* once again performed *Pour les funérailles d'un soldat* on November 7, 1915 under the direction of Gabriel Pierné.

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[77] Woolliams, *Lili Boulanger Compositrice du XXe,* 23. *King Albert's Book* was a wartime charity project that began in London in 1914 in order to support the Belgian Relief Program. It included songs and essays, the latter of which some of the most foremost politicians and writers of the time contributed, including Winston Churchill, William Howard Taft, Edith Wharton, and Romain Rolland.

[78] Watkins, *Proof Through the Night,* 38–39.

[79] Watkins, *Proof Through the Night,* 88.

[80] J. G. Prod'homme, "Music and Musicians in Paris During the First Two Seasons of the War," *Musical Quarterly* 4 (1918): 144.

Boulanger based *Pour les funérailles d'un soldat* on several verses from Alfred de Musset's multi-act poem *La coupe et les lèvres* (1831). Once again, she took liberties in rearranging and choosing the text to suit her aims. Boulanger not only reordered the lines (the stanza beginning with "Si en rideaux de pourpre" precedes the first stanza in the original and is separated by twelve lines of text she chose not to include), but she isolated individual lines out of a much longer text by Musset. The omitted text dealt directly with individual characters, and Boulanger extracted text which she could use in a more universal sense. In other words, the extracted text did not need the surrounding story to make sense. Boulanger extracted her text from Act IV, scene 1. The text for *Pour les funérailles d'un soldat* is as follows:[81]

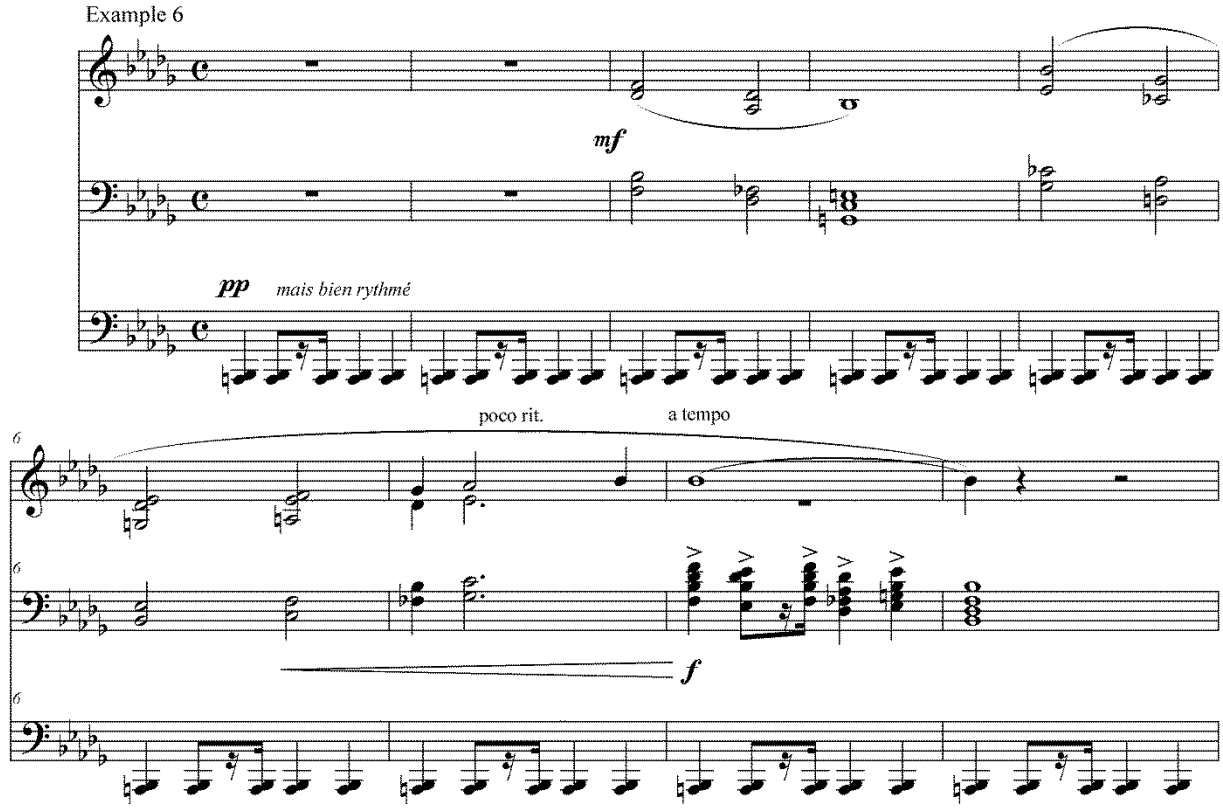
Qu'on voile les tambours	Let the drums be muted,
Que le prêtre s'avance,	let the priest advance,
A genoux, compagnons,	on your knees, comrades
Tête nue, et silence!	Bare your head, in silence!
Qu'on dise devant nous la prière des morts.	Let them recite prayers for the dead before us.
Nous voulons au tombeau porter le capitaine	We want to bear the captain to his tomb
Il est mort en soldat sur la terre chrétienne.	He died a soldier on Christian ground.
L'âme appartient à Dieu,	His soul belongs to God,
L'armée aura le corps,	The army will have his body.
Si en rideaux de pourpre,	In shrouds of purple,
Et en couvres nuages	and in cloud-like cover
Que chase dans l'éther	that chase into the ether
Le souffle des orages,	the storms blew,
Sont des guerriers couchés	The warriors rest
Dans leurs armures d'or.	In their armor made of gold.
Penche toi, noble Coeur,	Look, noble heart,
Sur ces vertes coilines,	on these green hills,
Et vois tes compagnons	and see your comrades
Briser leurs javelins	smash their swords
Sur cette froide terre	on this cold earth
Où ton corps est resté!	Where your body shall remain!
Que le prêtre s'avance,	The priest advances,

[81] Translation mine.

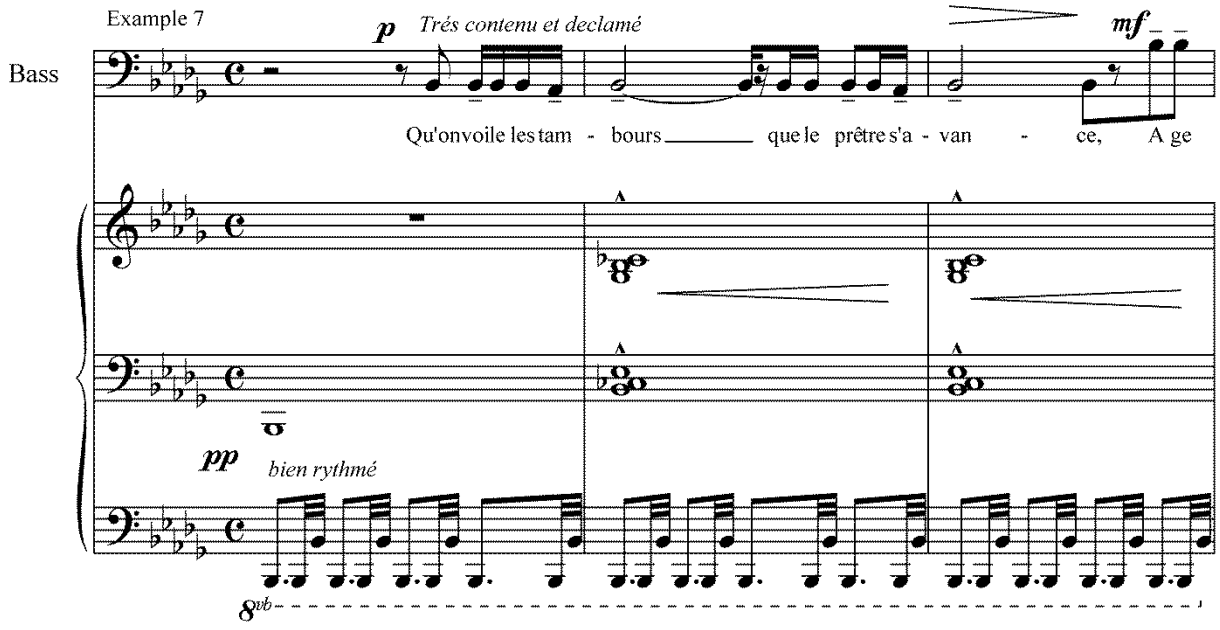
Silence! Qu'on dise devant nous la prière des morts!	Silence! Let them now recite prayers for the dead before us!

Several text painting techniques adhere to common depictions of battle, and the instrumentation evokes military associations, with strong emphasis on brass and funeral march-like rhythms. Example 6 shows the opening, which consists of martial percussive rhythms.

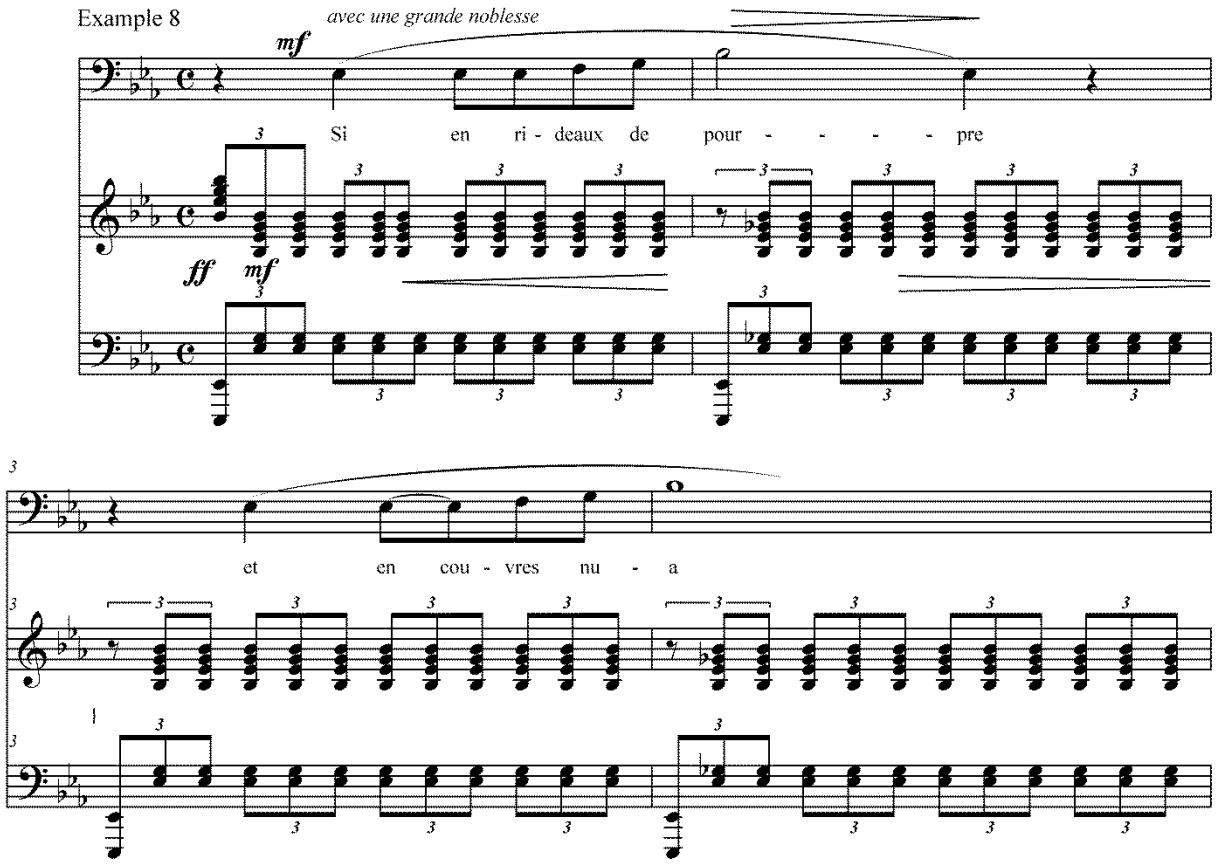
Example 6



Over the drum-like accompaniment, the bass voices enter for the first time: "Qu'on voile les tambours; que le prêtre s'avance." As shown in Example 7, another variation on martial rhythms once again occurs beneath the tenor's words, "Nous voulons au tombeau porter le capitaine, il est mort en soldat sur la terre chrétinne. L'âme appartient à Dieu, L'armée aura le corps."



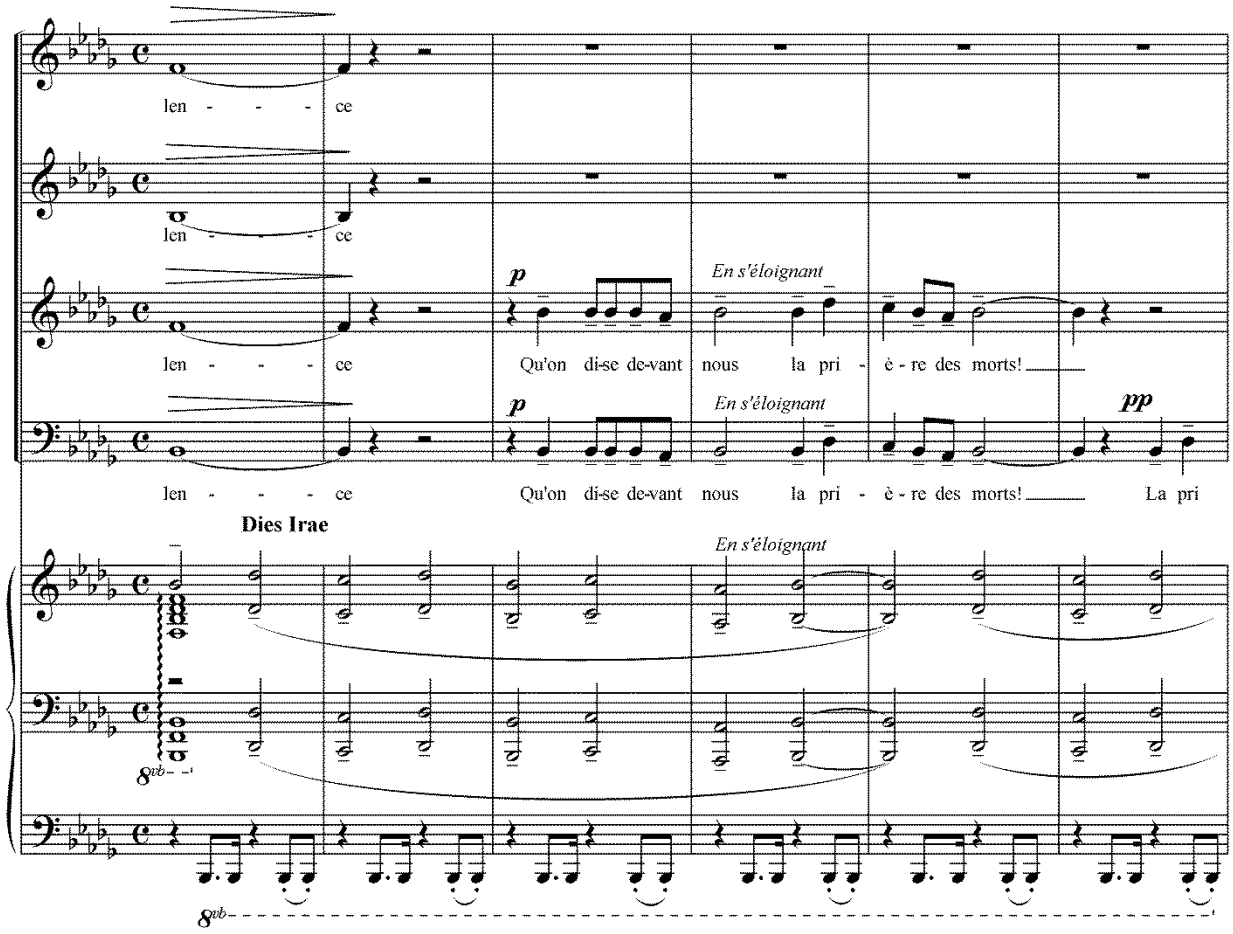
Boulanger's musical setting features additional text painting that depicts war and suffering. Following the line, "Nous voulons au tombeau porter le capitaine, il est mort en soldat sur la terre chrétienne," there is a marked silence with a fermata. The silence honors the fallen. The second section of the composition features a baritone describing the dead soldier, the captain, and the ascent into heaven. The accompaniment is decidedly different and more agitated from the first section, repeating a mostly stationary triple eighth-note ostinato, but the vocal solo soars in arching lines, often clearly outlining a C-minor harmony. The martial rhythms illustrated in Example 7 are similar to those seen in the opening to the funeral march in the third movement of Beethoven's Third Symphony, the "Eroica," which, in turn, mimic the drums of a state funeral procession. Beethoven depicts drum rolls with triplet thirty-second notes leading to an eighth note. While not a direct quotation, Boulanger may have looked to Beethoven as a model. In Example 8, the harmony shifts to E-flat major, which Boulanger may or may not have associated with the historical key of heroes, also found in Beethoven's Eroica, which itself drew from French Revolutionary models.



In Example 8, there is a distinct contrast between the agitation of the accompaniment and the ultimate peace the dead soldier finds, climaxing to fortissimo and his highest note (D#) at the line, “où ton corps est resté!” As the song ends, a choir then chants that the priest must say the prayer for the dead, voices fall silent until only the basses remain, singing pianissimo.

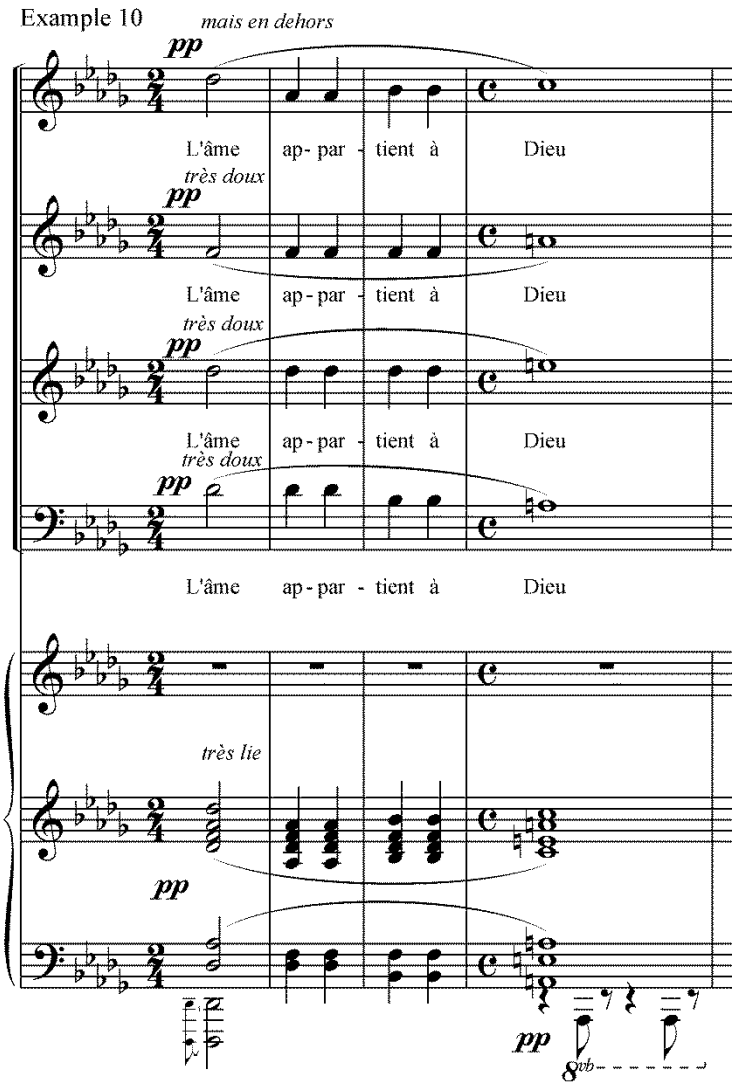
As shown in Example 9, Boulanger directly quotes the Dies Irae motive in the half-note accompaniment line. The first statement of Dies Irae occurs directly following, “Qu’on dise devant nous la prière des morts.” Dies Irae thus appropriately acts as the prayer for the dead over a martial dotted rhythm.

Example 9



Again, following Catholic musical traditions, stacked fourths, fifths, and organum-type planning dominate *Pour les funérailles d'un soldat*, as do modal harmonies and melodies. Boulanger turned to ancient religious music for inspiration as several critics recognized at the time. A 1918 review of *Pour les funérailles d'un soldat* from the *New York Times* applauded Boulanger's "effective use of antique ecclesiastical modes."[82] Not only do the singers almost chant the text, providing extreme clarity to the words, but, as illustrated in Example 10, Boulanger's music adheres to the several sections of parallel organum in a section.

[82] *New York Times* critic James Gibbons Huneker, "Music: The Oratorio Society," *New York Times* (December 4, 1918): 11.



Boulanger's French audience would have certainly recognized the prominence of several elements of *musique ancienne*, such as planning and parallel organum. *Musique ancienne* was particularly in vogue at the time, and indicative of the prominent influence of Catholicism on French musical practice. Historians published several important sources on the subject of *musique ancienne* in the years leading up to the war, including *Catalogue du fonds de musique ancienne de la Bibliothèque nationale* (1914) by Jules Armand Joseph Éorcheville, and Wanda Landowska's book *Musique Ancienne* (1905–1909). In addition, d'Indy founded the Schola Cantorum on the basis of teaching religious (i.e., Catholic) music, and the practice of *musique*

ancienne entered the curriculum of the Conservatoire during Fauré's tenure (1905-1920). *Musique ancienne,* understood as a type of traditionalism, stood in opposition to the so-called German *boche* style and irrational modernism.

Boulanger's use of *musique ancienne* was not original to *Pour les funérailles d'un soldat*, but was critical to her other larger-scale compositions, which harkened back to old religious modes and chants. These also include Psaume 129, Psaume 130 and *Vieille prière bouddhique: Prière quotidienne pour tout l'Univers* (1914–17), the latter of which I will analyze in the final chapter. Boulanger's use of modes and modal-type melodies resembling chant and organum align with the musical styles of many of her contemporaries, including Debussy, as in his *Sonata for Flute, Viola, and Harp* (1915). In *Pelléas et Mélisande* (1902), older forms and traditions also influenced Debussy's thinking. Louis Laloy wrote of the opera, for example, that there are "a great number of Gregorian Introits, and several popular songs in the older style like Le Roi Renaud, La Pernette, Le Roi Loys, Voici la Saint-Jean."[83] D'Indy's *La Legende de Saint Christophe* (1903–1915) also evoked *musique ancienne*. He divided the structure of the opera into three acts and within the three acts there are three sections each, following the division of the Holy Trinity. Furthermore, there are twenty-four themes in the opera and seven of them are taken directly from Gregorian chant. [84] D'Indy explained that this "triptych form" was the only true national form. His evocation of Catholicism, partly through the use of *musique ancienne,* reinforced a dogmatic correlation between French national identity and Catholicism, intolerant of

[83]Barbara Kelly, "Debussy and the Making of a Musicien Français: Pelléas, the Press, and WWI," In *French Music, Culture, and National Identity, 1870–1939,* ed. Barbara Kelly (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2008), 61.

[84] Jane Fulcher, *French Cultural Politics and Music: From the Dreyfus Affair to the First World War* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1999), 70.

different views, particularly those of Jewish descent. Barrès, for example, argued that *Légende de Saint-Christophe* showed "the nauseating Judeo-Dreyfusard influence with its budding flowers of Pride, Lust, and Greed contending against the flowers of goodness—Faith, Hope, and Charity."[85] Quotation and evocation of past materials thus could evoke ideals of national memory and values and perpetuate a French identity that was primarily Catholic. Boulanger's settings of Psaume 129 and Psaume 130 provide the most clear examples depicting French Catholic identity and ideas about the Good Suffering.

Psaumes: The Good Suffering

Even more convincingly than *Pour les funérailles d'un soldat,* Boulanger's settings of psalms highlight the nobility of suffering and the power of spiritual feminine redemption. The Good Suffering in both psalms is ultimately relieved by the grace of the Lord. Boulanger's musical "feminine ending" in Psaume 129, however, also suggests the feminine power of redemption, but the text does not specifically associate this feminine power with an individual figure such as Mary. In her last years, Boulanger set Psaume 24 (*La Terre appartient à l'Éternel*) in 1916, Psaume 129 (*Ils m'ont assez opprimé*) in 1916, and Psaume 130 (*Du fond de l'abîme*) from 1914–1917. Psaume 129 and Psaume 130 focus on individual suffering as well as the hope of redemption. As we will see in the texts though, an individual's experience often stands for the larger experience of a community. In other words, the personal becomes political.

Out of the 150 psalms in the Bible, numbers 120 through 134 are known as the Songs of Ascents and generally fall into the hymn genre. More than half the psalms in the Songs of Ascents are cheerful. While the others, such as Psaumes 129 and 130, focus on suffering, they

[85] Maurice Barrès, *Scènes et doctrines du nationalisme* (Paris: Félix Juvner, 1902), 72; quoted in Charles B. Paul, "Rameau, d'Indy, and French Nationalism," *Musical Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (January 1972): 53.

are ultimately hopeful for redemption. As we saw in *La princesse Maleine* and *Pour les funérailles d'un soldat,* Boulanger also took liberties to modify the text of Psaume 130 in order to highlight the personal.

Boulanger's psalms follow a distinct historical lineage of French composers' settings of psalms dating back to the Reformation and the Renaissance. Boulanger, however, was one of the few early-twentieth century French composers to set psalms. The Genevan Psalter, with its translations of psalms into French, was a crucial publication of the Reformation. Composer Louis Bourgeois (1510–1560) is one of three main musical contributors of monophonic hymn tunes to the Genevan Psalter, while composer Claude Goudimel (1514–1572) composed popular metrical settings of the psalms. Perhaps best-known is Orlando de Lassus's (1532–1594) setting of the seven Pentiential Psalms of David. However, many well-known musical settings of psalms in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries come from traditions outside of France. While Orlando de Lassus set Psalm 130, other composers of Psalm 130, for example, include Andrea Gabrieli, J. S. Bach, John Dowland, Henry Purcell, Amadeus Mozart, Felix Mendelssohn, and Franz Liszt.

Fin-de-siècle French composers, however, rarely set psalms. Those who did included Florent Schmitt, who set Psaume 47 in 1904. Boulanger's psalms are therefore unique amongst the French *fin-de-siècle* religious repertoire. Fauser claims that Boulanger's choice to set psalms reflected her ideas of *modernisme catholique*, or modern/humanist Catholicism. Because Catholics chanted psalms during the Office and not during the main part of Mass, Fauser argues that Boulanger's choice to set psalms departed from the more traditional French Catholic musical settings of the Mass. Furthermore, Fauser explains that the French associated psalms with

individual piety, not collective Catholicism.[86] Boulanger's choice to set psalms therefore focused on personal piety, but, as I will argue, they also reflected larger themes of political and national suffering and redemption.

Psaume 130, *De Profundis*, is a Gradual Psalm and is almost always used in the "Office of the Dead." The psalm is an individual lament, one which moves from utter despair and sorrow to forgiveness to hope and redemption.

Du fond de l'abîme je t'invoque, Iahvé	From the depths of the abyss, I call to you, Yahweh
Ecoute ma prière.Que tes Oreilles soient attentive	Hear my prayer. Let your ears be attentive
Aux accents de ma prière:	to the voice of my prayer:
Du fond de l'abîme, je crie vers toi,	from the depths of the abyss, I call to you,
Adonaï, écoute ma voix.	Adonaï, hear my voice.
Si tu prends garde aux péchés,	If you count our sins,
Qui donc pourra tenir en présence de Iahvé?	Who could stand in the presence of Yahweh?
Du fond de l'abîme, je t'invoque.	From the depths of the abyss, I invoke you.
je crie vers toi, Adonaï, Iahvé	I cry for you, Adonaï, Iahvé.
Mais la clémence est en toi,	But forgiveness is in you,
Afin que l'on te revere.	So that we revere you.
Mon âme espère en Iahvé;	My heart finds hope in Yahweh
Je compte sur sa parole	I count on his word
Plus que les guetteurs de la nuit	more than the night watchman
N'aspirent au matin.	Hopes for the morning.
l'clémence est en toi.	Forgiveness is in you.
J'espère en toi,	I hope in you,
J'espère en ta parole.	I hope in your word.
Car en Iahvé est la miséricorde	For in Yahweh there is mercy
Et la abondance de la délivrance.	And abundance of redemption.
C'est lui qui délivrera Israël	For it is he who will redeem Israel
de toutes ses iniquités:	from all of its sins:

[86] Annegret Fauser, "Composer en tant que catholique: une relecture de la musique vocale de Lili Boulanger," *Intersections: Canadian Journal of Music* 26, no. 1 (2005): 115–16.

Israël espère en la clémence de Iahvé.	Israel hopes in the redemption of Yahweh.
Du fond de l'abîme je t'invoque	From the depths of the abyss, I call to you
Je crie vers toi	I cry for you
Du fond de l'abîme j'espère en toi,	From the depths of the abyss, I hope in you,
Du fond de l'abîme je t'invoque Iahvé, Adonaï	From the depths of the abyss, I call to you, Yahweh, Adonaï
Ecoute ma prière.	Hear my prayer.

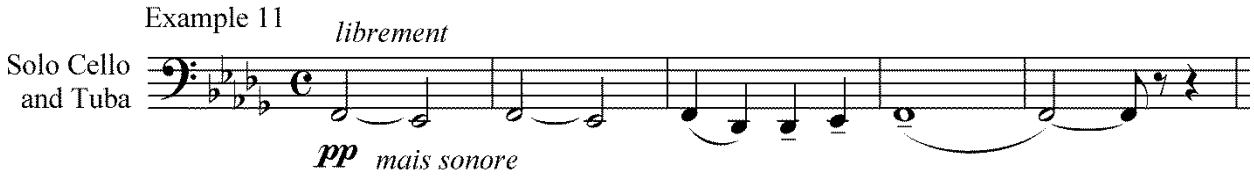
Based on Boulanger's sketches in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Potter concludes that Boulanger may have intended Psaume 130 as a requiem. Not only did Boulanger dedicate the work to her late father, but she also included sketches for a Kyrie that she ultimately did not use.[87] Because the psalm is liturgically a prayer for the faithful departed, it is fitting not only as a requiem of sorts for her father, but also for the fallen soldiers of the war.

When composing her setting to Psaume 130 (*Du fond de l'abîme*), Boulanger considered several titles, some of which reveal that she may have been thinking specifically of the wartime context. She wrote down the following possible titles: *Le glas avec le Dies irae* (Deathknell with Dies Irae), *Carillon baptême* (Bells baptism), *Chant grave* (Serious Song), *Chant d'émotion personnelle* (Song of personal feeling), and *Chant de paix planant au-dessus tout* (Song of all-enveloping peace). The title she ultimately chose, *Du fond de l'abîme,* or "From the Depths of the Abyss," seems obvious as it came directly from the first line of the text. The alternate titles, however, suggest wartime references that could have been just as relevant; she considered highlighting the imagery of bells and carillons, personal suffering, and hopes for peace. Like *Chant d'émotion personnelle,* Boulanger chose a title that focuses on a narrator's personal experience, but the title more pointedly portrayed one's suffering and call for redemption.

[87] Potter, *Nadia and Lili Boulanger*, 102.

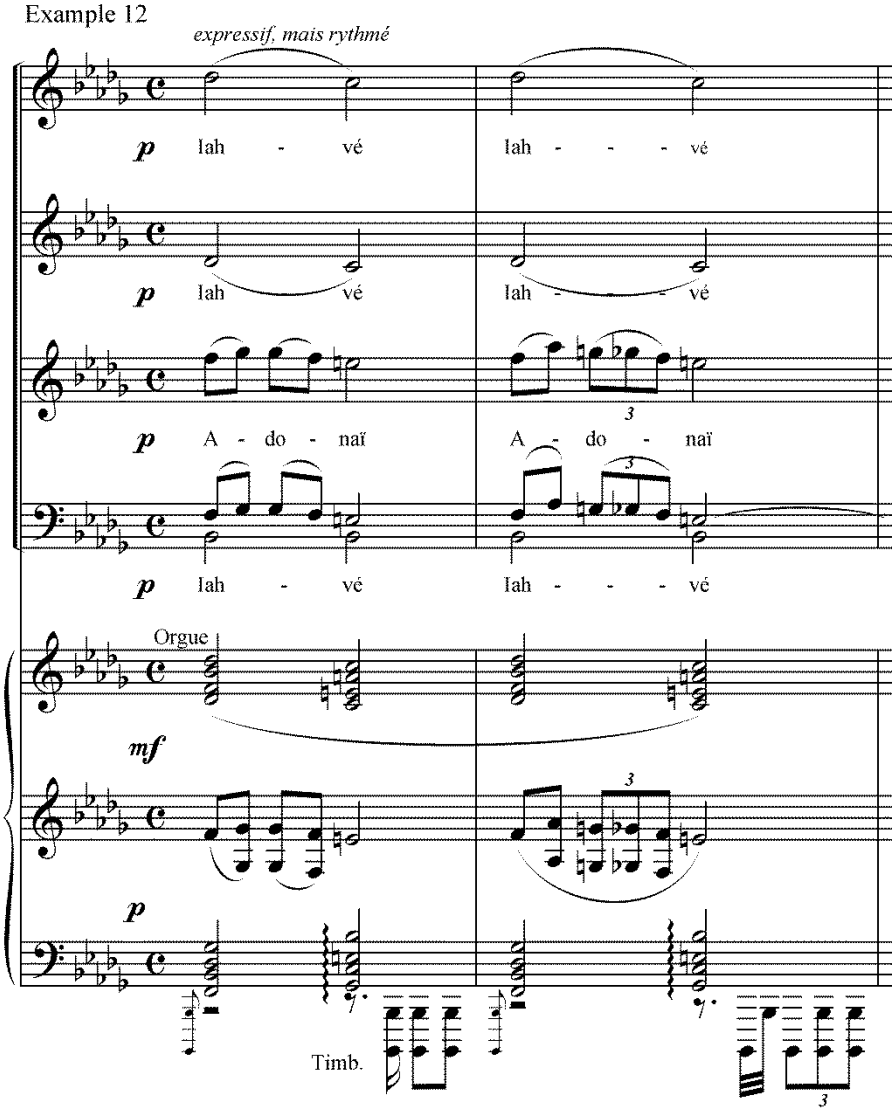
At almost thirty minutes in length, Psaume 130 is Boulanger's longest and also the largest work in terms of compositional forces. Her orchestration focuses on extremely low sonorities, specifically emphasizing low brass. She scored it for one piccolo, two flutes, two oboes, one English horn, two B-flat clarinets, one bass clarinet, two bassoons, one sarrussophone, four horns in F, three trumpets in C, four trombones, one tuba, three timpani, one bass drum, one pair of crash cymbals, one tam-tam, one celesta, one organ, two harps, one mezzo-soprano soloist, one tenor soloist, SATB chorus and strings. Her musical setting of the psalm emphasizes human suffering through its dark and low sonorities, chromatic emphasis, and repetition of the Dies Irae motive and variations. Example 11 shows the opening motive, first heard in the tuba and solo cello. It is reminiscent of the Dies Irae motive (although not an exact quotation), which the trombone soon adopts.

Example 11



The minor second melodic descent reminiscent of the Dies Irae tune is also striking in the multiple occurrences when the singers cry out to God, "Iahvé, Adonaï," shown in Example 12. While the soprano, contralto and second basses sing a half note minor second descent, the tenors and first basses create an small chromatic arch, conveying a heart-wrenching sense of longing and despair.

Example 12



This first section of Psaume 130 communicates despair and longing, while the second of the three sections identifies ideas of hope and redemption through Christ. The third overlaps the mixed feelings of sadness and hope.[88] The second section, or the contrasting section, as

[88] Other scholars have understood the larger structure of Psaume 130 in numerous ways. Indeed, the format follows the changes in the text and lends itself to multiple interpretations. Benjamin-Gunner Cohrs claims that Boulanger divided Psaume 130 into thirteen sections, corroborating the argument that thirteen is a particularly individual and mystical number for Boulanger. Much of his reasoning is based upon modal changes, as is Caroline Potter's. Benjamin-Gunnar Cohrs, "Die fünf grossen Chorwerke Lili Boulangers," in *Lili-Boulanger-Tage, 1993, Bremen: Zum 100. Geburtstag der Komponistin: Konzerte und Veranstaltungen* 19, no. 2 (Zeichen und Spüren, 1993), 103–05. John Douglas Perkins argues that Psaume 130 is

musicologist John Douglas Perkins calls it, consists of the contralto solo text from the third section of the psalm, “Mais la clémence est en toi afin qu’on te revère, mon âme espère en Iahvé, J’espère, je compte sur sa parole, Plus que les guetteurs de la nuit n’aspirent au matin. Mon âme espère en Adonaï.” Again, Boulanger took liberty with the text and inserted her own lines, “J’espère en toi, j’espère en ta parole” (I hope in you, I hope in your word), making the personal nature of the psalm even more striking. As illustrated in Example 13, the melodic nature changes dramatically from the minor second descent to a rising lyrical melody, which Perkins labels motive Y. Motive Y is marked by its upward motion, supported by text of rising out of the depths of misery.[89]

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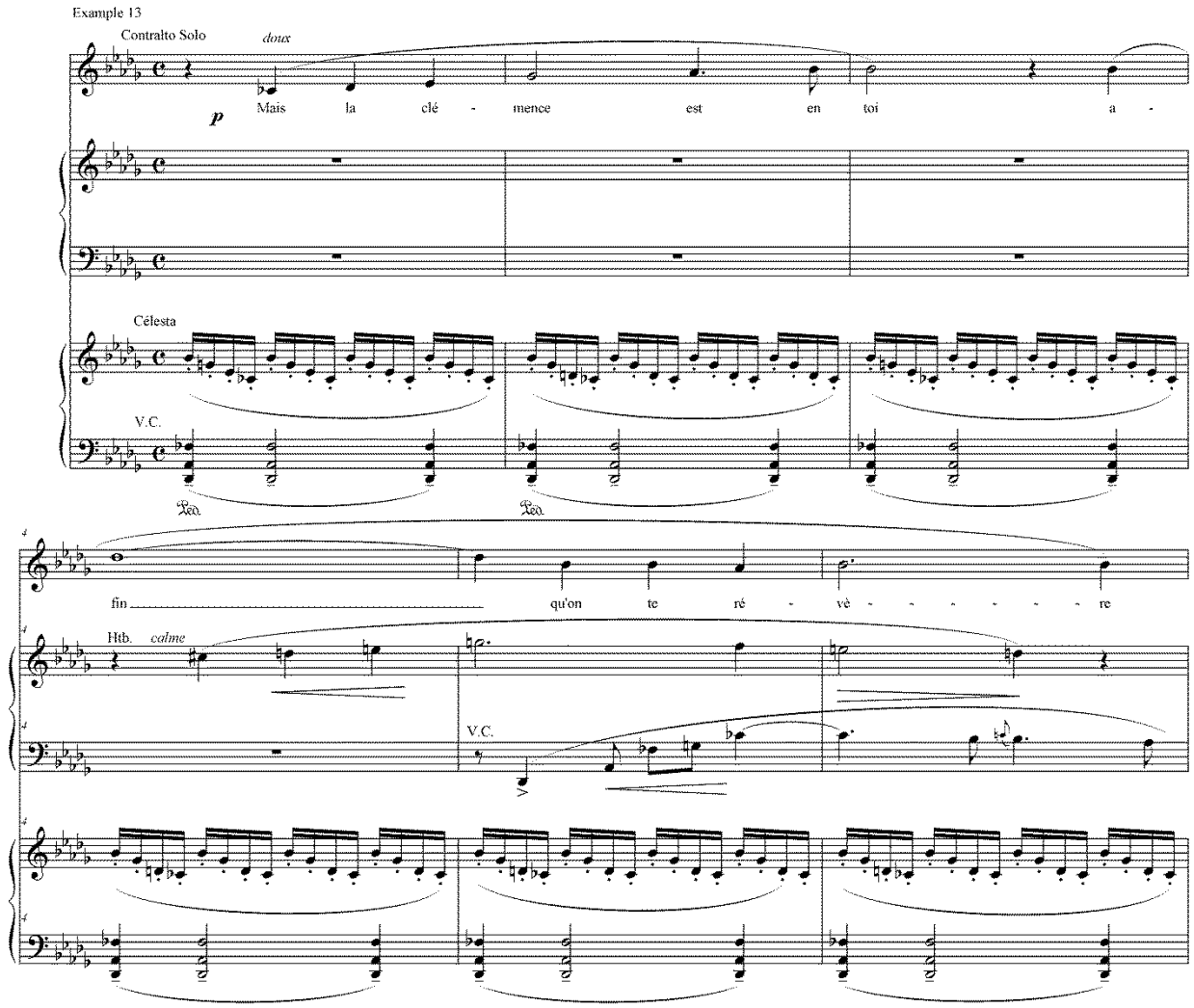
comprised of five sections: Section I (“Thesis,” measures 1 through 59 – orchestral statement, “penitence”); Section II (Measures 59 through 134 – first choral statement, “penitence”); Section III (“Development,” measures 134 through 189 – tempo and thematic variation, “penitence”); Section IV (“Contrast,” measures 190 through 379 – mezzo-soprano solo, “hope”); Section V (“Conclusion and Juxtaposition of Sections I and IV,” measures 379 through 430 –overlap of “penitence” and “hope”).

[89] Perkins, “An Analysis and Reduction of *Psaume 130*, 49.



The final section of Psaume 130 reprises the feelings of uncertain despair that call into question the narrator's belief in redemption. Boulanger reuses the opening of Psaume 130's text plus her original text toward the end of her composition, "Du fond de l'âbime je t'invoque, je crie vers toi, Adonaï, Iahvé." The statements occur in the low voices, and Boulanger presents them homophonically with minimal accompaniment in order not to obscure the text. The original psalm ends with the line, "C'est lui qui délivrera Israël de toutes ses iniquités" (And He will redeem Israel from all its inequities). This line reinforces the belief that the personal is also political. Not only does Yahweh deliver the individual, but also the nation. Boulanger included these lines, but chose not to end her composition with them. Instead, she repeated both "Je crie

vers toi" and "Espère en Iahvé," intermingling personal calls for mercy and hope. The psalm ends with the statement, "Du fond de l'abîme j'espère en toi. Du fond de l'abîme j'espère en Iahvé. Ecoute ma prière, Iahvé, Adonaï." Boulanger combines the first line of the psalm with her own lines of hope, concluding her psalm with the original descending minor second motive and ultimately resting upon a B-flat minor chord. The triad creates some sense of stable finality, which was previously always obscured by modal inflections and a variety of modal and tonal centers. While Boulanger harmonically concludes the psalm with a sense of finality and relief, her textual and musical overlapping of hope, uncertainty, and personal calls for relief creates a unique balance of mixed emotions and pleas in a time of inquietude.

Like Psaume 130, Psaume 129 conveys earthly suffering that only Yahweh can ultimately relieve, but the text is less personal. Unlike Psaume 130, which describes an individual's personal lament and hope of redemption, Psaume 129 focuses on the larger political voice of a nation. In this case, Israel as a nation looks to the Lord for strength in the face of adversity. Since Boulanger wrote Psaume 129 during the First World War, it is not far-fetched to find parallels between the plight of Israel and the plight of faithful, suffering France. The text therefore describes a greater political earthly struggle, which finds comfort in the blessings of the Lord.

Ils m'ont assez opprimé dès ma jeunesse:	Many a time have they afflicted me from my youth:
Qu'Israël le dise:	may Israel say now:
Ils m'ont assez opprimé dès ma jeunesse.	Many a time have they afflicted me from my youth;
Mais ils ne m'ont pas vaincu.	Yet they have not prevailed against me.
Des laboureurs ont labouré mon dos.	The plowers plowed upon my back.
Ils y ont tracé de larges sillons.	They made long their furrows.
L'Eternel est juste.	The Lord is righteous:
Il a coupé les cordes des méchants.	He hath cut asunder the cords of the wicked.

Qu'ils soient confondus et qu'ils reculent,	Let them all be confounded and turned back
Tous ceux qui haïssent Sion.	That hate Zion.
Qu'ils soient comme l'herbe des toits	Let them be as green as the grass upon the housetops.
Qui sèche avant qu'on ne l'arrache.	Which withereth afore it groweth up.
Le laboureur n'en remplit point sa main.	Wherewith the mower filleth not his hand;
Celui qui lie les gerbes n'en charge point son bras.	nor he that bindeth sheaves his bosom.
Et les passants ne dissent point:	Neither do they who go by say:
Que la bénédiction de l'éternel soit avec vous.	The blessing of the Lord be upon you:
Nous vous bénissons au nom de l'Eternel.	We bless you in the name of the Lord.

The majority of the psalm emphasizes low timbre and uses male voices alone. It is not until the ending Benediction when the female voices enter, singing a textless "Ah." This divisive use of male and female voices questions who the narrator/s is/are and the role of the female voice. At the beginning of the score, Boulanger indicated that the psalm could be sung in three ways: with a baritone solo (and eight or twelve optional female voices), a chorus of male singers, or a mixed choir with the voice of females small in number.[90] Boulanger's setting of this text adheres to commonly gendered notions of nation. The men speak for the nation of Israel, and the women offer relief from suffering and spiritual redemption, similar to the other images of Mary and the maternal, in general.

The female voices do not sing the text; they sing "Ah." Boulanger frequently used this un-texted instrumental vocalization, along with more traditional closed-mouth singing, or *bouches fermée*. *Bouches fermée* appears in the majority of choral works by Boulanger, including *Les sirènes* (1911), *Renouveau* (1911), *Reflets* (1911), *Sous-bois* (1911), *Hymne au soleil* (1912), *Pour les funérailles d'un soldat* (1913), *Soir sur la plaine* (1913), *Vieille prière*

[90] The score I was able to obtain is for male chorus. Lili Boulanger, Psaume 129 (Repertoire Explorer. Musikproduktion Höflich München, 2011).

bouddhique (1914–17), Psaume 24 (1916), Psaume 129 (1916), and Psaume 130 (1914–17). In his survey of *bouches fermée,* musicologist Jean-David Jumeau-Lafond concludes that composers used the term to express the supernatural, the symbolist aesthetic of mystery, the evocation of sleep and death, and as a pantheistic vision of nature.[91] In many of the works he examines by composers such as Berlioz, d'Indy, Debussy, Honegger, Scriabin, Roussel, Ravel, and Boulanger, Jumeau-Lafond continually notes the correlation of *bouches fermée* with female singers, fantasy, and nature imagery. Berlioz, for example, employed *bouches fermée* in his *Ballet des ombres* (1829), in which the male choruses in the *ronde nocturne* are punctuated by echoes of *bouches fermée* in the female voices. In Berlioz's ballade (1848) arranged for female voices from *Ophelia* (1842), Jumeau-Lafond calls the use of *bouches fermée* a "delirious chant,"[92] implicitly extenuating the link between irrationality, wordlessness, religion, and female identity, and more specifically female hysteria.

Jumeau-Lafond identifies Debussy's music as a particularly strong example of the connection between *bouches fermée* and nature and spirituality. In his *Sur la mer,* Jumeau-Lafond sees a female chorus as representing the mysteries of the ocean, while the use of *bouches fermée* in Ravel's *L'Enfant et les sortilèges* represented the magical world of a child's imagination. In a strangely cursory footnote, Jumeau-Lafond mentions Boulanger's *Pour les funérailles d'un soldat* as a work in which *bouches fermée* represented death. It may indeed represent death, but the emphasis on *bouches fermée* associated with female voices who only sing at the end also suggests the redeeming power of the feminine, similar to Psaume 129. The

[91] Jean-David Jumeau-Lafond, "La chœur sans paroles ou les voix du sublime," *Revue de Musicologie* 83, no. 2 (1997): 263–80.

[92] Jumeau-Lafond, "La chœur sans paroles," 265.

feminine redemptive power through *bouches fermée* is a spiritual one beyond worldly language. Boulanger's use of *bouches fermée* with female voices conforms to stereotypes of wordlessness, but there is no negative association here with feminine hysteria or irrationality. Instead, it is not just Christ who redeems, but also the idea of the feminine, or Christ's suffering mother, who alleviates suffering, and particularly male suffering.[93]

Conclusion

During the First World War, no one escaped suffering. While soldiers suffered immensely on the battlefield, suffering was also one of the most prevalent gendered acts women performed. A woman's task as a sufferer embraced all prescribed feminine roles. Whether one was a mother, a wife, a sister, a friend, a nurse, or a different type of non-combatant wartime worker, suffering, and particularly Good Suffering, was essential to supporting the nation and winning the war. The French not only upheld feminine suffering as a virtue and a necessity for French victory, but also idealized the feminine, particularly in a Catholic context, as the relief of others' suffering. This romanticized suffering is evident in analyses of wartime mothers, nurses, and saints popular with soldiers, such as Thérèse of Lisieux.

[93] Many times, however, Boulanger's use of *bouches fermeé* does not necessarily have such strong correlations with the feminine as Jumeau-Lafond suggests. Unlike many of Boulanger's contemporaries who use *bouches fermée* mostly in the female voices, and often as echoes to the male voices, she does not always conform to this stereotype. In *Les sirènes,* for example, Boulanger used open vowel singing on "ah" in the soprano, alto, and tenor voices underneath the soprano solo. It is the high female voice which provides the text, while the lower voices provide the wordless singing. The female voice is the main medium of verbal expression, not an echo. In Psaume 130, Boulanger introduces *bouches fermée* early in the piece, employing it in an imitative sequence between all four voices after the first verse and the second repetition of the verse: "Out of the depths I have cried unto thee, Oh Lord. Lord hear my prayer." In this case, one can also understand the use of *bouches fermée* as a spiritual reverence beyond words, but the way in which she employs it creates equality in all the voices, thus negating a purely female connection.

Boulanger's personal suffering stood at the heart of her public wartime image and reception. As shown, she embraced both private and public aspects of suffering and spiritual redemption in several of her wartime compositions. Her public persona as a Good Sufferer placed her suffering within a larger political context during the First World War. However, Boulanger's wartime charitable work with the Comité Franco-Américain and *La Gazette des classes du Conservatoire National* also demonstrate that she attempted to relieve the suffering of others by providing comfort through written correspondence, packages, food, and financial aid. While she was not a biological mother, or a nurse, she assumed another mother-type role during the war, the *marraine de guerre*.

Chapter 3

Marraines de guerre and Mimi Pinson: The Comité Franco-Américain and the *Gazette*

Introduction

In 1915, Boulanger's closest friend, Miki Piré, began her wartime charity work as a nurse at the Hôpital du Grand-Hôtel in Nice. After visiting Piré at the hospital, Boulanger knew she could never volunteer as a wartime nurse because of her ill health, but she was nevertheless determined to find an outlet for wartime charity.[1] Boulanger then started corresponding with her male colleagues from the Conservatoire who were serving at the front. Beginning in 1915, she sent them letters, packages, edited and critiqued their compositions, and provided food, clothing, and money to their families.[2] As the extent of her correspondence increased, she asked Nadia to help. Together they then sought out the patronage of Whitney Warren (1864-1943), a distinguished American architect, then living in France, and member of the Académie des Beaux-Arts, and co-founded the Comité Franco-Américain du Conservatoire National de

[1] Léonie Rosenstiel, *The Life and Works of Lili Boulanger* (London: Associated University Press, 1978), 112.

[2] At the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, I did not find much correspondence between Boulanger and the soldier-musicians that discussed edits and critiques of compositions, but in their *Gazette* responses, a few soldiers indirectly referred to Boulanger's critiques. Roger de Fontenay, for example, wrote that he was not going to send Boulanger the three songs he composed because he wanted to correct them himself. Roger de Fontenay, April 9, 1917. *Gazette des classes de composition du Conservatoire* 8 (March 1917). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, départment de la Musique (hereafter F-Pn), Rés Vm Dos-88 (01): "Des compositions editées déjà il y a longtemps, trop longtemps, j'aime autant que nous n'en parlions pas . . . les autres sont manuscrites; je vais faire recopier trois mélodies dont une que j'ai composé recemment et vous les apporterai à une prochaine permission, car je tiens à les corriger moi-même; ce sera dans trois semaines ou un mois. Madame Bathori Engol on a chanté deux bien souvent à Paris, je suis certain qu'elle les chantera encore volontiers . . ."

Musique in September 1915.[3] Thus, the idea of the Comité grew specifically out of Lili Boulanger's initiative to turn her individual project into something much larger and more substantial.

In this chapter, I examine Lili Boulanger's role as "secretary-founder" within the Comité and as editor of the Comité's *Gazette des classes du Conservatoire National.* I argue that Boulanger mobilized the popular gendered wartime concept of the *marraine de guerre* in a new, musical manifestation, to give herself wartime agency as a prominent and influential member of the Comité and editor of the *Gazette*. The *marraines de guerre*, or godmothers of war, adopted soldiers at the front and provided material and moral support through letters and packages. Historians Margaret Darrow, Susan Foley, and Susan Grayzel have all studied the *marraine de guerre* within the context of World War I, but no scholars have applied this concept to music, much less to Boulanger. Unlike the traditional *marraines de guerre*, however, Boulanger did not only send letters and care packages, but engaged with the soldiers professionally as their colleague and editor.

The wartime re-emergence of the fictional character Mimi Pinson echoed aspects of the prescribed role of the *marraine de guerre.* In his story *Mademoiselle Mimi Pinson: Profil de grisette* (1845), Alfred de Musset established the character of Mimi Pinson. Gustave Charpentier used Pinson in association with the *Gazette* and in a 1915 wartime concert, "Exposition des Cocardes de Mimi-Pinson," which prominently featured Boulanger's music. While the character of Pinson and the *marraine de guerre* do not generally overlap in scholarly discussions of women's wartime roles, both shared qualities such as selfless devotion, sacrifice, and morality,

[3] In New York, Warren designed Grand Central Station, the Ritz-Carlton, and the Biltmore Hotels, among others.

thus aligning them with French motherhood. The erotic nature of both the *marraine de guerre* and Pinson were nevertheless always at the forefront of their constructions and complicated any angel/whore dichotomy. I will show that Boulanger embodied characteristics associated with both the *marraine de guerre* and Pinson, save for eroticism, thereby reminding men of what they fought and perpetuating normative gender values in the midst of wartime upheaval. Once again, she became an emblem of France.

Inception of the *Gazette* and the Comité Franco-Américain du Conservatoire National

Boulanger's individual project of corresponding with soldiers became much grander in scale when she sought the financial help of Warren. Warren enthusiastically supported Boulanger's ideas and together, the Boulanger sisters and Warren formed the Comité in September 1915. They also initially enlisted the help of American diplomat-composer, Blair Fairchild (1877–1933), who had been in France since 1905 in order to study with Charles-Marie Widor. Fairchild had become good friends with the Boulanger family, and during the war he was part of the American Friends of Musicians in France. Fairchild agreed to become treasurer of the Comité. This blossoming relationship between French and American musicians and patrons involved in the Comité had a long-lasting effect on the partnership and "artistic solidarity" between French and American musicians.[4] The subsequent foundation of the Conservatoire

[4] Walter Damrosch proposed that the Conservatoire Américain would continue to promote "artistic solidarity" between the two nations. Kendra Preston Leonard, *The Conservatoire Américain: A History* (Plymouth, England: 2007), xix. Leonard also argues that the establishment of the Conservatoire Américain was an important paradigm shift in the musical world, "declaring the period of German-dominated American instruction to be over," as was true elsewhere post-World War I. Leonard, *The Conservatoire Américain*, xxxviii. For more information on the Franco-American Musical Society see Ronald Victor Wiecki, "A Chronicle of Pro Musica in the United States (1920–1944): With a Biographical Sketch of its Founder, E. Robert Schmitz (PhD Diss., University of Wisconsin, 1992).

Américain at Fountainbleau in 1921 and the Franco-American Musical Society in New York in 1920 are the most visible manifestations. Musicologist Kendra Leonard argues that the Conservatoire Américain specifically grew out of wartime musical exchange.[5]

Warren's patronage and prominence in both France and the United States were critical to the ultimate success of the Comité and the cooperation between l'École des Beaux-Arts and the Conservatoire. He solicited the help of prominent musicians. When World War I broke out, Warren sailed to France to show support and offer his help.[6] A document archived at l'École des Beaux-Arts states, for example, "At the outbreak of war [Whitney Warren] has left everything to come serve our cause. Apart from his personal propaganda that has contributed in large part to the entry of the United States into the war, he founded l'École le Comité Américain and the *Gazette*s."[7] He became Lieutenant Warren in the French army and was wounded in action toward the end of the war on September 15, 1918.[8]

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[5] Leonard, *The Conservatoire Américain*, xi. Leonard also writes that the Comité Franco-Américain "further encouraged [Walter Damrosch and Francis Casadesus] to pursue their course of action" in establishing the Conservatoire Américain. Leonard, *The Conservatoire Américain*, xix. While these institutions are outside the scope of this dissertation, it is important to mention because the Comité Franco-Américain was a considerable impetus for the French/American musical relationship that is still evident today, and the Boulanger sisters' leadership and relationship with Warren and Blairchild played a key role. *The Conservatoire Américain* also was critical to Nadia Boulanger's subsequent roles as pedagogue and conductor.

[6] An article from the *New York Times* on April 25, 1915 demonstrates his influence in wartime work. The author writes, "We are grateful for Whitney Warren for what he has done for us. Through his efforts his friends in America have collected a considerable amount of money which has gone to the National Aid, and a great quantity of clothing which has been dispatched to soldiers of and refugees from stricken countries." The article also continues to discuss how Warren left from France and has a strong distaste for everything German. "WHITNEY WARREN HONORED.: New York Architect Subject of Article by Head French Official," *New York Times* (April 25, 1915): X6.

[7] F-Pan: AJ52 (805), associations diverses: Comité des étudiants américains; quoted in Alexandra Laederich, "Nadia Boulanger et le Comité franco-américain du Conservatoire (1915–1919)," in *La Grande Guerre des musiciens*, eds. Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, Esteban Buch,

Warren and the Boulangers asked Charles Widor, Camille Saint-Saëns, Gabriel Fauré, Gustave Charpentier, Théodore Dubois, Émile Paladilhe, and Paul Vidal to serve as honorary committee members. Writing to each member, the Boulangers shared Warren's enthusiasm for the idea:

> We went to see Mr. Whitney Warren to ask if he would not be possible to bring students to the school of Fine Arts, students in composition at the Conservatoire, who are called to live together in Rome. . . . Mr. Whitney Warren, with great kindness and great spontaneity took our project under his patronage . . . He believes that in order to succeed, [the Comité] would have to be surrounded by great musicians French, members of the Institute. That is why we ask you, on his behalf and ours, to please be an honorary member of the Comité.[9]

These composers agreed to serve and all subsequently corresponded with the soldiers. Widor and Vidal became the vice presidents.

The Boulangers published a brochure that they sent to the soldiers explaining the Comité's mission. They wrote, "Our Comité aims to ensure the combatants of our absolute solidarity to care for them morally and materially, to provide them the peace of mind necessary

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Myriam Chimènes, Georgie Durosoir (Lyon, France: Symétrie, 2009), 162. "dés la declaration de guerre [Whitney Warren] a tout quitté pour venir se mettre au service de notre cause. En dehors de sa propaganda personnelle qui a contribute pour une large part à l'entrée en guerre des États-Unis, il a fondé à l'école le Comit américain et les *Gazette*s."

[8] "Lieutenant Warren Wounded," *New York Times* (September 16, 1918): 20.

[9] Nadia et Lili Boulanger, *lettre aux members de la section musicale de l'Institut.* F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos. 0088 (02); quoted in Alexandra Laederich, "Nadia Boulanger et le Comité franco-américain du Conservatoire (1915–1919), in *La Grande Guerre des musiciens*, edited by Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, Esteban Buch, Myriam Chimènes, Georgie Dursoir (Lyon, France: Symétrie, 2009), 163. "Dans ce but, nous avons été voir Monsieur Whitney Warren pour lui demander s'il ne serait pas possible de réunir aux élèves de l'école des Beaux-Arts, les élèves de composition du Conservatoire, puisqu'ils sont appelés à vivre en commun à Rome." Monsieur Whitney Warren, avec une grande bonté, une grande spontanéité a pris notre pojet . . . estime que pour bien aboutir, il faudrait qu'il soit entouré par les grands musiciens française, membre de l'Institut – c'est pourquoi nous nous permettons de venir vous prier, cher maître, en son nom et au nôtre, de bien vouloir faire partie du comité d'honneur." All translations are mine.

to accomplish their duty before the enemy and find us ready to help in their distress."[10] Many of the soldiers were not aware of the organization and thus Lili and Nadia Boulanger explained the Comité's purpose in one of the first brochures written to the soldiers in October, 1915. They highlighted their desire to provide small comforts to those at the front and their families back home. Among numerous services, the Comité additionally provided financial aid and loans as needed, and assistance in job searches:

> As there are certainly many of you still unaware of the existence of our Comité, and as there are also people who are receiving letters or packages from us and are not aware of what it is, we believe it is time to briefly explain its purpose and operation. The Comité Franco-Américain was formed last November by Mr. Whitney Warren, an American architect and former pupil of Beaux-Arts, with the support of Americans at the École in Paris and New York. For the duration of the war, its purpose is to identify, in a practical way, recognition of what soldiers will find most enjoyable to receive: financial assistance, loans, job search, etc. We can finally assure them of our most perfect discretion in all circumstances. Each of you at the front, in the depots, hospitals or interned in Germany, will occasionally receive a small package from us with some simple things. We would love to know the names of those soldiers who would be particularly benefited and know the things they would most like right now. In cases where comrades may be reluctant to address their families at this difficult time, if they come to us, we'll be pleased to send them some goodies that will make life a little more bearable. Finally, we handle the search for missing and families still living in the area invaded. For this we made contact with several research associations in France and Switzerland, as well as embassies and legations in neutral countries. Comrades are asked to give us their monthly news, as well as that of comrades they know, so that our office information is as well-documented as possible and that the *Gazette*, with collaboration with non-mobilized French comrades, is sent to each without losing their interest. We are available to friends looking for addresses, new transmissions, the execution of commissions, etc. All this is to show you that you have a serious organization, established on solid foundations, composed of comrades whose dedication to you is acquired and one that you can always

[10] Brochure du comité. Archives de la Fondation internationale Nadia et Lili Boulanger; quoted in Alexandra Laederich, "Nadia Boulanger et le Comité franco-américain du Conservatoire (1915–1919)," *La Grande Guerre des musiciens*, ed. Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau et al. (Lyon, France: Symétrie, 2009), 164: "Notre Comité a pour but: d'assurer les combattants de notre solidarité absolue, de s'occuper d'eux moralement et matériellement, de leur procurer la tranquillité d'esprit nécessaire à accomplissement de tout leur devoir devant l'ennemi en leur donnant la certitude que les être qui leur sont chers ne resteront pas loin d'eux dans al détresse sans nous trouver prêts à les secourir."

count on. Until victory reunites us in our beloved school, rest assured, dear old friends, our best feelings of friendship. The Comité.[11]

The accompanying signatures of both Nadia and Lili Boulanger illustrate their leadership roles in the Comité and the *Gazette*, despite Warren's prominence as president. Both Lili and Nadia Boulanger assumed the title "Secretary-Founders," which placed them in a contradictory role of both traditional feminine roles (secretary) and prominent leadership (founders).[12]

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[11] Chers camarades, Comme beaucoup d'entre vous ignorent encore certainement l'existence de notre Comité, et comme il y en a aussi qui, recevant des cartes ou des colis de notre part, ne se rendent peut-être pas très bien compte de quoi il s'agit, nous croyons le moment venu de vous exposer en quelques mots son but et son fonctionnement. Le Comite Américain a été fondé au mois de novembre dernier par Mr. W W, architecte américain, ancien élève des Beaux-Arts, avec le concours des Américains de l'Ecole à Paris et à NY. Pendant la durée de la guerre, son but est d'identifier, de façon pratique, tout ce que les soldats trouveront le plus agréable de recevoir: assistance financière, prêt, offres d'emploi, etc. Nous pouvons enfin les assurer de notre plus parfaite discrétion en toute circonstance. Nous avons tenu à ce que chacun de vous au front, au ravitaillement, dans les hôpitaux ou internés en Allemagne, reçoive, de temps en temps, un petit paquet de notre part contentant des choses plus ou moins utiles. Nous serions très heureux de savoir les noms des Poilus auxquels des colis seraient particulièrement nécessaires et de connaître les choses qui leur feraient le plus plaisir en ce moment. Au cas où certains camarades hésiteraient à s'adresser à leur famille en ces temps si pénibles pour tous, qu'ils viennent à nous, et nous nous ferons une grande joie de leur faire parvenir les quelque petites douceurs qui rendront leur vie un peu plus supportable. Enfin, nous nous occupons de la recherche des disparus et des familles habitant encore les départements envahis. A cet effet, nous nous sommes mis en relation avec plusieurs associations de recherche en France et en Suisse, ainsi qu'avec les Ambassades et légations des pays neutres. Les camarades sont priés de nous donner mensuellement de leurs nouvelles, ainsi que des camarades qu'ils connaissent, de façon à ce que notre bureau de renseignements soit aussi documenté que possible et que les *Gazette*s des ateliers, rédigées avec la collaboration des camarades français non mobilisés et envoyées à chacun ne perdent pas de leur intérêt. Nous sommes à la disposition des copains pour la recherche des adresses, transmissions de nouvelles, exécutions de commissions, etc. Tout ceci afin de vous montrer que vous avez à l'Ecole une organisation sérieuse, établie sur des bases solides, composée des camarades dont le dévouement vous est tout acquis et sur lesquels vous pourrez toujours compter. En attendant que la victoire nous réunisse dans notre Ecole tant aimée, soyez assurés, chers vieux amis, de nos meilleurs sentiments d'amitié. Le Comité.

[12] Léonie Rosenstiel, *Nadia Boulanger: A Life in Music* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1982), 128.

The *marraines de guerre*

In January 1915, six months after the beginning of the war, women involved in charity work with *Famille du Soldat* implemented the term and idea of the *marraine de guerre* as a way that they could involve themselves in the war effort as non-combatants.[13] In the spring of 1915, several newspapers, including *L'Echo de Paris, L'Homme Enchainé, Le Journal,* and *Revue de Deux Mondes* also embraced and touted the *marraines de guerre.*[14] *L'Echo de Paris,* for example, identified the concept as one that "transformed letter writing from personal support of loved ones into an act of patriotism."[15] Darrow and Grayzel have shown that wartime newspapers and magazines defined *marraines de guerre* as women ranging from young girls to grandmothers, all of whom corresponded with soldiers on the front by sending them letters and packages. The *marraine de guerre's* duty was to adopt a solider (or several soldiers) as her *filleul,* or godson, and provide him with moral and material support.[16]

Numerous well-known writers and presses promoted the *marraine de guerre* as a way that women could appropriately involve themselves directly with the war effort, acting as a kind of mother. These newspapers and magazines devoted much of their advertising columns to finding *marraines* for soldiers throughout the war years.[17] Darrow records, for example, that

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[13] Grayzel, "Mothers, Marraines, and Prostitutes," 70.

[14] Darrow, *French Women and the First World War,* 79; Grayzel, "Mothers, Marraines and Prostitutes," 70.

[15]Darrow, *French Women and the First World War,* 79.

[16] See Margaret H. Darrow, *French Women and the First World War: War Stories of the Home Front* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2000), 71–89); Grayzel, "Mothers, Marraines, and Prostitutes."

[17] Darrow, *French Women and the First World War,* 79.

there were 216 advertisements for soldiers seeking *marraines* in the July 6, 1917 issue of *La Vie parisienne* alone.[18] Newspapers and magazines also publicized outside charity organizations that supported *marraines de guerre. L'Homme enchainé*, for example, endorsed an organization managed by Mme Jaquemaire, "Charity of Combatants without Family." Their mission stated that *marraines de guerre* were to "support their men in combat, and to provide them with comforts and services; but especially to remind them of, and personify for them, the France that they were defending." As Darrow argues, it was not women's service to France that connected them to nationhood; it was that they *were* France. Thus, the *marraines de guerre* both supported the soldiers individually, and also represented the nation that the soldiers defended.[19]

Because these women spanned ages, classes, and races (and soldiers often did not know the identities of their *marraine de guerre*), the *marraine de guerre* embodied *l'union sacrée*; *all* women could participate in aiding France to victory by becoming a *marraine de guerre* to a soldier or soldiers.[20] The *marraines de guerre* also highlighted the instability of wartime

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[18] Darrow, *French Women and the First World War*, 83.

[19] Darrow, *French Women and the First World War*, 113. Spike Peterson argues that metaphors of nation-as-woman and woman-as-nation "suggest how women—as bodies and cultural repositories— become the battleground for the group struggle." Spike Peterson, "Gendered Nationalism: Reproducing 'Us' versus 'Them,'" in *The Women and War Reader*, eds. Lois Ann Lorentzen and Jennifer Turpin (New York and London: New York University Press, 1998), 44. Women-as-nation and nation-as-woman were the objects and ideas for which men fought. They represented French *civilisation's* triumph over German barbarism, but they could also be despoiled, as is evident in the well-known imagery of the "rape of Belgium." Grayzel writes that "the use of rape in wartime propaganda overwhelmingly inscribed women as passive, ultimately sacrificial, victims, and as the emblems of the traditional home and family that the war was presumably being fought to protect and preserve." Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War*, 85. Thus, when writers connect women with nation, women become objects which cannot speak for themselves. They cannot describe and define war. Instead, they are described and defined and acted upon.

[20] The term *l'union sacrée* became well-known during the Paris Commune in 1870, and President Poincaré coined it as a call for unity during the First World War. I discuss more

gendered constructions because male soldiers could develop non-maternal, erotic relations with them. Newspapers and magazines were well aware of the pitfall and published stories on the matter. In February 1915, *Le Journal*, for example, published a cautionary tale about a *marraine de guerre* who began a virtual marriage with her soldier.[21] In their research, Darrow, Grayzel, and Regina Sweeney, discuss how correspondence between soldiers and *marraines de guerre* frequently revealed such erotic relationships.[22] These relationships were generally verbally suggestive rather than physical because most soldiers never personally met their *marraines*. Grayzel explains the *marraine*'s problematic dichotomy: "The *marraine*, who provided an important link between the front line and the home front, embodied both the romantic and sexual contribution of women to morale, both the sexualized girlfriend icon and the mother of the nation."[23] Popular culture, along with postcards, stories, and Jeanne Landre's well-known 1917 novel, *L'école des marraines*, emphasized this sexual aspect of the potential role.[24] Sweeney notes, for example, that several soldier's songs from the front lines described the provocative possibilities of what *marraines* might offer. In songs such as "La Marraine des poilus" and "Chére Marraine," the lyrics suggest that it was not only the packages the *marraines* sent that

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specifics of *l'union sacrée* in the following chapter, as the concept was essential to the *Gazette*'s tenor.

[21] Grayzel, "Mothers, Marraines, and Prostitutes," 71.

[22] Regina Sweeney analyzes the concept of the *marraine de guerre* in postcards and popular wartime French music and their covers. See Regina Sweeney, *Singing Our Way to Victory: French Cultural Politics and Music during the Great War* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 2001).

[23] Grayzel, "Mothers, Marraines and Prostitutes," 75.

[24] Grayzel, "Mothers, Marraines and Prostitutes," 71.

they appreciated, but the possibility of what the *marraines* might offer them sexually when they returned to Paris.[25]

The *marraine de guerre* was both a highly gendered and highly unstable wartime construction that simultaneously propagated acceptable bourgeois gender roles and accentuated wartime fear of unguarded female sexuality.[26] The figure of the *marraine de guerre* underscored the conflicting values of the angel/whore dichotomy that remained at the forefront of all gender debates in France, especially during the war. Grayzel argues, "Women's sexuality thus presented a paradox: while war was seen as bound to lead to more voracious sexual appetites, immorality in both soldier and women would endanger the war effort."[27]As one of the most prevalent personifications of femininity during World War I, the *marraine* emphasized selflessness, moral aptitude, familial care, concern, and devotion, tinged with eroticism. The role was not only a patriotic outlet for women's wartime service in France, as well as complicating an often ambiguous role model to which newspapers, songs, advertisements, propaganda, and novels encouraged women, including Boulanger, to aspire.

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[25] Regina Sweeney, "Harmony and Disharmony: French Singing and Musical Entertainment during the Great War" (PhD diss., California at Berkeley, 1992), 204–7.

[26] Part of the reason for heightened fear of female sexuality was the increase of state-licensed brothels and military bordellos during the war. Foley, *Women in France Since 1789*, 169. Another reason was the trauma and uncertainty of separation and the unnatural and brutal realities of modern warfare. These fears played out in propaganda (both official and unofficial) such as postcards that highlighted prostitution and overt feminine sexuality, such as one which portrayed two lovers in bed kissing and stated, "Heures de Retour, Heures d'Ivregse!" (Hours of homecoming, Hours of ecstasy!). Sweeney, *Singing Our Way to Victory*, 111. Sweeney also notes the emphasis on eroticizing weaponry and identifying it with sexual acts or even rapes, seen in soldiers' own songs from the trenches and published songs such as "Rosalie." Sweeney, *Singing Our Way to Victory*, 98–133.

[27] Grayzel, "Mothers, Marraines, and Prostitutes," 81.

Boulanger as *marraine de guerre*

Before the outbreak of the war, Boulanger focused solely on her own compositional success. When the First World War began, she was living at the Villa Medici as part of her Prix de Rome tenure. By August 1914, most of the male *pensionnaires* had been mobilized and had left the Villa Medici; Boulanger decided to depart as well. While the Académie gave her permission to return to the Medici to complete her tenure, Boulanger declined because she had already decided to dedicate herself to the wartime effort by corresponding with her mobilized colleagues. Thus, even before her official role with the Comité began, she chose in keeping with the duties of the *marraine de guerre*, but within a professional realm. To her musical peers, Boulanger represented the spirit of the nation, reminding them of home, and giving them strength to keep fighting and especially to continue to maintain musical identities in the midst of war. Any associations with eroticism, however, were absent.

Boulanger's role as editor of the *Gazette* institutionalized her initial correspondence into a more organized and professional role. Like her personal communication with the soldiers, the mission of the *Gazette* continued to reflect the objectives of the *marraine de guerre;* its goal was to provide soldiers with comfort through written correspondence and packages. Numerous soldiers responded to the *Gazette* exclaiming that it offered such goals as solace and comfort. Soldier Claude Barrier wrote, for example, "I received with great pleasure our very interesting *Gazette*; I assure you this newspaper is a great moral comfort."[28] While the actual *Gazette* offered support, it was Boulanger individually who was still in charge of sending care packages

[28] Letter from Claude Barrier, March 19. *Gazette* 7 (March 1917). F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés Vm. dos-88 (01): "J'ai reçu avec grand plaisir notre très intéressante *Gazette*; je vous assure que c'est un grand réconfort moral que ce journal."

and supplies to the soldiers and their families and handled all requests for clothes, food, and information. She thus assumed more fully the role of the *marraine de guerre.*[29]

Popular wartime sentiment in France suggested that women should keep their opinions to themselves and remain quiet while their men fought, a type of silent and sacrificial suffering that I discussed in the previous chapter. Books, articles, and postcard/art propaganda widely promoted the supposedly patriotic act of womanly silence. In his 1916 novel *La maison anxieuse*, for example, Lucien Descaves noted that women served France by "believing" and "being quiet."[30] Likewise, in Lucie Delarue-Mardus's 1916 *Un roman civil en 1914,* a female character chides another for complaining: "Women have nothing to do but keep silent while their men fight. It's not, in this moment, the women's turn to cry out. It's the men who are suffering, and you're going to be quiet."[31] In a similar vein, Boulanger's official title in the Comité generally adhered to this expected cult of womanly silence, even though she was a key player in the inception and success of the Comité and the *Gazette*.

Thus while Boulanger was officially the co-founder and secretary of the Comité and the editor-in-chief of the *Gazette*, her work remained mostly behind the scenes. We do not hear her voice other than in the opening explanatory letters and prefaces to several editions of the *Gazette*. As Darrow argues, men, such as Whitney Warren, generally acted as the heads of charitable organizations, while women worked behind the scenes and did the bulk of the work.[32] Aside

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[29] Rosenstiel, *Nadia Boulanger*, 128.

[30] Lucien Descaves, *La Maison anxieuse* (Paris: Georges Cres, 1916), 56; quoted in Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War,* 206.

[31] Lucie Delarue-Mardus, *Un roman civil en 1914* (Paris: Fasquelle, 1916), 90; quoted in Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War,* 28.

[32] Darrow, *French Women and the First World War,* 77.

from the Boulanger sisters' opening letters in a few volumes of the *Gazette*, the main published correspondence from the home front came from their older male colleagues, such as Fauré, Dubois, d'Indy, Vidal, and Vuillermoz. Not surprisingly, critic Camille Mauclair later recognized Boulanger's important role in the creation and production of the *Gazette*, but focused his praise on her "feminine silence." Regarding the *Gazette* and the Comité, Mauclair wrote, "The sublime words which she said to them [members of the Comité and the soldiers], none can be cited publicly. The sacred silence of such nobility of the soul was enough."[33] In other words, she deserved recognition for her appropriately silent and private work.

While Boulanger's role as a *marraine de guerre* was typical of women's wartime work, it also bridged public and private spheres. As the co-founder of the Comité, she took the initiative to organize, create, and edit the *Gazette*. On the other hand, her work still fell within the boundaries of acceptable female bourgeois behavior, as she positioned herself behind the scenes. She kept detailed records of all correspondence, financial items, and publications, many of which the Biblothèque Nationale de Musique still stores. However, when we understand the multifaceted positions Boulanger held in the Comité and the *Gazette*, her *marraine* role becomes more complicated because she held very private and public roles within the Comité. She utilized constructions of the *marraine de guerre,* along with concepts of quiet, noble, maternal suffering to take an active role in the wartime musical world.

Boulanger as Mimi Pinson

> "For Musicians!" Mimi Pinson exclaimed . . . Dear Comrades, do not be surprised if in some mailings you find a name, an address, a thought. Mimi Pinson is not modest in her affections. . . O soldiers on leave, even in winter time, sweep up under our very noses the

[33] Camille Mauclair, "La Vie et l'œuvre de Lili Boulanger," *La Revue Musicale* 2, no. 19 (1921): 149. "Des paroles sublimes qu'elle leur a dites, aucune ne doit être citée publiquement. Le silence sacré sur de telles noblesses d'âme convient seul."

> prettiest smiles, the most tender kisses. . . . The soul of French women manifests itself in her incomparable nobility. . . .[34]

The second issue of the *Gazette* (February 1916) opens with this letter from Charpentier, who addressed the soldiers from the point of view of the popular fictional character of Mimi Pinson. Through her devotion, affection, and sacrifice, Pinson, like the *marraine de guerre*—she too symbolized France. Charpentier wrote of Pinson in a letter to the *Gazette* and he also featured Boulanger's music in his 1915 concert, "Exposition des Cocardes de Mimi-Pinson." Thus I argue that Charpentier created both a direct and indirect connection between Boulanger and Pinson that again reinforced similar constructions of the *marraine de guerre.*

Following the publication of Musset's *Mademoiselle Mimi Pinson: Profil de grisette* in 1845, Pinson's popularity continued in the nineteenth century and throughout the First World War. Pinson inspired several subsequent musical and artistic works. [35] Charpentier, specifically, popularized her image in the years surrounding World War I through his creation of various Mimi Pinson organizations, such as *Conservatoire Populaire de Mimi Pinson* and *l'Oeuvre de Mimi Pinson*, that I will discuss below.

In Musset's original story of Pinson, two male medical students encounter Pinson and she charms them when she pawns her only dress to help a friend in need. She then sews a dress made from curtains so she can attend Mass. Historian Patricia Tilburg writes, "From the start, Mimi

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[34] Letter from Gustave Charpentier, *Gazette* 2 (February 1916). F-Pn : département de la Musique, Rés Vm. dos-88 (02): "Pour les Musiciens! s'écria Mimi Pinson . . . chers Camarades, ne vous étonnez pas si dans certains envois vous découvrez un nom, une adresse une pensée. . . Mimi Pinson n'est pas modeste dans ses affections. . . . ô permissionnaires qui, même aux temps d'hiver nous raflez sous le nez les plus jolis sourires, les plus tendres baisers. . . . L'âme des femmes françaises s'y manifeste dans sa noblesse incomparable. Celle des combattants y puise un réconfort délicieux, parfois inattendu. Et le Monde constate, admire et applaudit. »

[35] These include an Opérette in three acts (1915) with libretto by Maurice Ordonneau and Francis Gally and music by Henri Goublier, and a French film by Robert Darène in 1958.

Pinson was associated with labor, bourgeois male desire, feminine self-sacrifice, and innate fashion sense."[36] In the nineteenth century, Musset represented Pinson as a young independent working woman who was often a seamstress and who was the source of erotic male fantasies. During the early twentieth century and throughout the war, however, Pinson became associated with bourgeois values (although she was still a working-woman), feminine self-sacrifice, and the "symbolic guardian of French taste."[37] It is this early twentieth-century construction of Pinson that Charpentier employed within the *Gazette* and linked further to Boulanger. Like the *marraines de guerre,* however, there was often a stark contrast between the idealized image of Pinson and the women who actually participated. Although there were many women over the course of the war years who assumed the title of Mimi Pinson through Charpentier's organizations, the face of Pinson as a young, single, working woman was often fictive. Women in their thirties and forties signed up to participate in *l'Oeuvre Mimi Pinson,* and many were married.[38]

Through Charpentier's various Mimi Pinson organizations and concerts, the latter of which Boulanger was associated, he helped establish Pinson as a type of *marraine de guerre.* Pinson embodied bourgeois taste and volunteered in non-combatant roles to aid the war effort. In 1902, for example, Charpentier founded the *Conservatoire Populaire de Mimi Pinson* specifically for the working women of Paris. Conservatoire professors taught these women voice, piano, harp, dance, and choral singing free of charge, and in return, the women performed in the

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[36] Patricia Tilburg, "Mimi Pinson Goes to War: Taste, Class, and Gender in France, 1900–18," *Gender and History* 23, no. 1 (April 2011): 92.

[37] Tilburg, "Mimi Pinson Goes to War," 92, 94.

[38] Tilburg, "Mimi Pinson Goes to War," 96.

Conservatoire's concerts and festivals. Furthermore, Charpentier established *l'Oeuvre de Mimi Pinson* which distributed free tickets to performances for young working women and their families in collaboration with Parisian theater directors. These organizations aimed to shape the culture and intelligence of these women, engaging them in accepted bourgeois activities, such as the opera. The organizations were paternalistic and sought to mold young working women's education, interests, and behavior into accepted feminine bourgeois roles by providing them with opportunities they likely would not have had otherwise. It thus functioned as a type of social uplift and gender control under the guise of benevolence. Charpentier wrote of his projects, "Along with appropriate art lessons, *l'Oeuvre Mimi Pinson* refines the taste of its members and shows them the beautiful, thus diverting them from so many vulgarities and platitudes offered."[39] Charpentier expected that once these working-class Mimi Pinsons obtained proper education, they would also acquire bourgeois taste and sophistication.[40]

Toward the end of the war, Charpentier oversaw *La Cocarde de Mimi Pinson* (1917–1920), an organization in which working-class women made patriotic rosettes, or cocardes, for charity. This organization was directly related to the 1915 concert that featured Boulanger's music, as I will discuss.[41] Tilburg argues, "Mimi Pinson's cocarde seems to have accomplished

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[39] Gustave Charpentier, *Souvenirs. Lettres. Poesies;* quoted in Jane Fulcher, *French Cultural Politics and Music: From the Dreyfus Affair to the First World War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 102: "En même temps que par des leçons artistiques bien appropriées, l'Oeuvre de Mimi Pinson affine le gout de ses adhérents et leur montre le Beau, les détournant ainsi de tant de vulgarités et de platitudes elle leur offer . . ."

[40]Mary Ellen Poole, "Gustave Charpentier and the Conservatoire Populaire de Mimi Pinson," *Nineteenth-Century Music* 20, no. 3 (Spring, 1997): 232.

[41] *La Cocarde de Mimi Pinson* lasted from 1917-1920 and received subventions from the Conseil Municipal, the Conseil Général, and the Ministrère de l'Instruction Publique et des Beaux-Arts. Fulcher, *Composer as Intellectual,* 51.

its most immediate function: that is, to provide the *poilus* at the front with a material reminder of home, a souvenir that often was understood as a stand-in for Parisian women, not unlike the *marraine de guerre*."[42] The trinkets did not just stand in for any Parisian women, but for a model of womanhood that exemplified loyalty to their men, "incomparable nobility," dedication to wartime service, youth, and a "safely eroticized national girlfriend."[43]

While Charpentier's organizations focused on Pinson's bourgeois status, nobility, and commitment to France, Pinson could not escape erotic associations. Likewise, in his letter to the *Gazette*, Charpentier told the soldiers that Pinson would provide her affections toward them, whether it be "a name, an address, a thought," or even "the most tender kisses." Unfortunately, we do not have any surviving documentation that tells us whether the soldiers did indeed receive such "affections" included in their issues of the *Gazette* or through their individual correspondence with Boulanger. What we do know, however, is that the Boulanger sisters were the only females associated with the *Gazette* who would have sent these "affections" or enlisted others to send them.

Even though Charpentier highlighted the possibilities of erotic "affections" and "tender kisses" in his *Gazette* letter, I do not claim to associate these "affections" directly with Boulanger. His letter to the *Gazette*, however, illustrates that every constructed role for wartime women, no matter how sacrificial, noble, and moral, always presented complications of feminine sexuality. Nevertheless, the ways in which Charpentier mobilized Pinson in relation to the *Gazette* and to Boulanger's music, as I will discuss in the final section, primarily reinforced both

[42] Tilburg, "Mimi Pinson Goes to War," 105.

[43] Tilburg, "Mimi Pinson Goes to War," 99.

women as emblems of France, or as another type of *marraine de guerre*. They represented that which was joyous and good.

Pinson and the *marraines de guerre* also acted in a muse-like manner as one who has the power to inspire another. Muses motivate others to create, but does not create herself.[44] In his 1914 acceptance speech to the Académie des Beaux-Arts, Charpentier argued for Pinson's role as a muse to male artists. He stated that Mimi Pinson ignited "desires for love affairs," and also "novels of which you will not be aware,"[45] once again coupling her actions and eroticism with Pinson. Charpentier also defined Pinson as "a sort of collective Muse, with all the attendant requirements for such a role: that she not threaten the artist by her own ambition [and] that she remain metaphorically immobile."[46] In addition, Charpentier's predecessor for *l'Oeuvre de Mimi Pinson* was *l'Oeuvre de Muses,* which aimed to educate women, but cautioned them that their education was not enough to allow them to become professional.[47]

Similarly, many of Boulanger's critics often viewed her as an influential and supportive muse, not as a professional artist in her own right. The eroticism associated with Pinson, however, is absent in descriptions of Boulanger. Upon witnessing Boulanger at the Prix de Rome competition, for example, Mauclair wrote, "A muse had just appeared."[48] Mauclair undermined Boulanger's professional status as a *composer* and potentially ignored the hard work that went

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[44] In the case of the *marraines de guerre,* their correspondence inspired strength in soldiers, rather than a particular art.

[45]Charpentier, quoted in Maurice Le Blond, *Histoire de Mimi Pinson* (Paris, Jules Logier, 1916), 26; quoted in Tilburg, "Mimi Pinson Goes to War," 95.

[46] Tilburg, "Mimi Pinson Goes to War," 251.

[47] Tilburg, "Mimi Pinson Goes to War," 238.

[48] Mauclair, "L'Vie et l'œuvre de Lili Boulanger," 148.

into *Faust et Hélène*, further separating Boulanger from her male colleagues. In another example, after attending a gala performance for both Boulanger sisters after the Prix de Rome win, critic Edouard Moullé wrote, "A large and paying audience (I was witness to it) flocked to the Théâtre Léon Porier to hear works by these two muses of music."[49] Moullé justified the professional status of this concert by its size and cost and then undermined the Boulanger sisters' agency of their compositional success, emphasizing their influence rather than their creative power. After her death in 1918, critics remembered Boulanger as a muse as well. M. Besnard wrote, "But why not, in the Villa Medici garden, also perpetuate the memory of this charming Muse who died too soon?"[50]

Boulanger and the "Exposition des Cocardes de Mimi-Pinson"

Charpentier chose Boulanger's compositions, along with some of Nadia's, to figure prominently in his 1915 "Exposition des Cocardes de Mimi-Pinson."[51] He programmed "Elle était descendue," and "Deux Ancolies se balançaient sur la colline," the first and tenth songs from Boulanger's 1914 song cycle, *Clairières dans le ciel.*"[52] Instead of selecting Boulanger's

[49] Edouard Moullé, "Salles diverses. Gala Nadia et Lili Boulanger," *Le Monde Musical* (November 30, 1913): 326; quoted in Rosenstiel, *The Life and Works of Lili Boulanger,* 90.

[50] M Albert Besnard, "A la Villa Médicis," *Excelsior* (3 May 1918): 3. "Mais pourquoi ne pas perpétuer aussi dans le jardin même de la Villa Médicis le souvenir de cette charmante Muse trop tôt disparue?"

[51] The use of "cocarde," or rosettes also suggests an underlying charitable meaning to the program. The *Exposition Cocardes de Mimi Pinson* was not limited to this concert. In November 1915, Paris's Petit Palais hosted the Exposition de la Cocarde de Mimi Pinson. This event consisted of an exhibition displaying thousands of cockades made by working women. They also showcased a competition of the cockades between the female workers of the Parisian couture houses and the department stores. Tilburg, "Mimi Pinson Goes to War," 101.

[52] Charpentier also programmed Boulanger's *Duo de Faust et Hélène* and two instrumental works, *Nocturne* and *Cortège.*

solemn works, as Croiza did in her wartime concert discussed in the previous chapter, these two songs are the most optimistic and peaceful in the cycle. They portray the innocence and cheerful nature of young women, in keeping with the joyful nature of the Pinson character. These two songs by Boulanger conformed to Pinson-like "gaiety, insouciance, sophistication, style, and wit"—qualities that represented supposedly the best of French civilization, and the muse-like features ascribed to Boulanger.[53]

Clairières dans le ciel: "Elle était descendue" and "Deux Ancolies"

Unlike other compositions, such as *Pour les funérailles d'un soldat, La princesse maleine*, or *Vieille prière bouddhique*, there is nothing in the subject matter of Boulanger's song cycle that directly connects it to wartime. However, Charpentier's programming of "Elle était descendue au bas de la prairie" and "Deux ancolies se balançaient" on a concert associated with Pinson and dedicated to the *poilus* places the selections within a wartime context. The texts to both songs highlight some of the foremost gendered constructions associated with Pinson.

"Elle était descendue" and "Deux ancolies" highlight the pastoral. "Elle était descendue" portrays the song cycle's heroine in a meadow as she observes flowers. "Deux ancolies" depicts two columbines swaying on a hill. Historian Paul Fussell claims the pastoral was a commonly-used nostalgic trope during times of trial because it offered comfort and memories of better times. He continues that during war, the pastoral was a way of "invoking a code to hint by antithesis at the indescribable."[54] Although Fussell bases most of his evidence of on English literature by such authors as the wartime poet Wilfred Owen, the prevalent use of pastoral

[53] Darrow, *French Women and the First World War*, 69.

[54] Paul Fussell, *Great War and Modern Memory* (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1975), 235.

imagery in this wartime concert, dedicated to the *poilus,* invites similar conclusions. The two song selections from *Clairières dans le ciel* not only emphasize the pastoral, but Boulanger also highlighted the pastoral in the cycle by her rearrangement of Jammes's original poems. By omitting the original first poem of Jammes's cycle, for example, Boulanger begins and ends her song cycle with pastoral imagery. Boulanger's last poem (Jammes's second) thus uses a quotation from the first poem: "She had gone down to the foot of the meadow and like the meadow, was decked with flowers."

"Elle était descendue au bas de la prairie:"

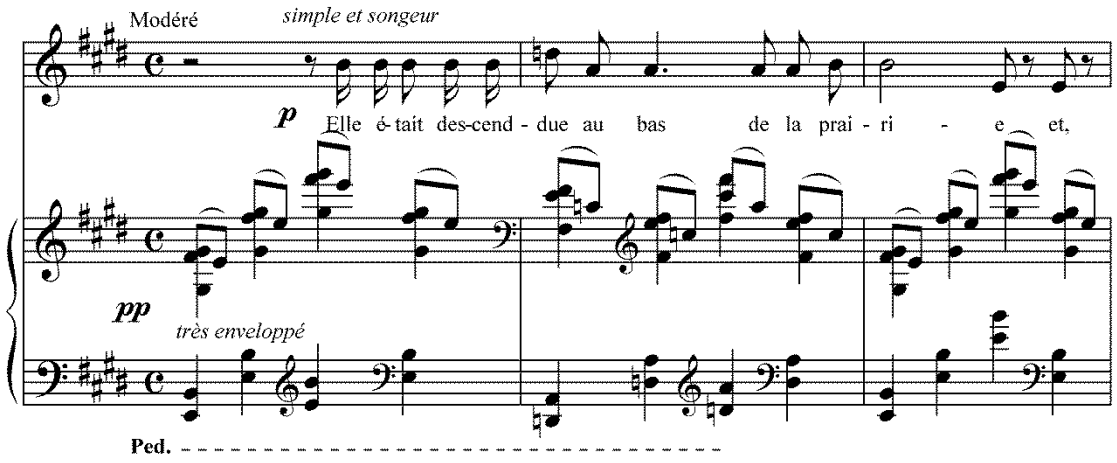
Elle était descendue au bas de la prairie	She had gone down to the foot of the meadow
Et comme la prairie, était toute fleurie de plantes	And like the meadow, was decked with flowers
Dont la tige aime à pousser dans l'eau. . . .	Whose stems love to shoot forth from the water. . . .
Ces plantes inondées je les avais cueillies.	Those drenched plants which I had picked.
Bientôt, s'étant mouillée,	Soon, dripping,
Elle gagna le haut de cette prairie là qui était toute fleurie.	she reached the top of that meadow which was all abloom.
Elle riait et s'ét brouait. . . .	She was laughing and splashing about. . . .
Avec la grace dégingandée qu'ont les jeunes filles trop grandes.	with that awkward grace peculiar to overly tall girls.
Elle avait le regard qu'ont les fleurs de lavande.	She had the look of lavender flowers.

The text's imagery contains ideals of simplicity and peace and the music maintains a quiet, lingering melancholy feeling through its lilting piano accompaniment. The portrayal of the female character depicts carefree young innocence with a text that connects her to nature.[55] As

[55] The ideologies of women's bodies being closer to nature dates at least as far back in the Judeo-Christian tradition to Eve's childbearing abilities and her ultimate downfall from grace. The hierarchy thus created between culture and nature frames women as morally and intellectually inferior. Nietzsche, for example, writes that "Woman is more closely related to

shown in Example 1, Boulanger's expressive markings at the beginning state *"simple et songeur,"* and she reflects this direction in the music with the simple sigh motive in the right hand of the piano accompaniment that rises and falls, and the left hand of the piano steadily plays an open fifth ostinato figure.

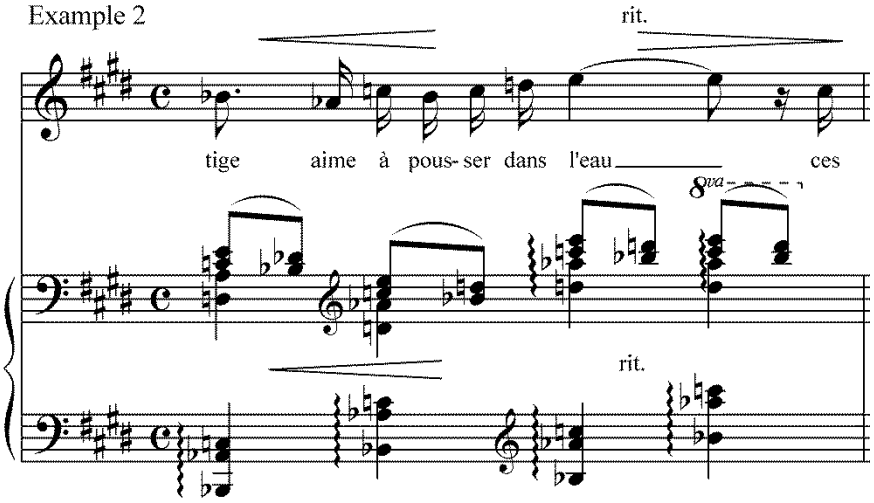
Example 1



Boulanger emphasizes the pastoral by employing text painting throughout, such as rippling water depicted through rolls in piano chords, seen in Example 2, or increasing rhythmic movement in the accompaniment when the woman reaches the top of the meadow and sees the flowers all abloom.

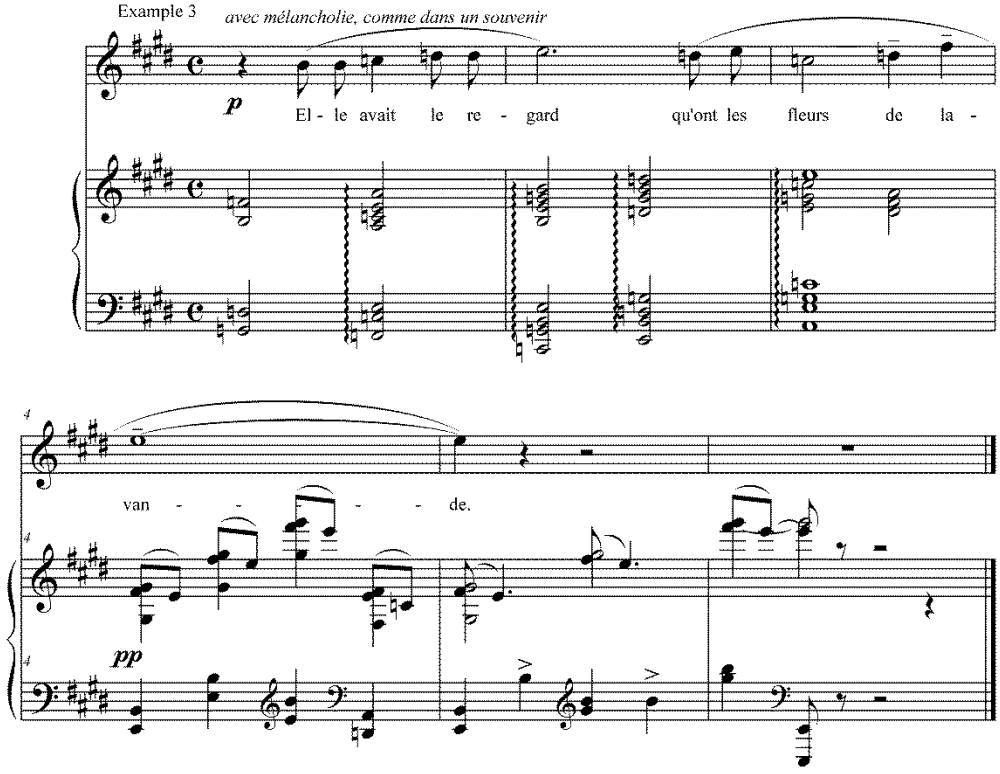
Nature than men and in all her essentials she remains ever herself. Culture is with her always something external, a something which does not touch the kernel that is eternally faithful to Nature." Nietzsche, "The Greek Woman" (1871), as quoted in Genevieve Lloyd, *Man of Reason: 'Male' and 'Female' in Western Philosophy* (New York: Routledge, 1984), 1–2; quoted in Marcia J. Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 49.

Example 2



At the end of the short song, however, Boulanger specifies, “avec mélancolie, comme dans un souvenir,” which reminds one of tranquility within the sadness of the times. As seen in Example 3, the piano accompaniment changes to low, dark rolled chords, but the song ends with the opening sigh piano motives (originally seen in the piano’s right hand in Example 1), perhaps signifying the ultimate triumph of the memory over the current situation.

Example 3

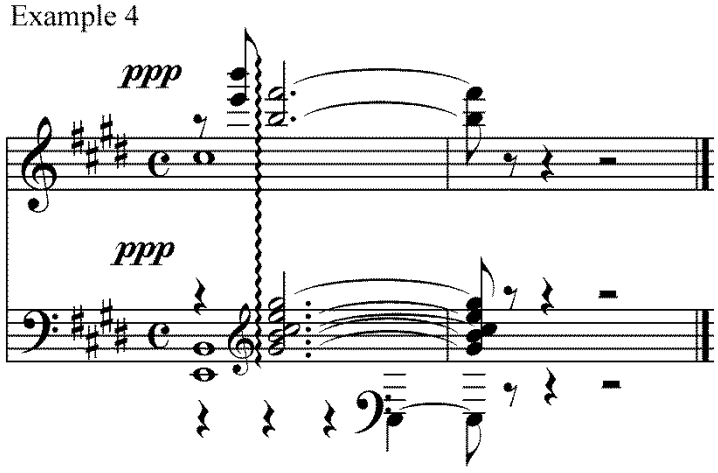


Boulanger indicated in the score that the first and second song of the cycle, "Elle est gravement gaie," were to be performed as a unit. However, Charpentier did not follow her intentions. "Elle est gravement gaie," is certainly not the darkest song in the cycle, but its text and slow, steady, chordal accompaniment create a marked difference to the pastoral mood of the first song.

Elle est gravement gaie.	She is serious but happy.
Par moments son regard se levait	Sometimes she would suddenly glance up at me
comme pour surprendre ma pensée. . . .	As if to catch my thought. . . .
Elle était douce alors comme quand il est tard,	She was sweet then, as when it is late,
Le velours jaune et bleu d'une allée de pensées.	The yellow and blue velvet of a path of pansies.

Rosenstiel argues that the end of "Elle est gravement gaie" illustrates the impression of a carillon, signaling the end of a dream.[56] This is a probable conclusion because the song briefly describes a vision, or a dream, of a serious, but mirthful girl. One could also read the sigh motive as a variation on the accompaniment in "Elle était descendue," shown in Example 4, since they were supposed to be paired together.

Example 4



[56] Rosenstiel, *Life and Works of Boulanger*, 175.

If the final motive signals a carillon, the end of the dream leads into the next song, "Parfois, je suis triste," which culminates in the reality of abandonment and sadness. It is thus easy to speculate why in this particular concert Charpentier chose instead to program a song that idealized pastoral imagery instead of misery.

Boulanger's tenth song of the cycle, "Deux ancolies," is about two columbine flowers. However, they are personified through the voices of women and thus could easily be read as "two sisters swaying on a hill." [57]

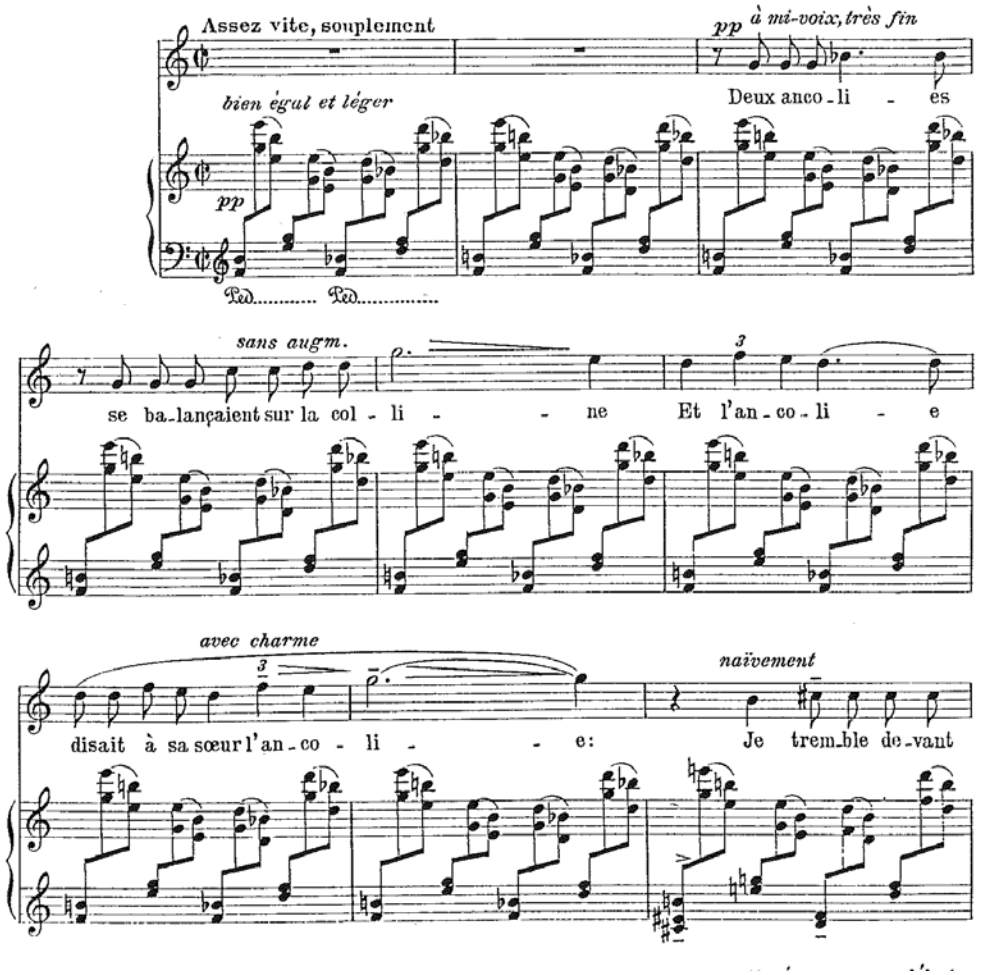
Deux ancolies se balançaient sur la colline	Two columbines were swaying on a hill.
Et l'ancolie disait à sa soeur l'ancolie:	One columbine said to her sister columbine:
Je tremble devant toi et demeure confuse.	"I tremble before you and that embarrasses me."
Et l'autre répondait:	The other answered:
Si dans la roche qu'use l'eau, goutte à goutte,	"When I look at myself in the pool in the rock so worn down by the trickling of water,
Si je me mire, je vois que je tremble,	I see that I too am trembling,
Et je suis confuse comme toi.	and I am embarrassed just like you."
Le vent de plus en plus les berçait toutes deux,	The wind continued to rock them both.
Les emplissait d'amour	It filled them with love,
et mêlait leur coeur bleu.	and intertwined their blue hearts.

As illustrated in Example 5, the piano accompaniment consists mostly of fast triplets, which Boulanger marks "assez vite, souplement." The up and down motion of the accompaniment may depict the swaying of the wind on the hillside, or the dancing/swaying motion of the columbines. At the line, "the wind continued to rock them," the opening triplet accompaniment returns, solidifying this text painting. The arching vocal line remains quiet, expressive, and uplifting. The singers representing the columbines are to sing "avec charme," and when they confide their

[57] Boulanger dedicated "Deux ancolies" to Marthe and Richard Bouwens van der Boijen, who were the son and daughter-in-law of William Bouwens van der Boijen (1834–1907), Lili Boulanger's godfather and mathematics tutor. Boulanger was close friends with his children and grandchildren.

trembling it is with a sense of “naïvement,” highlighting two of the most important qualities of Pinson: charm and innocence, with a hint of eroticism.

Example 5:



Neither Jammes nor Boulanger specifically chose to evoke Mimi Pinson’s iconic wartime femininity in “Elle était descendue au bas de la prairie” and “Deux ancolies se balançaient.” The imagery in these two songs, however, reflected some of Pinson’s prominent characteristics and were therefore appropriate choices for Charpentier’s “Exposition des Cocardes de Mimi-Pinson” concert.

While Pinson inspired men in a muse-like fashion, the actual labor she performed, such as sewing, was also critical to her image and essential to wartime victory.[58] Charpentier, for instance, compared Pinson's manual labor to other forms of patriotic arts. He exclaimed, "The sword, the quill, and the paintbrush have won unparalleled glory for the Fatherland. Can [Mimi Pinson's] needle not lay claim to such glory as well?"[59] Like Pinson's needle, or even the pens of the *marraines de guerre*, Boulanger's pen could also lay claim to glory in the *Gazette*. Boulanger worked laboriously as editor of the *Gazette* with quiet, behind-the-scenes feminine sacrifice and devotion, modeling bourgeois feminine behavior and taste. As we will see in the next chapter, Boulanger's *Gazette* documented soldiers' musical lives at the front, encouraged and provided space for debate about the war and French musical identity, and maintained community amongst musicians at the frontlines and on the home front.

[58] Her original status as a working-class woman highlighted her labor.

[59] Gustave Charpentier, quoted in Maurice Le Blond, *Histoire de Mimi Pinson*, p. 25; quoted in Tilburg, "Mimi Pinson Goes to War," 94. Le Blond was one of the organizers for *Oeuvre de Mimi Pinson*.

Chapter 4

La Gazette des classes du Conservatoire National: Wartime Charity, *L'Union sacrée,* and Musical Frenchness

Introduction

Before the publication of the first *Gazette des classes du Conservatoire National*, the Boulangers wrote to their mobilized colleagues to explain its purpose:

> October 4, 1915:
> Dear Comrades,
> Former students of the École des Beaux-Arts, under the patronage of Mr. Whitney Warren of the Institute, we have succeeded in creating a *Gazette* that provides resources and a way to keep in touch for all who are mobilized. The residents of the Villa Medici have told us they welcome this new correspondence at a time when everyone is scattered. We will try to do the same for the composition classes.
> We do not know exactly how this will turn out, but Mr. Whitney Warren, whose influence in the United States is considerable, has already promised to use all his power in your favor.
> We will be very pleased if you would be kind enough to respond whenever you can. You will help us in our work, and if you would give us some details on your current life and what surrounds you, you will add to the interest of "your" *Gazette*. We begin without further delay.
> We hope you are in good health, and assure you, dear Comrades, of our cordial feelings,
> Nadia and Lili Boulanger
> P.S. If you know the addresses of fellow mobilized soldiers, it will help us if you pass them on to us.[1]

[1] Chers camarades, D'anciens élèves de l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts, sous le patronage de M. Whitney-Warren, de l'Institut, ont réussi à créer une *Gazette* qui donne à tous ceux d'entre eux qui sont mobilisés, le moyen de rester en communication. Les Pensionnaires de la Villa Médicis nous ayant dit combien ils avaient été heureux de recevoir de leurs nouvelles réciproques, à cette heure où tous sont dispersés, nous allons essayer d'en faire de même pour les classes de Composition. Nous ne savons pas encore à quoi nous aboutirons exactement, mais M. Whitney-Warren, dont l'influence aux Etats-Unis est considérable, nous a déjà promis d'user de tout son pouvoir en votre faveur. Voudriez-vous avoir la gentillesse de répondre à ce mot dès que vous le pourrez; nous en aurons personnellement un très grand plaisir, vous nous aiderez ainsi dans notre tâche et si vous voulez bien nous donner quelques détails sur votre vie actuelle, sur ce qui vous entoure, vous ajouterez à l'intérêt de «votre» *Gazette* que nous commencerons sans attendre davantage. Nous vous espérons en bonne santé, et vous assurons, chers camarades, de nos sentiments bien cordiaux, Nadia et Lili Boulanger, Gargenville
P.S. Si vous connaissez des adresses de camarades mobilisés, vous nous rendrez service en nous les communiquant.

The Boulanger sisters edited and published eleven issues of the *Gazette* between 1915 and 1918. These issues ranged from twenty-nine pages to eighty-one.[2] Although the publications were erratic until 1917, the Boulangers' creation, distribution, and management of the *Gazette* sustained musical community between musicians on the home front and Conservatoire students, who belonged to many regiments on the front lines. The *Gazette*, heretofore largely unexplored by historians and musicologists, provides us with a tangible record of the wartime experiences of these musicians.[3]

As discussed in the previous chapter, Lili Boulanger mobilized the role of the *marraine de guerre* in her work with the Comité and the *Gazette*. Her leadership roles as co-founder of the Comité, and co-chief editor of the *Gazette*, however, complicated the traditional ideals of the *marraine de guerre.* Léonie Rosenstiel further addresses Boulanger's primary leadership positions, arguing that it was initially Boulanger's idea to start and edit the *Gazette*, as she had already been corresponding with the soldiers individually.[4] Rosenstiel additionally claims that

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[2] The publication schedule of the *Gazette* was: Number 1 in December 1915 (31 pages); Number 2 in February 1916 (31 pages); Number 3 in September 1916 (60 pages); Number 4 in November 1916 (55 pages); Number 5 in January 1917 (50 pages); Number 6 in February 1917 (74 pages); Number 7 in March 1917 (53 pages); Number 8 in April 1917 (60 pages); Number 9 in May 1917 (55 pages); Number 10 in July 1917 (29 pages); Number 11 in June 1918 (81 pages). Nadia Boulanger falsely numbered issue 11 as issue 10 again.

[3] The most substantial article on the *Gazette* is Charlotte Segond-Genovesi's "De l'Union sacrée au Journal des débats: une lecture de la *Gazette* des classes du Conservatoire (1914–1918)," in *La Grande Guerre des musiciens*, eds. Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau et. al (Lyon, France: Symétrie, 2009): 175–90. There are two additional sources which briefly discuss portions of the *Gazette*. These include Jérôme Spycket's *À la recherche de Lili Boulanger* (Librairie Arthème Fayard, 2004), and Segond-Genovesi, "1914–1918: l'activité musicale," *Revue de Musicologie* 93, no. 2 (2007): 433–34.

[4] Léonie Rosenstiel, *Nadia Boulanger: A Life in Music* (New York and London: W. W. Norton and Company, 1982), 129.

although both Lili and Nadia Boulanger were co-chief editors of the *Gazette*, Nadia was actually Lili's assistant and failed at keeping up Lili's organization methods after Lili's death.[5] However, because of Nadia's consistent presence, this chapter considers both Lili and Nadia's work as essential to its ultimate success.

The *Gazette* remains a unique and compelling document. Many of the names and lives of the musician-soldiers who corresponded with the *Gazette* remain unknown. While some returned home after the war, others appeared as voices from the graves; many died at the frontlines before seeing their commentary printed in published issues. The *Gazette* shows that soldiers cared deeply about retaining their own identities as musicians during war. They continued to compose, play, and perform either for themselves or for their regiments when they could. Through the *Gazette*, the soldiers also participated in discussions about what constituted musical French identity, or musical Frenchness, and what the future of French music should look like. These debates surrounding musical Frenchness, as discussed in the introduction, continued to center around differing ideologies between composers associated with the Schola Cantorum and the Conservatoire. Musically, institutional members agreed that classicism consisted of clarity of line, sense of proportions, and concision. Those associated with the Schola Cantorum, such as Vincent d'Indy, believed that classicism stemmed from a return to monarchy in the *Ancien Régime* and was modeled after ideas of balance in Catholicism. Those associated with the Conservatoire, such as Gabriel Fauré, argued that French classicism originated from ideas of the French Revolution and "did not advocate particular stylistic or formal molds."[6]

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[5] Rosenstiel, *Nadia Boulanger*, 129.

[6] Jane Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual: Music and Ideology in France, 1914-1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 40.

The Boulangers created a crucial space for many soldiers to participate in the foremost contemporary political and cultural debates about French musical identities. As seen specifically in the tenth issue, published towards the end of the war in June 1918 after Boulanger's death, soldiers debated who should musically represent France, and whether or not French music should even be identified with a particular French national identity. While Jane Fulcher and Jann Pasler's scholarship demonstrates how musical institutional leaders, such as d'Indy and Gabriel Fauré, and leading composers, such as Claude Debussy and Maurice Ravel, sought to define French musical ideology within "the political-cultural initiatives of the state," the voices of lesser-known individual musicians remain missing from historical narratives.[7] The *Gazette*, however, confirms that many French musicians participated in intellectual debates during the war that helped define and construct musical "Frenchness" as something specifically different from German music. They did not, on the other hand, delve into the specific disputes between the Schola Cantorum and the Conservatoire regarding what French musical classicism sounded like. The *Gazette* therefore ultimately functioned as a national wartime project through which musicians and composers remained actively engaged in the debate regarding the French nation, the war itself, and the roles they themselves could play in French victory and the future of French musical identity. The *Gazette* continues to be one of the most significant wartime publications whose *raison d'être* was solely to document wartime musical activity and fulfill new wartime needs.[8]

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[7] Fulcher, *Composer as Intellectual*, 18. See also Jann Pasler, *Writing Through Music: Essays on Music, Culture, and Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); *Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2009).

[8] Documenting French music from the First World War is challenging because of the scarcity of published resources due to financial hardships and loss of personnel to the frontlines.

Each issue of the *Gazette* began with a list of those serving at the front. The majority of each issue contained opening letters from Comité members or other musicians from the home front, followed by letters from soldiers at the front lines. These soldiers generally provided updates about their lives in the trenches and the music they either played or composed. In each issue, the *Gazette*'s artist, Jacques Debat-Ponsan (1882–1942), included several sketches in the margins of soldiers' messages to the *Gazette* that corresponded to the central topic of the soldiers' responses.[9] Some sketches, for example, depicted soldiers reading the *Gazette* in trenches, actively engaged in battle, or playing instruments. The last few pages of each *Gazette* issue listed those who were prisoners of war and those who had been killed in action. Alongside the names of the deceased, the Boulangers identified what instruments they had played. The first issue, for example, listed only one prisoner, Victor Gallois, and stated that thirty-two musician-soldiers had been killed. The number of deceased increased in succeeding issues as the war went on.[10] Beside each soldier's name (in both their letters and in the list of the deceased), the

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Popular presses, such as *Le Monde musical, Le Guide du concert,* and *Comœdia* suspended their publications from 1914–1919, while others, such as *Bulletin de la Société française de musicologie, Le Guide musical,* and *Le Ménestrel,* published infrequently, resulting in fragmented records of musical performances and compositions. Michel Duchesneau, "La Musique Française Pendant la Guerre, 1914–1918; Autour de la tentative de fusion de la Société Nationale de Musique et de la Société Indépendante," *Revue de Musicologie* 82, no. 1 (1996): 125. The *Bulletin de la Société française de musicologie* published two issues between 1917–1918. *Le Guide Musicale* published three issues during the war years and *Le Ménestrel* published volumes 32–36 in 1914. Segond-Genovesi, "1914–1918: l'activité musicale à l'épreuve de la guerre," 433–34.

[9] Jacques Debat-Ponsan was an architect, artist, and Grand Prix winner of the Prix de Rome in architecture in 1912 to illustrate the *Gazette*. Lili Boulanger knew Debat-Ponsan because he was still serving his term at the Villa Medici when she entered and had only four more months left there as of September 1, 1914. Rosenstiel, *Nadia Boulanger*, 127.

[10] Unfortunately, I did not record exact numbers of the dead for additional issues of the *Gazette*.

Boulangers listed with whom they had studied, illustrating the importance of French musical lineage and creating a larger web of musical community.

The overall tone of the *Gazette* adhered to the goals of *l'union sacrée*, a term that became well-known during the Paris Commune in 1870. President Raymond Poincaré coined the term as a call for unity during the First World War. The focus on *l'union sacrée* in the *Gazette* was no doubt due to governmental censorship controls through which it had to pass before publication. A few soldiers' letters managed to display some dissent from such *union sacrée* idealism despite the censorship, but some colleagues and Debat-Ponsan often reprimanded them for doing so, thus upholding the general tone of optimistic unity.

The *Gazette* remains unique among other published correspondence between the front lines and the home front, including French trench newspapers, because it specifically documents the lives of musicians-turned-soldiers. Although the *Gazette* was not a trench newspaper, it functioned similarly in that it provided those at home with news of soldiers' lives, and it was also distributed amongst fellow soldiers at the front. Unlike trench newspapers, in which singular regiments produced and sold newspapers for civilians and military, the Boulangers did not sell the *Gazette* to French citizens on the home front. They distributed it solely amongst the Conservatoire musicians involved.

The content of most trench newspapers I have surveyed included supply requests, obituaries, military honors, general reports on the conditions of the front, short manifestos glorifying France and the *poilus*, and poetry, short stories, cartoons, satire, and other humor. Some newspapers, such as *Boum! Voilà!* (1916), *La Cafard Muselé* (1917–1919), *La Face aux Boches* (1915–1918), *La Flambée* (1916), *Le Marteau* (1915), and *Les Quat'z'arts du Front* (1916), documented musical performances and even published several songs (with or without

music), identifying the centrality of the arts to morale and troop entertainment.[11] The August 1915 issue of *La Face aux Boches,* for example, mentioned the following "Spectacles:" *Alcazar de West*, a military operetta, *La prise de Berguesaux-Psaumes,* an "*Ambigu comique*," and an opera, *Sion*.[12] Furthermore, the September 1915 issue indicated that troops performed an opera, *L'malade d'état,* along with a variety show, *Sente Claire,* and other theatrical productions. *Les Quat'z arts de Front* printed two songs (with music by Albert Arnaud and words by Paul Bisch) "Tournée Cinema," and "Cour de France" in its 1916 publication. Most newspapers, however, simply printed the words to chansons, airs, and other songs that soldiers wrote, such as "La Croix de Guerre," listed in *Le Cafard Muselé*'s first issue in 1917. Regina Sweeney's *Singing Our Way to Victory* offers an analysis of the composition and performance of popular song and military band music, but she notes only scattered evidence of concert music performed during the war and composed patriotic standards.[13]

These examples from trench newspapers exemplify how critical music was to troop life. However, the *Gazette,* unlike these other World War I primary resources, such as trench newspapers, remains a key document for soldiers' musical lives that has generally been missing from French musical and historical scholarship on the First World War. As my analysis will reveal, soldiers' attempts to compose and play music at the front, either individually or with their troops, was a critical part of preserving some sense of normalcy, uplifting morale, and retaining

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[11] Newspapers accessed online at Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Gallica online, http://gallica.bnf.fr/, and http://www.bdic.fr/journaux_tranchees_titres.html.

[12] No authors or composers provided.

[13] Regina Sweeney, *Singing Our Way to Victory: French Cultural Politics and Music during the Great War* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 2001), 180, 183.

their professional career identities. In other words, soldiering was a luminal state for them and their letters to the *Gazette* showed how music helped them maintain their real selves.

While this chapter focuses on the voices of those soldiers writing to the *Gazette*, the Boulangers are not absent. As presented in the previous chapter, the Boulangers did not directly engage in dialogue with the soliders through published issues of the *Gazette*, save for several opening explanatory letters. These documents, however, are tangible evidence of the Boulangers' (and specifically Lili Boulanger's, as editor-in-chief) wartime work and their commitment to and engagement with their fellow musicians and the most pressing intellectual issues of wartime French musical identity. Without Lili and Nadia Boulanger, this rich source of musical wartime life would not exist.

Soldier's Lives at the Front

One of the main purposes of the *Gazette* was to remedy soldiers' isolation by providing them with a sense of community and moral support. According to the majority of initial replies to the first issue of the *Gazette*, soldiers were eager to participate and greeted the *Gazette* with the utmost enthusiasm and gratitude, affirming that it created not only a musical community, but a familial one as well. G. Becker wrote, for example, "Your idea is excellent . . . and it will be of great moral support to receive news of all those who belong to our big family. If I could be helpful to you in your task, I am at your disposal."[14] R. Balliman continued, "I am sure that a *Gazette*, connecting all of us to each other, will be welcomed with great joy because we will all

[14] Letter from G. Becker, no date. *Gazette* 1 (December 1915). F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (01): "Votre idée est excellente . . . . et les nouvelles de tous ceux qui sont de notre grande famille, nous seront d'un grand réconfort moral. Si, pour vous aider dans votre tâche, je pouvais vous être utile."

be happy to know what occurred during these times of trial, and of our dear friends, whose fate we are worried about and about which we have no information."[15]

Only a few soldiers, as well as a few musicians who did not serve, but who wrote to the *Gazette*, discussed their misery and isolation directly related to the war. Both Jacques Ibert and Maurice Ravel briefly described the destitution of war, while others only conveyed generalized statements that life in the trenches was horrendous. In 1915, Ibert, wrote to the *Gazette*, "But alas, this silence is often disturbed by the shots of our artillery which are terrible these days, and this is when our task starts. A lot of pain, of misery to alleviate . . . horrible sights that stay here, deep in your eyes: painful agonies, parents crying, and helplessness towards death."[16] Towards the end of the war in 1917, Ravel conveyed to the *Gazette* how the war changed him for the worse: "For me, after a most eventful and adventurous service, I'm totally out of whack, and am happy not to have left pieces [of myself] and to have experienced moments that were worth it."[17]

Although Ravel did not officially serve in the French military, he was not alone in feeling out of sorts.[18] Others found the conditions of war too devastating and grueling to

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[15] Letter from R. Balliman, no date. *Gazette* 1 (December 1915). F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (01): "Une *Gazette* nous donnant à tous de nos nouvelles réciproques sera, j'en suis sûr, accueillie avec la plus grande joie, car tous, nous serons heureux de savoir ce que sont devenus, en ces temps d'épreuve, nos chers camarades, dont le sort nous inquiète et au sujet desquels nous sommes sans renseignements."

[16] Letter from Jacques Ibert. *Gazette* 1 (December 1915). F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (01): "Mais hélas: ce silence est souvent troublé par les rafales de notre artillerie qui donne terriblement en ce moment, et c'est alors que notre tâche commence. Beaucoup de douleurs, de misères à soulager . . . . des tableaux affreux qui restent là, au fond des yeux: des agonies pénibles, les sanglots des parents, et l'impuissance devant la mort."

[17] Letter from Maurice Ravel, April 2, 1917. *Gazette* 8 (April 1917). F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (01): "Pour moi, après un service des plus mouvementés et des plus aventureux, je suis tout à fait détraqué, heureux encore de ne pas y avoir laissé de morceaux et d'avoir vécu des moments qui valaient la peine."

[18] Ravel worked as a truck driver at the Verdun front during the war.

compose. Most of these soldiers complained both of the difficult physical conditions and of the mental isolation they experienced. Maurice Rejoux, who did serve at the front, wrote:

> In terms of music, I can say that I am reduced almost completely to dust. On the occasion of midnight mass celebrated in the chapel of the hospital, I asked the staff permission to get up and play the harmonium. This small satisfaction was denied to me. I was able to find a few orchestral scores by Beethoven, Schumann, and Paul Dukas, I reimmersed myself a bit in it. When I do not know what to do, I compose (words and music, what audacity!) short melodies that I only sketch, but never have the courage to finish.[19]

Likewise, Roger De Fontenay noted that despite his ardent desire to compose, he could not because of the terrible isolation he felt as an artist after serving for nearly two years.[20] It was this isolation that the *Gazette* sought to remedy through a sense of community.

In their letters, many musicians confirmed that playing and composing music was critical to their ability to survive. Rogar Penau, for example, described finding a piano in a house almost demolished by shell fire. He reminisced, "The piano was not too bad, but unfortunately, I had completely rusted fingers and my memory was paralyzed. Nevertheless, I managed to get out two arabesques by Debussy, a small piece by Schubert, some variations of Schumann's *Symphonic Studies* (another allemande and yet—but hush! censorship is relentless here) and

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[19] Letter from Maurice Rejoux, January 3, 1917. *Gazette* 6 (February 1917). F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (01): "En fait de musique, je peux dire que je suis réduit à l'inaction à peu près complète. A l'occasion de la messe de minuit qui a été célébrée dans la chapelle de l'hôpital, j'avais demandé au major la permission de me lever pour tenir l'harmonium: cette maigre satisfaction me fut refusée. J'ai pu me procurer quelques petites partitions d'orchestre de Beethoven, Schumann, Paul Dukas, je m'y retrempe un peu. Quand je ne sais que faire, je compose (paroles et musique, quelle audace!), de courtes mélodies que je ne fais d'ailleurs qu'ébaucher, n'ayant jamais le courage de les terminer."

[20] Letter from Roger de Fontenay, April 9, 1917. *Gazette* 8 (April 1917). P-Fn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (01): "Il est impossible ici de composer malgré le desir ardent que j'en ai quelquefois, le plus dure des épreuves de cette guerre aura peut-être été pour moi le manque total d'isolement; c'est terrible pour un artiste et voila bientôt deux ans que je ne puis penser au repos. Je vais orchestrer quelques melodies antérieures à la guerre et pour ne pas me rouiller complètement faire du contrepoint. Mais je pense que bientôt une plus grande activité reprendra sur le front."

every night I gave a concert, just for myself, and yet shrapnel came crashing into the walls of my sad dwelling—this is one of my best memories."[21] Others also documented playing pianos found in demolished homes and performing concerts with comrades as highlights of their days.[22] These descriptions offered glimpses of "good" times in the war under horrendous circumstances and the distances soldiers went in order to continue making.

Music remained central to the soldiers' identities and was critical to their ability to survive. Some had more opportunities than others because they were appointed as musicians in their regiment, and it was therefore their duty to entertain their troops. In the first issue of the *Gazette*, G. Becker described his experience as the *fonctionnaire sous-chef de musique* in the forty-third *Regiment d'infanterie*. After winning a battle, Becker composed a waltz for his regiment to play. He exclaimed, "To reward my musicians, I composed for them a little waltz: Remembrance of H. . . . who had done well to please them. The instrumentation is unusual

[21] Letter from Roger Penau, no date. *Gazette* 1 (December 1915). F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (01): "Je me souviens qu'en Belgique, à St.Julien, j'ai découvert dans une maison presque démolie par les obus, un piano, ce fut pour moi un plaisir sans bornes, le piano n'était pas trop mauvais, mais malheureusement, j'avais les doigts complètement rouillés et la mémoire paralysée, néanmoins j'avais réussi à sortir de l'oubli les deux Arabesques de Debussy, une petite pièce de Schubert, quelques variations des études symphoniques de Schumann (une allemande de plus – mais chut ! la censure est là, implacable) et tous les soirs je me donnais mon concert, pour moi tout seul, et pourtant les shrapnells venaient s'écraser sur les murs de ma triste demeure – c'est là un de mes meilleurs souvenirs."

[22] Letter from Ernest Mangeret, October 15, 1916. *Gazette* 5 (January 1917). F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (01): "Quelques moments de loisir me permettent de redevenir un peu moi-même – J'ai pu me procurer quelques partitions que je relis toujours avec plaisir – Des temps-ci, nous avons trouvé un piano dans une maison à moitié démoli, nous l'avons descendu dans une cave et le soir venu, nous nous reunissons, quelques amis pour faire un peu de musique."

because we had to do with what was available and indeed! . . . This is war. But I think I got enough satisfactory results."[23]

Soldiers who were not appointed specifically as musicians in their regiments, however, also continued to compose. These soldiers did not necessarily write music based explicitly on wartime themes. Several soldiers expressed desire for future performances of their compositions back in Paris or at the front when they had time and musicians available. In May 1917, for example, Charles Quef noted a performance of one of his works (not listed) in a matinée hosted by Mme Demange.[24] In the *Gazette*, he provided Boulanger with a list of his compositions, in order of preference, that he would like to see performed if they had artists available back home.[25]

In addition, Adolphe Borchard wrote of the infrequent times during which he could compose at night, always fearing the noise the piano made. He did, however, manage to compose "a piece of a mass for organ, female choir, tenor solo, quartet, and English horn, which [was]

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[23] Letter from G. Becker, no date. *Gazette* 1 (December 1915). F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (01): "Vers la fin de janvier, ma vie devait changer, j'étais nommé musicien (je jouais de la flûte, instrument de fortune) et dès lors remplissait le rôle de brancardier. Vers la mi-mars, nous étions relevés de ce secteur et à ce moment, on reformait les musiques. Pour les besoins de la cause, j'apprenais alors le 3e trombone à piston! Début Avril, c'était la bataille des Eparges où notre corps d'armée s'est distinguée par la prise des crêtes ainsi nommées . . . Pour récompenser mes musiciens, j'ai composé à leur intention une petite valse: Souvenir d'H. . . . . qui a eu l'heur de leur plaire. L'instrumentation en est curieuse, car il fallait faire avec ce dont on disposait et dame! . . . . . c'est la guerre. Cependant je crois avoir obtenu des résultats assez satisfaisants."

[24] Personal information about Mme Demange unknown.

[25] Letter from Charles Quef, May 30, 1917 *Gazette* 9 (May 1917). F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (01): "C'est avec plaisir que je verrais une de mes oeuvres exécutées dans les matinées de Madame Demange. Toutefois, ignorant le genre de ces matinées, les artistes dont vous pouvez disposer, etc. je vous donne la liste (par ordre de préférence) des oeuvres que j'aimerais voir exécutées. . ." Although it is unknown whether Quef received the requested Parisian performances, his desired compositions included: *Trio pour piano, violon, violoncello (assez difficile), Sonate pour piano et violon, Trois pièces pour harpe chromatique,* and *Trois duos pour piano et harmonium et des mélodies.*

performed by a choir with Mlle Fanny Lépine (who you probably know) in a chapel nearby, a suite for flute (or violin), a pastorale in three parts for English horn, and some 'musical portraits' of soldiers."[26] Soldiers chose to discuss traditional small-scale compositions, such as the suite, pastoral, trio, or sonata. These smaller forms were more practical and more likely to receive performances than larger works during wartime.[27]

L'Union sacrée, Censorship, and Dissent

Charlotte Segond-Genovesi, the only other musicologist to have studied the *Gazette* in-depth, claims that letters to and from the *Gazette* went through censorship tests by French officials both at the front and through the postal service.[28] The *Gazette* then encountered further censorship through governmental agencies, such as the *Préfet de Police* and the *Bureau de Censure*, which could censor any content anywhere in the cinemas, theaters, sheet music, newspapers, and letters.[29] The *Bureau de la presse du ministère de l'Armée* restricted several elements in the *Gazette* before the Boulangers could publish it. The *Bureau de la presse du*

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[26] Letter from Adolphe Borchard, March 19, 1917. *Gazette* 7 (March 1917). F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (01): "Parfois durant les soirées (dans l'impossibilité où je me trouve de jouer du piano pour ne pas faire de bruit "nocturne") j'écris un peu – J'ai ainsi depuis la guerre, à mon actif, un fragment de messe pour orgue, choeurs (femmes) ténor, solo, quatuor, et cor anglais qui a du reste été exécuté avec les choeurs de Melle Fanny Lépine (que vous connaissez certainement) dans une jolie chapelle avoisinante; une suite pour flûte (ou violon); une pastorale en trois parties pour cor anglais, et quelques "portraits musicaux" de militaires . . . Mon service auprès du médecin chef occupe mes journées entières."

[27] Because most of these pieces were not published, it is very difficult to perform an analysis and decipher whether or not they contained wartime themes or tropes.

[28] Segond-Genovesi, "De l'Union Sacrée au Journal des Débats," 184. Segond-Genovesi writes, "Il est important de souligner que, de façon certaine, les lettres reçues par Nadia et Lili Boulanger ont préalablement été expurgées par l'autocensure des combattants eux-mêmes, la censure de la hiérarchie militaire sur le front et lors du contrôle postal du courrier."

[29] Charlotte Segond-Genovesi, "1914–1918: l'activité," 417.

ministère de l'Armée, for example, demanded an advanced copy of each new *Gazette* issue before publication. They had the right to censor illustrations, supress military addresses, and indications of places and dates. They also prohibited the Boulangers from sending the *Gazette* abroad.[30] The Boulangers made their comrades aware of aspects of the censorship they encountered. They wrote:

> It is strictly prohibited for mobilized comrades or civilians to send any form of the *Gazette*s to the allied countries below: Switzerland, Holland, Spain, Greece, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. In cases where this regulation is not followed, the *Gazette* would be removed by the authorities. Despite our research, we missed a lot of comrades' addresses. We hope that the Conservatoire professors are willing to continue to release these and we thank them very much, as the list of current students whom we have no news is unfortunately very long—see pages and addresses of former classmates who are also attendees. Several comrades have asked us for the first issues of the *Gazette*s. We are sorry, but it is impossible to preserve any of these and we have no copy of these prints. We regret we cannot give full addresses so frequently requested, but the number of the regiment and the industry is forbidden by the censor. We apologize for the delay with which this issue appears. It is because of reasons beyond our control and we were not allowed to do otherwise.[31]

Censoring writings that were questionable or unpatriotic upheld the façade of *l'union sacrée*. Several leading musical institutional leaders, such as d'Indy and Fauré, echoed President

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[30] F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 [3]; quoted in Laedrich, "Nadia Boulanger et le Comité franco-américain du Conservatoire, 170–71.

[31] Letter from Lili and Nadia Boulanger, no date. *Gazette* 6 (February 1917). F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (01): "Il est formellement interdit aux camarades mobilisés ou civils d'envoyer sous n'importe quelle forme des *Gazette*s dans les pays neutres ci-dessous: Suisse – Hollande – Espagne – Grèce – Danemark – Suède – Norvège. Au cas où cette règle ne serait pas respectée, la *Gazette* serait supprimée par l'autorité. Malgré nos recherches, il nous manque encore beaucoup d'adresses de camarades. Nous espérons que Mrs. les Professeurs du Conservatoire voudront bien continuer à nous en communiquer et les remercions vivement, la liste des élèves actuels desquels nous sommes sans nouvelles étant malheureusement bien longue – voir pages et adresses d'anciens camarades de classe qui sont aussi participants. Plusieurs camarades nous demandent les premiers numéros de la *Gazette* – nous sommes désolés, mais les tirages n'ont pu être conservés et nous n'en possédons aucun exemplaire. Nous regrettons de ne pouvoir donner les adresses complètes réclamées si fréquemment, mais le numéro du régiment et du secteur est interdit par la censure. Nous nous excusons du retard avec lequel ce numéro paraît ; des raisons indépendantes de notre volonté ne nous ont pas permis de faire autrement."

Poincaré's wartime call for unification and encouraged French musicians to do the same, thus masking opposing aesthetic ideologies within institutions such as the Conservatoire and the Schola Cantorum. By 1917, for example, Fauré pleaded with his fellow musicians to fuse the *Société Nationale de Musique Française* (SN) and the *Société Musicale Indépendante* (SMI), under the shared camaraderie of *l'union sacrée.*[32] At the end of his letter, he quoted M. Augustin Savard: "I'm with you, with all those who want that French musicians assert themselves and unite together in a single group."[33] Such rhetoric abounded in the *Gazette* by soldiers and by several of the *Comité* members, including d'Indy, who addressed the soldiers. Musicians at the front lines, such as G. Becker, described the *Gazette* comrades as one large family.[34] Others explicitly stated that the *Gazette* was an admirable example of *l'union sacrée.*[35] Not only did the general tone of the *Gazette* adhere to *l'union sacrée*, but musicians from both the Conservatoire and the Schola Cantorum came together to participate in the *Gazette*. Although the mobilized musician-soldiers were from the Conservatoire, members of the Comité, such as d'Indy, hailed from the Schola Cantorum. By the First World War, however, d'Indy also served as a professor at the Conservatoire.

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[32] Alfred Cortot, who was the head of "musical propaganda" for the Ministère des Beaux-Arts, initially proposed the fusion of the SN and SMI.

[33] Gabriel Fauré, "Appel aux musiciens Français," *Le Courrier Musical* 19 (March 1917): 133. "Je suis avec vous, avec tous ceux qui veulent que les musiciens français s'affirment et s'unissent en un groupe unique."

[34] Letter from G. Becker, no date. *Gazette* 1 (December 1915). F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (01): "Votre idée est excellent . . . et les nouvelles de tous ceux qui sont de notre grande famille nous seront d'un grand réconfort moral."

[35] Letter from Francis Bousquet, September 28, 1916. *Gazette* 4 (November 1916). P-Fn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (01): "Vrai, cette *Gazette* est un admirable trait d'union."

In his letters to the *Gazette*, d'Indy freely exploited the national rhetoric of *l'union sacrée*. He attempted to boost the morale of the soldiers by emphasizing why their service to the war and their service to music were intertwined, valuable, and critical to French victory. D'Indy's letter to the soldiers glorified and defined French musical identity as one of clarity, concision, and proportion, qualities which directly contrasted those of supposed German musical romanticism, or irrationality. He asked the soldiers to remember that they protected French art while they fought for their country, and he reminded them that they were not the first soldiers to sacrifice for their country. He wrote:

> I know that a number of you who were my students in orchestral and conducting classes and are currently fighting on the front, and I want to give them testimony of my friendly admiration and my sympathy. You fill a noble task, because, even apart from the physical defense of our attacked country, you, artists, have the wonderful task of ridding our Latin art of the pernicious influence of the pseudo-German kultur. It will not be a small victory to revive our music with the flame of our traditional French qualities: clarity, concision, and a sense of proportions. You young people, who are thus called upon to liberate both your country and your art, how can you not be envied by the former soldiers who volunteered in 1870 and took part in the war of woe and defeat, while you walk to revenge and victory?[36]

As d'Indy stated, the main qualities that made French music classical were clarity, concision, and a sense of proportions, which contrasted German musical styles. However, any further debate about what clarity, concision, and proportions meant was absent in the debate. Instead, most letters in the *Gazette* concurred with d'Indy's attitudes and declared French music

[36] Letter from Vincent d'Indy, no date. *Gazette* 3 (September 1916). F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (01): Je sais qu'un certain nombre d'entre vous qui ont été mes élèves aux classes d'orchestre et de direction se trouvent actuellement aux lignes de combats et je veux leur apporter le témoignage de mon admiration amicale et de ma sympathie. Vous remplissez une noble tâche, car, outre la défense matérielle de notre pays attaqué, vous avez, vous artistes, l'admirable mission de débarrasser notre art latin de la pernicieuse influence de la pseudo culture allemande – Et ce ne sera pas un mince résultat que de raviver notre Musique à la flamme de nos vieilles qualités françaises: clarté, concision, sens des proportions. Vous, les jeunes, qui êtes ainsi appelés à libérer à la fois votre Patrie et votre Art, comment ne seriez-vous pas enviés par un ancien, qui, volontaire de 1870, a pris part à la guerre de Malheur et de défaite, tandis que vous marchez, vous, vers la revanche et la victoire?

and the French people to be singular and unified. Dubois wrote to Nadia Boulanger with regard to the *Gazette* that the nature of the French people and their music was "clarity, delicacy, charm, sense of proporitions, without prejudice, and of course, all the other valuable qualities that give life to a work of art: power, expression, variety, color, rhythm, etc."[37] His inclusion of "without prejudice" hints that French music stood in opposition to the German wartime idea of *kultur*, as d'Indy also mentioned in his letter. The idea of German *kultur,* as argued by GlennWatkins, claimed musical superiority over all other nation's music. The Germans supposedly believed their musical dominance resulted from solely their own heritage, which excluded outside influences from other countries. Watkins continues that the Germans highlighted the genius of their *kultur* through figures such as Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Immanuel Kant, and Ludwig van Beethoven.[38] Historian Norbert Elias also argues that *kultur* was not only exclusionary, but based on intellectual, artistic, and religious facts and products, rather than on the behavioral qualities and values of the German people.[39]

Some French soldiers did outwardly proclaim the superiority of French civilization. Fernand Fit's letter to the *Gazette* utilized romanticized images of France to raise morale and

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[37] Letter from Théodore DuBois to Nadia Boulanger, May 2, 1916. *Comité franco-américain du Conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation: Lettres de musiciens au Comité franco-américain, 1916–1920.* F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (07): "clarité, finesse, charme, sens des proportions, sans parti pris, et bien entendu, toutes les autres précieuses qualités qui donnent vie à une oeuvre d'art: puissance, expression, variété, couleur, rythme, etc."

[38] For further discussion on German *kultur,* see Glenn Watkins, *Proof Through the Night: Music and the Great War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 13–30 and 213–26.

[39] Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The Development of Manners, Changes in the Code of Conduct and Feeling in Early Modern Times* (New York: Urizen Books, 1978), 4–5.

encourage unity and strength amongst the French. He did not, however, specifically compare France to other nations or describe French culture in exclusionary terms. He wrote,

> A nation which shined with a sublime splendor in literature, in art, in science, in everything that is so grand in human ingenuity, could not suddenly disappear by the will of one man and bloodthirsty conquests, and it is this faith that is the destiny of our beloved France who made this wonderful victory of the Marne, a true surge of a people who, at the supreme moment, felt that it was not only its material existence, but above all its intellectual and moral existence. . . . The time approaches that France, the cradle of civilization, the torch of the World, Immortal Light of Justice . . . will reap the fruits of its terrible sacrifices, of its long suffering. Long live France![40]

While the *Gazette* generally supported the principles of *l'union sacrée* as the censors mandated, it did provide space for controversial dialogue. Dissent from *l'union sacrée* is particularly in the tenth issue (June 1918) when Nadia Boulanger asked soldiers to respond to specific questions about French music and enemy music. These responses help illustrate that the constructed portrait of a singular brotherhood of musicians did not reflect reality, but rather functioned as a popular trope to strengthen the unity and resolve of France. Even before the publication of the tenth issue, however, Émile Vuillermoz offered the strongest remark that doubted the reality and purpose of *l'union sacrée.* Nadia Boulanger published one of Vuillermoz's letter to the *Gazette* in the fifth issue (January 1917):

> When one delves into the rich box of letters that constitutes your affectionate *Gazette*, one remains sincerely amazed by the good humor, high spirits and cheerful serenity of the countless secrets of comrades! What fortitude is revealed in those smiles! I can never

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[40] Letter from Fernand Fit March 19, 1917. *Gazette* 7 (March 1917). F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (01): "Une nation qui avait brillé d'une aussi sublime splendeur dans les lettres, dans les arts, dans la science, dans tout ce qui fait le génie humain si grandiose, ne pouvait disparaître brutalement par la volonté d'un seul homme avide de sang et de conquêtes, et c'est cette foi en la destinée de notre Chère France qui a fait cette merveilleuse Victoire de la Marne, véritable sursaut de tout un peuple qui, à la minute suprême, a senti que c'était non seulement son existence matérielle, mais surtout son existence intellectuelle et morale. . . . L'heure approche où la France, berceau de la civilisation, flambeau de Monde, Lumière immortelle de la Justice . . . va recueillir les fruits de ses terribles sacrifices, de ses longues souffrances. Vive la France!"

> hold to this tune! . . . Contrary, in fact, to most of my contemporaries who continue to welcome the moral benefits of the war, I have the misfortune to believe that all is not well in the brave new world. . . . Do not worry. I do not indulge in this guilty task, first to avoid risking making you sad, and secondly because the offenders are covered by a moratorium special called Sacred Union! Do not accuse me of blasphemy! This moratorium is not worth more or less than the others. Art is not necessary in politics, after thirty months of war, a glorious role![41]

Vuillermoz's distrust of *l'union sacrée* and his sarcasm are evident, but the finality of his paragraph addressed the ultimate glory and victory of France and the arts. Vuillermoz realized his cynicism could cause problems in the *Gazette* and wrote to Nadia Boulanger separately:

> Tell me frankly if you dislike the tone and the topic I have adopted. There is one important thing—your readers. It's not about whether I'm right or wrong, but we must avoid hurting them. So far they have been lied to charitably. The selfishness and ferocity from the home front are monstrosities and we have a duty to conceal it from them. But still, do not exaggerate. Upon their return, when they see the shameful attitude of our editors, directors, conductors. . . They will accuse us of being their accomplices. That's not bad to teach them that we are not fooled by certain treacherous conventions and we keep an open eye, thinking about them.[42]

Such comments were not unusual for the passionate critic, especially considering he was adamantly opposed to the wartime fusion of the *Société Nationale* (SN) and the *Société Musicale Indépendante* (SMI).[43] Devisiveness in the principals of the *union sacrée* are primarily evident in this failed attempt to fuse the SMI and SN. Vuillermoz argued that art does not adopt the same

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[41] Letter from Émile Vuillermoz, January 18, 1917. *Gazette* 5 (January 1917). F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (05).

[42] Letter from Émile Vuillermoz to Nadia Boulanger, January 18, 1917. F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (07); quoted in Segond-Genovesi, "De l'Union Sacrée au Journal des Débats," 186: "Dites-moi en toute franchise si le ton et le sujet que j'ai adoptés vous déplaisent. Une seule chose importe: vos lecteurs. Il ne s'agit pas de savoir si j'ai raison ou tort, il faut éviter de leur faire de la peine. Jusqu'ici on leur a menti charitablement. L'égoïsme et la férocité de l'arrière sont des monstruosités qu'on avait le devoir de leur cacher. Mais, tout de même, il ne faut pas exagérer. À leur retour, quand ils verront l'attitude honteuse de nos éditeurs, directeurs, chefs d'orchestre . . . ils nous accuseront d'être leurs complices. Ce n'est pas mauvais de leur apprendre qu'on n'est pas dupes de certaines conventions traîtres et qu'on ouvre l'oeil, en pensant à eux."

[43] Vuillermoz was part of the *Société Musicale Indépendante.*

principles as politics and to fuse the alliances would be disasterous and result in false patriotism.[44] Vuillermoz did not believe that Fauré's goals of *l'union sacrée* could be realized between the two institutions with decidely disparate aesthetic goals. He wrote that the soldiers would ultimately be upset when they realized that all on the home front was not unified and supportive of *l'union sacrée.*

A few other responses from soldiers stirred controversy. Segond-Genovesi notes one particularly interesting case in the first issue of the *Gazette* when Louis Fourestier declared his high admiration of Wagner and bemoaned the controversy surrounding Romain Rolland's pacifism.[45] Rolland, writing from his self-exile in Switzerland, published a series of sixteen letters, appeals, and manifestos under the title "Au-dessus de la mêlée," or "Above the Battle," but as historian Michael W. Pharand points out, "mêlée" also suggests an aloofness—one who stands on the sidelines and does not involve themselves in battle. As Pharand continues to argue, Rolland's stance on pacifism and encouragement of Franco-Germanic cooperation made him an intellectual traitor in the eyes of many French.[46]

Dubois replied to Nadia Boulanger privately regarding the letter by Fourestier and singled out Fourestier's writings as inappropriate and essentially unpatriotic during wartime:

> The letter from Fourestier singularly clashes with all the surrounding letters, which are more or less interesting, but their spirit is generally good. The gentleman who wrote, "Presently," and . . . as much as possible of Wagner's music, of course, "and who regrets

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[44] Duchesneau, "La musique française pendant la Guerre 1914–1918," 135.

[45] Letter from Louis Fourestier, no date. *Gazette* 1 (December 1915). F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (01); quoted in Segond-Genovesi, "De l'Union Sacrée au Journal des Débats," 185: "On se remémore de belles oeuvres . . . le plus de Wagner possible, naturellement. . . . Quelquefois un journal satirique ou un *Mercure de France* s'égare jusqu'ici, nous lisons comme à l'arrière sévit un esprit mesquin, et comme un Romain Rolland est attaqué âprement . . . par ceux qui ont réussi à tenir, de haute lutte, le haut du pavé."

[46] Michael W. Pharand, "Above the Battle: Bernard Shaw, Romain Rolland, and the Politics of Pacifism," *Shaw* 11: Shaw and Politics (1991): 171.

> that" Romain Rolland is hotly contested. ".. . demonstrated a mentality that seems, in the present circumstances, absolutely deplorable! From the war he has learned nothing, and he remained what he was before, a partisan, unless it is in good taste to refrain from sending your private thoughts to the *Gazette*! Monsieur Fourestier may be an excellent Frenchman, but he lacks something! Maybe tact? . . . I noticed the scissors of Anastasia and "Warning." I congratulate you.[47]

The last part of his letter referred to one of the numerous sketches in the margins of the *Gazette*, which Debat-Ponsan drew. In this case, Debat-Ponsan used his illustrations to comment upon the supposed audacity of Fourestier. He drew a large pair of scissors, which Segond-Genovesi argues are the "scissors of censure."[48] He thus acted as an internal censor against soldiers' statements he found unpatriotic or against *l'union sacree*.

French Musical Identity and the Future of Concert Programming

Lili Boulanger never saw the publication of the tenth *Gazette*; she died in March of 1918 and Nadia Boulanger published the tenth issue of *Gazette* alone the following June.[49] Lili's name still appeared on the cover, although an editorial in the *Gazette* indicated that all communications

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[47] Letter from Théodore DuBois to Lili and Nadia Boulanger, January 8, 1916. *Comité franco-américain du Conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation: Lettres de musiciens au Comité franco-américain, 1916–1920.* F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (07): "La lettre d'un nommé Fourestier détonne singulièrement au milieu de toutes les autres, plus ou moins intéressantes, mais dont l'esprit est généralement bon. Un monsieur, qui écrit, *en ce moment,* "et . . . le plus de Wagner possible, *naturellement,"* et qui déplore que "Romain Rolland soit attaqué âprement" . .. . fait preuve d'une mentalité qui me paraît, en les circonstances actuelles, tout à fait déplorable! Celui-là, la guerre ne lui aura rien appris, et il restera après ce qu'il était avant; un sectaire, à moins qu'il soit de bon ton de s'abstenir d'envoyer à votre *Gazette* ses pensées intimes ainsi formulées! Mr. Fourestier est peut-être un excellent Français, mais il lui manque quelque chose! Peut-être du tact? . . . J'ai remarqué les ciseaux d'Anastasia et "Avertissement." Je vous en félicite."

[48] DuBois referred to the "scissors of Anastasia" with their warning to censor Fourestier's thoughts. Debat-Ponsan therefore acted as an internal censor. While not able to omit the actual words, his sketches made his political thoughts on the matter clear.

[49] The last two issues were both numbered as ten. I refer to the second of the tenth *Gazette* issues.

should now be addressed solely to Nadia. There was no obituary in the *Gazette* for Lili. This *Gazette* edition offers the most varied array of opinions on musical Frenchness and enemy music. While all the soldiers' responses upheld their respect of French musical heritage and contemporary music, judgments differed as to art's place in politics, politics' intervention in arts, and whether music is universal or upholds specific qualities and values of a nation.

Nadia Boulanger posed the following three questions to the soldiers. Because Lili died only three months before the publication of the tenth issue, she likely conceived these questions with Nadia as she was actively involved to the end of her life. Soldiers began replying by May. Many replied to all three, while others only chose to answer one or two.

1. What should be the orientation of concerts this winter? Should we play classics or should we give a prominent place to modern music?
2. Should we allow German musicians to keep their place? Brahms and Wagner?
3. Which artists should we send on a propaganda tour (concerts, theater, musical theater) – those who are too old to be mobilized, the auxiliaries, or those who are mobilized who have notoriety and also influence?[50]

These three questions solicited more responses from soldiers than anything else in the previous *Gazette* publications. While I do not have an exact count of how many soldiers responded, this issue of the *Gazette* contained eighty-one pages, versus a mere thirty-one pages in the first and second publications. The answers to the first question generally stressed the importance of promoting modern music, although there was no further discussion as to what that

[50] Les camarades étaient pries de répondre aux trois questions suivantes:

1 – Quelle devrait être l'orientation des concerts cet hiver? Faut-il jouer des classiques ou faut-il donner une place prépondérante à la musique moderne?

2 – Les musiciens allemands doivent-ils garder leur place? Brahms et Wagner

3 – Quels artistes faudrait-il envoyer en tournée de propagande (concerts, théâtre, théâtre musical) Ceux qui ne sont plus d'âge à être mobilisés, les auxiliaires, ou même les mobilisés qui par leur notoriété ont déjà une influence ?

constituted.[51] Only a few responses indicated that classics should outnumber modern music on concert programs. Jacques Marital wrote, "Yes, more than ever you have to play the classics as the basis of musical art. Without ruling modern music out completely, it would be a great mistake to give it a prominent place."[52]

Most soldiers, however, advocated a balance between programming old and new music, but indicated that the predominance of performed music should be written by French composers. Not surprisingly, this conclusion paralleled the general wartime attitude of French glorification through both a historical musical French lineage and a fertile modern French school. Jacques de la Presie argued, for example, that concerts should look to the "masters" of French music, including Rameau, Lully, as well as lesser-known composers as Grétry, Monsigny, or Méhul. De la Presie worried that the war had paralyzed the work of many contemporary French artists who could not produce complete works worthy of performance. He posited that performances of historical French composers could therefore help the national spirit "shine again" and inspire young French composers.[53] In other words, de la Presie promoted the belief, shared by other

[51] The post-war directions French modern music took, especially witnessed with the Dadaist influence and Les Six, for example, was not on the horizon of the soldiers' visions of post-war musical culture.

[52] Letter from Jacques Marital, May 16, 1918. *Gazette* 10 (June1918). F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (10): "Oui, il faut jouer plus que jamais des classiques, base de l'art musical. Sans écarter complètement la musique moderne, ce serait une grande faute de lui donner une place prépondérante.

[53] Letter from Jacques De la Presie, May 20, 1918. *Gazette* 10 (June 1918). F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (10): "La musique étant comme toute manifestation de la pensée humaine en perpétuelle évolution, il est certain que tous nos champions de l'art musical doivent en principe avoir toujours les yeux tournés vers l'avenir et aider de toutes leurs forces les tentative de l'art nouveau, si les oeuvres proposées à leur choix gardent un caractère exclusivement artistique; mais le temps est-il choisi pour les concerts d'avant garde? La plupart des compositeurs modernes étant paralysés par la guerre – même ceux qui ne sont pas mobilisés – ne peuvent donner actuellement que des oeuvres incomplètes que les orchestres d'aujourd'hui

composers such as Debussy, that the French needed to restore their musical lineage to give voice to the country's musical identity. French music, in turn, could then help the national spirit "shine again."[54]

Other soldiers believed part of the wartime recovery process should include the performances of modern French music, with a specific emphasis on promoting the compositions of those who fought in battle. Roger De Francmesnil exclaimed, "Yes, without doubt, we must give a prominent place to modern music, but preferably modern French music. Do not ignore, that among our comrades, many of them are waiting to be known in public performance."[55] In addition, Auguste Bellox concurred that performing new French works was the only way to rescue them from wartime obscurity, and he encouraged all the forces to take part in creating the new French school.[56] Not surprisingly, soldiers never explained who or what comprised the French school, but any reference to institutional, aesthetic, and educational differences were

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ne pourront exécuter que d'une manière imparfaite. L'époque actuelle ne pourrait-elle pas, par un retour aux oeuvres du passé les plus caractéristiques de l'esprit national, faire briller à nouveau nos anciens compositeurs d'un peu d'éclat? Que de coins inexplorés dans la véritable musique française! Sans parler de Rameau ou de Lulli, qui peut se vanter d'avoir entendu, sauf par fragments, les chefs-d'oeuvre de Grétry, de Monsigny ou de Méhul?"

[54] Debussy, for example, looked to Rameau and also to clavecinistes to create French music lineage.

[55] Letter from Roger De Francmesnil, May 16, 1918. *Gazette* 10 (June 1918). F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (10): "Oui, sans aucun doute, il faut donner une place prépondérante à la musique moderne, mais de préférence à la musique modern française. Nul n'ignore que, parmi nos chers camarades, beaucoup d'entre eux n'attendent que le moment d'être interprétés en public pour se faire connaître."

[56] Auguste Bellow, May 17, 1918. *Gazette* 10 (June 1918). F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (10): **"**Cet hiver je souhaite que l'on donne une place prépondérante à la musique moderne à la jeune école francaise dont les oeuvres sont demeurées obscures par suite de la terrible période que nous traversons. La guerre a arrête le libre dévelopment des Arts et nous devons y rémédier en encourageant de toutes nos forces la jeune école et créer en quelque sorte la Renaissance de la musique française."

perhaps silenced through censorship or thought of as unappropriate under the contract of *l'union sacrée.*

What is clear from these responses is that the war generated the need to focus on defining who France was as a nation through the strengths and promise of French music, instead of relying on foreign music in the concert halls.[57] Underneath the surface of the soldiers' responses, it is evident that their emphasis on performing *French* music—which Boulanger did not specify in the question—indicated their belief in an artistic victory for France. This stress on endorsing specifically French music in concert halls is a radical change from what Romain Rolland (1866–1944) saw in the years preceding the First World War as a French indifference to promoting their national identity through art. Rolland lamented the lack of interest in French music at the first musical festival of Alsace-Lorraine in Strasbourg in May 1905. In his ensuing 1908 essay, published in *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui,* Rolland proclaimed the Strasbourg Festival as a kind of European musical Olympics. He wrote that "in spite of good intentions, this meeting of nations resulted in a fight, on musical ground, between two civilisations and two arts—French art and German art."[58] French music was programmed in between well-known German works, lessening their importance and effect.[59] In the future, Rolland continued, the French should take greater interest in choosing the works to represent them. Soldiers' responses in the *Gazette*, do in fact,

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[57] When immediate tensions died down post-armistice, however, leading performance institutions tended to return to their pre-war aesthetic programming ideologies. The Concerts Lamoureux, for example, continued specializing in Wagner, Schumann, and Liszt, while the Société des Concerts du Conservatoire remained the "guardian of classical repertoire," and the Concerts Colonne promoted new French works. Fulcher, *Composer as Intellectual,* 95.

[58] Romain Rolland, *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* (Paris, 1908), and the English translation, *Musicians of To-Day,* trans. Mary Blaiklock (New York, 1914), 208; quoted in Watkins, *Proof Through the Night,* 19.

[59] Waktins, *Proof Through the Night,* 19.

show exactly this interest in endorsing French music and musical style with which Rolland was concerned.

Despite Rolland's comments on the earlier Strasbourg festival, the emphasis on performing French music during the war was not unusual. As discussed in comparisons of the Schola Cantorum and the Conservatoire, musical leaders remained obsessed with defining and upholding French musical identity during the war with the nation's collective identity at stake.[60] Furthermore, in 1917 musicologist Lionel de la Laurencie founded and became the first president of the *Société Française de Musicologie*. The society not only sought to re-examine the history of French music, but to contribute to the overall historical knowledge of France. As Fulcher argues, the founding beliefs of this society demonstrate how the developments of schools and musical organizations in France were directly linked to political evolution.[61] In other words, the

[60] Of course, ideas of French nationalism were not new to the First World War. Since the Third Republic and the loss of Alsace and Lorraine during the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871), French leaders were preoccupied with creating a national collective identity. Annegret Fauser, "Gendering the Nations: Ideologies of French Discourse on Music, 1870-1914," in *Musical Constructions of Nationalism: Essays on the History and Ideology of European Musical Culture, 1800-1945*, ed. Harry White and Michael Murphy (Cork, Ireland: Cork University Press, 2001), 73. Pasler claims that the *chansons populaires* during the Third Republic enabled "the French not only to reflect on their own racial diversity and racial origins, but also to argue for mutually exclusive rights." Jann Pasler, "Race and Nation: Musical acclimatization and the *chansons populaires* in Third Republic France," in *Western Music and Race,* edited by Julie Brown (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 150–51. In addition, Fauser writes, "With respect to music, several topics became particularly important after 1870: the representation of patriotic subjects; the acknowledgement of music's role in education as a valuable tool for instilling a sense of national conscience in French citizens; the heritage of popular music and French art music; and the writing of [music] history. Fauser, "Gendering the Nations," 75. The inflammatory Dreyfus Affair (1890s–early 1900s) also stirred up schisms between leaders of musical institutions, who argued about the essence of "Frenchness" and nationalism.

[61] Fulcher, *Composer as Intellectual*, 41–42.

turbulence of the First World War spawned organizations, such as the *Société Française de Musicologie* precisely to strengthen French identity at a time when it was needed most.

Soldiers also responded to whether war should be fought through art and culture when they responded to Boulanger's second question regarding censoring enemy music. This question elicited the most varied responses ranging from adamant Teutophobia to denial of music's involvement in politics. The latter, a belief in music's universalism, contrasted the ardent nationalistic fervor as described by composers such as d'Indy. Enemy music censorship was at the forefront of concert and institutional life during the war. Just as the Franco-Prussian War stirred controversy over the acceptance of German music in nineteenth-century France, World War I French musicians again faced the difficult question of whether to prohibit musical performances of "enemy" music. They considered whether to boycott all German music or only music by living German composers so German composers and publishers did not receive royalties.

The outbreak of the war prompted several attempts to ban enemy music. In the popular *L'écho de Paris,* for example, Saint-Saëns pleaded for German music to be completely eliminated from French concert programs during the war. Fulcher notes that Saint-Saëns' articles were collected and published in 1916 as "a virulently anti-German pamphlet, entitled aggressively *Germanophilie,* and soon incited polemics among composers."[62] However, despite calls for boycotts, German music reappeared as early as the fall of 1915 in the Salle Gaveau and in the Concerts Colonne-Lamoureux.[63] However, these concerts did not include modern German

[62] Fulcher, *Composer as Intellectual,* 30.

[63] Fulcher, *Composer as Intellectual,* 29.

composers, but rather, solely Beethoven, referred to in the *Gazette* responses.[64] French composers and critics, such as critic Jean Darbaudet, often singled out Beethoven as a "good German" because he belonged to the classical (eighteenth-century) past, in which Germany and France were not at odds.[65] Others such as d'Indy hailed Beethoven's symphonies as the epitome of symphonic form.

Nadia (and perhaps Lili) Boulanger did not choose a German composer like Beethoven though. She elicited responses for one of the most well-contested German composers—Wagner. Wagner had both a popular and troubled history with his French musical reception, but had generally obtained popularity in France since the 1890s. He continued to stand as an archetype of aesthetic and philosophical divisions between French musical institutions. D'Indy, for example, hailed Wagner for "cleansing" French music of "otherness," reflecting their shared anti-Semitic beliefs. Wagner's association with war also created controversy because of his open hostility toward France following France's defeat in the Franco-Prussian War. Even though Wagner was long dead by the First World War, the antagonisms he created with his increasing German nationalism and hostility toward France during the Franco-Prussian War remained strong through the First World War.

Why Nadia Boulanger specified Brahms is not as obvious. Most soldiers ignored Brahms in their responses or mentioned him briefly, but without either the venomous indignation or admiration that the Wagner responses solicited. Dating back to the last quarter of the nineteenth century, conflicting aesthetic philosophies revolving the legacy of Beethoven and the direction of

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[64] D. Kern Holoman lists Beethoven's Third Symphony as reappearing on the programs of the Concerts Colonne-Lamoureux. D. Kern Holoman, *The Société des concerts du conservatoire, 1828–1967* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 355.

[65] Fulcher, *Composer as Intellectual*, 37.

new music highlighted the differences between Brahms and Wagner and created significant controversy in German-speaking lands. This well-known distinction between the two composers could have been one historical reason that Boulanger continued to polarize Brahms and Wagner. In addition, some of the main French music halls performed Brahms' symphonies at the turn of the century, such as the Concerts Colonne, which programmed all four symphonies in 1902.[66]

In many historical accounts, musicologists have celebrated Brahms for his "absolute" music, but as Daniel Beller-McKenna argues, several of Brahms' works, including *Ein deutsches Requiem, Triumphlied,* and *Fest- und Gedenksprüch* are infused with overt German national identity.[67] In 1871, Brahms wrote *Triumphlied* (Song of Triumph), opus 55 for eight-part chorus, orchestra, and organ, to mark both the end of the Franco-Prussian War and the ascendency of the German Empire. German victory over France at Sedan in 1870 inspired the hymn on which it was based. Although *Triumphlied* is now nearly forgotten in Brahms' oeuvre, it gained much popularity following the Franco-Prussian War and remained well regarded until Brahms' death. Contemporary criticism frequently compared *Triumphlied* with *Ein deutsches Requiem* during Brahms' life.[68] Brahms scholars such as Beller-McKenna, Peter Petersen, and Sabine Giesbrecht-Schutte, continue to hear *Triumphlied* as a decidely anti-French work.[69] Therefore,

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[66] Jann Pasler, "Concert Programs and their Narratives as Emblems of Ideology," in *Writing Through Music: Essays on Music, Culture, and Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 404.

[67] Daniel Beller-McKenna, *Brahms and the German Spirit* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2004), i.

[68] McKenna, *Brahms and the German Spirit*, 2.

[69] McKenna, *Brahms and the German Spirit*, 104.

the lingering resentment from the Franco-Prussian War may also have been one reason that Boulanger chose to specify Brahms in her question.

The wartime climate once again fueled increased hatred of Wagner. Léon Oreau argued that the French must forget German musicians for the time, and while nothing could "kill" Wagner or Brahms, or even Richard Strauss, the French could return to them when the "great wounds will be closed."[70] For some, Wagner and other German composers represented all that was barbaric about Germany. Pierre Parmar boldly contended that "it would be sacrilege to play the music of these German masters who are also part of this family of barbarians." Parmar did not deny the good qualities of German music, but proclaimed that now was the time to play and introduce works by French composers, and especially those who had participated in the Prix de Rome. These composers could compare the "charm and grace [of French music], as opposed to the heavy style of German music."[71] However, others warned that because Wagner's influence had historically created such a stronghold in France, even if France ignored him during the war,

[70] Letter from Léon Oreau, May 14, 1918. *Gazette* 10 (June 1918). F-Pn, département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (10): "Pour les musiciens allemands, je pense qu'en ce moment il faut les oublier – on sera toujours à temps pour les reprendre quand nos grandes blessures seront fermées et rien ne pourra tuer Wagner, ni Brahms ni peut-être même Richard Strauss – Mais qu'on abandonne les mediocre, comme Weingartner, prétentieux boursouflé."

[71] Letter from Pièrre Parmar, May 16, 1918. *Gazette* 10 (June 1918). F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (10): "J'ai déjà entendu dire que la musique n'avait pas de patrie, eh bien, je suis tout à fait contre cette idée; je lui en trouve une, et ce n'est pas pour déprécier la qualité, le cachet, l'idée de la musique allemande, mais il me semble que ce serait un sacrilège que de jouer de la musique de ces maîtres teutons qui font aussi partie de cette famille de barbares – je trouve au contraire qu'il faudrait profiter en quelque sorte de ce boycottage de la musique allemande pour mettre en valeur et pousser activement les oeuvres et les créations de nos grands maîtres français, et surtout celles de nos jeunes camarades Prix de Rome; il faudrait implanter cette musique chez nous et chez nos alliés afin d'en faire comparer le charme et la grâce, par opposition au style lourd de la musique allemande; notez bien que je ne suis pas qualifié pour juger cette musique, mais vous me demandez mon idée et je vous la donne."

Wagner's influence would return stronger than ever and determine a new movement in its wake.[72]

Several soldiers did not want to eliminate German music from the programs, but signaled the need to restrain Wagner's presence on French programs. Roger Ellis wrote, "German musicians will keep the place they occupied, but it is hoped that Wagner, for example, does not hoard the majority of a program, as was evident before the war, while on the same program one searched for a French name in vain!"[73] Roger De Francmesnil agreed that only dead German composers should be played so that the Germans did not receive any royalties during the war. He also singled out Wagner by averring that it would be sacrilege to perform Wagner "given the hatred he has openly expressed towards France and the hatred that plagues the world today." De Francmesnil continued, "However (and this may seem paradoxical) that we play a lot [of Wagner] and then the copyright, returned to his descendents, be forfeited and paid to works created in the war, and particularly to rebuild towns and villages destroyed by his compatriots."[74]

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[72] Letter from Pièrre Tesson, May 18, 1918. *Gazette* 10 (June 1918). F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (10): "Sans doute le patriotism a quelque chose à voir avec art, dans la mesure où, l'artiste participant du tempérament général de sa race, exprime dans ses oeuvres, à travers son propre tempérament, le génie national de son pays; on a donc considéré Wagner comme un danger pour nous à ce point de vue. De fait, il a eu une énorme influence sur l'esprit français en general, et les musiciens en particulier. . . . Tout l'opposé du génie wagnérien – Si donc à mon sens Wagner peut consituter un danger; c'est dans le future, si on continue de l'écarter – tôt ou tard il faudra y revenir, et plus on attendra, plus sa forte personnalité fera impression, plus elle aura de chances – ou de risque – de determiner un nouveau movement à sa suite."

[73] Letter from Roger Ellis, May 15, 1918. *Gazette* 10 (June 1918). F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (10): "Les musiciens allemands garderont la place qu'ils occupaient, mais il est à souhaiter que Wagner, par exemple, n'accapare pas la plus grande partie d'un programme, comme cela se voyait avant la guerre, alors que sur ce même programme il fallait en vain chercher un nom français!"

[74] Letter from Roger De Francmesnil, May 16, 1918. *Gazette* 10 (June 1918). F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (10): "En principe oui, mais <u>les morts</u>. Quant à Wagner, dont le génie ne peut être discuté, il peut attendre et voici pourquoi: Il serait indécent, à

Nevertheless, combating enemy strength through the elimination of German royalty incomes was on the mind of many musicians during the war. Music critic Charles Tenroc, along with composers d'Indy and Saint-Saëns, formed the *Ligue Nationale pour la Défense de la Musique Française* (1916), in part to prohibit such modern German works from being performed. Their larger goal, however, was to "safeguard the 'patrimoine artistique national,'" (without identifying a school under the pact of the *union sacrée*) and limit the enemy culturally and economically.[75] Many soldiers' responses in the *Gazette* expressed similar sentiment to the goals the *Ligue Nationale pour la Défense de la Musique Française*, without necessarily adhering to the strict tone of the league or identifying themselves directly with it. Several soldiers, as noted in the aforementioned remarks, suggested that France should not ban all German music, but should limit the amount of German music on programs and instead give preference to French music. This attitude echoed the general feedback revealed in the first question regarding the future of concert programming. Jacques Ibert, for example, argued that removing Germans from musical programs was an act of false patriotism, but advised seriously reducing their place in concerts and instead concentrating on French music.[76]

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mon avis, de le faire entrer dans nos programmes actuels , étant donné la haine qu'il a ouvertement manifestée envers la France, haine qui empoisonne aujourd'hui le monde. Cependant, (et ceci peut paraître paradoxal), que l'on en joue beaucoup et qu'alors les droits d'auteur, revenant à ses descendants, soient confisqués et versés aux oeuvres nées de la guerre et, particulièrement, à la reconstruction des villes et des villages dévastés par ses compatriotes."

[75] Fulcher, *Composer as Intellectual*, 31.

[76] Letter from Jacques Ibert, May 16, 1918. *Gazette* 10 (June 1918). F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (10): "Les musiciens allemands moderns ne peuvent ni ne doivent garder la place qu'un snobisme à rebours leur avait trop généreusement "illimitée" avant la guerre; ce serait un non sens, un manque de tact et de mesure. Oscar Wilde a dit quelque part "A quoi que ressemble la musique, je suis heureux de dire qu'elle ne ressemble pas à de l'allemand" cela n'est pas exact. Il y a de la musique qui parle "boche" et dans laquelle – sans vouloir faire de la littérature chère à M. Romain Rolland – on retrouve les accents apitoyés de ces faux apôtres

Some soldiers believed that musical Frenchness encompassed a universal ideal of music in which they accepted and incorporated musical styles from other nations. However, they molded these influences into a specifically French musical aesthetic. Koechlin, although not serving as a soldier at the front, compared this more holistic musical belief against a supposed rigid, self-centered exclusionism found in German *kultur*. He encouraged the French to search for a unique contemporary French musical voice, but to not ignore foreign influences. Koechlin believed German music to have stylistic characteristics that the French could adopt and reconfigure to their own nationalistic taste.[77] He noted that French musical identity should not follow the lead of Germany, who he believed had "wild self admiration" and respect *only* for German traditions.[78] Several renowned music critics confirmed these sentiments in the popular press. Debussy, writing as Monsieur Croche, similarly denounced a confined and self-congratulatory vision of German musical identity and *kultur*. He wrote of French versus German music: "We have . . . a purely French tradition in the works of Rameau. They combine a

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du mysticism, les pesants et écoeurants arguments de leur sterile culture, et le tintamarre de leur batterie de 420. Supprimer les allemands de nos programmes serait une innocente plaisanterie, sans portée d'ailleurs, et d'un ridicul et faux patriotisme, mais limitons leur très sérieusement la place et jouons avant tout de la musique français, qui, après tout, vaut bien la leur."

[77] Koechlin's beliefs on this matter are also published in his "Esthétique?" *Le Courrier musical* 19, no. 4 (February 5¸1917): 79–80.

[78] Letter from Charles Koechlin, no date. *Gazette* 8 (April 1917). F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (08): "Je m'efforce de prouver que toutes les conquêtes de notre art contemporain furent logiques et traditionnelles; je cherche à dégager les caractères indiscutablement nationaux de notre musique actuelle, si vivante, si divers mais toujours si française, en insistant également sur ce point, que nous n'avons pas le droit d'ignorer les musiques étrangères, et que d'ailleurs les influences sont excellentes et fécondes. Par l'exemple de l'Allemagne, nous voyons bien où conduit un nationalisme trop etroit, la folle admiration de soi, le respect exclusive de la tradition nationale, et l'obeissance mesquine à des habitudes sonores toujours les mêmes. Un dernier mot: "Dans quel sens s'oriente cette vie musicale," demandez-vous? Je crois que, parmi ceux qui ont repris contact avec heroïques, du moins pour l'instant."

charming and delicate tenderness with precise tones and strict declamation in the recitatives—none of that affected German pomp, nor the need to emphasize everything with extravagant gestures or out-of-breath experience, the sort which seem to say, 'you are a singular collection of idiots who understand nothing and would easily believe that the moon was made of green cheese.'"[79] Debussy's last statement is comical, but the tone of his writing is imbued with the strong hostility and anger brought forth by the war. As Watkins argues, the onset of World War I ignited Debussy's obsession with creating a historical lineage of French musical "genius" and a discernable French style.[80]

As evidenced in the scholarship of Fulcher and Pasler, many composers, musicians, and music critics actively participated in creating a narrative of French musical identity. The *Gazette* also reveals that several musicians disassociated art and politics and claimed art as transcending national identity. While these responses are not in the majority, they are by no means meager in the scope of opinions. Some soldiers responded by proclaiming that art has no nationality, no fatherland, and it would therefore be ludicrous to deny performances of German music. Pièrre Menu went so far as to claim that Wagner did not belong to Germany, but was universal and therefore French musicians should not remove German music from programs based on patriotic principles alone.[81] Auguste Bellox wrote of music as a transcendental art, "German musicians

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[79] Scott Messing, *Neoclassicism in Music From the Genesis of the Concept through the Schoenberg/Stravinsky Polemic* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1988), 41.

[80] Watkins, *Proof Through the Night*, 98.

[81] Letter from Pièrre Menu, May 17, 1918. *Gazette* 10 (June 1918). F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (10): "L'art, dit-on, n'a pas de Patrie. Et vraiment l'oeuvre de Wagner n'appartient plus à une seule nation, mais à l'Univers. Il faut qu'ils soient bien peu musiciens, ceux qui ont songé à supprimer des programmes ces monuments de la literature musicale, en invoquant de soi-disant principles patriotiques. Parsifal ne peut pas périr et un vrai musician ne peut pas se passer de Parsifal."

should keep their place. To remove their masterpieces from our performances would be to ignore art. Art has no fatherland, they say, and war and hatred should not reach it."[82] Eugène Legay continued, "Art has no fatherland, for what is beautiful is beautiful; in all circumstances, we can play Brahms and Wagner from the point of view of music education, for we should not ignore the modern German school. But, we should not represent them as universal geniuses, which would lower the value of our masters."[83] These responses may seem idealistic about supposed transcendent qualities in music, but they demonstrate that not all musicians heeded the political plea that finding a unique French musical identity was essential to wartime victory.

Others comments took a more nuanced view about including German music in French concerts. Jules Dervaux, for example, argued that by retaining German music on French programs, the French set themselves apart as a civilized country that welcomed and admired beautiful art above politics. Dervaux asserted that ignoring German music would not only create an incomplete musical education for French musicians, but that art should rise above politics in civilized nations. He stated, "Beautiful works create for civilized men an ideal Fatherland where all nations can be reconciled. Moreover, in other allied countries, notably England, Wagner and Brahms have conserved their places in programs. We should do the same."[84]

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[82] Letter from Auguste Bellox, May 17, 1918. *Gazette* 10 (June 1918). F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (10): "Les musiciens allemands devraient garder leur place. Ce serait méconnaître l'Art que de supprimer leurs chefs d'oeuvre de nos exécutions. L'Art n'a pas de Patrie, dit-on, et la guerre et ses haines ne doivent pas l'atteindre."

[83] Letter from Eugène Legay, May 19, 1918. *Gazette* 10 (June 1918). F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (10): "L'Art n'a pas de patrie, car ce qui est beau reste beau; en toutes circonstances, nous pouvons jouer Wagner et Brahms au point de vue éducation musicale, car nous ne devons pas ignorer l'école moderne allemande – mais il ne faut pas les représenter comme des génies universels, ce qui rabaisserait la valeur de nos Maîtres."

[84] Letter from Jules Dervaux, May 17, 1918. *Gazette* 10 (June 1918). F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (10): "Peut-on ignorer les génies allemands? Je ne crois pas. Ce serait faire une éducation incomplète à nos futurs artistes, ce serait priver nos auditeurs d'une

All three questions ultimately address the larger concern of programming music on current and future concerts, and the war provided an opportunity to reconsider and re-evaluate music programming based on these ideological and aesthetic concerns. The final question—"Which artists should we send on a propaganda tour (concerts, theater, musical theater) – those who are too old to be mobilized, the auxiliaries, or those who are mobilized who have notoriety and also influence"—elicited the most general and lackluster responses. However, the main consensus from the soldiers was that as long as the concerts upheld and promoted the artistic nature of French music, then it did not matter whom they sent on tour, or in what venues they performed. René Delorme wrote of his preference for musical theater and concerts, but proclaimed that "the artistic side is of first concern," and it was not important if the musicians were mobilized or auxiliary.[85] Roger De Francmesnil concurred that all capable artists should be sent on a propaganda tour to assert French art.[86] Likewise, Abel Jaquin concluded that "for the

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musique qui pour être allemande n'en est pas moins belle. Et comme écrivait dernièrement un lettré "Les belles oeuvres composent pour les hommes civilisés une patrie idéale ou toutes les nations peuvent se réconcilier" – D'ailleurs dans les pays alliés, en Angleterre notamment, Wagner et Brahms ont toujours conservé leur place au programme. Il devrait en être de même chez nous."

[85] Letter from René Delorme, May 15, 1918. *Gazette* 10 (June 1918). F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (10): "Pour la troisiéme question je vais naturellement voter pour los concerts ou le théâtre musical, quant aux artistes qu'il faudrait envoyer en tournée de propaganda, mon avis est que le côté artistique prime tout le reste, peu importe qu'ils soient mobilisés, auxiliaries ou n'importe quoi."

[86] Letter from Roger De Francmesnil, May 16, 1918. *Gazette* 10 (June 1918). F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (10): "Il faudrait envoyer, en tournée de propaganda, tous les artistes, capable, en un mot, de faire valoir notre art française: 1 – ceux qui ne sont plus d'âge à être mobilisés, 2 – les auxiliaries, 3 – les réformés. Faisant, moi-même, partie de cette dernière catégorie, je suis heureux de pouvoir déjà, depuis ma démobilisation contribuer à cette belle et indispensable propagande."

honor of France [he desires] that these tours are only artistic."[87] Unlike many other responses, however, Jaquin also requested that those who were sent on a propaganda tour would be the young men who suffered in the war. He believed that the conditions interweaving music and war would create new artistic meanings and would represent the nation in its most noble and pure form.

Conclusion

When the Conservatoire musicians left their lives at home and became soldiers, many did not neglect their music. Through an examination of the *Gazette*, it is more than evident that the act of musical composition, performance, and criticism functioned not only as a morale booster to these musicians-turned-soldiers, but continued to be central to their identities and the careers they hoped to resume post-war. If anything, the war initiated serious discussion of French musical identity and provided opportunity for individual musicians (not only the institutional leaders) to ponder French musical lineage and resolutely create and debate the future of French music.

The few glimpses we have of divisive commentary regarding *l'union sacrée* amongst soldiers and musicians on the home front indicate that not all was unified in the governmental institutions attempts to create oneness. Regardless, the *Gazette* espoused the essence of *l'union*

[87] Letter from Abel Jaquin, May 15, 1918. *Gazette* 10 (June 1918). F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vm. dos-88 (10): "Pour les artistes à envoyer en tournée de propaganda on ne peut évidemment adopter une règale immutable – J'aimerais assez que ces artists soient jeunes – J'aimerais aussi qu'ils aient souffert de la guerre! Pourquoi? Parce que, réunissant ces conditions j'espère que leur propaganda prendrait un sens nouveau et plus large- Lorsqu'il s'agit de faire connaître-et surtout de faire aimer un Art, lorsqu'il s'agit de représenter la vie d'une nation dans ce qu'elle a de plus noble et de plus pur, il n'est pas indifférent de choisir. La propaganda ne cesse pas après l'exécution d'un programme – elle peut se continuer dans les idées qu'on exprime . . . . mais on ne peut se fixer à l'une des trois catégories que vous énumérez – Je ne vois pour cela aucune raison sérieuse. L'Art français doit avoir sa place comme l'Art de n'importe quelle autre nation et les tournées de propaganda sont utiles – Je souhaite seulement – avec beaucoup de comrades – pour l'honneur de la France que ces tournées soient <u>uniquement</u> artistiques."

sacrée while contributing to the larger nation's wartime project of music's role in war, war's role in music, and music's ability to help construct French identity.

While not as elegant as better-known wartime poetry by Wilfrid Owen and others, the *Gazette* nevertheless featured individual voices from and about the war, facilitated by Lili and Nadia Boulanger. Many of these soldier-musicians died before they could return to their musical careers. The *Gazette*'s listing of deaths made it clear that many perished; the *Gazette* reported thirty-eight dead in the first volume and the numbers rose significantly in each succeeding volume. Of course, Lili Boulanger was ultimately another voice from the grave as she had died by the publication of the tenth issue, and yet, her name still appeared in print. She began the *Gazette* as a vital, though ill, participant in wartime charity and finished it as yet another sufferer and victim, but one who had an essential role in embodying French music. The Boulangers' creation and management of the *Gazette* not only provided a strong sense of musical community through the war years that may have not occurred without its publication, but their work ultimately created this essential wartime document that is critical to our understanding of musical life and debates during wartime France.

Chapter Five:

Vieille prière bouddhique:
Alternative Visions of Exoticism and French National Identity

Introduction

French musicians, such as those who corresponded with the *Gazette*, contributed to defining musical Frenchness through their verbal and written debates. In the years prior to the World War I and throughout the war, French composers, including Lili Boulanger, also helped define a musical French identity by appropriating and incorporating musical techniques to invoke the exotic. These included pentatonicism, modes, and arabesque figures, among others. Musical exotic stylistic traits suggest a delineation between French (Self) and non-French (Otherness), or even more generally, Western music versus non-Western music.[1] The engagement of French composers with musical exoticism was not novel to the early twentieth century, nor is it particular to war and crisis. Times of hardship, however, exacerbated the urgency to delineate Self and Otherness, which they did, in part, through the employment of musical exoticism.[2] The

[1] Since the writings of Carl Dahlhaus on nineteenth-century music, musicologists and cultural historians have understood appropriations and incorporations of exoticism as something more complicated and revelatory than simply a source of untapped materials from which composers and other artists could draw. Ralph Locke's scholarship on musical exoticism is particularly indispensable for several reasons. Locke's "All the Music in Full Context Paradigm" proposes that musical exoticism cannot be grasped exclusively by analyzing the musical score. Ralph Locke, *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). Following the lead of Edward Said, Locke, as well as other scholars such as Jann Pasler, Jane Fulcher, and Susan McClary, among others, insist that exoticism can only be analyzed by considering all the surrounding exchanges and meanings—cultural, historical, and political—between the work and the listener, such as colonialism, imperialism, gender, class, and race.

[2] Writing of nineteenth-century French music, for example, Susan McClary writes that Georges Bizet composed *Carmen* "at a time when France experienced particular humiliation with respect to its position as a world power." Susan McClary, *Georges Bizet: Carmen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 32.

ways in which French composers produced cultural and musical exoticism ultimately gave rise not only to a French imagination of the foreign as difference, but also revealed a fundamental dimension in the creation of Self and modern subjectivities.

Fueled by the pivotal scholarship of Edward Said, many scholars have studied exoticism as purely a masculine activity, subsuming women's roles in molding exoticism as secondary and private, or ignoring them altogether.[3] Said only briefly addressed issues of gender and Orientalism and did not thoroughly analyze them in his scholarship. Historian Reina Lewis condemns Said's scholarship as "a homogeneous discourse enunciated by a colonial subject that is unified, intentional and irredeemably male."[4] Furthermore, historian Anne McClintock suggests that Said's work on Orientalism "takes shape as male fantasy power that sexualizes feminine other[s]," but also that Said failed to analyze such gender dynamics.[5] This narrow view of exoticism as a male privilege perpetuated the view that women were not involved in constructions of exoticism or colonial expansion. Boulanger, however, prompts a reconsideration

[3] These include Matthew Head, "Musicology on Safari: Orientalism and the Spectrum of Postcolonial Theory," *Music Analysis* 22, no. 1–2 (2003): 211–30; Peter Kaminsky, "Vocal Music and the Lures of Exoticism and Irony," in *The Cambridge Companion to Ravel*, edited by Deborah Mawer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 162–187; Lawrence Kramer, "Consuming the Exotic: Ravel's *Daphnis and Chloé*," in *Classical Music and Postmodern Knowledge* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1995), 201–26; Ralph Locke, "A Broader View of Musical Exoticism," *Journal of Musicology* 24 (2007): 477–521; idem., "Constructing the Oriental 'Other:' Saint-Saëns's *Samson et Dalia*," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 3, no. 3 (1991): 261–302; idem., *Musical Exoticism*; Robert Orledge, "Evocations of Exoticism," in *The Cambridge Companion to Ravel*, edited by Deborah Mawer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 27–46; and Timothy D. Taylor, *Beyond Exoticism: Western Music and the World* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2007), among others.

[4] Reina Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism: Race, Femininity, and Representation* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 17.

[5] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 14.

of French women's shaping of an exotic, and how we might engage with ideas exoticism and musical Frenchness differently if we consider the ways she articulated notions of Self and Otherness. Her gender and her role as a composer already marked her as Other within her own country even as she identified herself and music as central to Parisian musical culture. Her conceptions of exoticism stood outside those of the dominant masculine political realm, but were nonetheless ideologically grounded in French musical identity.

In this chapter, I first describe how I understand and am using the terms exoticism and Orientalism. I then examine how one of Boulanger's practice cantatas for the Prix de Rome, *Maïa* (1913), conforms to and subtly counters traditional nineteenth-century portrayals of exoticism and gender. Boulanger's engagement with exoticism post-Prix de Rome differs dramatically from her setting of *Maïa,* and must be studied within the cultural and political context of the First World War.

Boulanger's *Vieille prière bouddhique: Prière quotidienne pour tout l'Univers* (1914–1917), provokes us to rethink ideas of French musical exoticism in that it challenges and problematizes dualities of Self and Other and the correlation between the feminine and an exotic. It is unique amongst her later works because her choice of text is not grounded in Catholic ideology. The text describes *all* people on earth transcending earthly suffering, but there is nothing that indicates Good Suffering, Catholic redemption, or France as a primarily Catholic nation. It is therefore in ways at odds with her other wartime works, such as the Psaumes. Instead, *Vieille prière bouddhique* provides an alternative vision of the wartime world in which she lived and worked, which values all human beings and their spiritual beliefs. It challenges conceptions of differences between nations and individuals at a time when war highlighted exactly those differences. It also forces us to reconsider and understand that French women had a

greater role in shaping exoticism than in mere personal consumption of material objects, as has been suggested by historians such as Lisa Tiersten.[6] *Vieille prière bouddhique* is thus radical because it is an object of artistic *production* by a woman and one meant for public consumption. When we consider how French women, such as Boulanger, created exoticism when they themselves were considered Others, the schism between Self (France) and Otherness repudiates any unified view of Self.

Exoticism and Orientalism

Many scholars writing in the aftermath of Edward Said's *Orientalism* either restricted their definitions of Orientalism to the Middle East or expanded it to include South and East Asia and Spain.[7] In post-Said scholarship, Orientalism has become a term that can refer to any world population—including Caribbeans and blond Scandinavian-Americans—that differs from whatever a work of art constructs as its mainstream European or white-American persona or viewpoint.[8] Jann Pasler corroborates that by the late nineteenth century, the French employed the term "exotic" to refer to almost anything beyond French, German, Italian, or English culture.[9] I

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[6] Lisa Tiersten, *Marianne in the Market: Envisioning Consumer Society in Fin-de-Siècle France* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2001).

[7] Examples include Matthew Head, *Orientalism, Masquerade and Mozart's Turkish Music* (London: Royal Music Association, 2000); McClary, *Georges Bizet: Carmen*; and Kramer, "Consuming the Exotic: Ravel's *Daphnis and Chloe*."

[8] Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, 35.

[9] Jann Pasler, "Race, Orientalism, and Distinction in the Wake of the 'Yellow Peril,'" in *Writing Through Music: Essays on Music, Culture, and Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 249. In France, the term "Orientaliste" appears first in a 1799 *Magasine Encylopédie* article entitled, "Le savant orientaliste le père Paulinus," but the Académie did not recognize the term until 1835. Historian Lisa Lowe argues that since 1838, *orientalisme* "has implied the diverse interests during the romantic period in all varieties of oriental matters, although it also included the more established meaning of oriental studies, the scholarly studies of the languages, cultures, and customs of Asiatic peoples from the Mediterranean to Japan."

therefore use "Orientalism" as a historic term, one which is a type of exoticism associated any non-Western European identity. The terms "Oriental" or "exotic," more generally, indicate a type of Otherness that is not necessarily geographically specific, but can also be indicative of representations of Otherness through gender, race, and religion.

This final definition of Orientalism, for example, corresponds to the convictions of the early twentieth-century traditionalist French musical institutions, such as the Schola Cantorum. Leaders of the Schola Cantorum, specifically Vincent d'Indy, espoused the belief that Orientalism was a code word for Jewishness and symbolized barbaric culture and people (or non-French), which included Protestants and Germans as well. In this case, Orientalism and Otherness, in general, correlate with a sense of racial, religious identity rather than a specific geographic location. It was a tool for separating and judging the qualities of Self and Otherness that d'Indy, specifically, strongly promoted before and during the First World War in his compositions such as his *La légende de Saint-Christophe* (1913) and his Third Symphony (1916–1918).

The centrality of musical exoticism in early twentieth-century France is apparent, in part, by its recurring visibility in texts chosen for the prestigious Prix de Rome competition. Ravel scholar Stephen Zank proposes that "the oriental 'Exotic' permeated the requirements of the Académie des Beaux-Arts proper."[10] Zank, for example, argues that the text of *Les Bayadères,* to which Ravel composed music during his first attempt at the Prix de Rome, invoked the Orient in "crude" terms. Zank notes that the following year's textual choice was even more blatant in its

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Lisa Lowe, *Critical Terrains: French and British Orientalisms* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991), 3

[10] Stephen Zank, *'L'Arrière Pensée' in Music of Maurice Ravel: Sound, Style, and Virtuosity* (PhD diss., Duke University, 1996), 225.

Orientalist nature in that it derived from one of Lord Byron's journeys to the East. The purpose of the Académie's textual choices, Zank argues, was to "'carry far' the imaginations of its (accepted) competitors."[11] Indeed, by the turn-of-the-century, many French writers focused on the Orient's ability to transform the imagination. Pasler writes, for example, "The French Orientalist imagination, unfettered by the responsibility of power, suffered no such restraints. For Chateaubriand, Flaubert, Vigny, Lamartine, Hugo and many other writers, the Orient became—[in poet Gérard de] Nerval's phrase—'the land of dreams and illusion.'"[12] In addition, Pasler quotes Maurice Barrès in 1914 as stating that the Orient "seems to permit every whimsical fancy."[13] If we understand exoticism as a creation of Western subjectivity based on the scholarship of Said, however, the Académie's reason for choosing exotic texts probably went beyond the text's ability to stimulate imagination.[14] Composers molded and controlled an exotic

[11] Zank, *'L'Arrière Pensée,'* 226. The exotic tendency of the Prix de Rome also reflected the popularity of symbolism at the turn of the century in which artists "tended to view music and the other arts as a realm of magic, of the otherworldly. The Middle East, seen through a symbolist lens, not only retained its longstanding fascination but also could now serve more than ever as a locus for the mingling of the dangerous, the transcendent, and the unpredictable." Ralph Locke, "Cutthroats and Casbah Dancers, Muezzins and Timeless Sands: Musical Images of the Middle East," in *The Exotic in Western Music,* ed. Jonathan Bellman (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998), 132.

[12] Jann Pasler, *Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2009), 41.

[13] Pasler, *Composing the Citizen,* 46.

[14] Said argued that exoticism produced within a Western framework exposes power relations between Self and Otherness. He wrote, for example, "I myself believe that Orientalism is more particularly valuable as a sign of European-Atlantic power over the Orient than it is as a veridic discourse about the Orient. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1994), 6.

"imagination" within Western musical and textual structures, ultimately creating pieces that upheld an essence of "Frenchness."[15]

Maïa

Before Lili Boulanger won the Prix de Rome in 1913, she prepared for several years by writing several cantatas to texts previously used for the competition.[16] Boulanger's practice cantatas (albeit in unpublished and often incomplete form), are immersed in this exotic tradition. Her 1911 cantata setting of Fernand Beissier's (1858–1936) *Maïa* is such an archetypal colonial love story, in which the lead woman, Maïa, poisons herself after her Western male love interest abandons her. Boulanger's setting of this cantata aligns with some of the more common portrayals and dichotomies of West/masculine and East/feminine that occurred throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Reasons for the scholarly neglect of *Maïa* include the incomplete state of this cantata and the lack of a published score or recording. It is imperative to consider this work, however, for several reasons. The first is that it shows Boulanger's professional ambitions in working toward the Prix de Rome a few years before she entered the competition. The 1905 Prix de Rome competition used Beissier's *Maïa* for its cantata setting, and both Victor Gallois and Phillips Gaubert claimed the first prize that year. The original cover of Boulanger's score to *Maïa* is from the 1905 Prix de Rome competition, and we can assume she took the libretto directly from this

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[15] I specifically use "an exotic" rather than "the exotic" to consider the multiplicities of exoticism.

[16] In 1911, Boulanger also set *Frédégonde*, with text by Charles Morel. The Prix de Rome used *Frédégonde* as its cantata text in 1897 and Florent Schmitt won the first prize. Boulanger's score is also incomplete and has not been published, meaning that she probably also intended it solely as practice for winning the Prix de Rome. It is housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms 19449 and Ms 19448.

source. As Boulanger most likely wrote this cantata as practice, she was probably not necessarily attracted to this text in and of itself. Thus it is difficult to conclude any personal interest in this particular choice of composition, other than her ambition toward entering and winning the Prix de Rome.

Maïa, like other French exotic plots that Boulanger would have known, tells a conventional colonial love story.[17] The lead woman is demarcated as an Other and must be conquered.[18] An Algerian cavalryman in the French army, Jean, falls in love with Maïa, a young woman from Galam. Galam was situated along the Senegal river as part of the Old Ghana Empire. The French had various trading posts in Senegal after the close of the Napoleonic Wars, and also gained imperial status in Senegal following the Franco-Prussian War during the Third Republic. Jean and Maïa swear their love for one another, but Samba-Hamet, a priest and sorcerer, reminds Jean that he must abandon Maïa and follow his French camp. Samba-Hamet warns Maïa that she will disgrace her own country if she were to love Jean, but Jean ultimately

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[17] These include Saint-Saën's *Samson et Dalila*, Bizet's *Carmen,* Ravel's *Daphnis et Chloé,* Meyerbeer's *l'Africaine,* among others.

[18] The tendency to assume correlations between a feminine and an exotic figures prominently in musicological writings. Linda Phyllis Austern claims, "The stereotypical musical connection between the exotic and the feminine traces its roots at least as far back as the emergence of the tonal system and early modern discourses of music theory at the end of the Renaissance." Linda Phyllis Austern, "'Forreine Conceites and Wandring Devises': The Exotic, the Erotic, and the Feminine," in *The Exotic in Western Music,* ed. Jonathan Bellman (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998), 27. Although gendered analyses of feminine and exoticism are scarce during the First World War, wartime writers connected the two quite intently. Writing in 1917, music critic D. C. Parker argued, albeit briefly, that associations between the feminine and Oriental pervaded French music. He wrote that if one "take[s] away the male characters of Massenet . . . you do not lose very much. Take away his heroines and there is nothing left. . . . One cannot repress the feeling that there is some subtle connection between this femininity and the orientalism so frequently displayed by the French." Parker also described the way in which male composers molded exoticism in terms of a sexual pursuit. With regard to Bizet's *Les Pêcheurs de Perles*, he wrote that Bizet "wooed the East." D. C. Parker, "Exoticism in Music in Retrospect," *The Musical Quarterly* 3, no. 1 (January 1917): 142–43.

tells Maïa he must leave her, and Maïa kills herself by drinking poison. The cantata ends with Samba-Hamet concluding, "Elle avait renié ses dieux et sa patrie, La patrie et les dieux sont vengés maintenant" (She had disavowed her gods and her fatherland. The fatherland and the gods are now avenged). Boulanger's score does not include these final lines and ends as Maïa speaks while dying at the feet of Jean. Because the cantata is incomplete, we do not know if Boulanger, as we've seen elsewhere, purposefully chose to manipulate the text to her needs or not. If Boulanger did choose to omit the final lines, her textual change gave the central female character the final word instead of the narrator, thus creating a unique feminine ending.

With Maïa's first entrance, both the text and Boulanger's musical setting distinguishes Maïa as an Other in comparison to Jean.[19] The scene occurs in a forest by a lake full of odorous thickets of mimosas just as night falls and the moon rises. Many operas, in which the lead female character meets her death, portray the woman in the midst of a similar scene, connecting her to nature. In the first act of Delibes's *Lakmé,* for example, Lakmé and her servant go down to the

[19] In music, the sexualized nature of exotic women presents itself through common musical exotic tropes which correspond in general to a sense of "Otherness." These include pentatonicism, modality, pedal tones, augmented seconds and fourths, nonfunctional chromatic coloration, ostinati, and obsessive dance or repetitive rhythms. In *Georges Bizet: Carmen,* McClary, for example, discusses the central musical ideas with which Bizet associated Carmen with Spanish exotic Otherness and dangerous sexuality, such as unpredictable harmonic shifts, repetitive dance rhythms, excessive chromaticism, and a frequently-used motive of an augmented second. Another example is the exotic female characteristics in Augusta Holmès's opera *La Montagne Noire.* Karen Henson analyzes Yamina's seduction aria as exotic because it combines a low pedal point in the strings with open fifths, accompanied by a flute and clarinet ostinato and melismatic vocal lines. Karen Henson, "In the House of Disillusion: Augusta Holmès and *La Montagne Noire*," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 9, no. 3 (1997): 249. Although many early twentieth-century compositions do not parallel such clear correspondence between the feminine and an exotic, the connection is nevertheless still prominent, as seen in Maurice Delage's first of his *Quatre poèmes hindous* (1912–1913). In the first song, "Une belle . . .," the poet Bhartrihari depicted India as female, equating her with a slim-waisted woman wandering through the forest. The vocal lines, for example, are framed with chromatic, arabesque lines in the flute and oboe.

river to gather flowers as they sing the "Flower Duet." The audience first encounters Mélisande, from Debussy's *Pelléas et Mélisande*, by a spring in the forest as nightfall descends. Catherine Clément writes that "[Mélisande] has fallen from the heavens, come[s] from nowhere; and [is an] inherent trouble-maker. . . .She is found wild, like an animal, deep in the woods."[20] In Maurice Delage's song, "Un belle . . ." from *Quatre poèmes hindous*, India is likened to a woman wandering through the forest. The dualities of men/culture and women/nature figure prominently in all of these works, as it does with *Maïa.* It is in nature that we often first meet these women, and it is to the earthly grave that the women return.[21]

Beyond the scene's nocturnal lake-side setting, Jean directly compares Maïa to nature. He says she is a sweet flower of love ("douce fleur d'amour"). As Maïa drinks the poison and dies at the feet of Jean, she refers to the faded white lily flowers carried away by the wind, which may allude to her own death. ("Ils sont flétris les grands lys blancs! Le vent qui passe les emporte, Où s'en vont nos premiers sements? Où s'envole la feuille morte!") In addition, Jean marks her female Otherness by initially describing her feminine "charms," which intoxicate him as if conjured by a sorceress. He sings, "Est-ce ton sourire ingénue, Est-ce ta naïve tendresse, qui met dans mon âme l'ivresse d'un charme aussi doux qu'inconnu?" (Is it your innocent smile, is it your naïve tenderness which places in my heart the intoxication of a charm as soft as the unknown). The power of "intoxicating charms" suggests the classic *femme fatale*, or a "deadly woman" who lures men through such constructed feminine wiles as her beauty, charm, and sexual allure. Maïa's ability to entice the Western man away from his imperial duties is similar

[20] Catherine Clément, *Opera, or the Undoing of Women* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1988), 111.

[21] The connection between women and nature is, of course, not limited to depictions of exotic women, but is also prominent within European gender dualities. Nevertheless, the regularity of connecting exotic women and nature is formidable in operatic/cantata storylines.

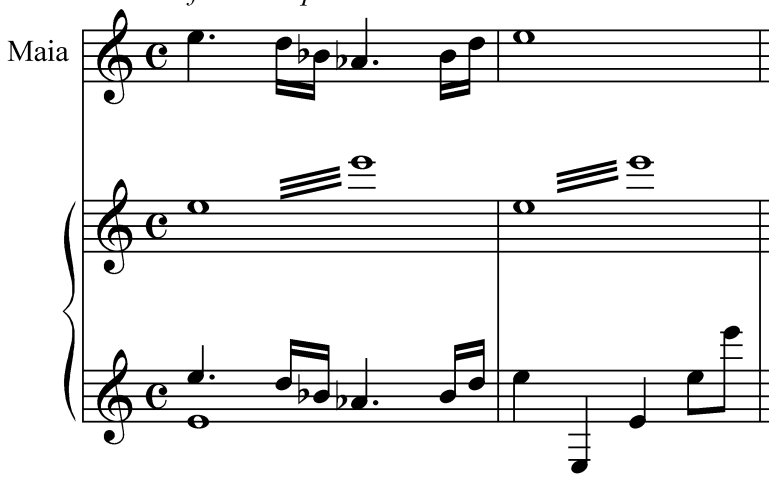
to so many other exotic women in opera, whose men initially have also fallen under such "charms."[22]

Boulanger's depiction of the feminine in *Maïa* follows similar musical exotic tropes and demarcates a masculine sense of Self with a feminine Otherness—one who is sexualized and had to be conquered. Although the first eight measures are missing from the score, Jean begins the cantata by foreshadowing the plot with his opening lines, "Puisque tu dois, demain, pour toujours me laisser, Auprès du lac profond, plein d'ombre et de mystère, Où s'échangea notre premier baiser, Ce soir, m'a-t-elle dit, viens une fois dernière, M'attendre. . ." (Since you must leave me forever tomorrow, near the deep lake, full of shade and mystery where our first kiss was exchanged, this evening, she says to me, I will come for the last time). With these lines, Jean sings in a recitative-like manner over an unobtrusive chordal accompaniment in A minor. The accompaniment becomes more active, presenting sixteenth-note figures moving in parallel sixths as Jean asks why his cowardly heart still yields to Maïa even though he knows ultimately he cannot be with her. When he questions the intoxication of her charms his vocal line becomes more chromatic, and he ends his line by outlining an augmented fifth. This passage leads into the introduction of Maïa. Before Maïa sings, we hear four measures clearly alternating between C major and E major sonorities, but when she enters, as shown in Example 1, she sings a short descending and ascending modal melody outlining an augmented fifth, over an E pedal tone.

[22] Cio-Cio-San from Puccini's *Madame Butterfly* and Sélika from Meyerbeer's *L'Africaine*, for example, both must ultimately commit suicide so that they not only redeem their cultural integrity, but so the men can return to their imperial duties.

Example 1

bouches fermée à peine comme un murmure



The change in modality, the outlining of an augmented triad, the pedal tone, and the use of *bouches fermée*, musically marks Otherness. This same melody returns as she sings about her death, and therefore the opening melody acts as a premonition of what follows. Before Maïa drinks the poison she sings, “Dans cette amulette sacrée, Qu’aux jours lointains ma mère m’a donnée Est un remède merveilleux Contre l’oubli! C’est la mort!” (In this sacred amulet that my mother gave me in the distant days, is a marvelous remedy against the lapse of memory! It is death!) At this point, Maïa’s original melody occurs inverted and clearly in the key of C major, structuring her fate within Western desire and tonal means. The last few measures in Boulanger’s score, however, present Maïa’s original melody as she dies. Maïa thus gets the final say, one that is not confined by the Western construction of tonality, but rather returns to her initial modal melody, outlining an augmented fifth. The recurrence of Maïa’s initial motive suggests that she did not lose her Self, or cultural identity, even in death, giving a subtle feminist twist to the end of the cantata. By composing Maïa’s voice, in motive form, as the final say, Boulanger granted Maïa more power and agency than provided in the original text.

Boulanger's score directions support Maïa's distinction of Otherness even further. Maïa's melody is sung "bouches fermée – à peine comme un murmure." As discussed in Chapter Two, *bouches fermée*, or closed-mouth singing, is one of the musical techniques Boulanger commonly employed, and she did so especially in her representations of exoticism. It also figures prominently in many contemporary composers' exotic works. Jean-David Jumeau-Lafond's survey of *bouches fermée* concluded that composers, including Ravel, Debussy, Roussel, d'Indy, Honneger, Berlioz, and Boulanger, often used *bouches fermées* to express the inexpressible, which he identifies as the absence of language in Western thought. He continually correlates wordless singing with female voices, and in turn associates them with the supernatural and the disarticulation of Western language.[23] Similarly, Lawrence Kramer suggests that *bouches fermée* is a style as far removed as possible from the European choral tradition.[24] Although neither author directly writes that *bouches fermée* conveys the exotic, the way in which they represent it as mysterious, close to nature, supernatural, and opposing linguistic clarity, encodes it as a type of aural Otherness.

In ways similar to Jameau-Lafond's ideas on the disarticulation of Western language, scholars have also associated wordless vocalizations with a disruption of rationality and meaning, frequently correlated with feminine seduction. Carolyn Abbate, for example, cites the opening wordless coloratura of Lakmé's "Bell Song" to argue in part that "such moments enact in pure form familiar Western tropes on the suspicious power of music and its capacity to move

[23] Jean-David Jumeau-Lafond, "La chœur sans paroles ou les voix du sublime," *Revue de Musicologie* 83, no. 2 (1997): 263–80.

[24] Kramer, "Consuming the Exotic," 208.

us without rational speech."[25] Abbate claims that Lakmé's vocalized elaborate performance on "Ah" also serves as a type of seduction, a seduction of pure sound resonating from a body that those on stage can hear. Her voice emanates from the Orient. She is a Hindu princess who sings to a group of English tourists.[26] Maïa's first vocal entrance is sung "bouches fermée à peine comme un murmure," and the motive, outlining an augmented fifth, becomes associated with her and her death throughout the cantata. She sings without words for seven measures before speaking, capturing the attention of Jean who then compares her to a frail bird and comments on the sad song. While Maïa's melody is not elaborate like Lakmé's vocalization, Jean's likening of Maïa's voice to a frail bird provides a similar vocal seduction of pure sound that captures his romantic interest.

Boulanger used *bouches fermée* in several of her other compositions which invoked the exotic, including *Maïa* (1911), *Vieille prière bouddhique* (1914–1917), and *Soir sur la plaine* (1913). All of these compositions specifically mention or allude to the Orient. Boulanger's choice of *bouches fermée* in *Soir sur la plaine*¸ for example, suggests the symbolist aesthetic of nature and mystery to which Jameau-Lafond referred. The author of the text, Albert Samain (1858–1900) hailed from the Symbolist school. The text follows:

Vers l'Occident, là bas,	In the Occident, in the distance
Le ciel est tout en or!	The sky is made of gold!
Le long des prés déserts où le sentier dévale	Along the empty meadow where the path sinks
La pénétrante odeur	the penetrating odor
Des foins coupés s'exhale	of freshly cropped hay exhales

[25] Carolyn Abbate, *Unsung Voices: Opera and Musical Narrative in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press, 1991), 4.

[26] We also see female wordless choruses, for example, in Ravel's *Daphnis and Chloe* and Debussy's *Sirènes.*

Et c'est l'heure émouvante, où la terre s'endort.	It is the moving hour where the earth gets sleepy.
La faux des moissonneurs a passé sur les terres	The scythe of the harvesters has gone over the fields.
Et le repos succède aux travaux des longs jours.	And quiet enfolds the long day's work.
Parfois une charrue oubliée aux labours	Now and then a single plow-hand stretches out after work
Sort comme un bras levé, des sillons solitaires.	Like an arm from a single furrow.
La nuit à l'Orient verse sa cendre fine.	The night scatters its fine ashes in the Orient.
Seule au couchant s'attarde une barré de feu.	Only where the sun goes down does there linger beams of fire
Et dans l'obscurité qui s'accroit peu à peu	And as darkness gradually increases
La blancheur de la route à peine se devine.	One can no longer make out the whiteness of the street.
Puis tout somber et s'enfonce en la grande unité.	Then everything disappears and dies into a great unity.
Le ciel enténébré rejoint la plaine immense.	The dark sky embraces the endless plateau.
Ah! Ecoute! Un grand soupir traverse le silence,	Ah! Listen! A great sigh traverses the silence,
Et voici que le cœur de jour s'est arrêté.	And now the heart of the day lies still.

In the second half of the song—in which the imagery changes from the sky and the fields of the Occident to the night sky of the Orient—the chorus sings "Ah" with an open mouth and then switches to closed-mouth singing. Boulanger's indication of *bouches fermée* immediately precedes "Ah! Ecoute! Un grand soupir traverse le silence." She represents this "great sigh" with the tutti chorus of *bouches fermée* singers, which she additionally marked *ppp* and "comme un murmure lointain." This is the same marking she used in *Maïa, Vieille prière bouddhique,* and *Pour les funérailles d'un soldat* (1912). A murmur cannot be articulated clearly. Distance, of course, can be equated with Otherness that expresses the inexpressible or unreal. The descending chromatic passage presents obvious text painting of a sigh gesture. This same sigh gesture, also marked "lointain" and "bouches fermeé," ends the composition, as the female singers echo the

male singers. The fact that women singing *bouches fermeé* often echo men's words illustrates an Otherness of secondary importance in that they never take the lead.

World War I Parisian Exoticism and Colonialism

Changes in colonial attitudes, modern technology, travel availability, and consumerism all played critical roles in how the French viewed and appropriated exoticism after the turn of the century and through the First World War. By World War One, France had an African empire of 10 million square kilometers, and an Indochinese empire of 750,000 square kilometers. Most of the French overseas empire contained only 855,000 French, 600,000 of whom who were in Algeria alone.[27] France also gained a Middle Eastern empire for the first time, but the French military presence in the Middle East, specifically in Syria and Palestine, was trifling.[28] There was, however, cultural ambassador presence throughout colonially occupied countries. As historians Christopher M. Andrew and A.S. Kanya-Forstner argue, colonial occupation—whether militaristic or cultural—was not only about gaining possession of material power and possessions, but more importantly, it was also a means to extend the values of French civilization, which many French nationalists believed were universal.[29]

Andrew and Kanya-Forstner claim that by the First World War, colonial exploits strayed from the concept of assimilation and toward the notion of association, "which stressed

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[27] Christopher M. Andrew and A. S. Kanya-Forstner, *France Overseas: The Great War and the Climax of French Imperial Expansion* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1981), 18.

[28] Andrew and Kanya-Forstner, *France Overseas,* 9, 11. Andrew and Kanya-Forstner argue that by the end of 1911, the Middle East was replacing Africa as the French colonists' main interest. Part of this was due to Italy's increased presence in Africa. Andrew and Kanya-Forstner, *France Overseas,* 46.

[29] Andrew and Kanya-Forstner cite Jules Michelet, Blanc and Blanqui as French nationalists who preached French culture as universal. Andrew and Kanya-Forstner, *France Overseas,* 26.

cooperation between ruler and ruled based on a degree of respect for native customs, beliefs, and social structures," but nonetheless received "benefits" of French civilization such as the French language. [30] There was thus an interconnectedness and potential reverence in cultural exchanges, but the Western colonists, or ambassadors, still retained positional superiority by interpreting and enforcing these relations from a Western point of view.

Suzanne Karpelès (1890–1968) is essential to Boulanger's story. She gave Boulanger the text and French translation of *Vieille prière bouddhique,* and more importantly adapted the concept of association rather than assimilation in her work as a French cultural ambassador. Karpelès was an established French scholar of Sanskrit, Pâli, Tibetan, and Nepalese who founded the Royal Library of Phnom Penh in 1925 and acted as its director until 1941. She also founded and was the general secretary of the Buddhist Institute in both Cambodia and Laos from 1930–1941.[31] Her work in these institutions was one of the primary vehicles in building a repository of Buddhist texts to rejuvenate Cambodian culture. According to both historians Elizabeth Becker and Penny Edwards, Karpelès's work in the library and the Buddhist Institute aided the "crystallization" of the "ethnically discrete rubric of nation" in Cambodia.[32] Some Buddhist

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[30] Andrew and Kanya-Forstner, *France Overseas,* 26.

[31] Prior to her work in Cambodia and Laos, Karpelès received her education at the École des langues orientales of the École des hautes études pratiques in Paris, and was active in the École Française d'Extrème Orient in Hanoi, one of the world's most renowned centers of Orient studies. After receiving her education, she moved to Cambodia where she befriended many monks, scholars, and other intellectuals. In 1918, she founded the Association of the Friends of the East at the Musée Guimet, and published annotated translations of important religious texts in Sanskrit and Tibetan in the *Journal Asiatique* in 1919. Penny Edwards, *Cambodge: The Cultivation of a Nation, 1860–1945* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), 186.

[32] Edwards, *Cambodge,* 301. Elizabeth Becker writes that Karpelès "encouraged a quiet renaissance of Buddhism that later fed Cambodia's independence movement." Elizabeth Becker, *When the War was Over: Cambodia's Revolution and the Voices of its People* (New York: Touchstone, 1986), 54.

agitators felt that her work in these institutions was part of a colonialist mission intended to force French values upon Cambodians, and therefore the Buddhist Institute often became the center of anti-colonial agitators in Phnom Penh.[33] On the other hand, Edwards argues that Francophone elites "resented [Karpelès's] crusade as an obstacle to the whole-hearted adoption of the French education system."[34] She refused to force French culture directly upon the inhabitants of Cambodia and Laos, encouraging give and take, or "association" between cultures. Nevertheless, her eminent colonial French presence in these countries ultimately communicated the presumed universalism of French beliefs and values.

Karpelès did not fit the typical French gendered colonial image of a homemaker, and her ambassadorship was neither private nor religious in nature, like those of many female French colonists. Historian Billie Melman argues that most women (she focuses on British women) who went to the East and documented their travels in writing, de-politicized their experience and "relegated it to the private sphere, outside the context of modern imperialism."[35] Karpèles, on the other hand, did not align herself with traditional views of French women during this time. Not only was Karpelès highly educated, well traveled, and professional, but she also did not have a husband or children. She provides an example of the active involvement of French new women in shaping exoticism and the French nation was directly tied into the public, institutionalized, and political arena.

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[33] Becker, *When the War Was Over*, 58.

[34] Edwards, *Cambodge*, 206.

[35] Billie Melman, *Women's Orients: English Women and the Middle East, 1718-1918* (Ann Arbor, MI.: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 12.

Musically, composers who were able to travel to the East, such as Albert Roussel and Maurice Delage, and those who did not or could not, such as Debussy, Ravel, and Boulanger, tended to compose with similar ideas of association. Association blurs divisions of Self/Other, which Locke labels as different from assimilation or overt exoticism, seen in many nineteenth-century works. Pasler, for example, identifies this idea of association in Roussel's *Evocations* and Delage's *Quatre poèmes hindous*. She notes that although these two composers viewed and appropriated exoticism differently based on their backgrounds, aesthetics, and professional affiliations and situations, their responses to Orientalism acknowledged power in an Other, blurred clear divisions or binaries of Self/Other, and did not appropriate specific tunes or general musical exotic characteristics for assimilation, domination, or colonization purposes.[36] Locke argues that part of this idea of association over assimilation after the turn of the century stemmed from an uneasiness among artists about empire and imperial domination. It did not stop them from incorporating and appropriating exoticism in their works, but rather forced them to consider more nuanced appropriations and uses of exoticism.

It is in this more nuanced tradition of appropriating exoticism that I place Lili Boulanger's *Vieille prière bouddhique*. It is a wartime work, although not premiered until 1921, a point to which I will return. Musicologists Léonie Rosenstiel, Caroline Potter, and Birgit Stiévenard-Salomon have previously discussed the structural aspects of the work's French exoticism, such as the use of modes, pentatonicism, and the arabesque-filled flute solo.[37] Some

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[36] Pasler, "Yellow Peril," 251.

[37] Léonie Rosenstiel briefly mentions Boulanger's use of pentatonicism in *The Life and Works of Lili Boulanger* (London: Associated University Press, 1978), 197. Caroline Potter writes that "the most 'exotic' element of this work is the flute solo, which elaborates the choral material and evokes a generic musical East Asia in its timbre and its sinuous arabesque shapes." She does not give any further explanation. Caroline Potter, *Nadia and Lili Boulanger*

music critics and historians have criticized the exotic nature of the composition as cliché, as did Marc Blitzstein, writing in 1960. He wrote, "I find the *Vieille prière bouddhique* less compelling [than her other works]. It belongs to the 'exotic' approach to which the French are so often addicted. It makes use of what we have been trained to call the Phrygian mode with surprising suppleness; immobility is its intention and its achievement."[38] Others have questioned whether it is even an exotic work. Daniel Pistone, for example, writes "Le *Vieille prière boudhique* de Lili Boulanger, en dépit de ses tritons et de son langage modal, a-t-elle pour nous encore quelque chose d'exotique?"[39] Pistone admits to its technical exotic features, but questions its exoticism based on larger cultural meaning. I disagree with both Pistone and Blitzstein. Boulanger's appropriations and use of the exotic ranges from stylistic musical traits to the act of modern exotic consumption, the latter an issue neglected in past Boulanger scholarship.

Modern consumerism by both men and women greatly affected the way French composers in the early twentieth century reacted to and employed exoticism. Lawrence Kramer, for example, asserts that *Daphnis and Chloé* can be understood as a product of French exotic consumption.[40] Parisian consumer culture flourished in the late nineteenth and early twentieth

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(Burlington, VT.: Ashgate, 2006), 104. Birgit Stièvenard-Salomon notes that the use of *bouchess fermée*, which Boulanger employs, originated as a singing technique of Oriental monks in Buddhist temples from the fourth century. She provides no footnote. Birgit Stievenard-Salomon, "Zwischen Fortschritt und Tradition: Zum Problem der Form im 'Vieille prière bouddhique' von Lili Boulanger," in *Lili Boulanger-Tage 1993. Bremen zum 100. Geburtstag der Komponistin,* ed. Katherine Mosler, 54.

[38] Marc Blitzstein, "Music's Other Boulanger," *Saturday Review* (May 1960), 60.

[39] Daniel Pistone, "Les conditions historiques de l'exotisme musical français," *Revue International de Musique Française* 6 (November 1981): 21. "In spite of its tritones and modal language, does it still have something exotic for us?"

[40] See Kramer, "Consuming the Exotic."

centuries, as seen in the 1889 Paris Exhibition, along with the rise of a mature capitalist consumer marketplace. At the Paris Exhibition, for example, Debussy learned about the gamelan and incorporated its sounds into his music without having to travel to distant lands. Likewise, in department stores—a constructed feminized commercial space— bourgeois French women could buy exotic art objects, which they frequently displayed in their home salons.

Previous historical studies have often claimed that French bourgeois women shaped an exotic by consuming, but not by producing, art. Historian Lisa Tiersten writes that while bourgeois French women "contributed greatly to the aesthetic glory of the nation, their most important work remained that of consumers, *not* producers of art [emphasis mine]."[41] She also argues, "Provided that the bourgeois woman's desire for goods was governed by taste . . . she was converted from an irrational, egotistical, and aesthetically inept consumer to a disinterested artist guided by lofty goals and interests."[42] Tiersten claims that French bourgeois women's consumption of objects from French colonies exhibited Republican values of French taste, which made them artists in their own rights.

Before and during the First World War, French citizens debated women's public roles as consumers. Conservative critics such as Maurice Barrès and Catholic novelists Mathilde Bourdon and Henry Bordeaux condemned department stores because these spaces enabled women to engage in supposedly selfish activities and consumption that not only diverted their attention from the home, but potentially led to dangerously immoral activities such as sexual encounters.[43] On the other hand, by the 1880s and 1890s, the success and importance of

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[41] Tiersten, *Marianne in the Market*, 182.

[42] Tiersten, *Marianne in the Market*, 7.

[43] Tiersten, *Marianne in the Market*, 17.

marketplace modernism centered around women's commercial consumption for the bourgeois home. Historian Leora Auslander argues that by the mid-nineteenth century through the early twentieth century, bourgeois French women learned through magazines, novels, and other media that the objects they consumed for the home also reflected ideas of the French nation. She writes, "Class, gender, nation, and even self were constructed through the acquisition and use of goods."[44] Bourgeois women's display of eclectic objects in their salons outwardly represented Republican values of French taste, worldliness, and wealth. However, these descriptions do not represent women as active producers of exoticism.

Other scholars, such as Anne McClintock, remind us that by consuming, white women were anything but innocent spectators or victims of empire. Instead they played a role both as colonizers and colonized, acting as well as being acted upon, as seen in Karpèles's important work.[45] Karpèles's international success was atypical for its time. More commonly, we see women's role as colonizers in descriptions of home salons that combine various foreign objects for display, specifically from countries occupied by the French Empire. Henri de Noussane describes one salon as containing "a piece of Japanese crockery containing flowers, an artistic cabinet displaying a few bibelots: Japanese ivories, Chinese jades and quartz; an Ibis lamp with a Vietnamese lampshade in multi-colored ribbons."[46] These objects are also highly gendered as female, further feminizing an exotic Other and making exotic consumption a feminine activity.

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[44] Leora Auslander, "The Gendering of Consumer Practices in Nineteenth-Century France," in *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective,* ed. Victoria de Grazia with Ellen Furlough (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1996), 81.

[45] McClintock, *Imperial Leather,* 6.

[46] Henri de Noussane, *Le Goût dans l'ameublement* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1896), 155–56; quoted in Tiersten, *Marianne in the Market,* 167.

Vieille prière bouddhique

Vieille prière bouddhique is no less an object of exotic consumption because of the way in which Boulanger acquired it from Karpelès, who likely received it from overseas. What is more radical for its time, however, is that Boulanger's composition is also an object of artistic *production* by a woman and one meant for public consumption, important departures from previous discussions about women as consumers in *fin-de-siècle* France. Boulanger, like her male contemporaries, thus participated in the consumption *and* production of an exotic Other. Just as Pasler argues that Roussel and Delage's backgrounds, beliefs, and professional affiliations affected the way in which they consumed and incorporated exotic Otherness, Boulanger's beliefs, stance on the war, and experiences, in large part shaped by her gender in a masculine compositional domain, did as well.

Like Debussy, Boulanger was unable to travel to the East, but gained knowledge of Eastern music most likely through books and Western compositions that incorporated musical exoticism. There is no record of Boulanger actually coming in direct contact with Eastern musicians, although it may have occurred. Through the Conservatoire, she may have also had access to well-known writings on Eastern music, such as François-Joseph Fétis' *Histoire générale de la musique* (1869–76), which dedicated 150 pages to Indian music.

According to Rosenstiel, Louise Gonet, a close family friend of the Boulangers', brought the Orient alive for Lili Boulanger through her fictionalized stories of exotic places. In this way, the Orient served an imaginative purpose for Boulanger, especially since these stories were already molded through invented Western tales. Gonet's interest in the East stemmed from her close acquaintance with Indian poet and philosopher Rabindranath Tagore, and she would often

relate descriptions of his poetry readings to Boulanger.[47] Gonet, in turn, introduced the Boulangers to Karpelès. Karpelès gave a copy of *Vieille prière bouddhique* to Boulanger sometime in the summer of 1914, but scholars have debated whether or not Karpelès actually translated the text into French for Boulanger.[48] Rosenstiel, for example, argues that Karpelès did so, whereas Birgit Stièvenard-Salomon claims that it is not clear whether Karpèles made the translation for Boulanger, as there is no indication of such a translation in their exchange of letters. [49]

What is clear, however, is that Boulanger's *Vieille prière bouddhique* is not an actual translation of the original text, but rather a loose adaptation and interpretation, a point which Boulanger scholars have not considered. The original text is in Pâli, an Indian language best known for its use in some of the earliest Buddhist scriptures. Rosenstiel states that the text is learned by "'SAMA-NERAS' [sic] in the Theravada Buddhist countries like Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, and Laos."[50] In the appendices to her biography on Boulanger, Rosenstiel provides a copy of the original text in its Sinhalese version and one version translated into Roman text by the Venerable Kosgoda Sobhita. The text is all in Pâli, but printed once in Sinhalese and once in Roman script. An English translation of the original Pâli text is as follows:

> I am without hatred, I am without malevolence, I am untroubled, happy, I take care of myself. Like me, may my teachers and preceptors, my mother and father, friendly beings, neutral beings, hostile beings be without hatred, without malevolence, untroubled,

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[47] Rosenstiel, *Life and Works of Lili Boulanger*, 34.

[48] The date of 1914 comes from an interview Rosenstiel conducted with Nadia Boulanger in Paris on November 23, 1973; quoted in Rosenstiel, *Life and Works of Lili Boulanger*, 197.

[49]Rosenstiel does not base her claim on any solid evidence. Stièvenard-Salomon, "Zwischen Fortschritt und Tradition, 52.

[50] Rosenstiel, *Life and Works of Lili Boulanger*, 197.

> happy, may they take care of themselves, may they be free from suffering, may the attainments they have received not disappear. Those possessing their own karma in this monastery, in this village nearby the monastery, in this city, in this island of Sri Lanka, in this continent of Jambudvipa, in this world system, lords and kings, the gods dwelling within their boundaries, (may they all) be without hatred, without malevolence, untroubled, happy, may they take care of themselves, may the attainments they have received not disappear. Those possessing their own karma in the eastern direction, in the southern direction, in the western direction, in the northern direction, in the intermediate points to each direction, below, above, may all beings, all breathing things, all spirits, all persons, all endowed with bodies, all women, all men, all noble ones, all non-noble ones, all gods, all humans, all non-humans, all suffering beings be without hatred, without malevolence, untroubled, happy, may they take care of themselves, may they be freed from suffering, may the attainments they have received not disappear, possessors of their own karma.
>
> May the gods with power who are in the eastern direction,
> May they protect me with health and with happiness.[51]

The following is the text "translated" into French for Boulanger, with its English translation:

Qui toute chose qui respire, sans ennemis, sans obstacles, surmontant la douleur et atteignant le bonheur.	Let all creatures that breathe, without enemies, without obstacles, transcend pain And attain joy.
Puisse se mouvoir librement, chacun dans la voie qui lui est destinée.	Let all creatures freely move, each one in the path to which he is destined.
Que toutes les créatures et partout, tous les esprits, et tous ceux qui sont nés sans ennemis, sans obstacles, surmontant la douleur et atteignant le bonheur. Puisse se mouvoir librement, chacun dans la voie qui lui est destinée.	Let all creatures everywhere, all spirits, and all those yet unborn without enemies, without obstacles, transcend pain And attain joy. Let all creatures freely move, each one in the path to which he is destined.
Que toutes les femmes, que toutes les hommes, les Aryens et les non Aryens, tous les dieux et tous les humains,	Let all women, let all men, all the Aryans and the non-Aryans too, all the gods and all humankind,

[51] I am grateful to Dr. Charles Hallisey at Harvard University for his English translation of the original Pâli text.

et ceux qui sont déchus, sans ennemis, sans obstacles, surmontant la douleur et atteignant le bonheur. Puisse se mouvoir librement, chacun dans la voie qui lui est destinée.	those who have fallen without enemies, without obstacles, transcend pain And attain joy. Let all creatures freely move, each one in the path to which he is destined.
En Orient et en Occident, au Nord et au Sud, que tous les êtres qui existent, sans ennemis, sans obstacles, surmontant la douleur et atteignant le bonheur. Puisse se mouvoir librement, chacun dans la voie qui lui est destinée.	In Orient and in Occident, in the North and the South, let every being who exists without enemies, without obstacles, transcend pain And attain joy. Let all creatures freely move, each one in the path to which he is destined.

The differences between the original text and the French translation are striking. Karpelès, or whoever the adaptor may be, omits any first person narration, as seen at the beginning of the original Pâli text. In addition, she excludes any mention of the presumed location of the monastery in question (on the island of Sri Lanka), and eliminates the word "karma," which was frequently used in the original. All of these omissions provide a more general humanist and universalist tone to the newly-translated text, which cannot be directly traced back to a specific location, such as Sri Lanka, save for the title. Boulanger uses a decidedly exotic text from an old Buddhist tradition to lay claim to a utopian universal value of equality and peace; it is an everyday prayer for the *whole* universe. While clearly a Buddhist meditation, the text of *Vieille prière bouddhique* could apply to any nation or religion. The text contrasts drastically from Boulanger's overt depictions of Catholicism and Good Suffering seen in previous discussions of Psaume 129 and Psaume 130. The assertions of peace, freedom, and transcendence in *Vieille prière bouddhique*, however, may have appealed to Boulanger's

Catholicism, or even to Karpelès's Jewish heritage. The text does not, however, indicate any specific religion or promulgate the dominant view of France as a primarily Catholic nation.[52]

The adaptation of the French text and its repetition of phrases obviously derives from the following sentences in the Pâli prose:

> "[May] friendly beings, neutral beings, hostile beings be without hatred, without malevolence, untroubled, happy, may they take care of themselves, may they be free from suffering, may the attainments they have received not disappear. . . . May all beings, all breathing things, all spirits, all persons, all endowed with bodies, all women, all men, all noble ones, all non-noble ones, all gods, all humans, all non-humans, all suffering beings be without hatred, without malevolence, untroubled, happy, may they take care of themselves, may they be freed from suffering, may the attainments they have received not disappear."

The loose "translation" of most of the text seems fitting, but there are a few choice words in French that provide a distinctly Western translation. The translator's choice to distinguish Aryans and non-Aryans (instead of noble ones and non-noble ones), and the Orient and the Occident (instead of distinguishing all the different hemispheric directions) provides value-laden dichotomies that were not present in the original text. These textual changes were clear political and cultural choices that distinguish the West from the East, while simultaneously erasing definite exotic locale. There is therefore a contradiction between distinguishing Self/Otherness and providing a sense of universalism.

In addition, the repetition of the word *ennemis*, which is not present in the original, may have been deliberately included because of the wartime climate. Although we do not know exactly when Karpelès (or another translator) first translated the Pâli, the multiple inclusions of

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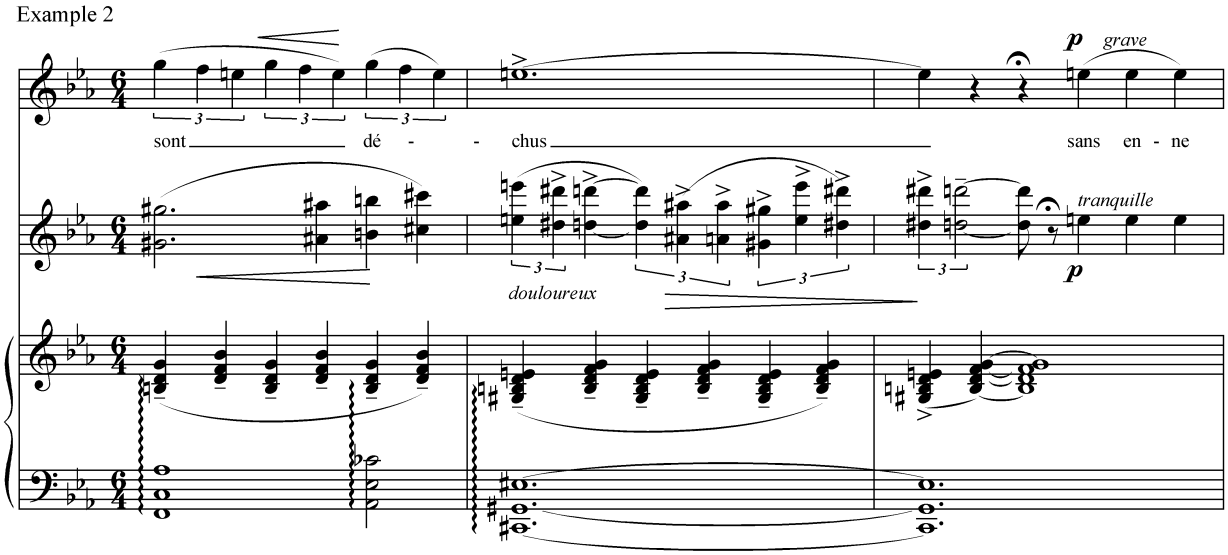
[52] *Vieille prière bouddhique* is unlike most of Boulanger's previous texts, in that most were unmistakably rooted in her Catholic faith, such as Psaumes 24, 129, and 130, or *Pie Jesu*. Stièvenard-Salomon claims that one can make the connection between the structure and style of *Vieille prière bouddhique* and Psaumes 24 and 129. Stièvenard-Salomon, "Zwischen Fortschritt und Tradition," 52. In addition, both Psaumes contain similar repetition patterns that are also found in *Vieille prière bouddique*, and Psaume 24, specifically, claims that those who have "clean hands" shall receive blessings from the Lord.

ennemis make the translation particularly fitting during the First World War. Furthermore, the translation specifically refers to the fallen. Boulanger pays explicit attention to the word *déchus*, setting it musically to a repetitive downward spiraling line and sustaining the last syllable for over a measure while the piano repeats the vocal line, marked *douloureux.* Boulanger then adds a fermata over the rest before the next phrase, likely signifying a moment of silence, and perhaps tribute, for those who have fallen in war. Example 2 illustrates the following line, "sans ennemis, sans obstacles surmontant la douleur et atteignant le Bonheur." At this point, Boulanger marks the score *grave* and *piano,* markings which differ drastically from other repetitions of the phrase, emphasizing the memory and loss for the dead.

Example 2



Boulanger's unique choice of an overtly humanist and utopian text in a time of war departs from her strong emphasis in setting Catholic texts, or those that refer to Catholic ideologies. It also contrasts with other texts set by her contemporaries during the First World War, which were generally more propagandist in text and tone, such as Debussy's *Ode à la*

France or *Noël des enfants qui n'ont plus de maisons.*[53] *Vieille prière bouddhique* is not simply a pacifist poem, as several scholars have claimed, but a radically charged one that can also be read as anti-war, as it claims that only those who refuse to engage in violence will find peace. Despite Boulanger's heavy involvement in supporting the troops through the Comité Franco-Américain, she wrote of her hatred of the concept of war in several diary entries. In one entry on June 3, 1916, for example, she wrote, "Naval battle in the North Sea between the English and the Germans – what horror!–without result other than innumerable atrocities, suffering–oh! It is too painful."[54] Boulanger may have been anti-war in belief, but when it came to wartime, she fervently defended her country through her wartime charity, as I showed in Chapters Three and Four.

Boulanger's anti-war message parallels the anti-war sentiment that brewed among many French soldiers by 1917. During the war, fifty percent of 1.3 million French male soldiers were killed, and by 1917, there was a general consensus among the troops that victory was unlikely.[55] After the Chemin des Dames offensive on April 16, 1917, nearly half of all divisions of the French army refused to take up positions on the front lines when ordered.[56] Boulanger's choice of composition and text at this particular time reflects the larger wartime political climate in

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[53] Ned Rorem, for example, interpreted motifs in Debussy's *En blanc et noir* that evoke war (specifically masculine wartime activities). He noted that he heard "rumbling cannons, skewered bugle blasts," and "soft drum rolls beneath marching feet." Glenn Watkins, *Proof Through the Night: Music and the Great War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003,) 92.

[54] F-Pn: département de la Musique, Rés. Vmf. MS 116 (3 June 1916); quoted in Annegret Fauser, "Lili Boulanger's *La princesse Maleine:* A Composer and her Heroine as Literary Icons," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 122, no. 1 (1997): 75.

[55] Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, Jean-Jacques Becker, and Leonard V. Smith, *France and the Great War: 1914–1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003): 69, 71.

[56] Audoin-Rouzeau, Becker, and Smith, *France and the Great War*, 122.

France, although there is no direct evidence that she was motivated to compose because of these mutinies. Regardless, with this defiant attitude looming in the streets of Paris, *Vieille prière bouddhique*'s message of anti-violence was not only suggestive of the pacifist climate, but may have been regarded as fueling the sentiments of disobedient soldiers if it was performed. It was not premiered, however, until years after her death and the war on June 9, 1921 at the Concerts Dandelot under the leadership of Henri Büsser.

The text to *Vieille prière bouddhique* suggests an alternative power structure to the wartime world in which Boulanger lived. Not only are women and men as well as all races considered equal and worthy, but these different sectors of society and the world coexist peacefully with one another. This is Boulanger's "whimsical fancy," as Barrès wrote in 1914. Her peaceful imagination desired a different personal and political world than the one in which she lived where pain dominated her life and the lives of so many suffering in the war.

Contemporary composers such as Roussel also similarly employed exotic Otherness to envision other power structures, according to Pasler. Pasler writes of Roussel's *Evocations* (1910–1911), "The heroism and grandeur of ancient India presented these largely Catholic landowners, royalist aristocrats, and conservative traditionalists with a vision of what they sought and could not have under the anticlerical Republic."[57] Debussy's *La boîte à joujoux* (1913), which includes an old Hindu song, is also similar. Glenn Watkins interprets the potpourri of contents (such as French folk tunes, the Hindu song, themes from *Golliwog's Cakewalk*, etc.) as "a child's make-believe world, where people from diverse ethnic cultures are obliged to live

[57] Pasler, "Race, Orientalism, and Distinction in the Wake of the 'Yellow Peril,'" 279.

together."[58] These alternative power formations, then, are also a means of fantasy and escape, which correspond to the symbolist aesthetic in which Boulanger took part.

The symbolist vision of fantasy, escape, and dreaming stood at the center of many of these so-called exotic musical works, including Boulanger's. Debussy and Ravel, among other composers, as Locke suggests, "saw the Orient as a primarily imaginative space in which one might take refuge from the sordid ugliness or prosaic utilitarianism of the urban West."[59] Exoticism could thus provide a break from the reality of war rather than providing a means to assert domination or superiority over a colonial or exotic Other. Such fantasies of and continued interests in the East during a time of war helped composers like Boulanger create and escape from the horrid and unstable realities of home and Self. It therefore serves not purely as a locus of imagination, as previously claimed by Zank in his study of the Prix de Rome texts, but as a sort of escapism that represents the trials of the time and the need to define nation, or Self. These fantasies are not ones of a sexualized Otherness, seen in so many earlier French exotic works.

There is nothing that palpably connects an exotic with the feminine in *Vieille prière bouddhique*. As Pasler argues, by the turn of the century, the French understood the Orient beyond its ability to evoke seduction, power, and escape. Pasler claims that Roussel's musical explorations of Indian music in his *Evocations* (1910–1911), for example, focused on spirituality, reverence, and devotional power in an Other rather than creating a binary of West/masculine versus East/feminine. In addition, Roussel attempted to classify Indian music as a variant of Western music because of the belief that India was an Aryan ancestor of French

[58] Watkins, *Proof Through the Night*, 113.

[59] Locke, "Cutthroats and Casbah Dancers," 132.

culture, as originally proposed by Henry Woollett in *Histoire de la musique*, 1909.[60] Similarly, Fétis turned to Indian music to claim music's universality, but argued that there is nothing in the West that has not come from the East.[61] The use of an Other, therefore, is not simply employed to evoke spirituality, but is evoked as a derivation of the Self. Composers could employ Indian music, or other Eastern music, to understand the Self (French culture) while maintaining positional superiority over an Other, giving power to the Western imagination because it is musically framed within a Western context.

There are several similarities between Roussel's *Evocations* and Boulanger's *Vieille prière bouddhique*. They both are reverent and devotional in nature, but are still controlled within European musical symbols and structures of the Western imagination. Georges Migot and Camille Mauclair reviewed Boulanger's work, both wrongly labeling it the "Hindu Prayer," directly after its premiere in 1921. Migot wrote, "It is endowed with a local coloration, but it does not disturb the enthusiastic ability of our Occidental emotions."[62] I interpret his comment to mean that even though the work uses many superficial musical tropes of exoticism, it remains strongly French, or Western in nature. French musical identity, as espoused by d'Indy, rested on the fact that France was part of the Occident and was therefore devoid of the Oriental (including

[60] Pasler, "Race, Orientalism, and Distinction in the 'Yellow Peril,'" 255.

[61] Jann Pasler, "India and its Music in the French Imagination before 1913," *Journal of the Indian Musicological Society* 27 (1996): 27–51.

[62] Georges Migot, "Oeuvres de Lili Boulanger," *La Revue Musicale* (1921): 163. "La Prière indoue (prière quotidienne pour l'univers) pour tenor solo et choeur avec orchestre, s'écrit en une ligne sonore d'un ampleur magique. De la couleur locale, juste assez pour ne point entraver l'élan vers notre emotion occidentale." Of course, the term local color is also a historical term associated with French Grand Opera.

Jewish music).[63] The Schola Cantorum justified foreign musical influences by arguing that composers such as Debussy transformed them into something characteristic of the Occidental world.[64] *En blanc et noir,* for example, "uses non-western pentatonicism together with clashing seconds, to achieve an almost visceral effect, and to imply that the Germans are not occidental, but oriental, as propaganda demanded."[65] Perhaps Boulanger's choice to end with a fugue (an admittedly under-developed one), or a *fortissimo* unison ending, at least in part, provides a decidedly Western framework of control over the exotic in the composition.[66]

The text itself recognizes the existence of dualisms such as Occident/Orient and men/women while simultaneously attempting to disregard such differences. If there is an Other in this piece, it is the tenor, who has the only solo, placed firmly in the middle of the composition. The tenor sings, "Let every woman that liveth, Let every man that liveth, Let all the Aryans and the non-Aryans too, All the gods and all human kind, Those who have fallen, without a foe, without hindrance, pain and sorrow transcend, at last attain peace and joy."

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[63] Jane Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual: Music and Ideology in France, 1914-1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 38. This, of course, does not mean that composers may not use non-Western musical techniques. These were central to many French compositions.

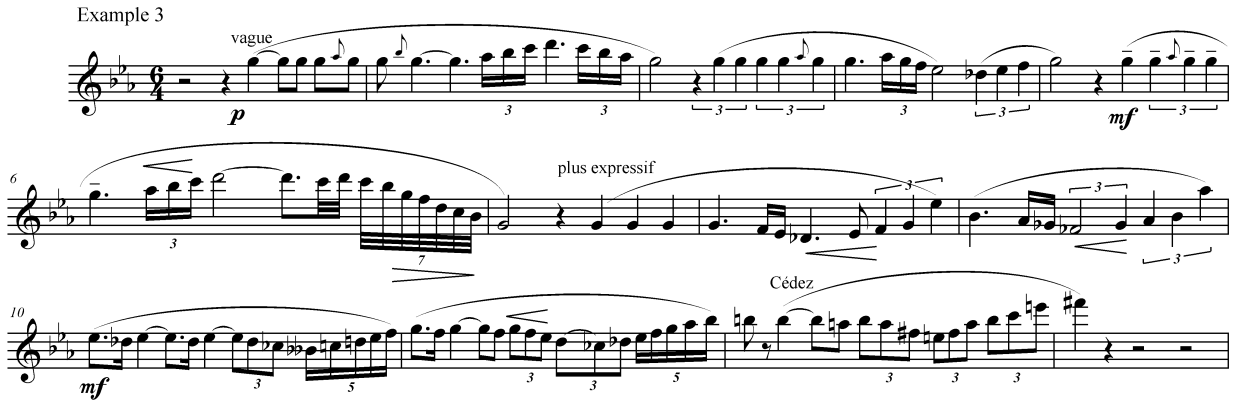
[64] Jane Fulcher, *French Cultural Politics and Music: From the Dreyfus Affair to the First World War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 50.

[65] Jane Fulcher, "Speaking the Truth to Power: The Dialogic Element in Debussy's Wartime Compositions," in *Debussy and his World*, ed. Jane F. Fulcher (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), 218. Glenn Watkins makes a similar argument in *Proof Through the Night*, 92.

[66] Because the fugue contrasts with the otherwise homorhythmic, monotonous melodic nature of the rest of the composition, one may interpret the fugue—the most highly individual polyphonic genre—to represent the textual declamation that each individual deserves peace and joy. Boulanger may have also chosen to insert a fugal section at the end of the composition because it was a requirement of the Prix de Rome.

Immediately preceding the tenor solo, we hear a flute solo, shown in Example 3, complete with improvisational arabesques.

Example 3



The excerpt is reminiscent of flute passages signifying an exotic in works by other composers such as Debussy's *Prélude de l'après-midi d'un faune,* Ravel's "La flûte enchantée" from *Shéhérazade* and *Rhapsodie espagnole,* or the opening flute solos in Delage's *Quatre poèmes hindous*. The passage thus draws upon stylistic musical features from a specifically French lineage. The specific choice of a flute solo, as Thibaut wrote in 1911, is "tendre et mystique," further connecting typically gendered feminine terminology with Otherness.[67] If the tenor speaks as an Other, the choice of voice may be significant. First, Otherness is represented by a male voice instead of a female one. However, the tenor in this piece sings mostly in his high range, masking obvious distinctions between the feminine and the masculine so that these dualisms become additionally blurred.

[67] R. P. Thibaut, "Le Concert Classique Oriental," *Revue Musicale Mensuelle* 7, no. 2 (1911): 26.

In *Vieille prière bouddhique,* Boulanger also uses *bouches fermée* several times as an echo effect, indicating it as a "murmur in the distance."[68] The first appearance of *bouches fermée* occurs in the sopranos and tenors, which echo the altos' and basses' words. This choice of high voices as echoes who never take the lead may therefore endorse the relation between the feminine and Other. Toward the end of the composition, however, all voices sing with *bouches fermée* just prior to a *fortissimo* homophonic section sung to the text, "In the Orient and the Occident, in the North and the South, Let every being which existeth, without a foe, without hindrance, pain and sorrow transcend, at last attain peace and joy." Because all voices sing with closed mouths, this may also negate any direct connection with the feminine. Nevertheless, Boulanger's use of *bouchess fermée* confirms the idea of disarticulation of Western language and the inexpressible in similar ways to her contemporaries and French predecessors. While she may critique dualisms of masculine/feminine, or Self/Other, she also concomitantly articulates them through such techniques as closed mouth singing.

Boulanger also denotes Otherness through the harmonic structure of the piece. The composition begins and ends in C Phrygian. At the tenor solo, however, Boulanger chooses to obscure any sense of modal clarity. Marked as calm and clear, the tenor sings a transposition of the main melodic fragment, centering on F# (a tritone away from the original melody on C), but the constantly shifting modal centers in the accompaniment take the listener away from the "home" modes, perhaps signifying unstable difference, or an Other. As Boulanger's score markings suggest, the tenor is furthermore "enveloped" or consumed within the ephemeral movement of the accompaniment. Because the text is so universal and does not easily specify a

[68] Stièvenard-Salomon interprets her use of closed-mouth singing as a technique that provides a sense of distance with imaginary voices. Stièvenard-Salomon, "Zwischen Fortschritt und Tradition," 54.

duality of Self/Other, I argue that it is the *way* Boulanger sets the tenor that can signify Otherness, by virtue of its being individualistic compared to the rest of the composition.

The choice of the tenor voice and its musical context, and Boulanger's use of closed mouth singing thus further problematizes clear dualities of Self and Other and its relation to the masculine and feminine. Many times her interpretations lie somewhere in between that of a critique and a reaffirmation of such ideas. She also reflects ambiguity or resistance of definitive categories in her choice to set a poem that recognizes dualisms while simultaneously disregarding them. During a time of war, when people were categorized into friend or foe, Self or Other, Boulanger chose not only to set a text that simultaneously acknowledged and masked difference, but refused to give power to categories of West or East or different religions. It is these ambiguities that not only make her works so rich, but offer provocative insight into how someone, already cast as an Other within her own country, negotiated ideas of French exoticism and identities of Self within wartime.

Conclusion

On June 9, 1921, Camille Mauclair gave a speech about Boulanger's life as part of the *Concerts Dandelot* at the Salle Pleyel. This concert featured only Boulanger's works. Mauclair's speech was then printed as an article in *La Revue musicale* the same year.[69] Along with *Vieille prière bouddhique,* the *Concerts Dandelot* also premiered Psaume 129, and programmed the complete cycle of *Clairières dans le ciel, Pour les funérailles d'un soldat, Pie Jesu, Reflets, Nocturne,* and *D'un matin de printemps.* When programmed with these other compositions by Boulanger, *Vieille prière bouddhique* is still unique because of its pacifist message and its non-

[69] Camille Mauclair, "La Vie et l'œuvre de Lili Boulanger." *Revue musicale* 10 (1921): 147–55.

denominational spiritual context. Most of the other compositions on the 1921 concert highlight personal and political suffering, both reflective of the Good Suffering and secular in nature. Because of its pacifist message, concert programmers may not have viewed *Vieille prière bouddhique* as appropriate to perform in 1917 because many French soldiers expressed growing discontent over the war and doubted French victory. In 1921, however, the war was almost three years behind them and the French had reclaimed their nation. By performing *Vieille prière bouddhique* three years after the war and after Boulanger's death, Boulanger's vision of peace could finally be realized.

Three reviews by Georges Migot, Camille Mauclair, and composer Louis Vierne provide only cursory, generalized statements on Boulanger's musical style and do not discuss or analyze the song selections. Mauclair, for example, wrote, "How do we define this music? It has clear form and lively classical harmonization, if by that we mean disdain of any effect of strangeness and simplicity of line."[70] Mauclair suggested Boulanger's music adhered to classical Frenchness, but did not provide any further explanation or analysis.

Instead these three reviews were obituaries to Boulanger and even tributes to French World War I soldiers, and France as a nation. Other than a brief biography provided by Mauclair, all three reviews focused upon the tragedy of Boulanger's untimely death. Mauclair's 1921 article (originally his speech) began, "I shall retrace here all of the history and the legend of an existence—that of a young lady—who is dead. . . . This is a story of a departed child of twenty-four years who almost never ceased suffering, and the story of a genius, who revealed herself in

[70] Mauclair, "La Vie et l'œuvre de Lili Boulanger," 153. "Cette musique, comment la définir? Elle est de forme claire et vivante d'harmonisation presque classique, si l'on entend par la dédain de tout effet d'étrangeté et la grande simplicité de ligne."

this fragile and charming body."[71] Likewise, Migot's 1921 review affirmed that the selections programmed were Boulanger's greatest works and the world of music continued to suffer by losing such a gifted composer at such a young age.[72] Vierne proclaimed that he was not one "who believes that this young girl said all she had to say."[73] He also continued, "Leaving the concert, I have in mind the deepest appreciation of the child's heart for giving me the deepest joy I've felt in a long time."[74] These examples show that posthumous reviews continued to reinforce those images that Boulanger, her colleagues, critics, friends, and family mobilized in her life, and which were critical to her wartime reception. She was the Good Sufferer, the *femme fragile,* and *l'enfant.*

The 1921 concert thus acts as a eulogy or musical funeral for Boulanger. However, it was also a homage to all those French soldiers who died in the war, and to France itself. Mauclair wrote, "I think you will agree with me that this is the same music that would play on the grave of our Unknown Soldier."[75] This is, perhaps, the highest compliment for which Boulanger could have hoped for her music post-war. Not only was her music good, but it represented France as a

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[71] Mauclair, "La Vie et l'œuvre de Lili Boulanger," 147.

[72] Georges Migot, "Les Concerts," *La Revue musicale* 10 (August 1, 1921), 163–64; quoted in Rosenstiel, *Life and Works of Lili Boulanger*, 211. Put in French.

[73] Louis Vierne, quoted in Jérôme Spycket, *À la recherche de Lili Boulanger: Essai biographique* (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 2004), 361. "Je ne suis nullement de ceux qui croient que cette jeune fille a dit tout ce qu'elle avait à dire." No further citation provided.

[74] Louis Vierne, quoted in Spycket, *À la recherche de Lili Boulanger,* 361. "En sortant de ce concert j'ai en esprit et du plus profond du cœur remercié cette enfant de m'avoir donné la joie la plus profonde ressentie depuis longtemps."

[75] Mauclair, "La Vie et l'œuvre de Lili Boulanger," 155. "Je crois que vous penserez comme moi que c'est la musique même qu'il faudrait jouer sur la tombe de notre Soldat Inconnu."

nation. Boulanger and her music thus symbolized the suffering, the strength, and the hopeful future of France.

Epilogue

As we approach the one hundred year anniversary of the First World War, the themes presented in this dissertation are, sadly, not obsolete. Up until 1914, the world had never experienced anything so massively destructive as World War I, and each participating nation underwent colossal upheaval and reconstruction that is difficult for modern-day audiences to comprehend. Although I cannot fully understand the French national agony that Jean-Jacques Becker calls the war's "great mutation" of France, I do know that the culture of war is something still critical in our world that faces war on a daily basis.[1]

It is not only the physical and audible reminders of wartime memorials that linger with us and remind us of war's brutality. The cultural, social, and political mobilizations of national identities, suffering, sacrifice, death, motherhood, childhood, and female and male gender performativity, in general, have permeated most, if not all wars fought on our planet. They have continually molded nations in significant and lasting ways. We have recently witnessed how music, along with other art forms, has shaped our own country's sense of identity, dissent, suffering, and strength through the musical work and scholarship to come out of the United States' participation in the Iraq War.[2] From radical right-wing songs such as Toby Keith's "Courtesy of the Red, White, and Blue," to protest songs such as Neil Young's "Let's Impeach the President," to albums soldiers wrote on the frontlines, such as "Iraq Unplugged," to scholarly

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[1] Leonard V. Smith, Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, Annette Becker, *France and the Great War 1914–1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 5.

[2] For further information see Suzanne Cusick, "'You are in a Place that is Out of the World . . .' Music in the Detention Camps of the 'Global War on Terror,'" *Journal of the Society for American Music* 2, no. 1 (2008): 1–26; Martin Daughtery and Jonathan Ritter, eds. *Music in the Post-9/11 World* (New York: Routledge, 2007); Jonathan Pieslak, *Sound Targets: American Soldiers and Music in the Iraq War* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2009).

articles on music used as a form of torture by Suzanne Cusick, wartime music continues to shape and reflect the most pertinent social and political issues our country faces.

When the armistice arrived on November 11, 1918, France had lost scores of its soldier-musicians, many whose names still remain virtually unknown. Their voices, however, linger in documents such as the *Gazette.* Other better-known composers, such as Debussy and Boulanger, also passed away before witnessing the musical community's post-war reaction. While a trend toward French musical classicism and more traditional musical forms did not completely disappear from the repertoire post-war, the French witnessed dramatic musical shifts toward a musical modernism. This modernism is evident, for example, in the music of Erik Satie or Igor Stravinsky.[3] Due in large part to the continually burgeoning relationship between France and the United States, the French also adopted and incorporated American musical genres, such as American jazz, into their compositions. It is these musical trends that have dominated traditional stylistic musical narratives.

In some ways then, just as Boulanger's life ended during the last few months of the war, so did the immediate popularity of her compositional style. Her contributions, however, are not any less relevant to the history of French music. As this dissertation has shown, her music featured and shaped the most prominent musical trends of her day. The texts upon which she

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[3] The May 1917 performance of Satie's *Parade* at the Théâtre du Châtelet served as a benefit to wounded soldiers. The critical reaction was mixed, however, as many perceived it as anti-war, or even *boche,* because of its modernistic style. As Fulcher claims, "Picasso and Satie, in collusion, would subversively play upon . . . propaganda, death, distrust of the word, and the nebulous realm between reality and stage." Jane Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual: Music and Ideology in France, 1914–1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 75. Fulcher also cites Stravinsky's 1922 *Symphony for Wind Instruments* and his *Concertino,* as well as *Mavra* (performed by the Ballets Russes in 1922 and 1923) as examples of French musical modernism. Fulcher notes that Nadia Boulanger associated Stravinsky's modernism with historical tradition, and argued that Stravinsky drew on the counterpoint of J. S. Bach. Fulcher, *Composer as Intellectual,* 169–70.

composed and her musical settings of them highlighted, mobilized, and challenged larger French societal concerns regarding wartime motherhood, sacrifice, and suffering.

Many concerts continued to include Boulanger's music in France, England, and the United States. Both Nadia Boulanger and conductor Walter Damrosch played a large role in the performances and premieres of Lili Boulanger's compositions, particularly in France and the United States. In the summer of 1918, Damrosch met Nadia Boulanger in France where she introduced him to Lili's works. He was impressed and brought several of Lili's orchestral scores back to the United States, including *Pour les funérailles d'un soldat* and *Hymne au soleil.* Damrosch programmed both of these compositions at the New York Oratorio Society on December 3, 1918.[4] He additionally conducted Boulanger's *Faust et Hélène* at Carnegie Hall with the Symphony Society of New York on December 26, 1918. Damrosch's approval and performances of her works led to Boulanger's increased compositional presence in the United States. In February 1919, for example, one of the leading American musical periodicals, *The Musician,* gave her a two-column obituary, noted her compositions, and recognized her critical work with the Comité Franco-Américain.[5] Many of her other compositions continued to appear on musical programs in both the United States and France in the years following the war.[6]

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[4] Léonie Rosenstiel, *The Life and Works of Lili Boulanger* (London: Associated University Press, 1978), 204.

[5] Rosenstiel, *Life and Works of Lili Boulanger*, 206.

[6] Some of these concerts in the years immediately following the war include: December 3, 1918: a concert in honor of her memory at the Salle Central, December 26, 1918: *Faust et Hélène* at Carnegie Hall with the Symphony Society of New York, January 17, 1919: "Au pied de mon lit," "Je garde une médaille d'elle," and "Par ce que j'ai souffert" from *Clairières dans le ciel* at the Société Musical Indépendante, February 12, 1919: a concert including "Par ce que j'ai souffert," *Nocturne, Cortège,* and the duet from *Faust et Hélène,* March 21, 1919: a program by Claire Croiza that included selections from *Clairières dans le ciel*, March 29, 1919: a benefit program for wartime widows and orphans at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées that included *Pour*

Nadia Boulanger promoted Boulanger's music and memory by establishing a prize at the Conservatoire in 1918 to be awarded each year to a student in composition.[7] Furthermore, on her first tour of the United States in 1925, Nadia performed several of Lili's works including *Pour les funérailles d'un soldat*, which she programmed alongside the premiere of Aaron Copland's Symphony for Organ and Orchestra at the New York Symphony Orchestra's January 11, 1925 concert; Damrosch conducted this concert.[8] Years later in 1939, Nadia helped establish the "Lili Boulanger Memorial Fund," whose aim was to dedicate itself to future performances of Lili's music. The organization also provided financial support for young composers. Along with Nadia, the board included Aaron Copland, Walter Piston, Alexei Haieff, Igor Stravinsky, Yehudi Menuhin, and Nicolas Nabokov.[9] This organization still exists, headquartered in Boston, Massachusetts, and provides yearly competitions for young composers.[10]

In 1965, Mme Paul Valéry created an organization in France, "Les Amis de Lili Boulanger," which had the same goals as its American counterpart. In 1983, several years

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les funérailles d'un soldat, March 24–25, 1919: a concert featuring *Clairières dans le ciel* at the Concerts Pasdeloup, June 3, 1919: *Hymne au soleil, Soir sur la plaine,* unspecified selections of *Clairières dans le ciel, Nocturne, D'un matin de Printemps, Cortège,* and the complete *Faust et Hélène* at the Association chorale de Paris, March 18, 1920: *Reflets* at Jordan Hall, Boston, November 10, 1920: *Nocturne* and *Cortège* at Aeolian Hall, London, January 19, 1921: *Dans l'immense tristesse, Clairières dans le ciel, Nocturne, Cortège, D'un soir triste,* and *D'un matin de Printemps* at the Union des Femmes Professeurs et Compositeurs de Musique, March 6, 1921: *Pour le funérailles d'un soldat* at the Palais du Trocadéro, June 9, 1921: *Vieille prière bouddhique*, Psaume 129, *Pie Jesu*, and *Reflets* by the Concerts Dandelot at the Salle Pleyel.

[7] Rosenstiel, *Life and Works of Lili Boulanger*, 206.

[8] Rosenstiel, *Life and Works of Lili Boulanger*, 213.

[9] Rosenstiel, *Life and Works of Lili Boulanger*, 213.

[10] The 2012 winner of the Lili Boulanger Memorial Fund was New York composer, Kate Soper (born 1981).

following Nadia's death, Annette Dieudonné, Cécile Armagnac, Doda Conrad and François Dujarric de la Rivière founded the *Fondation internationale Nadia et Lili Boulanger*, which also aimed to perpetuate the memory and music of the Boulanger sisters and provide scholarships to young musicians and composers. In 2001, this organization created and supported the biennial "Nadia and Lili Boulanger International Voice-Piano Competition," a competition which seeks to financially help singers and pianists under thirty-two years of age who have completed their studies or who are at the beginning of their career. In 2009, the *Fondation internationale Nadia et Lili Boulanger* reconfigured its name and organization to its current status as the *Nadia and Lili Boulanger International Centre*. Boulanger's works continue to be performed internationally to this day, as evident by several mentions (often without thorough reviews) in newspapers such as *The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Observer* and *The Times* (England), *The Advertiser* (Australia), *The Irish Times, The Gazette* (Montreal), among others.

Despite continued interest in Boulanger's music, no one recorded her works until 1960, when Everest recorded Psaumes 24, 129, 130, *Vieille prière bouddhique*, and *Pie Jesu*, performed by the Lamoureux Orchestra and Chorale Elisabeth Brasseur under Igor Markevitch, Nadia's student. The recording won the Arthur Honegger Prize for religious music by the Académie du Disque Français for the year 1960–61.[11] Reviews of this recording illustrate that not much had changed by 1960 with regard to earlier gendered reviews of her works. Marc Blitzstein reviewed the 1960 recording: "How good can her music be? It is more than good. It is extraordinary. Make no mistake, here was an original talent . . . the music is . . . masculine in its rugged force, utterly feminine in its purity and lyrical outpouring. Honegger, Poulenc, Roussel—

[11] Rosenstiel, *Life and Works of Lili Boulanger*, 215.

to name but three who out-lived her—owe Lili much."[12] While seemingly complimentary, the gendered analogies fall into stereotypes that have continually haunted Boulanger's reception, as well as the reception of many other women composers to this day.

Boulanger's early death continues to dominate her narrative in contemporary reviews. In a 2001 *New York Times* musical review, Bernard Holland wrote, for example, "Lili Boulanger flowered young and died in 1918 at 25 [sic]."[13] In May 2012, Andrew Druckenbrod wrote of the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra's "Paris Festival," "One can only wonder what the classical music world would have been had Lili Boulanger not died in 1918 at 24 years old."[14]

Musicology, among other disciplines, still has not recognized Lili Boulanger, or many other women composers, as essential participants in the general narrative of Western Music History. Part of the challenge that I and many musicologists continue to face is to neither write the stories of women composers as oddities and exceptions in the musicological canon, nor to overly-emphasize their greatness because they are women. Instead, we need to study them within the context of their larger musical communities. We must also continue to not fall into the trap of defining their lives into the two categories to which Ruth Solie argues women fall victim: they lived happily ever after or they met a bad end.[15]

Solie argues that an author's interpretation of a woman's biography (whether she lived happily ever after or met a bad end) usually depends upon their appropriateness of their behavior

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[12] Marc Blitzstein, "Music's Other Boulanger," *The Saturday Review* (May 28, 1960): 60.

[13] Bernard Holland, "4 Women in the Spotlight, With Strauss the Token Male," *New York Times* (November 5, 2001): 4.

[14] Andrew Druckenbrod, "Choral work enlightens PSO Paris fest," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* (May 5, 2012): n.p.

[15] Ruth A Solie, "Approaches to the Discipline: Changing the Subject," *Current Musicology* 53 (2003): 56.

within contemporary norms. It was not, however, Boulanger's deviation from societal gendered expectations that brought on her bad end. What many saw as her fate to suffer—and to suffer gracefully and silently—resonated strongly in the wartime climate, and writers and leaders of propaganda conceived and mobilized this suffering as a particularly feminine attribute. The political language of Boulanger's suffering as the Good Suffering, and her constructed frail and graceful demeanor, had considerable consequence on how others viewed her contemporaneously and posthumously. Because of the strong focus on creating a romanticized vision of a young Boulanger suffering courageously until her death, scholars have generally neglected to understand how her contributions to the French musical community were indispensable to contemporary French musical culture.

It is therefore imperative to analyze how gender has operated within Boulanger's and other composer's cultural, social, and political environment. Historians and musicologists cannot simply liberate women from neglected history by inserting them into the dominant discourse; we must instead critique the particular history that has continued their silence. The ways in which contemporaries heard Boulanger's works before and during the war were not necessarily based upon the work itself, but upon how her political, social, and cultural interactions shaped the meaning of her compositions and activities. The First World War provides ample opportunity for this type of analysis because gender roles and expectations were in flux, and were therefore at the forefront of societal and political concerns.

This dissertation has thus analyzed the interrelations of Boulanger's compositions, reception, and wartime work within the First World War by continually asking how conceptions and analysis of gender operated in her own life and in the larger cultural and political environments of France. It is my hope that this dissertation will contribute to scholarship about

Boulanger and French musical history by reconsidering and challenging conventional narratives of French music during World War I. I also hope that my scholarship will encourage a larger spectrum of gender and cultural studies of war to include musicological research. Historians such as Margaret Darrow and Susan Grayzel have greatly contributed to gender and war research, and musicologists such as Regina Sweeney have done an exceptional job at gender analysis in popular music during the First World War. However, there continues to be a need to analyze gender and music within war (all wars). Music is fundamental to how we understand larger concepts of political, social, and artistic wartime culture. In France, as in other countries involved in the First World War, music was critical to its conception of national identity, its ability to mobilize, mourn, and shape constructions of gender. As one of the foremost early twentieth-century French composers, Boulanger's music thus remains vital to the history of both French wartime music and World War I France.

As I have demonstrated, Boulanger's music and her performative gender could not escape the events and the consequences of war. Likewise, music cannot transcend the political, social, and cultural environment in which composers worked. That does not mean that all her compositions were overtly political, but they nevertheless engaged with wartime subjects and shaped and reflected musical Frenchness, French national identity, post-war memory, and her own reception. The wartime climate and its heightened gender concerns contributed largely to shaping her contemporary and posthumous reception as a maternal, child-like Good Sufferer. Boulanger and her music symbolized France, and specifically an artistic, musical France.

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