A Shift in Time:

Music and Temporality in 1913 Paris

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Abstract

Temporality is an integral—and often overlooked—aspect of music. This thesis seeks to understand the relationship between music and time. Rapid social, cultural and technological change affected the perception and experience of temporality in *fin de siècle* Paris. The year 1913 offers a fascinating case study for understanding the plethora of cultural and musical reactions to these changes. To that end, this thesis draws on a range of primary and secondary sources such as journalistic texts, letters, notes, philosophical texts, visual arts, cinematic and musical sources, and makes use of interdisciplinary methodology, drawing upon historical musicology, socio-cultural history and philosophies of time.

This thesis presents a kaleidoscopic portrait of musical life in 1913 Paris. Chapters 1 and 2 examine time and space respectively—the former details definitions of time, while the latter explores Paris as a city of temporal change, looking at changes in transport and architecture and its impact on musical culture. Chapter 3 examines landscape and Satie's relationship with time; Chapter 4 considers the connections between Bergson, Proust and Ravel; and Chapter 5 looks closely at parallels between early cinema and Debussy's *Jeux*. Finally, Chapter 6 brings together these cultural and musical moments. It is in 1913 that we can see the consequences of this rapid period of change in musical terms as a palpable trend for the first time, rather than as individual moments. By using the example of 1913 Paris, this thesis proposes that there are useful parallels to be drawn between experiences of time and the cultural and musical manifestations of temporality.

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This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my Taid, Dr Bryan Newns Austin.

'Expériences de parachute': view of Paris, 29 October 1913

(Agence Rol, Paris. BnF Estampes et photographie, EI-13 (34). Rol, 34230.)

A Shift in Time: Music and Temporality in 1913 Paris

Acknowledgements *iii*

Abbreviations *vi*

Lists of tables, diagrams, illustrations and photographs, maps and musical examples *vii*

Chronology: 1913 *xiv*

1. A City of Time 1

2. The Urban Landscape of Paris 36

3. Walking in the City: Streetlights, Simultaneity & Satie 63

4. An Epistemological Reading of Bergson, Proust & Ravel 87

5. Temporality in Feuillade's *Fantômas* & Debussy's *Jeux* 122

6. Conclusion 157

Appendices: Mapping a City of Time *165*

Bibliography *196*

Abbreviations

BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
SMI	Société musicale indépendante

Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are the author's own.

Tables

Table 2.1: Memory and nostalgia in popular music published in 1913 50

Table 2.2: The Métro in music published in 1909–1914 52

Table 3.1: Analysis of Satie's 'Sur un vaisseau', *Descriptions automatiques* 80

Table 4.1: Analysis of Ravel's 'Soupir', *Trois poèmes de Stéphane Mallarmé* (1913) 115

Table 7.1: List of maps featured in Baedeker's 1913 guide to Paris 174

Table 7.2: List of plans featured in Baedeker's 1913 guide to Paris 175

Table 7.3: Large or Principal Theatres 177

Table 7.4: Small Theatres, 'the fashionable "théâtres d'à côté"' 180

Table 7.5: Other Theatres 181

Table 7.6: Music Halls, 'mostly unsuitable for ladies' 182

Table 7.7: Concert Rooms, or *Salles*, 'Chamber music is performed in winter in the concert-rooms' 183

Table 7.8: Societies and Orchestras 184

Table 7.9: Cafés-Concerts 185

Table 7.10 Cabarets artistiques: 'These are the descendants of the famous Cabaret du Chat-Noir' 186

Table 7.11: Performance venues according to arrondissement 187

Table 7.12: The use of the ascending and descending lift, manipulating the cinematic temporality 188

Table 7.13: Other experiences of time and temporal fluidity in the first *Fantômas* film 189

Table 7.14: Analysis of *Jeux*'s temporal form (presented in landscape) 190

Diagrams

Fig. 4.1: Google Ngrams graph showing number of mentions of the word 'Bergson' in French-language publications within 1800–2000, with a peak observed in 1913 103

Fig. 4.2: Google Ngrams graph showing number of mentions of the word 'Bergson' in English-language publications within 1800–2000, with a peak observed in 1913 104

Illustrations and photographs

Illustration 2.1: The last Parisian horse-drawn omnibus, before it departed Place Saint-Sulpice for its final journey 37

Illustration 2.2: Gino Severini, *Le Nord-Sud* 48

Illustration 2.3: Architectural plans for the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, 1907 56

Illustration 3.1: *Prismes électriques* by Sonia Delaunay (1914) 68

Illustration 4.1: 'Some books about Bergson', fragment from the 1913 publication of *Bergson for Beginners* 101

Illustration 5.1: *Le Matin,* 15 May 1913, page 4 128

Illustration 5.2: The instantly recognisable poster for the 1913 *Fantômas* films 134

Illustration 5.3: Close-up shot of Fantômas's calling card 137

Illustration 5.4: Lift sequence in *Fantômas* 138

Illustration 5.5: The fading sequences of *Fantômas*, illustrating his many disguises 140

Illustration 7.1: Front page of the *Excelsior*, 31 May 1913 171

Illustration 7.2: The construction of the Métro 171

Illustration 7.3: The façade of the newly built Galeries Lafayette 172

Illustration 7.4: Cinéma Omnia Pathé 172

Illustration 7.5: 'Enterrement du dernier omnibus' 173

Maps

Map 7.1: A Métro plan from 1913, the kind that was popularised by 'les grands magasins' from the beginning of the twentieth century (Private collection © Sandmarg) 166

Map 7.2: Baedeker's map of Paris from 1913 167

Map 7.3: The 1913 edition of Baedeker includes a 'transport' map of Paris 168

Map 7.4: Map fragment showing Avenue du Bois de Boulogne 169

Map 7.5: Cross-section of 1913 map, showing Boulevard Péreire 169

Map 7.6: Cross-section from Baedeker map showing the Place de l'Opéra 170

Map 7.7: Cross-section from Baedeker map with Boulevard de Rochechouart, the location of several theatres and the location of the majority of the listed cabarets... 170

Musical examples

Ex. 1.1: Melodic non-suspension in Koechlin's *Sonate pour piano et flûte* 30

Ex. 1.2: Metric instability in Koechlin's *Sonate pour piano et flûte* 31

Ex. 3.1: Rhythmic cell 'a' in 'Sur un vaisseau' 81

Ex. 3.2: Rhythmic cell 'b' in 'Sur un vaisseau' 81

Ex. 3.3: Fragmentary ending of 'Sur une lanterne', *Descriptions automatiques* 83

Ex. 3.4: Repetitive pattern from second movement of *Descriptions automatiques* 83

Ex. 4.1: The ostinato pattern that dominates the first half of Ravel's 'Soupir' 116

Ex. 4.2: The return of the ostinato figure 119

Ex. 5.1: First musical phrase of B (B1), b. 49–50 150

Ex. 5.2: Second phrase of B (B2), b. 57–58 150

Ex. 5.3: Return of phrase B at b. 618 151

Ex. 5.4: Prélude 'B', b. 9–10 151

Chronology: 1913

11 January: Saint-Saëns receives the Grande Croix of the Légion d'honneur; Cécile Chaminade is the first woman composer to be awarded the Légion d'honneur

11 January: The last horse-drawn omnibus—the primary means of public transport during the belle époque—is run in Paris, having been made redundant by the Métro, electric trams and motorised omnibuses; horse-drawn trams are also phased out by the end of the year

17 January: Raymond Poincaré is elected President of France

11 March: Luigi Russolo publishes *L'Art des bruits* (*Art of Noises*) in Milan

21 March: Louis Barthou becomes Prime Minister of France

22 March: Wireless communication between the United States and France begins; Maryland sends a message that is received by the Eiffel Tower

April: in this month, Ezra Pound's poem 'In a Station of the Metro', inspired by the Paris underground, is published in the newly founded *Poetry* magazine

2 April: Opening night of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, music by Claude Debussy, Gabriel Fauré, Vincent d'Indy, Camille Saint-Saëns, conducted by the composers themselves. Maurice Ravel completes the piano part of 'Soupir', first of his *Trois poèmes de Stéphane Mallarmé*

21 April: Satie composes 'Sur un vaisseau'

22 April: Satie composes 'Sur une lanterne'

24 April: French aviator Eugène Gilbert makes a record non-stop 826km flight from Villacoublay, France to Vitoria-Gasteiz, Spain

26 April: Erik Satie composes 'Sur un casque', completing his piano suite *Descriptions automatiques*

May: in this month, the first *Fantômas* film is first shown at the Palace Gaumont

10 May: Fauré's *Pénélope* receives its Paris premiere to international acclaim

15 May: Fifth season of the Ballets Russes opens at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, with Stravinsky's *L'Oiseau de feu*, Rimsky-Korsakov's *Scheherazade*, and premiere of Debussy's ballet *Jeux*

22 May: Centenary of Wagner's birth

25 May: Ahead of the parliamentary debate on the extension of military service, Jean Jaurès, head of the socialist party, speaks against the machine of war—100,000 people reportedly attend the meeting

29 May: The public premiere of *Le Sacre du printemps* at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées

30 May: Jules Goux becomes the first Frenchman to win the Indianapolis 100 motor race

19 June: A 'Gala Claude Debussy' concert at Comédie des Champs-Élysées, including 'Ibéria' transcribed for two hands performed by Debussy and Ricardo Viñes

26 June: First season of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées ends with a performance of Fauré's *Pénélope*

29 June: Apollinaire publishes *L'Antitradition futuriste: Manifeste-Synethèse*: an angry criticism of all things past

30 June: Erik Satie composes 'Holothurie', first of the *Embryons desséchés* piano suite

July: in this month, Alain-Fournier's *Le Grand Meaulnes* is published in instalments in *La Nouvelle Revue française* from July to November; it is also separately published by Émile-Paul and nominated for a Prix Goncourt

1 July: Erik Satie composes the second movement of his piano suite, *Embryons desséchés*

2 July: French aviator Marcel Brindejonc des Moulinairs sets a new distance record, flying from Paris to Saint Petersburg

4 July: Erik Satie composes the third piano movement of his suite *Embryons desséchés*

6 July: Lili Boulanger wins the Prix de Rome with her cantata *Faust et Hélène*

13 July: Line 8 of the Métro opens, from Opéra to Auteuil

7 August: The Senate of France votes to pass the *Loi de trois ans*, extending military service from two to three years

20 August: French aviator Adolphe Pégoud is the first person in Europe to jump from an airplane, safely parachuting above Yvelines, France

25 August: Erik Satie composes 'Españaña', completing the set of three piano pieces entitled *Croquis et agaceries d'un gros bonhomme en bois* which he started on 28 July 1913

1 September: Adolphe Pégoud is the first to fly upside down in an inverted flight

12 September: Niels Bohr presents his theory of the quantum model of the atom at the British Association for the Advancement of Science in Birmingham

23 September: French sportsman Roland Garros makes the first aviation crossing of the Mediterranean, from the South of France to Tunisia

2 October: Second season of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées opens with Fauré's *Pénélope*

26 October: Erik Satie composes *Peccadilles importunes*

30 October: at the end of the month, Astruc is declared bankrupt and the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées closes its doors

13 November: The first volume of Proust's *A la recherche du temps perdu* is published

20 November: The Eiffel Tower receives and transmits wireless radio signals to and from the US Naval Observatory in Arlington, Virginia

2 December: Louis Barthou resigns as Prime Minister after only eight months in office

10 December: Claude Debussy conducts a programme of his music in Moscow for the first time

– 1 –

A CITY OF TIME

Paris, 31 May 1913. Change was in the air. The Saturday newspapers reported shockingly high temperatures on Thursday and Friday. 'The heat increases', ran a headline on the front page of *Le Petit Parisien*,[1] while *Le Matin* warned that 'humanity is threatened to die of heat'.[2] A nitroglycerine factory had exploded in Portes-Vendres,[3] and an aviator, Lieutenant Kreyder, had died in an airplane accident.[4] The political debate of the year, *la loi des trois ans*, dominated the papers: the new President of France, Raymond Poincaré (elected 17 January), and the new Prime Minister, Louis Barthou (since 22 March), were attempting to reach common ground with radicals to push through the new military law—despite a reported 100,000 people attending a protest led by socialist leader Jean Jaurès against the 'machine of war'.[5] From further afield, news arrived that the (first) Balkan War had ended: a peace treaty had been signed between the Ottoman Empire and the Balkan League in London, prompting discussions around future threats of war (*La Paix: et la Guerre?* ran a headline in the socialist paper *L'Humanité*).[6] And, amid the threat of war, the heat and the

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[1] Anon., 'La chaleur augmente', *Le Petit Parisien* (31 May 1913), p. 1. The article notes that the temperature in Paris had increased to 30.6 degrees Celsius on Friday. This was also reported on the front page of *L'Aurore* (31 May 1913).

[2] Charles Nordmann, 'L'humanité est menacée de mourir de chaud', *Le Matin* (31 May 1913), p. 1. Nordmann was a French astronomer who researched solar activity. The article suggests that the heat wave was part of a wider problem of increasing temperatures due to solar flare-ups.

[3] Anon., 'L'explosion de Paulille', *Le Journal* (31 May 1913), p. 1 & 4.

[4] Anon., 'Les aviateurs', *Le Petit Journal* (31 May 1913), p. 1. In June, only a few weeks later, another airplane crash was reported: 'L'aviateur Bernard et sa passagère se tuent à Buc: Terrible accident d'aéroplane'. Anon., 'Terrible accident', *L'Intransigeant* (6 June 1913), p. 1.

[5] R. de. Thomasson, 'La loi des trois ans', *Journal des débats* (31 May 1913), p. 1.

[6] Francis de Pressense, 'La Paix: et la Guerre?', *L'Humanité* (31 May 1913), p. 3. The Second Balkan War would begin in June, mere weeks later.

explosions, reports of a scandalous premiere on Thursday evening in Paris reached the front pages.

In the new Théâtre des Champs-Élysées on 29 May, the premiere of *Le Sacre du printemps* by Igor Stravinsky (1882–1971) was met with infamous rioting.[7] The music critic Adolphe Boschot wrote in *L'Écho de Paris,* 'We find in *Le Sacre du Printemps*, an undeniable virtuosity of orchestration, and a certain rhythmic power.'[8] Composer and music critic Henri Quittard, although he otherwise seemed to dislike the work, claimed that 'the sense of rhythm appears with beautiful effect and sometimes startling variety'.[9] Quittard and Boschot—inadvertently, perhaps—praised the innovative rhythmic-temporal structures above all other aspects of the music. A large review appeared on the front page of the arts daily *Comœdia*, with three critics (the editor-in-chief Gaston de Pawlowski, the composer and musicologist Louis Vuillemin, and the artist-sculptor Louis Schneider) providing their take on the premiere's music, dancing and set design. Vuillemin echoed Quittard and Boschot, arguing that there was an 'admirable force of rhythm, of life, of movement' in

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[7] Jonathan Cross's 'Portrait of a Scandal', in his biography of Stravinsky, unpicks the legend behind the riots at the premiere. He notes that 'the vast majority of the press was not in fact present on the evening of 29 May but had been invited, as was the custom to attend the open *repetition générale* the day before […] That performance was enthusiastically received, without any hint of booing or fisticuffs.' Jonathan Cross, *Critical Lives: Igor Stravinsky* (London: Reaktion Books, 2015), p. 52.
[8] Adolphe Boschot, 'Le "Sacre du Printemps" Ballet de MM. Rœrich, Stravinsky et Nijinsky', *L'Écho de Paris* (30 May 1913). Original French: 'Certes, on retrouve, dans le Sacre du printemps, une incontestable virtuosité de l'orchestration, une certaine puissance rythmique.'
[9] Henri Quittard, 'Théâtre des Champs-Élysées: Le Sacre du Printemps, tableaux de la Russie païenne, en deux actes, musique de M. Igor Strawinsky: chorégraphie de M. Nijinsky: décors et costumes de M. Rœrich', *Le Figaro* (31 May 1913), p. 5. Original French: 'Et si le sens du rythme y apparaît avec une belle vigueur et une variété parfois saisissante, l'invention mélodique s'y révèle d'une extrême faiblesse.' Many of these reviews are included in François Lesure, *Anthologie de la critique musicale: Le Sacre du printemps: Dossier de presse* (Genève: Éditions Minkoff, 1980).

the music.[10] Even in the first few days, the initial critical reception of *Le Sacre* was framed by the startling rhythm of the music.

In the following months, rhythm was lamented or praised in the press as a key feature of the music. Whether 'fragmentary',[11] 'incisive'[12] or 'mechanical',[13] the critical reception recognised the innovative temporality of the music. In musicological scholarship, *Le Sacre du printemps* is still considered a radical temporal composition, ahead of its time. It is impossible to condense everything that has been written on this work—from Jonathan Cross on the music's block form legacy and Richard Taruskin on Stravinsky's Russian roots to Louis Andriessen and Elmer Schoenberger's fascinating dissection of a beguiling figure[14]—however, what remains clear is that *Le Sacre du printemps* is one of the most important works of the twentieth century.

1913 marked a pivotal moment in Parisian culture, not only because of the riotous premiere of *Le Sacre*. The first volume of Marcel Proust's epic *A la recherche du temps perdu*

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[10] Louis Vuillemin, 'Au Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. "Le Sacre du Printemps" Ballet en deux actes de M. Igor Stravinsky', *Comœdia* (31 May 1913). Original French: 'Une force admirable de rythme et de vie, de mouvement'.

[11] In June, the music critic Michel-Dimitri Calvocoressi referred to the 'boldness of the music', in its 'rhythmic fragments and dissonance'. M.-D. Calvocoressi, 'Critique Musical du "Sacre du Printemps"', *Comœdia* (5 June 1913). Original French: 'j'ai l'occasion de mentionner la hardiesse, en matière de brisure rythmique et de dissonance'.

[12] In August, the music critic Pierre Lalo argued that the music was 'animated by an inner energy that is revealed in the incisive and powerful rhythms'. Pierre Lalo, 'Feuilleton du Temps: Considérations sur Le "Sacre du Printemps"', *Le Temps* (5 August 1913). Original French: […] animée d'une énergie intérieure qui se révèle dans les rythmes incisifs et puissants'.

[13] In October, the music critic Jean Marnold lamented the 'the tyranny of a mechanical rhythm and the restraint of an imposed fragmentation'. Jean Marnold, 'Ballets Russes: Le Sacre du Printemps', *Mercure de France* (1 October 1913), p. 4. Original French: 'la tyrannie d'un rythme mécanique et de la bride d'un morcellement'.

[14] See for example: Pieter C. van den Toorn, *The Music of Igor Stravinsky* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), and *Stravinsky and 'The Rite of Spring': the Beginnings of a Musical Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); Louis Andriessen and Elmer Schoenberger, *The Apollonian Clockwork: On Stravinsky* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006, first pub. in Dutch, 1983; Eng. trans. first pub. 1989); Richard Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions: a Biography of the Works Through Mavra* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 2 vols.; Jonathan Cross, *The Stravinsky Legacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

was published in November, conjuring a new literary form of temporal understanding.[15] Proust (1871–1922) portrayed a fluid view of memory in his novel: the linear direction of temporality was destroyed, and the past could suddenly impact the present. Alain-Fournier's *Le Grand Meaulnes*, a youthful fantasy of lost innocence and childhood memories, was published in July.[16] Adam Gopnik argues that it is a 'keystone of modern French literature' and a 'model of all the adolescent novels which marked so much of twentieth-century literature'.[17] The death of Alain-Fournier (1886–1914) in action in the First World War only a year later has added to the pathos and tragedy of his nostalgic novel. Gopnik and others have drawn convincing parallels between Alain-Fournier's *Le Grand Meaulnes* and F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby*: both have a strong sense of imagery, parallels in title, and a melancholy sense of the lost domain of happiness that is more commonly associated with the 'Gatsby' age of the post-war period.[18] Alongside Proust and Alain-Fournier's literary modernisms, Apollinaire's first major collection of ground-breaking, early modernist poetry, *Alcools*, appeared in 1913.[19] The collection included 'Zone', an epic poem about Paris which reimagined poetic form and temporal constrictions, featuring the hustle and bustle of modern life: buses, automobiles and the Eiffel Tower.[20]

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[15] Marcel Proust, *Du côté de chez Swann* (Paris: Éditions Grasset, 1913). The first volume was famously published at the author's expense, with a revised edition published by Gallimard in 1919. Translation: *Swann's Way*, translated by C. K. Scott Moncrieff and Terence Kilmartin, revised by D. J. Enright (London: Random House, 1992).
[16] Alain-Fournier's *Le Grand Meaulnes* was published in instalments in *La Nouvelle Revue française* from July toNovember; it was also separately published by Émile-Paul (Paris, 1913) and nominated for a Prix Goncourt.
[17] Adam Gopnik, 'Introduction', *Le Grand Meaulnes* (London: Penguin Classics, 2007), p. i.
[18] F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Great Gatsby* (New York: Charles Scribner & Sons, 1925).
[19] See Robert Champigny's foundational text for a discussion of temporal innovation of Apollinaire's work: Robert Champigny, 'Le Temps chez Apollinaire', *PMLA*, vol. 67/2 (1952), pp. 3–14.
[20] Guillaume Apollinaire, 'Zone', *Alcools* (Paris, 1913).

In 1913, a radio mast was installed on the Eiffel Tower. On 21 November, it began regularly broadcasting to the world. The sound of the beats of its clock was communicated wirelessly to the Naval Observatory in Washington. *The New York Times* ran with the headline 'Paris time by wireless: Arlington Station gets beats of clock in the Eiffel Tower'.[21] Of all the sounds chosen to broadcast, it was 'Paris time' that was shared with the world. Technological developments were not only limited to communication: aviation records made the news with startling regularity. On 8 May, a French plane carried six passengers for the first time: a new world record. On 2 June, French aviator Marcel Brindejonc des Moulinairs set a new distance record flying from Paris to Saint Petersburg, and, on 3 June, a French aviator recorded an altitude of 5,000 metres with a passenger on board.[22] On 23 September, French sportsman Roland Garros traversed the Mediterranean for the first time.[23] Each record was triumphantly reported on the front pages of the Parisian newspapers: Garros was described as 'brave and energetic'.[24] Each day seemed to advance the capabilities of what humanity could achieve.

Barriers to equality for women were also being challenged. In January, while the beloved composer Camille Saint-Saëns (1835–1921) received the Grande Croix of the Légion d'honneur in 1913, so too did the composer Cécile Chaminade (1857–1944), becoming the first woman ever to be awarded the highest French order of merit. On 4 June, the suffragette Emily Davison suffered a fatal injury from the King's Horse, after running onto the track at the Epsom Derby. London's *Daily Sketch* declared her the 'first martyr for votes

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[21] Anon., 'Paris time by wireless', *The New York Times* (22 November 1913), p. 1.
[22] Anon., 'A 5,000 mètres avec passagère: La prouesse d'un aviateur', *Le Matin* (4 June 1913), p. 1.
[23] Anon., 'Garros traverse la Méditerranée en aéroplane', *L'Intransigean*t (24 September 1913), p. 1.
[24] Anon., 'Garros traverse la Méditerranée en aéroplane', p. 1. Original French: 'Garros est un courageux et un énergique'.

for women'.[25] In July, Lili Boulanger (1893–1918) won the Prix de Rome with her cantata, *Faust et Hélène* (Paris: Éditions Ricordi, 1913). Auguste Mangeot, the music critic and pianist, was quick to congratulate her and declare it a 'feminist' victory:

> Feminism has just won a decisive and brilliant victory: a young girl under the age of 20, Mlle Lili Boulanger, achieved in her first contest, and almost unanimously, the 1st Grand Prix of Rome in Musical Composition. […] A musician after hearing the cantatas made this statement: 'I have always been opposed to women composers, but I bow to Mlle Lili Boulanger.'[26]

Despite the sexist undertones of Mangeot's praise, Boulanger's success was regarded as an important moment in history. This first was 'decisive' and 'brilliant'—perhaps because, as Mangeot argued, he was the first to recognise the talent of the composer fifteen months previously. Claude Debussy also congratulated Boulanger: 'Lili Boulanger […] is only nineteen years old. Her experience of the techniques of writing music is far greater, however!'[27] Boulanger's depiction of the Faustian parable is emblematic of the rich harmonic language and structures of late-romantic music, yet there are suggestions of temporal ambiguity in her character portrayal. The duality between the menacing figure of Mephistophèles and the graceful Hélène is shown in their temporal treatment: Mephistophèles, characterised by sparse orchestration, is rife with rhythmic instability (as

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[25] Anon., 'First martyr for votes for women', *Daily Sketch* (9 June 1913), p. 1. Most newspapers were not so sympathetic. The *Daily Mirror* wrote that 'it was quite evident that her condition was serious; otherwise many of the crowd would have fulfilled their evident desire to lynch her.' Anon., 'Woman's Mad Attack on the King's Derby Horse', *Daily Mirror* (5 June 1913), p. 4.

[26] Auguste Mangeot, *Nos Portraits: Mlle Lili Boulanger* (30 July 1913), p. 205. Original French: 'Le féminisme vient de remporter une victoire décisive et éclatante: une jeune fille âgée de moins de 20 ans, Mlle Lili Boulanger, a obtenu à son premier concours, et à la presque unanimité des voix, le Ier Grand Prix de Rome de composition musicale. […] Un musicien après avoir entendu les cantates nous fit cette déclaration: "J'ai toujours été opposé aux femmes compositeurs, mais je m'incline devant Mlle Lili Boulanger".'

[27] Debussy, *Review*, reprinted in François Lesure (ed.), *Monsieur Croche et autres écrits* (Paris: Gallimard, 1987), pp. 252–3; translation by Caroline Potter, *Nadia and Lili Boulanger* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p. 14.

at his *menaçant* 'Si vous ne vous séparez d'elle, / C'en est fait de vous!'). Hélène, however, is largely accompanied by mono-rhythmic thematic material: her *largamente* 'O brûlante flame' is depicted with a clear, steady rhythm in 4/4. Lili Boulanger's success highlights one of the many changes that were unfolding in Paris: women were beginning to be taken seriously, at least in relation to the cultural norms of *fin de siècle* Paris.

Change, of course, was not to be found everywhere. Richard Wagner (1813–1883) was the most performed composer at the Opéra Palais Garnier in 1913, although this is not surprising, given that it was his centenary.[28] The records of the Opéra show the frequency of performances, month by month.[29] Alongside Wagner, the opera *Faust* (which premiered in 1859 at the Théâtre Lyrique) by the French composer Charles Gounod (1818–1893) was one of the most performed works. This was followed by a collection of piano nocturnes and preludes by Frédéric Chopin (1810–1849), arranged into an orchestral *Suite de danses* by the composer André Messager and Paul Vidal for the Opéra to perform as a ballet. The most recently composed works performed at the Opéra in 1913 were over a year old: *Roma*, composed and premiered in 1912, by Jules Massenet (1842–1912) received one performance in September of 1913, and the Italian composer Ermanno Wolf-Ferrari (1876–1948)'s opera, *Les Joyaux de la Madone* (1911) received its Paris premiere in June.

At the Conservatoire de Paris, one of the oldest musical institutions in Paris (dating back to 1784),[30] the composer Gabriel Fauré (1845–1924) had settled into the role of director

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[28] On the complex issue of Wagner and the ideological landscape of music in France, see Marion Schmid, 'A bas Wagner! The French Press Campaign against Wagner during World War I' in Barbara L. Kelly (ed.), *French Music, Culture and National Identity, 1870–1939* (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2008), pp. 77–91.
[29] *Archives de l'Opéra: Journal de l'Opéra* (Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra: Paris, 1913, online www.gallica.bnf.fr, accessed 30 March 2019).
[30] The French First Republic *Directoire exécutif* government of 1795–1799 merged the *École Royale de Chant* (founded in 1784), and the *Institut National de Musique* (founded in 1792), to found the Conservatoire de Paris in 1795 under the direction of Bernard Sarrette. 351 pupils began their studies the following October in 1796. Information found in the published historical documents

after eight years in the post.[31] Some of the composers who would later become known as 'Les Six' were students at the Conservatoire: Darius Milhaud, Germaine Tailleferre, Arthur Honegger and Georges Auric.[32] Pitted against the Conservatoire was the Schola Cantorum de Paris. Founded in 1894 by Charles Bordes, Alexandre Guimant and Vincent d'Indy, the private music school intended to counter-balance the Conservatoire's attitudes towards musical education and its emphasis on opera in the nineteenth century. Jane F. Fulcher argues that d'Indy and the Schola Cantorum prided themselves on creating a different atmosphere of learning from that of the Paris Conservatoire.[33] Instrumental composers

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on the founding of the Conservatoire: Constant Pierre, *Le Conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation: documents historiques et administratifs, recueillis ou reconstitués par Constant Pierre; sous-chef du secrétariat* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1900). See also: Constant Pierre, *B. Sarrette et les origines du Conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation* (Paris: Delalain Frères, 1895); Jacques-Gabriel Prod'homme and E. de Crauzat, *Les Menus plaisirs du roi: L'École royale et le Conservatoire de musique par J.-G. Prod'homme et E. de Crauzat. 17 Portraits, vues et plans d'après les documents de l'époque* (Paris: Librairie Delagrave, 1929) and Henri de Curzon, *L'histoire et la gloire de l'ancienne salle du Conservatoire de Paris, 1811–1911* (Paris, 1916).

[31] Elected in 1905, after the controversy surrounding the 'Affaire Ravel', which eventually resulted in the director (and composer) Théodore Dubois's retirement, his appointment sparked disagreement in the media. Ravel's failure to pass the preliminary round of the *Prix de Rome* (the 'Affaire Ravel', so called by the press) pitted the French avant-garde against conservatives. This eventually resulted in Théodore Dubois's retirement and Fauré's appointment, in the place of Dubois's anticipated successor, Conservatoire teacher Charles Lenepvue. The final round of the infamous *Prix de Rome* had been made up entirely of Lenepvue's pupils. Fauré's appointment was therefore seen as a vindication for Ravel, and a victory for the avant-garde musicians of Paris, by the Parisian press. Fauré elected composers Claude Debussy, Paul Dukas and André Messager to the governing council, who are considered to have been progressive figures for the administration of the Conservatoire. See Nigel Simeone, *Paris: A Musical Gazeteer* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), and D. Kern Holoman, *The Sociétés des Concerts du Conservatoire, 1828–1967* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004). Fauré was also *Le Figaro*'s music critic (1903–1921), and President of the Société Musicale Indépendante (SMI), elected in 1910. The SMI was formed by Ravel to oppose the Société Nationale de Musique, and its tendency to perform the work of the structured, serious, and, in some eyes, incoherent compositions of the Schola Cantorum students.

[32] Fauré and the new governing council initiated a conducting class, and Maurice Emmanuel began a music history class in 1909. Students of the Conservatoire in 1913 also included Jacques Ibert, Spanish pianist José Cubiles, tenor Charles Friant and pianist and composer Claude Delvincourt.

[33] Fulcher argues that 'unlike the Conservatoire—designed to produce professionals and founded on the competitive system of concours—the Schola sought to produce "artists", those who felt the calling regardless of background and age. D'Indy's model was collaborative, not competitive; his ideal period was the Middle Ages, where master and pupil worked together, bound by mutual respect and religious faith.' Jane F. Fulcher, 'Vincent d'Indy's "Drame Anti-Juif" and its Meaning in Paris, 1920', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, vol. 2/3 (Nov 1990), p. 298.

such as César Franck—d'Indy's teacher—found it difficult to gain acceptance in the Conservatoire. The Schola was intended to be dedicated to religious music, focusing on Renaissance music and Gregorian chant, but by 1913, it had developed into an institution that was strong on a wider music history, with a clear emphasis on techniques of composition.[34]

In 1913, the *Orchestre du Société des Concerts du Conservatoire* was considered the most prominent orchestra of Paris (later becoming the Orchestre de Paris in 1967). André Messager was the chief conductor.[35] D. Kern Holoman argues that Messager's role as conductor was an important one for shaping the direction of the orchestra, particularly around 1913:

> Messager cultivated the star system, of which he was so obviously a part, not only by featuring his best players (the concertmaster Alfred Brun, the violist Maurice Vieux, the flutist Adolphe Hennebains, the oboist Louis Bleuzet) and his best singers at the Opéra

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[34] Otto Luening illustrates how Varèse's early educational foundation at the Schola Cantorum de Paris influenced his later work. Luening notes that 'Charles Bordes's class introduced Varèse to pre-Classical music, Albert Roussel taught him counterpoint and fugue, and d'Indy taught him composition and orchestral conducting.' Otto Luening, 'Varèse and the Schola Cantorum, Busoni and New York', *Contemporary Music Review*, vol. 23/1 (March 2004), p. 13. For further discussion on the context of the early music revival in France and the rise of the Schola Cantorum, see Catrena M. Flint, 'The Schola Cantorum, early music and French political culture, from 1894 to 1914' (Ph.D. thesis: McGill University, 2006). The Appendices of Flint's thesis have an invaluable source of concert listings featuring 'early music' by the Schola Cantorum during 1891–1914, which provides important groundwork for further research in this area.

[35] Messager first competed with Georges Marty for the position in 1901, as a 'fast-rising musical director of the Opéra Comique'. D. Kern Holoman, *The Sociétés des Concerts du Conservatoire, 1828–1967* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), p. 311. He did not gain the position until 1908, on Marty's sudden death from liver failure. By that point Messager had become the unquestionable candidate for the role and was elected in a brief 30-minute meeting. Having been educated at the Ecole Niedermeyer, and not the Conservatoire, Messager might have been considered an outsider: this could have been the underlying reason for his unsuccessful earlier attempt at winning the position of chief conductor.

> (Yvonne Gall, Claire Croiza) but also insisting that guest artists be only those of the highest calibre.[36]

The orchestra's concerts in Paris relied on almost solely on subscriptions, as described in the 1913 edition of Baedeker's guidebook to Paris:

> As all the seats are taken by subscription, tickets returned by subscribers are alone available for outsiders. Apply at the office, 2 Rue du Conservatoire, on Sat. at 1.30–3, or on Sun. at 1–2pm; adm. 4–5 fr.[37]

However, as Jann Pasler argues, 'André Messager, among others, used tours and recordings to transform the Société into an international orchestra for the prestige of the institution and the nation'.[38] Parisian culture was recognised on the international stage for its prestige and tradition. Aside from the Opéra and the Orchestre, Nicole Wild's *Dictionnaire des théâtres parisiens* is a fantastic source for an overview of all theatres in Paris operating in the 'long' nineteenth century.[39]

Nevertheless, the year 1913 does seem to have witnessed a moment of widespread interdisciplinary innovation and disruption. This thesis focuses on a period of twelve months at the near end of the belle époque. This era, usually defined as beginning after the end of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71 and ending with the onset of the First World War in 1914, was a period of peace and prosperity in France. Examining a brief historical moment enables a study of a wide cross-section of Parisian urban life. A number of studies have concentrated on a single year: possibly the first serious attempt to explore what a

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[36] Holoman, p. 337.
[37] Karl Baedeker, *Baedeker's Paris and its Environs, with Routes from London to Paris: Handbook for Travellers, with 14 Maps and 42 Plans* (Leipzig: Baedeker, 1865, rev. ed. 1913), p. 38.
[38] Jann Pasler, 'Review: The Société des Concerts du Conservatoire', *Music and Letters*, vol. 91/4 (2010), p. 595.
[39] Nicole Wild, *Dictionnaire des théâtres parisiens, 1807–1914* (Lyon: Symétrie, 2012).

historical study of a single year could produce was Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht's *1926: Living at the Edge of Time*. This is an exercise in historiography, an attempt to solve the problem of presenting history as a grand narrative.[40] Gumbrecht recreates the rush of experiences for citizens of the year 1926, with no teleological direction, but instead offering the reader multiple itineraries and ways through his historical account, with various micro-histories on boxing, bullfighting, celebrity, A. A. Milne and Alfred Hitchcock.[41] In some ways, the approach shares its aims with Walter Benjamin's mammoth *The Arcades Project*,[42] a thirteen-year effort to reconstruct the history of the nineteenth century 'using its rubbish as materials rather than its artworks'.[43]

Two historical accounts deal specifically with the year 1913 and its place in history and historiography. Charles Emmerson's study, *1913: The World Before the Great War*, attempts to look afresh at this period as one full of possibility rather than predestined tragedy. Emmerson explores universal themes that emerged from overlooking the forthcoming shadow of war: globalisation was becoming a reality. International world travel, at least for Europe, was a luxury that could now be afforded not only by the privileged classes. Emmerson discovers a period not so dissimilar from the world today. As he writes in his conclusion, the image we now have of 1913 is of

> a world bathed in the last rays of the dying sun, a world of order and security, a world unknowingly on the brink of the seminal catastrophe of the twentieth century. It is an

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[40] Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, *In 1926: Living at the Edge of Time* (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 1997).
[41] Other studies which have focused on a single year include: Drew Ferguson, '*Les Noces*: A microhistory of the Paris 1923 production' (Ph.D. thesis: Duke University, 1995).
[42] Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann and Hermann Scweppenhäuser, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999, rev. 2002, originally published as *Das Passegen-Wek* (Suhrkamp Verlag, 1972).
[43] J. M. Coetzee, 'The Marvels of Walter Benjamin', *New York Review of Books* (11 January 2001).

> image full of pathos and poetry, of figures moving silently towards their destiny, flickering shadows on the surface of time.[44]

In reality, much felt new and unsettled: Henry Ford's production line disrupted industry, London was in the grip of ragtime and Mexico was in the grip of civil war. Emmerson makes the case that we should avoid viewing 1913 'as nothing more than an antechamber to the Great War'.[45]

Florian Illies takes as his subject the same moment in history, in his poetic account, *1913: The Year Before the Storm*. Preferring instead to delve into the seeds of modernism that were being sown, he flits between Louis Armstrong's first notes on a trumpet, Franz Kafka in love, and Charlie Chaplin signing his first film contract. Ecstasy was invented, while Thomas Mann spent most of the year debating the cost of a rug. Both books attempt to remove the teleology of the twentieth century; and yet both reveal disbelief at how familiar the world of 1913 looks in today's eyes.

There are a number of studies that view 1913 as the beginning or the end of a period of continuity. Barbara L. Kelly's *Music and Ultra-Modernism in France* views 1913 as the beginning of a period of 'ultra-modernism' that was ultimately disrupted by the onset of the Second World War in 1939.[46] Kelly subverts the perceived view that this period, between Debussy's death (1918) and Olivier Messiaen's work, was one lacking in 'vitality and distinctiveness of music and musical debate' and instead showcases the breadth of continuity and transformation that defined this period in French music.[47] Jane F. Fulcher's *The Composer as Intellectual* looks at the period immediately after the focus of this study,

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[44] Charles Emmerson, *1913: The World Before the Great War* (London: Bodley Head, 2013), p. 457.
[45] Emmerson, p. xii.
[46] Barbara L. Kelly, *Music and Ultra-Modernism in France, 1913–1939* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2013).
[47] Kelly, *Music and Ultra-Modernism in France*, p. 234.

beginning with the onset of the First World War.[48] She argues that composers during the interwar period were actively engaged with political and ideological ideas.[49] Annegret Fauser and Mark Everist, on the other hand, view 1913 as the end of a fruitful period of musical dialogue.[50] Looking at the 'long' nineteenth century, these essays consider the ways in which the Parisian musical stage reached a cultural and international zenith, ending in 1914 with the beginning of war. As a moment between differing periods of continuity, 1913 marks a moment of disruption in Parisian musical culture.

The streets and spaces of Paris are the heart of this thesis. French cultural geographer Claire Guiu argues that 'sound and music interact with space and territory in a plural manner'.[51] A crucial study by Jonathan Hicks provides groundwork for discussion of the interwoven themes of modernism, urbanism and the impact of space. Hicks's thesis considers Satie's music from the perspective of the places and mobilities of *fin de siècle* Paris. He argues that there is a benefit in exploring the relationship between urban environments and the musical lives and compositional strategies of composers. The approach of this thesis benefits from the interdisciplinary method of Hicks, in its treatment of places, mobility and music, as well as more broadly, cultural history, geography and practice. He argues that 'the modern capital(ist) city is best understood in terms of process, practice, circulation, and flow',[52] rather than 'as an assemblage of objects, locations, and rooted

[48] Jane F. Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual: Music and Ideology in France, 1914–1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
[49] Roger Nichols' *The Harlequin Years: Music in Paris, 1917–1929* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2002) overlaps with this period. Nichols argues Paris was a cultural hub, attracting travellers from around the world because it was cheap and rich in cultural activity.
[50] Annegret Fauser and Mark Everist *Music, Theatre and Cultural Transfer: Paris, 1830–1914* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).
[51] Claire Guiu, 'Introduction [special issue: Géographies et musiques: Quelles perspectives?]', *Géographie et cultures*, vol. 59 (2006), p. 3. Original French, translated by Hicks, p. 12: 'Faits sonore et musicaux intergissent avec l'espace et le territoire sur un mode pluriel.'
[52] Jonathan Hicks, 'Music, place, and mobility in Erik Satie's Paris' (D.Phil. thesis: University of Oxford, 2012), p. 12.

identities'.[53] If we understand Paris in this way, then it is the process of living and experiencing change as a city that is crucial to our understanding of the cultural and musical outputs of artists living in an urban space. Situating creative practices in the flux of movements within an urban space is a useful starting point for examining the music of composers living and working in a period of cross-cultural change and disruption.

Parisian spaces are undeniably entangled with both Parisian and French identities. Hicks describes this as the 'centripetal tendency': the tendency to move towards a centre, in this case Paris, at the metaphorical centre of France. This was, as Hicks argues,

> more than usually pronounced in Third Republic France, where politics, linguistics, education, and demographics all converged on a hegemonic metropolis at the head of an apparatus of nationhood increasingly focussed on tighter unification.[54]

The anthology of essays *French Music, Culture and National Identity, 1870–1939*, edited by Barbara L. Kelly, is invaluable on this period of centripetal tendency and conversion.[55] Kelly's foundational introduction on the role of music in nation building and in the formation of a national identity echoes this sentiment.[56] While Paris is at the centre of this national identity, these essays offer an alternative perspective on France's regions, particularly Katherine Ellis's account of Rameau's influence in Dijon.[57] Therefore, while this thesis is concerned with Paris, there were complex layers of identities of capital and

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[53] Hicks, p. 12.
[54] Hicks, p. 31.
[55] Barbara L. Kelly (ed.), *French Music, Culture and National Identity, 1870–1939* (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2008). An understanding of musical culture in Third Republic France is made more fruitful from Jann Pasler's *Composing the Citizen*. Third Republic France was an era in which music was engaged with questions of public utility and service. Jann Pasler: *Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009).
[56] Kelly, *French Music*, particularly pp. 1–8.
[57] Katherine Ellis, 'Rameau in Late Nineteenth-Century Dijon: Memorial, Festival, Fiasco' in Kelly, *French Music*, pp. 197–214.

nation that cannot be completely untangled.[58] We cannot completely distinguish between 'Parisian' and 'French'.

For the shifting urban histories of Paris, however, the year 1913 was pivotal. Marked by moments of disruption, many of these changes involved new ways of thinking about time. From Stravinsky's innovative 'block form' temporal structures in *Le Sacre*, to Proust's reimagining of the possibilities of memory in the structures of narrative, as in *A la recherche*, temporal change was a thread that ran through this pivotal year for French culture. Stephen Kern's philosophical treatise on the culture of time and space in the *fin de siècle* period, which he defines as 1880–1918, sets the groundwork for this approach. Kern shows that during this period, 'there was a dramatic increase in available energy sources' which resulted in 'both transportation and communication times dropping drastically, which made for a shrinking of lived distance'.[59] Kern considers the aftermath of the Industrial Revolution and its impact on shared socio-cultural experiences. Shifts in society, such as the speed of travel and expansion of communication, affected the *experience* of time and space. This, he argues, created an era in which the *perception* of time and space was changing. By examining a myriad of parallel cultural and technological changes, Kern imagines a radical shift in time and space around the turn of the century.

Kern's treatise is a philosophical overview of a wider period of change. He creates a compendium of parallel shifts in temporal conception, in order to understand this as a 'culture of time and space', a culture in which questions of time and space dominated discussions and activity. Drawing on this approach, this thesis explores 1913 as a 'culture

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[58] See Katherine Bergeron, *Voice Lessons: French Mélodie in the Belle Époque* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) for an example of the way in which the centripetal tendency remains significant within the study of musical culture.
[59] Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880—1918* (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 1983, revised ed. 2003), p. xii.

of time': a culture in which the experience and perceptions of time were shifting. It considers the connections between the urban mobilities and fluxes of Paris with its socio-cultural life. This thesis is centred around the question of whether there are useful parallels to be drawn between the 'experiences' and the 'perceptions' of time in 1913 Paris.

But, what does it mean to talk about time? Time is indefinable—it seems to resist definition by its very nature. Many musicological attempts to tackle 'time' begin with a similar preface: throughout history, humans have attempted to understand, to define, to redefine, to question, to measure and to anguish over, time. Time has been seen as a question mark since the dawn of humanity. Benedict Taylor's indispensable book on musical temporality in the Romantic era, for instance, begins with Hegel's understanding of Greek mythology:

> Before the earliest surviving words of Western philosophy, before even history, there was myth. […] 'Cronus, this chief Titan […] obviously signifies time: he swallows all his children just as time annihilates everything it has brought to birth.'[60]

Time is presented as ephemeral, transitory, annihilating everything in its path. Earliest human mythology centres on this ephemeral passing of time as a condition of the human experience. Bruce Brubaker begins his examination of musical temporality with musings on the nuances of language and the widespread use of time in speech:

> John Cage might have said, 'Time is time,' as he did say, 'Sounds are sounds.' […] I have sometimes said, 'Music is the sound of time passing.' But, what do we signify with such words? … 'time passing'…? I lost track of time…? I wasted time … ran out of time … saved some time …? It's about time! That was timely. Take your time. Be sure to allow

[60] Benedict Taylor, *The Melody of Time: Music and Temporality in the Romantic Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 1.

> enough time. Since time immemorial. (Ah, we need 'memory'… to have time.) We say, 'He learned to tell time.' We also say: 'Time will tell.' Time's up! Time flies![61]

Brubaker taps into the impossibility of defining and discussing time: linguistically, time is difficult to untangle from the web of metaphors and signifiers that are used to discuss it. It is woven into our everyday speech for everything from measuring the passing of the day to measuring our productivity. Perceiving time underpins our activities. Mark Delaere, instead, begins by pointing out the 'paradox' of musicology, that 'music is said to be the quintessential *temporal* art form, whereas the far greater portion of the theoretical and analytical literature on art music deals with *pitch* independently of temporal factors'.[62] Perhaps one of the reasons for this is that pitch is easily measured, and while we can measure the ticking of the clock, can we easily analyse its effects or measure its manifestations in music?

One of the foundational studies that recently invigorated the study of temporality within musicological discourse is Karol Berger's *Bach Cycle, Mozart's Arrow*. Berger begins with two paintings: Nicolas Poussin's *Il ballo della vita humana* (*A Dance to the Music of Time*) of ca. 1639–1640 and Giandomenico Tiepolo's *Il Mondo Novo (The New World)* of 1791.[63] Berger notes:

> The earlier of the two abounds in circular images: bodies move along circular orbits to the music of Time's lyre. Poussin's time is cyclical, ruled by the sun's daily rising and setting,

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[61] Bruce Brubaker, 'Time is Time: Temporal Signification in Music', in Darla Crispin et al. (eds.), *Unfolding Time: Studies in Twentieth Century Music* (Belgium: Orpheus Institute, Leuven University Press, 2009), pp. 95–96.

[62] Mark Delaere, 'Tempo, Metre, Rhythm. Time in Twentieth-Century Music', in Darla Crispin et al. (eds.), *Unfolding Time: Studies in Twentieth Century Music* (Belgium: Orpheus Institute, Leuven University Press, 2009), p. 13.

[63] Karol Berger, *Bach's Cycle, Mozart's Arrow: An Essay on the Origins of Musical Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), p. 1.

> the annual succession of recurring seasons, turns of the wheel of fortune—all the eternal cycles that govern human life.[64]

It is this shift in the perception of time as 'cyclical' to 'linear time' at the turn of the Renaissance that interests Berger. This linear time is characterised in the painting not by eternal cycles—of seasons and the sun—but by the passing of time moment by moment, in a chronological, linear fashion. The humans in Tiepolo's painting

> are not subject to an eternal, unchanging order. On the contrary, they are children of a unique historical moment, their gaze fixed on a dimly imagined future, a new, emerging world. Tiepolo's time is linear, progressive, oriented toward the future.[65]

This shift from cyclical time to linear time is characterised, he argues, by Bach and Mozart respectively.

Each of these musicological attempts to define temporality touch upon three necessary qualifiers. Firstly, time is indefinable, and yet it seems to be a universal human truth that we wish to define it. Secondly, time is difficult to analyse, making it an aspect of music which is often overlooked. Thirdly, time is tied up in language constraints, which contributes to the difficulty of analysis and scholarship. Even from a scientific perspective, aside from philosophy, there is no agreed definition of time. Time can be defined in physics in a number of ways, whether by quantum mechanics, string theory or space-time theory and relativity, to name a few. In 1905 and 1915 respectively, Einstein developed his special and general theories of relativity. One of the corollaries of this scientific development was

[64] Berger, p. 1.
[65] Berger, p. 1.

the theory that time is relative, depending on the observer. For the first time—in scientific terms—time was no longer a universal construct.

Philosophical definitions of time can be divided into two intertwined concepts. These might simply be labelled 'measured time' and 'perceived time'. 'Measured time' is based on our assumptions that the time is linear, that it can be measured; it is the seconds ticking by regularly on the clock: regulated, regimented and quantifiable. Measured time is often called clock time, and there is a field of study dedicated to the accurate measurement of time (chronometry). It seems immoveable, unquestionable—until we look closer at the philosophical underpinnings of our definitions of time.

'Measured time' is an illusion, of sorts, because we do not experience time in a measured, linear fashion. Not every second of the clock feels the same length—some seconds drag on, while other months fly by. Memories from this morning may vanish, and yet we can recall memories from our childhood as clearly as if they were yesterday. This is part of the nonlinear concept of time as a fluid, flexible mess of past, present and future. As the *Oxford Handbook of Philosophy of Time* makes clear, perception is a complex entity:

> Consciousness has many elements, from sensory experiences and bodily sensation, to non-sensory aspects such as volition, emotion, memory, and thought. At any waking moment we are aware of patterns of sound, light, colour, kinaesthetic sensations, and internal moods and emotions. We are also aware of a way the world is presenting itself to us perceptually: we see and hear events occurring in the space around us, we see objects arranged in and moving through the space around us, we feel the motion of our own bodies, and experience some of that motion as governed by volition. We also have memories in the form of recollected images of past events, as well as knowledge of our

own histories, and a body of semantically structured belief that can be accessed more or less on demand.[66]

'Perceived time' is, broadly, this idea that time is not strictly measurable: that it is, in some way, fluid, unregulated, and interwoven with past memories, the passing present and hopes for the future. We do not perceive every second in the same way.

'Perceived time' is frequently referred to as temporality: the human experience of time. 'Measured time', the concept of a quantifiable, chronometric time, is often referred to as, simply, time or clock time. *Time* and *temporality* are often used interchangeably; however, they have distinct philosophical meanings in the study of temporality. Raymond Monelle argues that 'temporality' may be defined as cultural time—that is, time that is 'imagined or experienced'—whereas, in Monelle's definition, 'time' is what is frequently referred to as 'measured', 'real', 'natural', or 'clock' time.[67] Monelle notes that 'it is important to distinguish *time* from *temporality*'.[68] As Monelle argues, 'natural time flows at a uniform pace in one direction and penetrates all that occupies it'.[69]

In the philosophical field of temporal experience, the brain's cognitive ability to perceive time is divided into three loosely agreed-upon temporal models: cinematic, retentional and extensional. The cinematic model is based on the argument that 'our immediate awareness lacks any […] temporal extension', and that as a result, our stream of consciousness perceives time as 'akin to static, motion-free "snapshots" or "stills"'.[70] The retentional

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[66] Jenann Ismael, 'Temporal Experience' in Craig Callender (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Philosophy of Time* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 462.
[67] Raymond Monelle, 'The Temporal Image' in *The Sense of Music: Semiotic Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), p. 82.
[68] Monelle, p. 81.
[69] Monelle, p. 81.
[70] Barry Dainton, 'Temporal Consciousness' in Edward N. Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (2017 edition, https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2017/entries/consciousness-temporal/, accessed 10 April 2019).

model proposes that we experience change and successions 'within episodes of consciousness which themselves lack temporal extension'. The recent past is 'retained in the present consciousness'.[71] The extensional model for understanding temporal experience assumes that we are able 'to incorporate change and persistence', and that our streams of consciousness 'are composed of successions of these extended "chunks" of experience'.[72] In all three of these models, our minds cognitively experience time as passages of change that either have some or no degree of temporal extension.

In musicological discourse, we encounter the same duality between 'measured' and 'perceived' definitions of time, often distinguished as musical time and musical temporality.[73] Musical time refers to the measurable, clearly defined combination of rhythm, beats, tempo and time signature, and the duration of the music in relation to the time of the clock ('clock time'). Musical temporality is usually used to refer to the *interpretation* and *perception* of (musical) time, whether by the composer, performer or listener, incorporating, for instance, the sense of the passing of time within the piece, the manipulation of time in the music. Temporality, as opposed to time, is seen to require active rather than passive 'involvement'. This understanding of time as an autonomous entity still pervades musicological discussion on time in music, and perhaps accounts for the lack of engagement more broadly with temporality.

Justin London argues that

> Music requires no material substance, nor can one circumscribe any set of sounds as inherently musical (and others as inherently non-musical), but all music must occur

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[71] Dainton.
[72] Dainton.
[73] Monelle (2000) also notes the importance of making this distinction in talking about time as well as when discussing time in music.

> in time. Consequently, music makes us vividly aware of the duration and succession of events and our sense of change and continuity.[74]

Music, as the most temporal of all the arts—because it takes place in time, because it has duration and because it has a sense of pace, rhythm and timing—is well placed to illuminate our understandings of time.[75] In Western art music, temporal processes are conventionally defined by concepts of fulfilment, progress and closure. Tonal motions define musical fulfilment: goal-orientated progressions that move towards hierarchical tonic-dominant relations. Musicological terminology is still largely centred on historical understandings of how music manipulates time. It is framed by tonal manifestations of temporal linearity, and does not account for more contemporary manifestations of temporality. Music that pushes the boundaries of tonality or breaks them can, however, offer fresh perspectives on the way in which we understand and define musical temporality, within a wider discussion of our philosophies of time.

Rhythm is closely related to musical temporality. It is part of the fabric of the composition that the composer manipulates, as Mark Deleare writes, in order to 'mould time by compressing or stretching it, by using linear or nonlinear strategies […] by shaping time in a meaningful way'.[76] Nonlinear temporality encompasses a broad spectrum of musical experimentation. Music that distorts and disrupts the linearity of music's sense of a

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[74] Justin London, 'Time', *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Oxford Music Online: http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/43935, accessed 12 March 2019).

[75] It may be said that music takes place in time, yet the reverse is also true: time takes place in music. This argument is the fundamental approach of Richard Klein's chapter 'Thesen zum Verhältnis von Musik und Zeit' ('Thesis on the Relationship between Music and Time'), in *Musik in der Zeit: Zeit in der Musik* (*Music in Time: Time in Music*), ed. Richard Klein, Eckehard Kiem and Wolfram Ette (Druck: Hubert & Co, 2000), pp. 57–107. Taylor argues that his study of nineteenth-century instrumental music examines the multiple ways the music 'relates to, and may provide insight into, the problematics of human time.' Taylor, *The Melody of Time*, p. 8.

[76] Mark Delaere, *Unfolding Time*, p. 13.

beginning, a middle and an ending challenges the fundamentals of musical grammar. Concepts of nonlinear musical temporality are, therefore, integral to twentieth-century music.[77] Once we move beyond linear temporal manifestations of time, temporality more closely resembles our own cognitive perceptions of time. Jonathan Kramer defines four different categories of nonlinear temporality: 'non-directional linearity', 'multiple time', 'moment time', and 'vertical time'. These are described as operating within a hierarchy, or a continuum, with progressing degrees of linearity.

In the way that atonal music is often defined as a negation of tonality, nonlinear temporalities in music are defined through negations of linearity. Motion is integral to these definitions, as 'tonal music is always in motion toward tonic resolution'.[78] Forward progression and linearity are all metaphors that are embedded in musicological thought. 'Tonal motion' is a metaphor, but so are many of the terms that are used to describe temporality: 'linearity', 'nonlinearity', 'multiple time', 'moment time', and 'vertical time'. The notions of progression, continuity and motion in music are constructs, and ones that have perpetuated the language used for the discussion of musical temporality. The language we use is constructed from a web of metaphors, which are perpetuated by musicological traditions. The most popular terms used to describe temporality are metaphors for movement, such as cyclical, timeless and stasis. However, as explored previously, our cognitive ability to perceive time is limited by snapshots of movement, and this is perhaps unsurprising.

[77] See Jonathan D. Kramer's article 'New Temporalities in Music', *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 7/ 3 (Spring, 1981), pp. 122–145, which explores the complexities of defining the multiplicity and nonlinearity of musical time. This essay forms part of his book *The Time of Music: New Meanings, New Temporalities, New Listening Strategies* (New York: Schirmer, 1988).
[78] Kramer, 'New Temporalities in Music', p. 539.

Kramer describes 'non-directional linearity' as music that 'moves by a variety of means and with varying degrees of localized stability at cadences, yet it avoids the implication that certain pitches can become tonally stable'.[79] His example of this sort of temporality is to be found in the early atonal music of Schoenberg and his followers, where voice-leading progressions have begun to disappear from the background harmonies. 'Multiple time' is music with a reordered linearity. Kramer writes: 'Multiple time depends on an underlying linearity which is sufficiently straightforward and perceptible that we can understand a reordering of it.'[80] An absence of temporal linearity is described as 'moment time'. Kramer argues that 'in pieces where there is no fundamental linearity and the music is still markedly discontinuous, there is no reordering'.[81] Moment time is derived from Stockhausen's formulation of moment form. Music in moment time is 'often defined by stasis rather than process'.[82] Lastly, 'vertical time' is music with temporal consistency but with a lack of phrases. Music in vertical time 'does not exhibit cumulative closure: it does not begin but merely starts, does not build to a climax'.[83] There is a sense that time in the music is in some sense abolished, so that it does not seem to matter where the work begins or ends. As Karol Berger notes, music 'cannot actually be made timeless' as it must exist within a duration, but it 'can suggest timelessness by bending the linear flow of time from past to future'.[84]

Here I would like to echo Taylor's arguments on the study of temporality:

> It should be emphasised from the start that this study is not an attempt at a grand, unified theory of musical time. As has already been made apparent, time is a puzzling, polyvalent,

[79] Kramer, 'New Temporalities in Music', p. 542.
[80] Kramer, 'New Temporalities in Music', p. 545.
[81] Kramer, 'New Temporalities in Music', p. 546.
[82] Kramer, 'New Temporalities in Music', p. 547.
[83] Kramer, 'New Temporalities in Music', p. 550.
[84] Kramer, 'New Temporalities in Music', p. 106.

> and contradictory creature, one that for millennia has proved notoriously hard to define for thinkers across all disciplines […] There is not, therefore, *a* theory of musical time, but a plurality of approaches to understanding how time may be manifested in music as an object of human activity.[85]

This is not a grand theory of time, but a means of discovering ways it might prove useful to consider pre-war Parisian musical culture through the lens of time. In the early twentieth century, particularly concentrated social, technological and scientific changes had an impact on the lives of everyday people. The variance in temporal gestures and understandings between different musical cultures indicates that temporality is dependent on socio-cultural factors.[86] Therefore, an examination of the connection between musical temporality and socio-cultural change is important to fully understand both. To understand the music of the early twentieth century, we must understand the changes that affected everyday lives and impacted on perceptions and experiences of temporality: often dramatic changes in socio-cultural factors have a dramatic impact on musical temporality.

Karol Berger illustrates this in his study of the late eighteenth century, when, he argues, music began to flow in a linear direction. In the pre-modern era, represented by Monteverdi and Bach's St Matthew Passion, music was simply 'in time': the direction from past to present was not important to an understanding of the music. His central argument

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[85] Taylor, *The Melody of Time*, pp. 7–8.

[86] Aside from Western art music, there are many different cultural understandings of time. In Balinese culture, time is understood in terms of cycles: 'the cycles and supercycles are endless, unanchored, uncountable, and, as their internal order has no significance, without climax. They do not accumulate, they do not build, and they are not consumed. They don't tell you what time it is; they tell you what kind of time it is.' Clifford Geertz, 'Person, Time and Conduct in Bali' in *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), p. 393. Christopher Small notes that, for the Balinese, 'their concept of time is not linear but circular. […] This circularity of time is revealed not only in music but also in many rituals and customs of Bali.' Christopher Small, *Music, Society, Education* (London: J. Calder, 1977), p. 44.

is that 'at some point between the early and late eighteenth century, between Bach and Mozart, musical form became primarily temporal'.[87] He argues that

> we can anticipate long in advance the moment when the piece will end. This does not happen when listening with understanding to a Bach fugue. Here we do not really care how much longer the piece will go on.[88]

Although temporality is present in a Bach fugue, it is not central to understanding its inner workings; whereas an understanding of a Mozart sonata, for instance, relies on the linear direction of the music, the musical elements working together to create a sense of temporal direction. This shift from Bach's fugues to Mozart's sonatas is, according to Berger, part of a wider shift with the onset of modernity,[89] which is his second claim:

> This change in the shape of musical time was not a development internal to music alone but rather […] part of a larger transformation in the way educated Europeans began to conceive of time: just as their experience and image of historical time shifted from cyclical to linear, composers dropped the predominantly cyclical model of time in favor [sic.] of a predominantly linear one.[90]

Changes in Christian belief, the impact of the French Revolution and Heidegger's anti-humanism are all credited with having an impact on European conceptions of time, and by extension, on musical temporality. Berger's hypothesis was one of the first to take a definitive overview of the shift from pre-modern to modern by looking at temporality. His

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[87] Berger, p. 179.
[88] Berger, p. 8. Laurence Dreyfus provides a different viewpoint on this. Examining the improvisatory nature of the patterns of invention in Bach's music, he states that 'a successful invention must be more than a static, well-crafted object, but instead like a mechanism that triggers further elaborative thought', in *Bach and the Patterns of Invention* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1996), p. 2.
[89] John Butt provides a difference perspective on Bach and modernity in *Bach's Dialogue with Modernity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
[90] Berger, p. 9.

work is ground-breaking in its consideration of musical temporal changes as part of wider systemic change in socio-cultural factors.

Jonathan Kramer's pioneering writings on musical temporality, as we have seen, examine the other side of the linearity coin. He considers the aftermath of the breakdown of linear temporality in twentieth-century music. Unlike Berger, he does not examine the socio-cultural factors behind these changes, but looks analytically at particular works that illustrate innovative new temporalities. Between Berger's onset of modernity and Kramer's twentieth century innovative analysis sits Benedict Taylor's treatise on musical temporality in the Romantic era. Taylor fills this gap in both senses: he draws on the philosophical-analytical approach of Kramer's treatise while adopting the historical approach of Berger. Taylor's book begins with an examination of music and time in Beethoven's late piano sonatas, looking at the climax of Beethoven's Op. 109 (1820) and noting that 'three different degrees of rhythmic movement are superimposed on each other'.[91] Beethoven's late piano sonatas are a starting point for the nineteenth-century reconfiguring of eighteenth-century strictly linear temporality (as defined by Berger). He continues with an exploration of other experimentations with linearity, music that pushes the boundaries of temporal linearity, but does not break them, including nostalgia in Schubert, 'cyclical' sonatas by César Franck, Camille Saint-Saëns and Vincent d'Indy, and circular thematic development in the music of Glinka and other Russian composers.

Julian Johnson's *Out of Time* examines music since 1600, eschewing conventions of periodisation. He consideres themes such as lateness, being and the concept of the present in music from Monteverdi to Stravinsky and Schoenberg. Johnson examines modernity 'in relation to three interrelated areas of experience—temporality, history, and memory; space,

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[91] Taylor, p. 14.

place, and technology; and language, the body, and sound'.[92] In doing so, he places the concept of 'sensibility', towards time and the human condition, at the centre of his narrative.

Emma Adlard, in her article 'Interior Time', understands the temporalities performed in the domestic setting of the belle époque salon through the ever-shifting temporal perceptions provoked by local and global changes in time. Examining the impact of the eighteenth-century *fête galante*, she examines the 'domestic intimacy' of Debussy's *L'Isle joyeuse*, to reveal insights into the 'prism of the salon'.[93] In doing so, she touches upon the introduction of World Standard Time at the *fin de siècle*, which, rather than unifying concepts of time, drew attention to the differences in temporal perceptions and experiences, and set a course of debate and interest in temporality. Adlard views time as a product of societal change.

What effect does change have on time, and, conversely, is time a product of change? What is the relationship between change and time? These questions centre the discussion of temporality. This thesis considers parallels between socio-cultural changes and changes in the manifestations of temporality. Between Berger's late eighteenth-century study, Taylor's examination of cyclical movement in French sonatas of the nineteenth century, and Kramer's analysis of post-war nonlinearity, the early years of the twentieth century in France have received little attention in temporality studies. Those who have looked at this period of the twentieth century, such as Darla Crispin, have focused on the Second Viennese School. Crispin's analysis of the breakdown of rhythmic structure in Arnold

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[92] Julian Johnson, *Out of Time: Music and the Making of Modernity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. i.
[93] Emma Adlard, 'Interior Time: Debussy, *Fêtes galantes*, and the Salon of Marguerite de Saint-Marceaux', *Musical Quarterly*, vol. 96/2(2013), p. 183.

Schoenberg's Op. 19/6 (1911), for example, illustrates the perception that temporal innovation happened primarily in the extreme breakdown of tonality.[94] This thesis attempts to address this gap and contribute to the burgeoning field of temporality studies. This thesis is an in-depth examination of temporality in early twentieth-century French music, focusing specifically on the music of Paris in 1913.

While I have focused on three primary composers in this thesis, other musicians were engaging with ideas of time. One example is Charles Koechlin, one of the founders of the *Société musicale indépendante* in 1910. Orledge believes that Koechlin owed the most to Fauré, arguing that 'throughout his life, Koechlin strove to recapture the classic simplicity and nobility of Fauré's style with its balance of liberty and discipline'.[95] From his diaries, as discussed by Robert Orledge, we know that Koechlin first visited the cinema on 1 December 1912.[96] This was his first interaction with film: he later composed many works for the first sound films of the 1930s, as Orledge has illustrated.[97] Perhaps, like Debussy, the development of this new technology had an effect on him—in any case, his *Sonate pour piano et flûte,* Op. 52, completed in 1913 the following year, showcases new manipulations of temporal linearity in his music.

The *Sonate pour piano et flûte* is perhaps his most ambitious work for the flute. The first movement experiments with temporal nonlinearity in two different ways. The first half of the movement begins with a segment of discontinuity. The long melodic line in the flute

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[94] Crispin (2009), p. 14.
[95] Robert Orledge, 'Charles Koechlin', *Grove Music Online* (2001, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000015248, accessed 4 Jan. 2019).
[96] Robert Orledge, 'Charles Koechlin and the Early Sound Film 1933–38', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, vol. 98 (1971), pp. 1–16. Orledge writes, 'According to his diaries, Koechlin first visited the cinema on 1 December 1912 […] Charlie Chaplin was the only silent film star that Koechlin really respected, for he represented eternal hope in misfortune, an escape from everyday problems into a world of fantasy, the 'chimérique' as Koechlin called it.' (p. 1).
[97] Orledge, 'Charles Koechlin and the Early Sound Film 1933–38', p. 1.

is languid and directionless; the melody seeks no resolution or suspension. Where the listener might expect moments of resolution, repetition or suspension, the flute continues as if improvising (see ex. 1.1). The effect is uninterrupted discontinuity—resisting temporal gestures of finality, which, as Kramer argues, is necessary for temporal linearity.[98]

Ex. 1.1: Melodic non-suspension in Koechlin's *Sonate pour piano et flute*

The second half of this first movement utilises rhythmic dynamism to create an illusion of linearity, but each melodic movement is disconnected. Here we find temporal instability rather than temporal stasis. Temporal gestures of finality are suggested, but the meter is destabilised, crumbling the sense of temporal linearity. The music moves quickly, bar to bar, from 6/8 to 12/8 to 6/8 to 5/8 to 6/8, ending in 3/8 (see ex. 1.2).

The second movement opens with metric and structural stability, remaining at first within the realms of temporal linearity. The repetition of the flute melody in the piano part and

[98] Kramer, 'New Temporalities in Music', p. 153.

within the melodic construction of the flute's melodic line means that the music retains the form of temporal linearity.

Ex. 1.2: Metric instability in Koechlin's *Sonate pour piano et flute*

However, although the music begins with tonal repetition in the melodic lines of the flute and piano, this sense of coherence begins to disintegrate as the two parts become more disjunctive. The increasing dissonance contributes to the sense of temporal coherency unravelling. Again, the music moves between different time signatures, which contributes to this sense of temporal unravelling: it moves bar by bar between 6/8, 12/8, 9/8, 12/8 and 9/8, and finally ends in 18/8.

The third movement begins in 18/8, creating continuity between the two movements. It begins with rhythmic discursiveness and dynamisms. In bar 22 (*Très animé*) the piano takes over and the meter returns to 18/8, after several bars of 9/8 and 15/8. The emphasis on the 1st, 4th and 6th dotted crotchet creates a rhythmically asynchronous moment, which destabilises the temporal linearity. This fades away to a single repeated E on the piano, with the effect of a metronome running out of steam: a broken machine. The music begins again with a new melodic material, now conforming to Kramer's temporal gestures of finality of linearity: that is, the music follows patterns the Western listener has come to

expect and repeats ideas that create moments of finality, whether or not the 'piece time' (or 'clock time') has come to an end.

My approach to the three composers that form the centre of this thesis, Satie, Ravel and Debussy, draws upon a wide range of primary sources in order to examine changes which impacted on the experience and perception of temporality and its manifestation in cultural activity. I have consulted newspapers, journals, diaries, notes, guidebooks, maps, music, art, archive photography and historical film to create a temporal portrait of 1913 Paris. The Third Republic was a golden era for French journalism: newspapers were uncensored, omnipresent, and reflected every dimension of political life: from the socialist *L'Humanité*, to the moderate *Le Temps* and *Le Figaro*, to the Catholic *La Croix*, to the nationalist *L'Intransigeant* and nationalistic *L'Écho de Paris*. Popular presses, such as *Le Petit Journal*, *Le Matin* and *Le Petit Parisien*, enjoyed wide circulation.[99]

How can we reliably re-conjure a past city? In attempting to discover the cultural and urban landscape of 1913 Paris, I examined maps of the city—created by Parisians and outsiders—*Métro* plans, train plans and guidebooks. The findings of these are outlined in the appendix. One guidebook in particular sold numerous editions because of its reputation for reliability, and accuracy—1913 Paris, not 1912 Paris. Baedeker's *Paris and its Environs, with Routes from London to Paris: Handbook for Travellers, with 14 Maps and 42 Plans* was originally published in 1865 by Karl Baedeker's company and aimed at a new and prosperous middle class in Europe. The famous Baedeker guidebooks sold travellers the 'insiders' guide' to

[99] A number of important studies have looked at the role of the press, including Gregory Shaya, 'The Flaneur, the Badaud, and the Making of a Mass Public in France, circa 1860–1910', *American Historical Review*, vol.109/1 (2004), pp. 41–77; Robert Justin Goldstein, *Political Censorship of the Arts and the Press in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1989); Ross F. Collins and E. M. Palmegiano (eds.), *The Rise of Western Journalism 1815–1914: Essays on the Press in Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain and the United States* (Jefferson, N.C: McFarland & Co, 2007); Thomas J. Cragin, 'The Failings of Popular News Censorship in Nineteenth-Century France', *Book History*, vol. 4/1 (2001), pp. 49–80.

ever-changing cities, ensuring continued sales on the idea any given city was perpetually renewing and tearing itself from its past. The eighteenth edition of Baedeker's tourist guidebook is an important primary source material for understanding the urban social, cultural and musical spaces of Paris in 1913. Rich in detail, the Baedeker guidebooks—made famous in the nineteenth century by writers such as E. M. Forster—were valuable handbooks for travellers, and can provide modern researchers with key source materials for insight into the cultural geographies of cities in the past.[100] Baedekers were a worthy substitute for human guides, giving up-to-date (with each new edition) information and a wealth of details on transportation, monetary issues and a range of other useful aspects as well as detailed itineraries.[101] The 1913 Paris guidebook is no exception, and contains eight

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[100] From newspapers to literature, Baedeker guidebooks were criticised in the post-war period as being 'too accurate'. A correspondent in *The Times* commented on the lack of imagination and literary pleasure to be drawn from the guidebooks, arguing, 'We may rule out the actual facts as irrelevant to our pleasure. Imaginary journeys are as satisfactory as real ones, without the wear and tear, to say nothing of the expense, of travel.' A. B. W., 'Baedeker: Guide-Books as Books', *The Times* (London: 22 April 1925). E. M. Forster's satirical approach to English sightseers in his novels draws upon the idea of the Baedeker as an instantly recognisable symbol of accuracy and prescriptive advice. Two characters openly criticise the Baedeker guidebooks in *A Room with a View*, published five years before the focus of this thesis. One is a 'woman novelist', Miss Lavish, who relishes her independence in an otherwise repressed Edwardian society. She lambasts Lucy, the naïve heroine, for looking for information in the Baedeker: '"Tut tut! Miss Lucy! I hope we shall soon emancipate you from Baedeker. He does but touch the surface of things. As to the true Italy—he does not even dream of it. The true Italy is only to be found by patient observation."' E. M. Forster, *A Room with a View* (original ed. London: Edward Arnold, 1908; revised ed. London: Penguin Books, 1978), p. 36. The other character to comment on the Baedeker is a pompous English vicar abroad, Mr Eager, lambasting the Baedeker for its prescriptive detail of what 'ought to be seen' while giving out his own list of itineraries in the same breath. However, despite the criticisms of Baedeker throughout his novel, Forster wrote in an edition to his own guide to Alexandria: 'I have always respected guide books—particularly the early Baedekers.' E. M. Forster, *Alexandria: A History and a Guide* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961), p. xv. The guidebooks appealed to a 'broadly upper-middle-class English desire for pleasure, tempered by restraint and utility'. Rudy Koshar, '"What Ought to Be Seen": Tourists' Guidebooks and National Identities in Modern Germany and Europe', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 33/3 (July 1998), p. 327. The characters in *A Room with a View* are contemporaries of the people who would have used the Baedeker guidebook to 1913 Paris: the English abroad in Paris at the culmination of the *fin de siècle* era.

[101] Kevin J. Hayes, 'Baedeker Guides' in Jennifer Speake (ed.), *Literature of Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia* (New York; London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2003), p. 58. Baedeker incorporated the best aspects of John Murray's travel guides, which began in London around the same time, including 'the arrangement of descriptive and practical information along numbered routes extending between major destinations'. (p. 58).

pages on expenses and transportation. The success of the Baedekers relied upon their accuracy and wealth of information. Mark B. Larabee writes:

> Karl Baedeker personally verified the accuracy of his books […] he spent over thirteen hours on two days cataloguing the graves in Père Lachaise cemetery in Paris […] Baedeker's son Fritz went farther by incorporating the work of specialists. Revising and expanding the book series, he employed university professors, historians, artists, Orientalists, antiquaries, and Egyptologists, among many other professionals, to enhance the technical accuracy of his product. This reliance on detailed personal inspection lent Baedeker's product an aura of infallibility.[102]

A preliminary section of the guidebook gives advice on transport and arrival, hotels, places to eat and how to order, theatres, cinemas, concert halls, shops, and a short itinerary with a recommendation for the 'distribution of time'.[103] Evidently, time, for the English tourist of Paris, had become a commodity to value and utilise with the utmost efficiency.

Ultimately, the question that this thesis intends to address is whether musical temporality in 1913 Paris can be understood by examining changing sensibilities towards time. In order to address this question, this research has involved historical, philosophical and analytical methodological approaches to temporality in 1913 Paris. This thesis is both historical and

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[102] Mark D. Larabee, 'Baedekers as Casualty: Great War Nationalism and the Fate of Travel Writing', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 71/3 (2010), p. 458.

[103] The guidebook introduces the intrepid explorer of Paris to information on language, money, passports, railways, and weights and measures conversions. It also includes some general remarks on the history and geography of Paris and on Northern France, with an essay by Walther Gensel on the history of French art over the previous centuries. The third section is the main 'Guide to Paris' (pp. 61–346), covering the 'Right Bank of the Seine', 'Quarters to the N., the W., and the E. of the Grands Boulevards' and 'The Cité and the Left Bank of the Seine'. The next section covers the surrounding districts of Paris under the heading 'Environs of Paris' (pp. 347–440). The fourth section, as categorised by the table of contents, describes the different possible 'Routes from London to Paris' starting at Charing Cross (pp. 441–464). Finally, there is a section with 'Lists of Artists' mentioned in the guidebook and an Index (pp. 464–491), followed by Appendices of maps, principal street names and stations (separately numbered pp. 1–58).

hermeneutic: it combines an interdisciplinary and multi-stranded approach to the musical understanding of temporality. Using the concept of *episteme*, taken from Michel Foucault's *Les Mots et les choses*, I will draw parallels between cultural activities, as a means of understanding systems of knowledge that underpin socio-cultural change.[104] In this case, these are the socio-cultural 'systems of knowledge' surrounding temporality and the outcomes of production of cultural activity surrounding time-based systems of knowledge. The work of Benedict Taylor, Jean Barrqué, Jonathan Cross and Jonathan Kramer serve as useful musical and rhythmical models of analysis that will be implemented in this approach to temporality in the music of 1913 Paris. The following chapters address the outlined questions in various ways: the next chapter looks specifically at the questions of space, place and landscape and the impact on shifting temporalities.

[104] Michel Foucault, *Les Mots et les choses* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1966).

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THE URBAN LANDSCAPE OF PARIS

In February 1913, the writer Charles Péguy (1873–1914) published an essay on money, pontificating about his personal financial problems and the law of diminishing returns. In it, he declared that 'the world has changed less since Jesus Christ than it has in the last thirty years'.[105] A variety of journals, newspapers, photos, letters and notes from this auspicious year echo this sentiment. The early years of the twentieth century brought about rapid advancements in transport, communication and technology, which sped up the processes of urbanisation and modernisation. This chapter explores the impact of these changes on musical and cultural experiences and perceptions of time in 1913 Paris, from Claude Debussy's experiences of transport, to popular music, to the architectural simplicity of the new Théâtre des Champs-Élysées and the modernist music performed inside it.

On the afternoon of 11 January 1913, a matter of weeks before Péguy's article was published, the last horse-drawn omnibus made its final journey around Paris. The occasion was marked by a funeral procession. Crowds gathered, decking the carriage in funeral wreaths and black fabric. The omnibus was draped with a poster portraying a horse and the simple message '*Merci*'.

The funeral procession made headline news in many of France's daily newspapers. 'A picturesque side of Paris dies, because, all in all, it had its charms, this old way of

[105] Charles Péguy, 'L'Argent', *Cahiers de la quinzaine* (February 1913), pp. 12–13. Original French: 'Le monde a moins changé depuis Jésus-Christ qu'il n'a changé depuis trente ans.'

travelling',[106] claimed the journalist Pierre Plessis on the front page of *L'Intransigeant*, the morning before the march.

Illustration 2.1: The last Parisian horse-drawn omnibus, before it departed Place Saint-Sulpice for its final journey[107]

According to Plessis's heartfelt tribute, the 'last trip' of 'the last horse-drawn omnibus' would bring an end to a method of travelling 'favoured by Victor Hugo'.[108] Plessis added,

[106] Pierre Plessis, 'Fue l'omnibus', *L'Intransigeant* (11 January 1913), p. 1. Original French: 'C'est un côté de Paris pittoresque qui meurt, car il avait ses charmes, en somme, ce vieux moyen de voyager.'

[107] Photograph by Agence Rol. Bibliothèque nationale de France, département des estampes et de la photographie, EST EI-13 (222). Rol, 25762. Agence Rol was a photographic agency, founded by photographer Marcel Rol in 1904, and operating in Paris until the end of 1937.

[108] Plessis, p. 1. Original French: 'Le dernier omnibus à chevaux fera son dernier voyage sur la ligne Saint-Sulpice à la Villette. […] Victor Hugo le préférait à tout autre et les citadins l'aimaient.' In the eyes of Plessis, Victor Hugo conjures the nineteenth-century age of the horse-drawn carriage, romanticised in the writing of the novelist. Bertram M. Gordon has described how France emerged in the belle époque as the most desirable tourist destination in the Western world, largely due to the popularity of Victor Hugo's novels. Paris 'had few rivals in both domestic and international tourism'. Bertram M. Gordon, *War Tourism: Second World War France*

'I know that there will be many who will want to attend Rocinante's final journey tomorrow,' making reference to a famous literary and loyal horse, Don Quixote's companion from the novel by Miguel de Cervantes.[109] The emphasis on finality and death in the Plessis's words, as well as drawing on literary icons, was evidently meant to appeal to the emotions of the crowd that would gather in a few hours' time.[110]

Some, however, did not find any sadness around the occasion. Plessis interviewed a merchant who had purchased one of the horses from the Omnibus Company as butcher's meat. When asked about the horses, he replied:

> 'Come on, frankly, it was time for that to stop. It was a means of transport that dated back to the crusades!'
>
> 'How so?'
>
> 'The crusades, I repeat, it was a shame on modern Paris!'[111]

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from Defeat and Occupation to the Creation of Heritage (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 2018), pp. 20–21.

[109] Plessis, p. 1. Original French: 'Je sais que nous serons plusieurs à vouloir assister demain au voyage final de Rossinante!'

[110] The journalist was anxious to find out what was happening to the old horses, interviewing the Director of the Omnibus Company, and merchants who had bought the horses at auction for butcher's meat or for transport to and from small suburban markets. The horses were not to receive a 'pleasant retirement', as the Director explained rather brusquely: 'The infirm will be killed, the healthy ones will work.' Plessis, p. 1. Original French: 'Une retraite agréable, sans doute? Une retraite, je ne crois pas. Les infirmes seront tués, les bien portants travailleront.' A representative from the trade union for the French horse industry lamented the disappearance: 'Five or six hundred horses will be out of work. It is a strike they have not asked for, but we are constantly being told of such things. The horse is disappearing more and more, the horse industry of France is collapsing despite the efforts of breeders and individuals. The cure? There is but one. Declare war on the car!' Plessis, p. 2. Original French: 'Cinq ou six cents chevaux vont se trouver sans travail. C'est une grève qu'ils n'ont point sollicitée, mais on nous en annonce de semblables continuellement. Le cheval disparaît de plus en plus, l'industrie chevaline de France périclite malgré les efforts des éleveurs et des particuliers. Le remède? Il en existe un. Déclarer la guerre à l'automobile!'

[111] Plessis, pp. 1–2. Original French: 'Muni de l'adresse, je m'en fus. Le marchand me reçut aimablement.
– Voyons, franchement, il était temps que cela cessa. Un moyen de locomotion qui date des croisades!

Finally, Plessis interviewed a minister, noting that a visit to the ministry 'was imperative, since in time of war all the healthy horses depart'. In response to Plessis's question of whether the disappearance would create a 'gap in the workforce', the minister (unnamed) replied:

> 'Yes, but we can remedy it by simple changes, and the loss will not be substantial if large numbers of these released [horses] remain in Paris. I will tell you frankly that we do not rely so much on these old nags, that couldn't even pull a cannon…!'[112]

In *Farewell to the Horse: The Final Century of Our Relationship*, Ulrich Raulff documents the breakdown in our reliance on horses across Europe in the twentieth century, noting that, in cities, the disappearance of the reliance on horses occurred—dramatically—within the first two decades:

> The end of the horse age fits almost exactly with what has tended to be called 'the long nineteenth century': the period starting with Napoleon and ending with the First World War. Since then, virtually every kind of technology for which horses traditionally provided the necessary traction power—from the transport sector to the military—has switched over to combustion engines or electric motors.[113]

As Raulff's monograph demonstrates, this was a much more complex and drawn out process of transition in the countryside, particularly with regard to farming but also due to military demand across Europe in the two world wars. It was 'only after the middle of the

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– Comment?
– Des croisades, je le répète, qui date des croisades, c'était une honte du Paris moderne!'

[112] Plessis, p. 2. Original French: 'Oui, mais nous y remédions par de simples mutations, et le vide ne sera pas considérable si le plus grand nombre de ces libérés reste à Paris. Je vous dirai d'ailleurs franchement qu'on ne compte pas beaucoup sur ceux–là, de vieilles carnes qui ne seraient pas même capables de rouler un canon!...'

[113] Ulrich Raulff, *Farewell to the Horse: The Final Century of Our Relationship* (London: Allen Lane, 2017) p. 5.

century that traction power was cheap enough to lead to a dramatic decline in horse numbers in Europe'.[114] Despite the minister's assumptions that horses were unreliable, the necessity of two world wars meant that horses were still used for military purposes, once mechanical options had been exhausted, until later into the twentieth century, as Raulff demonstrates. Symbolically, however, at least for Paris, the end of the horse age could arguably be identified as Saturday afternoon, 11 January 1913: the moment horse-drawn public transport ceased and mechanical transport took over. From this point onwards, Paris was no longer the city of the horse: it was permeated with motorised transport instead. While horses did remain on the streets, increasingly for carts led by rag-and-bone men, they no longer served as a means of public transport. Whether seen as inferior to modern technology (in warfare, or transport), or evoking nostalgia for emblems of Paris (of Victor Hugo's world, and Don Quixote's companion), it is fascinating that this transition from the horse-drawn public vehicle to automated omnibuses, cars and the Métro, was noticed, remarked upon and publicly grieved.

On Saturday, before the afternoon funeral, *Le Temps* had been rather tongue-in-cheek about the unusual event, but by the next day, in the Sunday paper, the editors seemed to have picked up on the emotion of the crowd, and described the carriage as 'entirely covered with a black cloth, strewn with tears of silver'.[115] The emotive language of the paper suggests that the mood of the crowd had been more sombre and sentimental than expected—this was no trifling matter, as they had first suspected. The news also reached the pages of *Comœdia*, the daily arts journal. André Lang, a freelance journalist at the time (and Editor-in-Chief from 1924 onwards), wrote, 'The omnibus is dying! The omnibus is

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[114] Raulff, *Farewell to the Horse*, p. 5.
[115] Anon., 'Le dernier omnibus', *Le Temps* (12 January 1913) p. 1. Original French: 'entièrement tendue d'un drap noir, semé de larmes d'argent'.

dead! […] It's a permanent ending!'[116] Lang interviewed the coach driver, who would be driving the final omnibus around Paris:

> 'And what are you going to become now? A driver?'
>
> 'Oh no […] I'll retire. I will live off my pension. It's too dangerous to drive their machines. Talk to me about horses [...] they don't crush anyone; they would rather come to a stop than touch a pedestrian.'[117]

Having interviewed the driver, Lang decided to ride the omnibus for its penultimate journey. The conductor was stunned to see him get on the empty coach, and asked him where he was going:

> The controller fainted. He questioned me.
>
> 'But where are you going, sir?'
>
> 'To Gare de l'Est.'
>
> 'Why don't you take the autobus or the Métro?'[118]

The journalist described the conductor as a 'joker', and not a 'true guardian of tradition'.[119] Horses were slow, however, and required a lot of upkeep. They needed plenty of breaks, and were, overall, much less efficient. Despite Lang's nostalgia, machines were seen to be more reliable. Of course, there were incidents in which the machines failed, as alluded to

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[116] André Lang, 'L'omnibus se meurt!', *Comœdia* (11 January 1913), p. 3. Original French: 'L'omnibus se meurt! L'omnibus est mort! […] C'est un arrêt définitif!'

[117] Lang, p. 3. Original French: '—Et qu'est-ce que vous allez devenir maintenant? Chauffeur?
—Ah non, ça, tout de même pas. Je me retirerai. Je vivrai de ma retraite. C'est trop dangereux de conduire leurs machines. Parlez-moi des chevaux, à la bonne heure, ça a l'habitude, ça n'écrase personne, ça s'arrêterait plutôt que de toucher à un piéton. C'est sûr!'

[118] Lang, p. 3. Original French: '–Mais où allez-vous, monsieur?
–A la gare de l'Est.
–Pourquoi qu'vous n'prenez pas l'autobus ou le métro?'

[119] Lang, p. 3. Original French: 'Pourtant, lui n'est pas un vrai gardien de la tradition. Il m'avoue qu'il passera à l'ennemi, à la ligne automobile nouvelle, La Villette-Gare Montparnasse. C'est un farceur!'

by the driver of the omnibus. Automobile omnibuses and cars crashed and killed pedestrians.[120] But it was the sense of an ending, an end of a golden, horse-driven era of Paris, that provoked journalistic nostalgia, not the perceived relative safety of horses. This funeral made conscious, for readers of the Parisian newspapers, the tumultuous modernity of their present. The 'dying' of the horse-drawn omnibus touched upon an emotion that seems emblematic of cultural life across 1913 Paris. This was a moment in time and place in which very landscape of urban cultural life, from communication to streetlighting to transport, was changing. Parisians had gathered to publicly grieve a past way of life—to grieve the very passing of time.

Adolphe Aderer, a journalist for *Le Petit Parisien*, told Parisian readers: 'Now, take the autobus! It will get people in a hurry across Paris in one quick journey. Do not complain about it. It is the law of progress.'[121] The autobus, and the even faster Métro, enabled travellers to cross Paris quickly, shortening the distances between different parts of the city. Paris opened up. Changes in transport had an impact on the reality of everyday experiences. The definition of a 20-minute journey changed. A horse-drawn vehicle could travel at about 5km/h. Thus, if Claude Debussy, for instance, wanted to travel from his home on Bois de Bologne to the other side of the city—Père Lachaise, for example—it

[120] Research on the relative dangers of the horse v. the automobile at the time are inconclusive. One trend of scholarship, as outlined in 'The Dangers of Automobile Travel: A Reconsideration' by Roger Roots in *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, vol. 66/5 (2007), pp. 959–976, argues that the automobile was no more significantly dangerous than the horse in the historical context of the early twentieth century. As Roots notes, 'The world of horses and wagons that existed prior to the motor age was also quite dangerous to life and limb. Accidents involving horses killed thousands of riders and pedestrians during the 19th century.' Looking at UK and US available data from 1908 and 1918, Roots concludes that, while the automobile brought about 'a measurable rise in total numbers of highway deaths and injuries' this was not 'extravagantly greater than the toll exacted by the combination of steam- and horse-driven travel methods it displaced'. (Roger Roots, pp. 971–2).

[121] Adolphe Aderer, 'Le dernier omnibus disparaîtra ce soir', *Le Petit Parisien* (11 January 1913), p. 2. Original French: 'A présent, place à l'autobus! En un parcours rapide, il fera traverser Paris aux gens pressés. Ne nous en plaignons pas. C'est la loi du progrès.'

would have taken him an arduous journey of over 2 hours or more by horse-drawn bus or carriage, whereas it would take around 40 minutes by autobus and as little as 30 minutes by Métro. The move from horse-drawn to motorised vehicles and the Métro changed the speed and ease at which people could travel across the city. It unlocked the Parisian landscape for those who lived and moved through it, altering their experience of temporality.

Changes in the urban landscape did not go unnoticed by musicians and artists. Claude Debussy's letters are peppered with the occasional mention of changes in transport. The disappearance of horses made an impact on the composer. He repeated the same joke twice about a 'driverless carriage' in his letters home about a concert in Budapest a few years earlier, in 1910. In a letter to his first wife, Emma, he wrote, 'I can't say my fans unhitched the horses from my carriage because I was in a motorised taxi and no mob, however besotted, can turn itself into an engine.'[122] The next day he wrote to his editor, Jacques Durand, 'I was recalled to the platform like a ballerina and if my besotted fans didn't unhitch the horses from my carriage, that's only because I was in a motorised taxi.'[123] The motorised taxi had clearly made an impression on him.

Alongside the horse-drawn omnibus, horse-drawn taxis, buses and trams had already been phased out due to redundancy in the face of motorised taxis, buses and electric trams on

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[122] Debussy, 'Letter to Emma Debussy', Budapest, 3 December 1910, F-Pn, Mus., N.L.a. 32 (7), published in François Lesure and Denis Herlin (eds.), *Correspondance, 1872–1918* (Paris: Gallimard, 2005), p. 1344. Translation: François Lesure and Roger Nichols (eds.), *Debussy Letters* (London: Faber & Faber, 1987), p. 229. Original French: 'Je n'ajouterai pas que l'on [a] dételé les chevaux de ma voiture, parce que j'étais en taxi-auto'. Debussy was in Budapest for a concert of *Ibéria*.

[123] Debussy, 'Letter to Jacques Durand', 4 December 1910, F-Pgm, Archives Durand, published in François Lesure and Denis Herlin (eds.), *Correspondance, 1872–1918* (Paris: Gallimard, 2005), p. 1348. Translation: François Lesure and Roger Nichols (eds.), *Debussy Letters* (London: Faber & Faber, 1987), p. 231. Original French: 'On m'a rappelé comme une danseuse, et si la foule idolâtre n'a pas dételé les chevaux de ma voiture c'est que j'étais en simple taxi-auto.'

the roads. Motorised vehicles were a significant part of the transformation of the Parisian landscape. France was a leading manufacturer of motorised vehicles—it held the title of leading automotive maker in the world, only surpassed by the US after the First World War. In 1913, Jules Goux, a French racing driver, won the Indianapolis 500 in the third year of the event. France was the centre of the automotive and modern world.

Automotive developments were part of the fabric of changing temporal experience in Paris around the end of the belle époque. Another crucial aspect in altering the temporal experience of the Parisian public was the underground railway. The Métro project began, seriously, in 1896, when, on 20 April, Fulgence Bienvenüe was announced as the chief engineer, around the time the first announcements of the *Exposition Universelle* of 1900 were being discussed in the press.[124] The first line opened on 19 June 1900 during the *Exposition Universelle*. Bienvenüe had previously been the Chief Engineer for Bridges and Roads, the most prestigious engineering position up until this point—designing the new system of transport was, however, a leap into the unknown. The Métro was initially conceived as nine separate lines (far more expansive than the first underground system for London). By the time Fulgence Bienvenüe died in 1936, he was heralded as 'Le Père du Métro' in the press and designated worthy of a spot in the Père Lachaise cemetery, paid for by the City of Paris: he 'had triumphed'.[125]

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124 Anon., 'L'Exposition de 1900', *Le Matin: Deuxième édition* (20 April 1896), p. 2.
125 Anon., 'Le Père du Métro', *L'Intransigeant: Dernière heure* (5 August 1936), p. 3. Original French: 'M. Bienvenüe avait triomphé. Le bureau du conseil municipal a décidé que, en hommage à l'inspecteur général Bienvenüe, les obsèques auront lieu aux frais de la Ville de Paris.' See also: Benson Bobrick, *Labyrinths of Iron: A History of the World's Subways* (New York: Newsweek Books, 1981) and Pierre Pinon, *Les Plans de Paris: Histoire d'une capitale* (Paris: Paris Bibliothèque, 2004).

Siân Reynolds has shown that '48.4 million journeys' were made in the Métro's first year, and 'by 1910, there were 251.7 million' journeys taking place each year.[126] The underground enabled easy connections between different lines, which helped its success. Another factor of its success was that trains left every six minutes, an astonishing frequency and regularity for the Parisian public.[127] In 1910, the original lines 1–6 were extended, and line 7 opened. 1913 saw the arrival of yet more change: the opening of line 8, from 13 July, between Beaugrenelle and Opéra, and then extended to Porte d'Auteuil on 30 September.[128] This made it one of the most transformative new technologies, amid a wave of other changes in Paris.

As Michael Law has illustrated in his study of London, changes in urban transport can have a dramatic effect on the social dynamics of a city.[129] In the Baedeker guidebook to 1913 Paris, visitors 'must carefully note the days and hours at which collections and sights are accessible, and must make free use of cabs or the Métro'.[130] The Métro was seen as an enabler of this new kind of travelling: transporting the traveller swiftly in their time-precious visit. In the updated 1913 edition of the guidebook, an additional line is added to note that 'the lines 2, 5, and 6 of the "Métro" railway afford a slight glance at the outer boulevards'.[131] Here is a glimpse that the Métro was being understood as a means of exploring the entirety of Paris, traversing its landscape in economical means and with economical distribution of time.

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[126] Siân Reynolds, 'Women's Mobility in Belle Époque Paris' in Diana Holmes and Carrie Tarr (eds.), *A Belle Époque?: Women and Feminism in French Society and Culture, 1890–1914* (New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2006), p. 90.
[127] Reynolds, p, 90.
[128] In 1922, the Paris council voted for an extension to the Métro system, and further expansions took place in the 1920s and 1930s.
[129] Michael John Law, *The Experience of Suburban Modernity: How Private Transport Changed Interwar London* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), p. 4.
[130] Baedeker, *Paris and its Environs* (Baedeker: Paris, revised ed., 1913) p. 56.
[131] Baedeker, p. 56.

Paris waited a long time for an urban transit system, and when it was utilised, shops such as *Le Bon Marché* produced colourful and expensive Métro maps so as to entice shoppers from the centre or from other areas of Paris.[132] The Métro system was used as an advertisement ploy—which is still echoed by the Parisian maps produced by shops such as Printemps and Galeries Lafayette today. It encouraged shoppers to think not of the long journey in horse-drawn omnibuses, trams or private carriages to the shops, but of the swift, interconnected nature of the Métro, taking them to their destination in a matter of moments.[133] The Métro enabled rapid and easy transportation across Paris.

Artists and musicians were among those Parisians experiencing the effects of these transport changes on the experience of time. In April 1913, Ezra Pound (1885–1976), the American writer living in Paris at the time, wrote and published the poem 'In a Station of the Metro' in the second volume of his journal *Poetry*:

IN A STATION OF THE METRO

The apparition of these faces in the crowd:

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[132] See Mark Ovenden, *Paris Underground: The Maps, Stations, and Design of the Métro* (New York; London: Penguin, 2009). For further reading on the history of the Métro, see Arnold Delaney, *Paris by Metro: An Underground History* (Moreton-in-Marsh: Chastleton, 2006).

[133] Not even the flood of 1910 could hamper the rapid expansion and adoption of the Métro. Pierre Pinon notes that 'direct flooding by the Seine was lower [than previous flooding], thanks to dock construction since the nineteenth century; on the other hand, the water invasion of the underground was much more extensive, since it reached the banks of the Seine in depth, the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, the north of the Champs-Élysées, up to the station Saint-Lazare, climbing up again at the old meander of the Seine.' Pierre Pinon, *Les Plans de Paris: Histoire d'une capital* (Paris: Paris Bibliothèques, 2004), pp. 120–121. Original French: 'L'inondation de 1910 a eu des effets sensiblement différents: l'inondation directe par la Seine a été moindre, grâce à la construction de quais depuis le XIXe siècle; par contre, l'invasion des eaux souterraines dans les caves a été bien plus étendue, puisqu'elle a atteint les rives de la Seine en profondeur, le faubourg Saint-Antoine, le nord des Champs-Élysées, jusqu'à la gare Saint-Lazare, remontant là encore l'ancien méandre de la Seine.' Stations such as Saint-Lazare were completely submerged under water in the infamous 1910 flooding, but despite this, the popularity of the Métro did not slow down.

Petals on a wet, black bough.[134]

Already, this new form of transport was memorialised in the written word. Pound's short, sharp poem is a pivotal early example of the Imagism movement, which as a poetic style, and despite its short history, is considered 'one of the most influential moments in twentieth-century literary history' and crucial for literary modernism.[135] Pound's sparse poem is devoid of verbs. As words that describe an action, verbs move the direction of a poem forward and imply the existence of both space (a space in which the action takes place) and time (a duration through which the action takes place). Without them, the temporal rhythm of the poem is radically new: there is no observer, no action and no time. The juxtaposition of the two images (the underground and flower petals) is suggested, but the temporality and meaning of the poem is left to the reader to interpret. In an essay from the same year, Pound wrote:

> I have been trying to make a poem about a very beautiful thing that befell me in the Paris Underground. I got out of a train at, I think, La Concorde and in the jostle I saw a beautiful face, and then, turning suddenly, another and another […] All day I tried to find words for what this made me feel. […] I remember thinking that if I had been a painter I might have started a wholly new school of painting.[136]

It is the experience of the Métro that provokes Pound's desire to create something 'new'. Changes in the experience of urban temporality, associated with these new modes of

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[134] Ezra Pound, 'In a Station of the Metro', *Poetry*, vol. 2/1 (Chicago, April 1913).
[135] Christos Hadjiyiannis, 'Ezra Pound, T. E. Hulme, Edward Storer: Imagism as Anti-Romanticism in the Pre-*Des Imagistes* Era' in John Gery, Daniel Kempton and H. R. Stoneback (eds.), *Imagism: Essays on Its Initiation, Impact and Influence* (New Orleans: University of New Orleans Press, 2013), p. 17. Nine months later, in February 1914, Pound published *Des Imagistes: An Anthology*, the first collection of imagist poetry.
[136] Ezra Pound, 'How I Began', *T. P.'s Weekly* (London, 6 June 1913), p. 707.

transport, were already having an impact on poetic modernity and expressions and manifestations of cultural temporality.

The Métro was captured in art, too: Gino Severini (1883–1966), an Italian Futurist painter living in Paris, painted *Le Nord-Sud* in 1913 (illustration 2.2). Severini's painting evokes the north-south line of the Métro that connected Montmartre and Montparnasse: the famous artistic districts of pre-war Paris. The painting deconstructs the movement of figures as they travel up and down into the underground. Severini was a Futurist, but by 1913 he had come into contact with the Cubists in Paris, and this painting suggests the influence of both artistic movements.

Illustration 2.2: Gino Severini, *Le Nord-Sud* (1913 © Alinari Archives)

Futurism and Cubism both had an influential impact on twentieth-century art, and 1913 was a key year for both movements. The Italian artist Luigi Russolo (1885–1947) wrote *The Art of Noises* (*L'Arte dei rumori*)—the Futurist manifesto—in 1913, which argued that

the human ear had become accustomed to the speed, noise and energy of the Industrial Revolution, and that new music and instrumentation was needed as a result. And in 1913, also, Guillaume Apollinaire (1880–1918), the French poet and writer, published *Les Peintres Cubistes* (Paris: Eugène Figière Éditeurs, 1913), an influential meditation on the aesthetics and principles of Cubism. Severini's painting indicates the influence of both styles. By suggesting multiple perspectives at once, in a single image, the painter plays with the temporality of a static painting. We simultaneously view chronologically successive scenes: travellers descending and ascending the Métro, the signs of the station as the traveller moves past them, the movement of the train. By joining together multiple temporal perspectives, the painting plays with the past and present, suggesting simultaneous temporalities at once. The temporal reality of the Parisian experience had changed, and, in 1913, we begin to find manifestations of this across multiple artistic avenues.

Debussy's letters prove that he, as well as Ezra Pound and Gino Severini, also experienced the speed and change of the Métro. In a letter to the composer André Caplet (1878–1925) in November 1911, he exclaims:

> Are you angry with me? I must tell you that since we parted in the corridor of the Métro, my life has been stupid and empty and not to be wished on anybody.[137]

Although moments of fascination with technology crop up in his writings to friends and family, giving us a rare insight into Debussy's interest in machinery and modernism, this mention of travel here is purely functional. While it is one of the only mentions of the Métro in his letters, it makes clear that he used the underground. Within the space of a

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[137] Debussy, 'Letter to Caplet', Paris, 17 November 1911, US-NY, coll. M. G. Cobb, in *Correspondance*, p. 1463. Translation: François Lesure and Roger Nichols (eds.), *Debussy Letters*, p. 247. Original French: 'Vous devez m'en vouloir, cher André Caplet? Sachez que depuis que je vous ai quitté dans ce couloir du Métropolitain, j'ai vécu d'un vie absurd et vide qui n'est souhaitable à personne…'

decade, the Métro had become a commonplace location for a dispute. Parisians had become acclimatised and accustomed to this new way of travelling at startling speed.

Musical compositions, created and published in 1913, also suggest an affinity with the sense of speed and finality created by changes in transport and in the urban landscape. A surge of popular songs published in 1913 reflect these themes, including songs about memory, nostalgia, loss of youth, loss of innocence, the passing of time and lost time.[138]

Table 2.1: Memory and nostalgia in popular music published in 1913

B. Eliny, Félix Lebrun and Cyr Meille, *Souvenir du passé: Rondeau* (Paris: Eliny, 1913) FOL–VM7–11631

Germaine Gratiau, *Souvenir de Partenay: Valse pour piano* (Paris: Éditions Vitalis, 1913) FOL–VM12–3989

A. Gramet, *Les Souvenirs* (Paris: Patay, 1913) 4–VM7–10

Arthur Leducq, *Souvenir de valse: Valse intermezzo* (Paris: Delormel, 1913) VMH–8442–21

Ernest Weiller, *Divin souvenir: Mélodie pour violon et piano* (Paris: Gallet, 1913) FOL–VM9–999

Gaston Aubert, *Souvenir mélancolique pour clarinette et piano* (Paris: Demets, 1913) FOL–VM10–A–49

Robert Fischhof, *Mélodie: Souvenir de France* (Paris: Enoch & Cie, 1913) FOL–VM12–4821

Paul Poignie, *Souvenir de jeunesse: Valse* (Paris: Evette & Schaeffer, 1913) FOL–VM15–652

Ulpiano Chiti, *Souvenir du printemps pour violon avec accompagnement de piano* (Paris: Hamelle, 1913) FOL–VM9–911

[138] These sources are located in the BnF Musique and referred to by their BnF library code.

A. L. Stoupanse, *Nostalgie: Duo pour ténor ou soprano et baryton* (Genève: Union Artistique, 1913) FOL–VM7–A–190

Marc Delmas, *Les Nostalgies: Six pièces pour piano,* Op. 19 (Paris: J. Hamelle, 1913)

Canaguier, *Échos du temps passé: Six petites pièces dans le style ancien, pour piano* (Paris: Alphonse Leduc, 1913) FOL–VM12–4273 (1–6)

Many of these songs make use of the French *valse* to conjure temporal themes. In Stoupanse's *Nostalgie*, a duet for two voices, a *valse* is the backdrop to nostalgia for an idyllic youth. The music alternates between G major and G minor. The bittersweet theme of nostalgia in the lyrics is mirrored by the duality of the major-minor key areas. In Delmas's *Les Nostalgies*, a collection of six short piano pieces, the first piece is a dissonant 'Valse Folle'. In its chromaticism and evocation of the *valse*, Delmas's music is suggestive of the tension between nostalgia for the past and apprehension for the future. The lyrics of these songs (and instrumental pieces with descriptive titles) make undeniable reference to temporal matters of the heart. They evoke nostalgia for a perfect, idyllic version of the past: likely an imagined, idealised past that never truly existed. At first glance this fixation on the passing of time does not have an obvious catalyst, as we might find following the First World War, but stems rather from networks of temporal change, including changes in transport and the urban landscape, which seeped into cultural manifestations, including the popular songs sung in music halls and cafés-concerts.

As Steven M. Whiting argues, the café-concert repertoire 'drew continual stimulation from political and social events', from headline news to the latest technological invention.[139]

[139] Steven M. Whiting, *Satie the Bohemian: From Cabaret to Concert Hall* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), p. 20.

Alongside a glut of pieces dedicated to nostalgia and memory, a number of songs published around 1913 use the Métro as their subject.

Table 2.2: The Métro in music published in 1909–1914

Paul Bades, *Trois sous d'Métro: Chansonnette* (Paris, Siever, 1909) FOL–VM7–1565

Ch. de Mérat, *Les employés d'Métro* (Paris: C. G, Roeder, 1911) FOL–VM7–6219

Lud. Pons, *Les plaisirs du Métro* (Paris: L. Pons, 1912) FOL–VM7–7535

Émile Spencer, *Le Métro de l'amour* (Paris: E. Lacroix, 1913) FOL–VM7–9063

Maurice Debar, *J'aime le Métro: Chanson* (Paris: Bigeard, 1914) FOL–VM7–12032

Émile Spencer's *Le Métro de l'amour* is a humorous rhyming song about a girl who takes the Métro to find love on the other side of Paris, but can't find her way back because she has lost her ticket. The song begins: 'Il est un joli Métro / Allant toujours et jamais trop / C'est le p'tit Métro d'l'amour / Qui va la nuit qui va le jour.'[140] Paul Bades's song, on the other hand, conjures a love-triangle on the Métro, while Mérat's is a tour of the Métro stations in rhyme, beginning with 'La Nation': 'L'employé du Métro / Sans s'égosiller trop / Et sans plus d'attention / Annonce la station / "La Nation!"'[141]

Whiting argues that the tone of the café-concert chansons 'was not satirical, as it would be in the cabarets, but amused (or bemused) and even laudatory'.[142] This assessment rings true of these Métro-inspired chansons published in 1909–1914. There is bemusement at this new transport development: Spencer's song, in particular, suggests that the Métro was seen to open up the city to the general public, both by day and by night: now, having a love interest on the other side of the city was possible (as long as one didn't lose one's ticket).

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[140] Émile Spencer, *Le Métro de l'amour* (Paris: Éditions Lacroix, 1913), p. 1.
[141] Ch. de Mérat, *Les employés d'Métro* (Paris: C. G. Roeder, 1911), pp. 2–3.
[142] Whiting, p. 20.

An analysis of the maps found in Baedeker and other contemporary guidebooks shows that many of the musical spaces in which these songs would have been performed were near to some of the first Métro stations built. On page 187 in the appendix, table 7.11 summarises the location of musical spaces by arrondissement. Unsurprisingly, the majority of the *cabarets artistiques* are found in the eighteenth arrondissement of Paris, in Montmartre. Clusters of small 'fashionable' theatres are found in the ninth and tenth arrondissements, and the largest theatres occupied the more central arrondissements.[143] Baedeker's guidebook describes the music halls as 'mostly unsuitable for ladies' aside from the Folies-Bergère which was 'fashionable […] but the society is very mixed, especially in the promenoir'.[144] A number of 'salles' are listed too, in which 'chamber music is performed in winter',[145] as well as societies and orchestras,[146] and 'cabarets artistiques', which are 'the descendants of the famous Cabaret du Chat-Noir'.[147] It is fascinating that some of the earliest completed Métro lines and stations in Paris (as shown in map 7.1 on page 166 in the appendix) ran past areas in which popular spaces (such as music halls) sat alongside

[143] The maps for these clusters of theatres are shown in the appendix: map 7.7 on p. 170, illustrates a section of the eighteenth arrondissement with Boulevard Rochechouart, and map 7.4 on p. 169 of the appendix shows a cross-section of map where the locations of several of the larger theatres were to be found.
[144] Baedeker lambasts the music and singing in these locations as 'never of a high class, and the audiences are often very mixed. The amusements sometimes consist of vaudevilles, operettas, and farces. The words 'entrée libre' are alluring, but the visitor is obliged to order a 'consommation', at a charge varying from ¾ to 3 fr.' (Baedeker, p. 39). 'The Music Halls are mostly unsuitable for ladies. The *Folies-Bergère* (PL. B, 21: III), 32 Rue Richer, is fashionable (faut. 3–10, promenoir 3 fr.) but the society is very mixed, especially in the promenoir.' Baedeker, p. 39. See table 7.6 on p. 182 in the appendix for a list of these.
[145] Baedeker, p. 38. See table 7.7 on p. 183 in the appendix for a list of these.
[146] Much of the information on ticket prices and concert details is taken from Baedeker (1913), pp. 37– 38. See table 7.8 on p. 184 in the appendix for a list of these.
[147] Baedeker, p. 40. Baedeker continues: 'The best seats are usually the *fauteuils d'orchestre*, or seats next to the orchestra, behind which are the *stalles d'orchestre*, and further back, the *parterre*. The side-seats and those in the upper galleries should be avoided. The *fauteuils de balcon* and the *loges de face* of the first or second gallery are good seats, especially for ladies. Ladies are generally required to remove their hats, especially in the front rows of the *fauteuils d'orchestre*, the *fauteuils de balcon*, and in the front rows of the galleries. They are not admitted to the *parterre* (which answers to the English 'pit').' (Baedeker, p. 33). See table 7.10 on p. 186 in the appendix for a list of these cabarets artistiques.

more high-brow theatres: along the Boulevard Rochechouart, there were clusters of theatres, cabarets artistiques and music halls, and the first Métro lines, particularly line 2, ran along this boulevard, connecting this area with east and west Paris.

Among the larger theatres found in the heart of the city was the Opéra de Paris. Louis XIV founded the Opéra in 1669. Its function had changed radically by the time it came to be housed in the Palais Garnier in 1875. In 1861, Charles Garnier won a competition to design a newly commissioned opera house for this state-run opera.[148] After the fall of the Second Empire, Garnier had to convince the government of the Third Republic to complete a project commissioned by Napoleon III. Christopher Mead argues that 'despite [Garnier's] protests, the history of France had turned the Opéra into a political symbol'.[149] The total cost of the Palais Garnier reached a staggering 36 million francs, from clearing the site and laying the foundations in 1861, to the final touches before opening on 5 December 1875. By the time of the Palais's inaugural opening, it had already become a national monument tied to the idea of a lost France, a memory of a different era.

Against the backdrop of the Classical architecture of this institution and its history as a Napoleonic symbol, the arrival of a brand-new music space 38 years later sparked heated

[148] Christopher Mead explains why the search for an architect to design the new opera house became a competition rather a private commission in order to engage the public in musical life. He notes: 'Napoleon III, anxious to preserve popular support for what was in effect a dictatorial regime, wanted to be seen as a liberal ruler.' Mead argues that Napoleon invited the general public to become actively involved in the conceptualisation of a new home for the state opera, as it was 'meant to challenge the Beaux-Arts-controlled state hierarchy by soliciting projects from the public at large.' There were two rounds of competitions, the first competition leading to a close round between the five finalists. As Mead demonstrates, this demonstrated a clear variance from architectural history: 'The competitions and their outcome were exceptional in France, since they circumvented the usual bureaucratic hierarchy of appointments by giving so important a commission to a young, unknown architect. In 1861, all the major public buildings 'belonged' to architects a generation older than Garnier, who found himself the sole representative of a new generation in a world dominated by men in their fifties and sixties.' Christopher Curtis Mead, *Charles Garnier's Paris Opera: Architectural Empathy and the Renaissance of French Classicism* (Cambridge, MA, and London: MIT Press, 1991), p. 44.
[149] Mead, p. 135.

interest in the local and national presses. As the year was ending, journalists described the opening and closing of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées as the cultural highpoint of a rich twelve months. Jean Chantavoine declared the theatre to be the greatest 'event' of the year:

> But French musical life, almost entirely concentrated in Paris, witnessed, during the year 1913, an event too significant to be ignored here: the opening of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, followed almost immediately, after four months of operation, by its resounding fall.[150]

Le Monde musical dedicated a front-page review to the opening of the theatre, declaring it a small wonder. The pianist and music critic Auguste Mangeot described the construction of this new space as 'miraculous', noting that 'everything was ready at the right moment' and that it was 'no small merit […] to have built a new musical theatre in Paris'.[151] Everything was in place for perfection. Newspapers, particularly the music presses, had been covering the construction of the theatre for weeks in advance of the inauguration.

Sketches were already underway for the theatre as early as April 1907.[152] The prominent impresario Gabriel Astruc (1864–1938) caught the attention of Parisian audiences by managing a series of concerts from 1905 to 1912, entitled 'Great Seasons of Paris', featuring the *Ballets Russes* and a production of *Salome* conducted by Strauss. It was on the

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[150] Jean Chantavoine, 'La musique française en 1913' in M. Brenet, J. Chantavoine, L. Laloy, and L. de la Laurencie (eds.), *L'Année musicale: Troisème année 1913*, vol. 3 (Paris: Librarie Félix Alcan, 1913), p. 288. Original French: 'Mais la vie musicale française, presque tout entière concentrée à Paris, a vu, durant l'année 1913, un événement trop significatif pour qu'il soit ici passé sous silence : l'ouverture du théâtre des Champs-Élysées, suivie presque aussitôt, après quatre mois à peine d'exploitation, d'une chute retentissante.'

[151] Auguste Mangeot, 'L'Ouverture du Théâtre des Champs-Élysées', *Le Monde musical*, vol. 25. FOL–VM 257 (1913), p. 109. Bob 505 (1913). BnF Dep. Musique R75 827: 8,5. Original French: 'Ce n'est pas un mince mérite … d'avoir construit à Paris un nouveau théâtre de musique … la construction du théâtre des Champs-Élysées a quelque chose de surnaturel et de miraculeux … bref, rien ne manqua tout fut prêt à l'instant voulu et la mobilisation s'opéra dans de parfaites conditions.'

[152] Archive of architectural plans, *La Banque d'Images du Théâtre et de la Comédie des Champs-Élysées*, 1907–1913 (http://www.tce-archives.fr/, accessed 4 March 2019).

basis of this financial and critical success that Astruc commissioned the architect Auguste Perret (1874–1954), along with his brother Gustave Perret (1876–1952), to design a new venue.

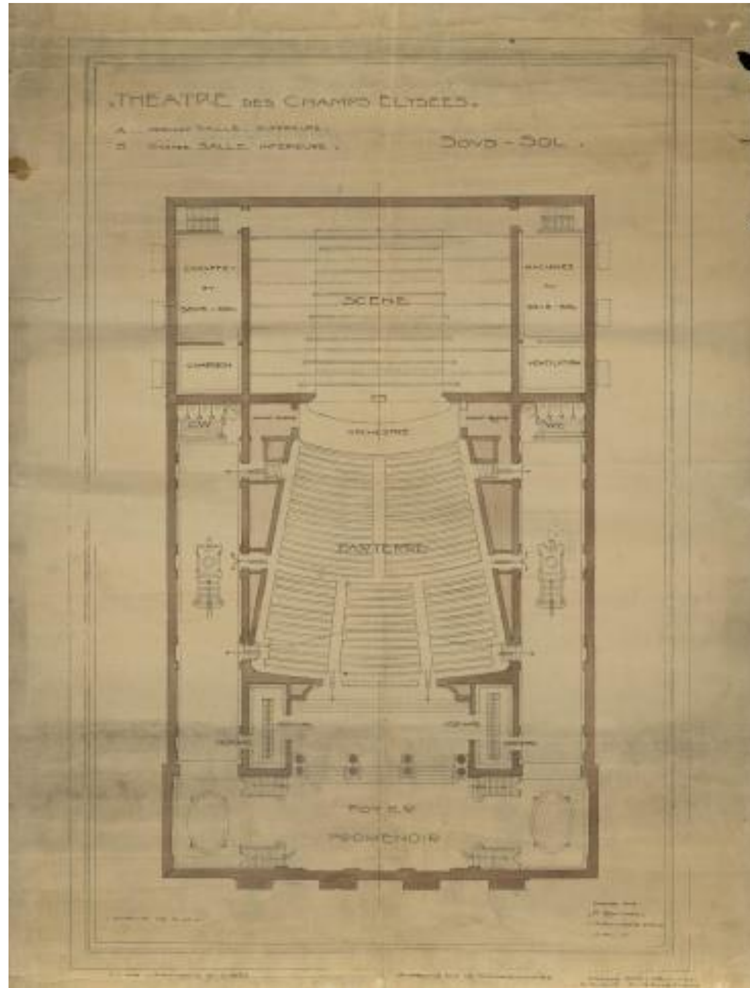

Illustration 2.3: Architectural plans for the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, 1907

This bold new theatre was an important commission for Auguste Perret, a young architect at the beginning of his career. Astruc had ambitious plans for the theatre on Avenue Montaigne, which would stage some of the most important musical events of the twentieth century. Astruc's vision is hinted at by Perret's meticulous detailing and constant revisions to the architectural plans throughout these years—each stamped with the approval of the

'L'Architecture du Chef', 'Le Concessionaire' and 'L'Architecture Diplôme du Gouvernement'. The streamlined building—built with reinforced concrete—was a world away from the classical grandeur of the Palais Garnier. Perret had behind him a team of architects, including Roger Bouvard, Van de Velde, Victor Baguès (in charge of electric installations), Puget (responsible for the organ), Renaux and Perassy (iron craftsmen) and Sporrer, an ornamental sculptor.[153]

After weeks of speculation, the theatre opened, marked with an inauguration gala, featuring the works of the nation's favourite living French composers: Claude Debussy's *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune* (1894), Paul Dukas's *L'Apprenti sorcier* (1897), Gabriel Fauré's *La naissance de Vénus* (1882), Vincent d'Indy's *Le camp* from *Wallenstein* (1881) and Camille Saint-Saëns's *Phaéton* (1873) with excerpts from *La lyre et la harpe* (1879). The critic Mangeot noted that the choice 'was a fine tribute […] to contemporary French music'.[154] Astruc avoided the popularity of certain composers, particularly Wagner, whose music was enjoying repeated performances in the Opéra.[155] In the weekly music journal *Le Ménestrel*,

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153 Anon., 'Le Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. Direction: Gabriel Austruc', *Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, Saison Russe 1913: Programme, Première Représentation, 15 Mai 1913* (Paris: Gonzalez, 1913), p. 5. Original French: 'Ces collaborateurs sont: MM. A. et G. Perret, constructeurs et décorateurs; Roger Bouvard, architecte administratif; Van de Velde, architecte conseil; Victor Baguès, chargé des installations électriques; Puget, organiste; Renaux et Perassy, ferronniers; Sporrer, sculpteur ornemaniste.'

154 Auguste Mangeot in *Le Monde musical* (1913), p. 110. Original French: 'Ce fut un bel hommage que M. Gabriel Astruc rendit à la musique française contemporaine, en rassemblant sur le programme du Concert Inaugural les musique de MM. C. Saint-Saëns, G. Fauré, Vincent d'Indy, C. Debussy, et Paul Dukas.'

155 *Archives de l'Opéra: Journal de l'Opéra* (Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra: Paris, 1913, online www.gallica.bnf.fr, accessed 30 March 2019). The performance archives of the Opéra make a record of each new performance run, but do not specify how long the run lasted: *Tannhäuser* (1845) was performed in January, February, March, April, and November and December; *Lohengrin* (1850) was performed in February, March, April, July, August and September; *La Valkyrie* (1870) was performed in February, March, April and May; *Le Crépuscule des dieux* or *Götterdämmerung* (1876) was performed in May and June, *Les Maîtres Chauteurs* or *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* (1868) was performed in April, May, September, October and November; Tristan and Isolde (1865) was performed in May, September, October, November and December; *L'Or du Rhin* or *Das Rheingold* (1859–69) was performed in May, and *Siegfried* (1876) was performed in May.

music critic Paul-Émile Chevalier described the anticipation leading up to the opening night:

> For weeks and weeks now, all the newspapers, including even the smallest gazettes, have updated you daily, and there is not a single detail, of the hall, of the stage, and of their surroundings that you do not know about by heart before even having entered the temple.[156]

Chevalier's tone suggests a feigned mockery of the exuberance of the media fascination with the daring new theatre. Although he was exaggerating, he was not far from the truth: several newspapers made repeated front-page announcements throughout March about the forthcoming opening of the theatre. Following a number of announcements about the end of construction and forthcoming opening, *L'Intransigeant* printed another article on the front page: Pierre Duval wrote that the theatre's 'abundance of distinctive features […] has forced us to report only briefly its musical programme. This programme deserves, by its richness and its variety, to be commented on in some detail.'[157] The article continued to describe the upcoming season, although made no mention of premieres. Emile Vuillermoz wrote that, despite trepidations as to whether the theatre would open on time, it nevertheless succeeded to impress: 'However, on the appointed day and at the appointed hour, the new Théâtre des Champs-Élysées opened its doors. It was a wonder.'[158]

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[156] Paul-Émile Chevalier, *Le Ménestrel*, vol. 79/14 (Paris: 5 April 1913), p. 106. Original French: 'Depuis des semaines et des semaines, tous les journaux, et jusqu'aux moindres gazettes, vous en ont entretenus quotidiennement, et il n'est pas un seul des plus menus détails de la salle, de la scène et de leurs entours que vous ne sachiez pas par cœur avant même d'avoir pénétré dans le temple.'
[157] Pierre Duval, 'Le programme du théâtre des Champs-Élysées', *L'Intransigeant* (Paris: 22 April 1913), p. 1. Original French: 'Mais la multiplicité des traits particuliers par quoi se distingue le théâtre modèle que dirige M. Gabriel Astruc nous a contraint de n'exposer que brièvement son programme musical. Ce programme mérite, par sa richesse et sa variété, d'être commenté avec quelque détail.'
[158] Emile Vuillermoz, 'Le Mois: Les Théâtres: Théâtre des Arts. – Opéra-Comique. – Théâtre des Champs-Élysées', *Revue Musicale S. I. M.*, vol. 9/4 (April 1913), pp. 45–46. BnF Musique: PER 16.

Astruc's Théâtre des Champs-Élysées leapt onto the Parisian cultural stage. Taking advantage of the anticipatory press coverage and the excitement around the opening, Astruc's theatre hosted the premieres of several new works, including Fauré's *Pénélope* (10 May) and the premiere of Debussy's *Jeux* (15 May). Most famously, *Le Sacre du printemps* had its premiere on 29 May 1913, to riotous acclaim and excited scandal. Mary Davis argues that the theatre itself reinforced the modernism of the works performed there:

> At one extreme, *Jeux* celebrated sports and other pleasures of contemporary beau monde, right down to its costumes, which were created by the Bakst-Paquin team; at the other end of the spectrum, *The Rite of Spring* imagined a past that was both mysterious and remote. The shock of these subjects was reinforced by Vaslav Nijinsky's radical choreography, and even by the venue in which they were presented—the newly opened Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, which sparked its own controversy.[159]

Davis argues that the simplicity of the theatre's design was an embodiment of a new fashion, mirroring Coco Chanel's rejection of elaborate millinery in favour of a simpler style of dress. Chanel opened her first boutique in 1913, selling unassuming accessories for a new era. As Davis argues, the theatre, one of the first examples of art deco architecture, and Chanel's fashions overturn the perception that a desire for simplicity was a post-war phenomenon: from architecture to millinery, this desire to strip away the excesses of the belle époque can already be found in 1913.

The promotional programme material for Diaghilev's eighth *Ballets Russes* Russian season reinforces this intended image of a bold, reimagined theatre, one 'based on the tastes and

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Original French: 'Cependant, au jour fixé et à l'heure dite, le nouveau Théâtre des Champs-Élysées ouvrait ses portes. Ce fut un émerveillement.'

[159] Mary E. Davis, *Classic Chic: Music, Fashion, and Modernism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), p. 53.

artistic instincts of modern life' which 'arrives at the right time, as much for its architectural and decorative design as for the aims it proposes'.[160] The promotional leaflet featured Debussy's *Jeux* as well a favourite of the Ballets Russes, Nikolia Rimsky-Korsakov's *Scheherazade* (composed in 1888, adapted for the *Ballets Russes* in 1910 with choreography by Michel Fokine and costumes by Léon Bakst) and Stravinsky's *L'Oiseau de feu* (composed for the Ballets Russes in 1910, with Fokine and Bakst). The programme, presumably written by Astruc himself, promoted the theatre as a cultural institution for elegant artistic audiences of the Right Bank. Considering the media frenzy surrounding the architecture, design, and the opening night, it is hardly surprising that a month later Stravinsky's 'shocking' new ballet caused such infamous riots among this 'elegant' and 'artistic' audience.

However, the year ended in financial loss and bankruptcy for Astruc, and the theatre remained closed until after the First World War. Under the heading 'A Catastrophe', *Le Monde musical* decried that the theatre 'has closed its doors', fulfilling a 'predicted and feared crisis':

> In a letter to the press, on 4 November, M. G. Astruc indicated that he was obliged to suspend his performances. It's known that the October season was disastrous. The average takings did not exceed 2000 francs, and the expenses reached 8000 francs per evening! […] So the 'Titanic' of Paris theatres sank on the banks of the Seine, six months after its

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[160] Anon., 'Le Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. Direction: Gabriel Austruc', *Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, Saison Russe 1913: Programme, Première Représentation, 15 Mai 1913* (Paris: Gonzalez, 1913), p. 5. Original French: '… un théâtre correspondant aux goûts et aux instincts artistiques de la vie moderne. Le "Théâtre des Champs-Élysées" arrive donc à son heure, aussi bien par sa conception architecturale et décorative que par le but qu'il se propose. Il satisfait d'emblée aux exigences que les Parisiens amateurs d'art et de musique sont en droit d'avoir à l'égards d'une scène lyrique au XXe siècle.'

> launch! Regrettable as this catastrophe is, however painful it may be for the many victims, *it was inevitable.*[161]

Astruc's ambitions overestimated the financial reality of the situation. Despite his investment in the radical and artistic aesthetics of Parisian culture, income from the tickets did not offset the enormous monetary burden of a new theatre and visionary premieres. The music presses described it as an Icarus-like fable, with the rise and fall of a musical vision.

Early in 1913, Henri de Curzon, Editor-in-Chief of *Le Guide musical* (from 1905 until it ceased publishing in 1918), reflected on the similarities between the Opéra and the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. Having just visited the construction site of the new theatre, he vividly recalls a 'very old memory' of visiting the Palais Garnier under construction as a young child, remembering 'the immense depth of the room' and 'the magnificence of the ceiling'.[162] The difference between his childhood memory and the construction of a new theatre is stark: 'what a difference in the "pomp" of the theatres' he exclaims, because while 'Garnier's focus was above all the scale and artistic beauty of the monument', the

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[161] Anon., 'Une Catastrophe', *Le Monde musical* (30 November 1913), p. 302. Original French: 'Le théâtre des Champs-Élysées a fermé ses portes. La crise prévue et redoutée vient d'éclater au Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. Dans une lettre adressée à la presse, le 4 Novembre, M. G. Astruc a fait savoir qu'il était obligé de suspendre ses représentations. On savait que l'exercice d'octobre avait été désastreux. La moyenne des recettes n'avait pas dépassé 2000 francs, et les frais atteignaient 8000 francs par soirée! […] Ainsi donc le "Titanic" des théâtres parisiens échoue sur les bords de la Seine, six mois après son lancement! Si regrettable que soit cette catastrophe, si pénible soit-elle pour les nombreuses victimes, qu'elle fait, *elle était inévitable*.'

[162] Henri de Curzon, 'Nouveau théâtre, nouveaux projets d'art', *Le Guide musical: revue internationale de la musique et des théâtres*, 59 (Paris: 1913), p. 7. BnF Musique: RES 620. 21. 22. R116727. Bob 20223. Original French: 'Un bien ancien souvenir vient de surgir au fond de ma mémoire: une visite d'enfant dans le "nouvel" Opéra de Charles Garnier en construction. Je revois l'immense abîme de la salle avant les fauteuils, les couloirs dont on posait les mosaïques, et déjà la magnificence du plafond…'

new theatre had a completely different view.[163] In the new theatre, 'the stage and its performances' were at the heart of the whole project.[164]

Memory and elegance are the touchstones of Curzon's image of the Opéra. The editor's review places Napoleonic decadence against the music-focused vision of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. These two musical spaces capture the tension between past and present in the musical world of 1913 Paris: on the one hand, the elegant Opéra, a symbol of a past era, and on the other, the theatre on Avenue Montaigne, at the heart of a new urban landscape. In many ways, Curzon's view captures the sense of the speed, nostalgia and memory which characterises temporal modernity of the Parisian urban landscape in 1913. In Glenn Watkins's seminal study of musical modernity, he writes that

> a musician is obliged to confront the issue of time constantly in both its linear and simultaneous dimensions, and to invoke a memory with respect to each that surpasses the function of melody and harmony and includes their interaction in the horiztontal/vertical moment.[165]

Time, both linear and simultaneous, characterises the modernity of 1913 Paris. Paris was a city of memory, a city of modernity and, as we will see in the next chapter, a city of light.

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[163] de Curzon, 'Nouveau théâtre': 'Garnier visait avant tout à l'ampleur et à la beauté artistique du monument, où de réelles merveilles d'architecture et de construction s'unissent à de vrais chefs-d'œuvre de peinture et de sculpture, à un emploi sans précédent de toutes les richesses de l'art décoratif. Les nécessités de la scène même et des représentation … n'avaient été envisagées qu'en second lieu et dans la mesure d'une foule d'obligations officielles, financières, mondaines absolument en dehors de l'art.'

[164] de Curzon, 'Nouveau théâtre'. Original French: 'Au Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, le point de vue est complètement différent. La scène et ses représentations constituent le centre de toute l'entreprise.'

[165] Glenn Watkins, *Pyramids at the Louvre: Music, Culture and Collage from Stravinsky to the Postmodernists* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), p. 215.

– 3 –

WALKING IN THE CITY: STREETLIGHTS, SIMULTANEITY & SATIE

Armed with his bourgeois costume, including bowler hat and umbrella, the composer, pianist, flâneur, writer and absurdist Erik Satie (1866–1925) traversed the urban landscape of Paris:

> He walked the ten kilometres into Paris every day, stopping at numerous cafés en route to drink and compose, returning in the small hours either by the last train from Montparnasse or on foot. In wet weather (which he preferred) he shielded his ubiquitous umbrella beneath his coat, which also contained a hammer to repel potential assailants.[166]

Walking through the streets of Paris, from his home in Arcueil to Montmartre, a walk of around 10 kilometres that he repeated every day without fail, Erik Satie would have witnessed the changing urban landscape of Paris. Taking the train at Montparnasse, he would have witnessed the development of the Métro, several lines of which went through the station. During his walking, Satie would stop to jot down ideas by the light of the streetlamps he passed.[167] He walked through a place in which the fabric of time was changing. In an urban landscape in which the experience of time was changing, this chapter explores the cross-pollination of ideas about time.

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[166] Robert Orledge, *Grove Music Online*, 'Erik Satie'. This was first made known in the first biography of Satie, Pierre-Daniel Templier's *Erik Satie* (Paris: Rieder, 1932), which drew on family sources including interviews with the composer's brother, Conrad Satie.
[167] Robert Orledge, *Satie Remembered* (London: Faber & Faber, 1995).

Electric streetlamps were part of the changing fabric of urban temporalities in Paris. A report published in 1911 on Parisian lighting laid out the plans for a unified system of electric street lighting that would be in place by the end of 1913. The six existing operating companies had 'collectively agreed to furnish Paris with current until 1913'. During 1913, the 'permanent supply of electricity' in Paris would consolidate into a single company, known as the Paris Electricity Supply Company, 'with a capital of at least fifty million francs'. Paris became a unified city, powered by one lighting system. This new company would generate two plants, 'one situated to the southwest of Paris, the other to the north, and each of twenty-five thousand kilowatts capacity', which would be ready before the beginning of 1914.[168] As a private company, and not a state-owned enterprise, electric streetlight was controlled for profit rather than as a public service. It was a commodity sold to the highest bidder. 1913 was a turning point in which the system of electricity became united under one company. Electricity was a new and exciting medium of generating power, as illustrated by six competing figures, attempting to monopolise Parisian electricity. At the 1900 Paris Exposition, the future of urban lighting was still unclear, with arc lamps (powered by gas) and electric lights both looking possible—but as yet, not developed—at that stage.[169] By the end of 1913, six companies gave way to the unified Paris Electricity Supply Company, which lit all of Paris with electric lighting.

Holcombe's 1911 report warned that

[168] A. N. Holcombe, 'The Electric Lighting System of Paris', *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 26/1 (March 1911), p. 127.
[169] See: A. N. Holcombe, pp. 122–132. Further insight into the development of gas and electric lighting in the early twentieth century can be found in: Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Disenchanted Night: The Industrialization of Light in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); and Sandy Isenstadt, Margaret Maile Petty and Dietrich Neumann (eds.), *Cities of Light: Two Centuries of Urban Illumination* (New York: Routledge, 2014).

> The progress of the street railway and the construction of the underground railway produced a crisis in the affairs of the Paris Omnibus Company. Perhaps the invention of the motor 'bus has brought a remedy, perhaps not. The same sort of a crisis may be brought on in the electricity-supply business at any time.[170]

As we saw in Chapter 2, the rise of the Métro challenged the authority of horse-drawn transport, operated by the Paris Omnibus Company. Holcombe's report warns that the electricity company should be wary of systematic and profound change, which seems possible at any time. The arrival of electric streetlamps in the early twentieth century affected sensibilities towards time. Electric streetlamps distorted the sense of day and night, creating regulated and modernised systems of powering lighting at night. From the first gas lighting, first installed in Paris in 1853–1870, the onset of darkness was no longer dictated by nature. The setting of the sun no longer inhibited night time social interaction—as exemplified in the dancing and interacting figures out at night in Pierre-Auguste Renoir's painting *Moulin de la Galette* (1876). The unified system of electric lighting was a further step towards the ambiguity of daytime and night-time—time was controlled by the Paris Electricity Supply Company. The temporal regulation of day and night was dictated by a private company in search of profit—time was a commodity, powered by the latest invention. The belle époque was a time of rapid change in lighting and had an effect on social customs—enabling freedom of movement and socialising at night. Electric streetlamps catapulted the city into yet another new age of lighting.

In 1913, Satie titled the second movement of his *Descriptions automatiques* for piano 'On a Streetlamp'. Taken as part of the social and geographical context in which Satie was composing, it suggests a connection between the changing experience of time and place in

[170] Holocombe, p. 132.

the urban landscape of Paris with musical and artistic output. The movement contains the following texted inscriptions:

> Do not light up yet: you have plenty of time.
>
> You can light up now, if you like.
>
> Shine a little in front of you;
>
> Your hand in front of the light;
>
> Take your hand away and put it in your pocket.
>
> Shh! Wait.
>
> Put it out.[171]

The words are a nostalgic refrain on the disappearance of traditionally lit streetlamps and the onset of electric streetlamps. The opening phrase 'you have plenty of time' is a tantalising connection between new urban temporalities of Paris and perceptions of time. Satie's walks into Paris each day would have taken him past electric streetlights. It is plausible that changing modern lighting inspired Satie's writing about streetlamps. Satie's texted piano music on dictating when the streetlamp should be lit is a powerful suggestion that this new technology influenced people to think about the temporal rhythm of their days in new ways, and thus, in new ways about time.

In the scenario for the ballet *Jeux* (1913) composed by Debussy and choreographed by Nijinsky (the subject of Chapter 5), it is clear that electric streetlighting influenced other

[171] Erik Satie (1913), translation by Orledge (ed.), *A Mammal's Notebook: The Writings of Erik Satie*, ed. Ornella Volta, trans. Antony Melville (London: Atlas Press, 1996), p. 19.

artists walking through the city. The initial scenario for the ballet described by Nijinsky in the programme notes for the premiere in May 1913 reflects the desire for a modernist aesthetic:

> In a park at dusk, a tennis ball has gone astray; a young man and two girls are eager to look for it. The artificial light of the large electric streetlamps that radiates a fantastic glow around them gives them the idea of childish games: they look, they get lost, they follow each other, they quarrel, they sulk without reason: the night is warm, the sky bathed in soft light, they kiss. But the childish spell is broken by another tennis ball thrown by an unknown mischievous hand. Surprised and scared, the children disappear into the depths of the nocturnal park.[172]

We sense that the new 'large electric street lamps' encourage the playful behaviours of the characters. They escape the artificial light into the darkness. The drama of the plot is suggestive of games of youth, of young love, rather than games of tennis, with the character development and narrative driven by the modernist light of the streetlamps. The artificial, electric light of the streetlamps ('La lumière artificielle des grand lampadaires électriques') induces an aura of sensuous impulsiveness and creates a backdrop for the temporal structures of the music to unfold.

Representations of Parisian streetlamps can also be found in Sonia Delaunay's *Prismes électriques*, completed in 1914 (see illustration 3.1). Delaunay captured the coloured prisms created by the newly installed electric streetlamps. Electric streetlighting encapsulated a

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[172] Nijinsky, *Saison Russe programme: Theatre des Champs-Élysées* (15 May 1913). BnF: IFN 8415118. Original French: 'Dans un parc, au crépuscule, une balle de tennis s'est égarée; un jeune homme et deux jeunes filles s'empressent à la rechercher. La lumière artificielle des grand lampadaires électriques qui répand autour d'eux une lueur fantastique leur donne l'idée de jeux enfantins: on se cherche, on se perd, on se poursuit, on se querelle, on se boude sans raison: la nuit est tiède, le ciel baigné de clartés douces, on s'embrasse. Mais le charme puéril est rompu par une autre balle de tennis jetée on ne sait quelle main malicieuse. Surpris et effrayés, les enfants disparaissent dans les profondeurs du parc nocturne.'

new mechanical, futuristic age—the perfect subject for an avant-garde painter to capture in abstract form.

Illustration. 3.1: *Prismes électriques* (*Electric Prisms*) by Sonia Delaunay (1914)[173]

Delaunay's painting is one of the first paintings of its kind, pure colour and abstract form, representing the light produced in a newly lit city. It indicates that this electric lighting system was provoking musicians and artists to think differently about time as well as other questions surrounding the traditional and the modern. Electric streetlighting was reconfiguring the temporal patterns of day and night in new, mechanised ways, and this was part of a city that was changing. Delaunay took an object, an electric streetlamp, and

[173] Centre Pompidou Collection, MNAM/CCI, Paris © Pracusa 2013057.

created the impression of multiple perspectives on the colourful prisms they produced. While electric streetlamps were only one facet of a transforming temporal landscape, their arrival exemplifies the way in which small changes in the public sphere can affect cultural and artistic outputs.

Delaunay's painting experiments with representation. Multiple perspectives on an object are brought together, creating the illusion that we are moving through space and time in order to perceive numerous different perspectives on the object at once. In 1913, Sonia Delaunay collaborated with the Swiss-French poet Blaise Cendrars (the pseudonym of Frédéric Louis Sauser, 1887–1961), to create *La Prose du transsibérien*.[174] The poem-tableau was two metres in height and was described as the first 'simultaneous' work. The simultaneous connections between the text and image were seen to create new artistic emotions. Glenn Watkins, in his seminal book, *Pyramids at the Louvre*, argues:

> It stirred a polemic largely because of its physical appearance, a seven-foot sheet with parallel text and abstract painting by the artist Sonia Delaunay. The poem was printed in an edition of 150 copies, which, if placed end to end, it was claimed would reach the top of the Eiffel Tower. Cendrars, Sonia Delaunay, her husband Robert, and Apollinaire all became engaged in a public dispute over the origins of the term *simultanéisme*, *simultanisme*, or *le simultané*, an issue very close to the heart of the Futurists, the Cubists, and later the techniques of Dada.[175]

'Simultaneity' thus became associated with a number of originators and stylistic movements. In 1913, Guillaume Apollinaire published *Les Peintres cubistes*, outlining the recent history of Cubist painters such as Pablo Picasso, Jean Metzinger, Marcel Duchamp

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[174] Blaise Cendrars and Sonia Delaunay, *La Prose du transsibérien* (Paris: Les Hommes nouveaux, December 1913). The work was created in the first two months of 1913 and published at the end of the year.

[175] Glenn Watkins, *Pyramids at the Louvre*, p. 217.

and Raymond Duchamp-Villon. Apollinaire was profoundly prophetic in his appraisal of an entirely new art movement, and his treatise propelled Cubism into the public consciousness.[176] Early Cubism, in 1912–1914, was a stylistic experiment in which the concept of 'simultaneity' was manifested. In presenting 'successive sides of an object as though the viewer were circumnavigating it, Cubist paintings represented time as well as space',[177] experimenting with questions of representation. Cubism engaged directly with questions of temporality in a profoundly new way by removing a singular perspective.

For Apollinaire, simultaneity was the rejection of perspective. It allowed an object or series of objects to be recognised in their objective totality. Timothy Mathews argues that 'simultaneity is itself a fiction: two points of view or a multiplicity of aspects cannot be perceived simultaneously only sequentially'.[178] Simultaneity implies an all-encompassing perspective, offering a multiplicity of angles in perspective simultaneously. It is an action of memory: experiences are 'transformed in time',[179] as the work, such as Delaunay's *Prismes électriques*, confronts the viewer with the reality of displacement. Simultaneity is thus the juncture of time and space in art, perceived simultaneously.

'Simultaneous' time crops up elsewhere in 1913, in *Bradshaw's Continental Railway Guide*, a fascinating document of temporal regimentation. First published in 1847 with a revision published in 1913, it featured a thorough timetable of Europe's railways, including a guide to foreign countries, currencies, foreign ambassadors, and regulations on passports. The

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[176] In 1913, in a review of an exhibition of Delaunay's work, Apollinaire wrote: 'Ce sont: la première affiche simultanée, les premières reliures simultanées, les premiers objets usuels ressortissant à la décoration simultanée […] Et cette ivresse de la couleur simultanée, si elle est une des tendances neuves de la peinture est encore la tendance la plus neuve et peut-être la plus intéressante de l'art décoratif...'. Guillaume Apollinaire, *Chroniques d'art* (Paris:1913).
[177] Rosalind Krauss, 'Flattening Space', *London Review of Books*, vol. 26/7 (2004).
[178] Timothy Mathews, *Reading Apollinaire: Theories of Poetic Language* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), p. 107.
[179] Mathews, p. 107.

revised 1913 edition featured a guide to 'simultaneous time', meaning the variations in Continental Time between 'West Europe' (Greenwich), 'Mid Europe Time' and 'East Europe Time'.[180] The concept of time as 'simultaneous' illustrates the pluralities of temporal perceptions. Trains were integral to the timekeeping revolution of the nineteenth century. Timothy Leunig, in an economic study of historical time, has shown that 'it was cheaper to travel by canal and steam boat than by railway, and yet people overwhelmingly chose to travel by train'.[181] In an era of travel for all, this was because 'people were prepared to save time' in a way that they had not before, indicating that time had become an increasingly valuable commodity.[182] While this trend began in the late nineteenth century, by 1913 it had become an unconscious part of daily life.

Meanwhile in 1913, Erik Satie wrote 'A Musician's Day', a fragment that appeared in his series of *S. I. M.* published writings, *Memoirs of an Amnesiac*:[183]

> An artist must regulate his life.
>
> This is a precise timetable of my daily acts.
>
> I rise: at 07.18; inspired: from 10.23 to 11.47. I lunch at 12.11 and leave the table at 12.14. Constitutional ride around my estate: from 13.19 to 14.53. Further inspiration: from 15.12

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[180] George Bradshaw, *Bradshaw's Continental Railway Guide and General Handbook Illustrated with Local and Other Maps Special Edition 3/6* (London: 1847, revised 1913, faithfully reprinted 2013), p. 985. A faithful reproduction of the 1913 edition was recently produced, including contemporary advertisements for Eno's Fruit Salts. Several hotels boasted recently added electric lights, and the 'entirely renovated' Grand Hotel Paris next to the Louvre advertised a 'telephone in every room'. The 2013 reprint indicates a curious interest in pre-war concepts of Europe and nostalgic ideal of lost forms of travel. The reproduction was marketed as the last year of the Bradshaw guide that documented the great intercontinental-Europe railway system as seen before devastation in the First World War.

[181] Timothy Leunig, 'Time Is Money: A Re-Assessment of the Passenger Social Savings from Victorian British Railways', *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 66/3 (Sep. 2006), p. 639.

[182] Leunig, p. 639.

[183] Erik Satie, 'Mémoires d'un amnésique: La Journée du musicien', *Revue musicale S. I. M.*, vol. ix, no. 1 (15 Janvier 1913), p. 69. Translation from Erik Satie, *A Mammal's Notebook: The Writings of Erik Satie*, ed. Ornella Volta, trans. Antony Melville (London: Atlas Press, 1996), p. 112.

> to 16.07. Various activities (fencing, reflection, immobility, visits, contemplation, dexterity, swimming, etc.): from 16.21 to 18.47. Dinner is served at 19.16 and ends at 19.20. Followed by symphonic readings, aloud: from 20.09 to 21.59. I retire with regularity at 22.37. Once a week, I wake up with a start at 03.19 (on Tuesdays).[184]

The precise, nonsensically accurate timekeeping marks this piece of writing as an eccentric work. However, far from being merely an experiment in the absurd—although Satie does descend into further absurdity: 'I only eat white victuals: eggs, sugar, grated bones; the fat of dead animals'[185]—it showcases Satie's satirical commentary on social timekeeping conventions and indicates an interest in the idea of 'time' more broadly.

Satie's writing serves as an example of the impact of increasingly precise timekeeping technologies on cultural and musical activities. In the late belle époque, there was an increase in society's reliance and dependence on timekeeping, as a result of increasing precision in railway timetables and timekeeping technologies. The processes of measuring time were changing, particularly surrounding the Industrial Revolution and the advancement of the railways. Adam Barrows' intriguing study *The Cosmic Time of Empire* examines the politics of time in the Industrial Revolution and the creation of world standard time in 1884. Barrows claims that this is a remarkable moment in the advent of modernism 'for both the processes of imperialism and for modern literature'.[186] Barrows

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[184] Satie (January 1913), p. 69. Translated by Melville, p. 112. Original French: 'L'artiste doit régler sa vie. Voici l'horaire précis de mes actes journaliers: Mon lever: à 7 h. 18 ; inspiré: de 10 h. 23 à 11 h. 47. Je déjeune à 12 h. 11 et quitte la table à 12 h. 14. Salutaire promenade à cheval, dans le fond de mon parc: de 13 h. 19 à 14 h. 53. Autre inspiration: de 15 h. 12 à 16 h. 07. Occupations diverses (escrime, réflexions, immobilité, visites, contemplation, dextérité, natation, etc. …): de 16 h. 21 à 18 h. 47. Le diner est servi à 19 h. 16 est terminé à 19 h. 20. Viennent des lectures symphoniques, à haute voix: de 20 h. 09 à 21 h. 59. Mon coucher à lieu régulièrement à 22 h. 37. Hebdomadairement, réveil et sursaut à 3 h. 19 (le mardi).'

[185] Satie, translated by Melville, p. 112. Original French: 'Je ne mange que des aliments blancs: des œufs, du sucre, des os râpés; de la graisse d'animaux morts'.

[186] Adam Barrows, *The Cosmic Time of Empire: Modern Britain and World Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), p. i.

attributes significant weight to one event—crediting the literary modernism in the works of Virginia Woolf and James Joyce with the creation of world standard time. Barrows argues that 'a concern with time is intrinsic to the internal logic of modernity',[187] and Zygmunt Bauman argues that 'more than anything else, modernity is the history of time: the time when time has history'.[188] Modernity and time are closely interwoven: as Barrows argues, questions of time were reflected in modernist literature.

Railway timetables, such as the Bradshaw Railway Guides, were a facet of the precise, capitalist time of the nineteenth century. The explosion in the increasingly regimented accuracy of timekeeping was largely due to the Industrial Revolution. In 1874, *The Times* declared that this was 'an age of timetables'.[189] Mike Esbester's enthralling history of the design of train timetables examines the history of the purpose as well as the symbolism of the railway timetable:

> Timetables also went beyond a practical purpose: they offered support for conceptions of time and space, providing knowledge of places that were often far distant. In 1885, Edmund Venables saw timetables as a 'necessity of life in these days of constant locomotion.' The increased opportunities for travel and the increasing distances over which it was possible to journey—the space-time compression identified by Schivelbusch—helped to change mentalities. In the course of everyday life, it became necessary for many people to conceptualize their journeys across the nation: the timetable was a support for this process. To Venables, then, as to others, timetables were emblematic of modern time and nation.[190]

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[187] Barrows, p. 1.
[188] Zygmunt Bauman, 'Time and Space Reunited', *Time & Society*, vol. 9/2–3 (June 2000), p. 172.
[189] *The Times* (29 August 1874), p. 9.
[190] Mike Esbester, 'Designing Time: The Design and Use of Nineteenth-Century Transport Timetables', *Journal of Design History*, vol. 22/2 (June 2009), p. 96.

By 1913, this regimented, industrial time was being challenged and mocked; however, the advents of the railway and the railway timetable were crucial in forming the idea of time as a commodity. Rachel Rich argues that time was seen as an 'economic unit', brought on by 'industrial capitalism'; however, her study is the first to consider the 'impact this had within the home'.[191] While Rich argues that temporal regimes can offer new perspectives on domestic life, this thesis argues that understandings of temporality can illuminate cultural and musical activity.

In 1910, Arnold Bennett published *How to Live on 24 Hours a Day*, a book that reflected the spirit of an increasingly capitalist, time-seeking society:

> It has been said that time is money. That proverb understates the case. Time is a great deal more than money. If you have time you can obtain money—usually. But though you have the wealth of a cloak-room attendant at the Carlton Hotel, you cannot buy yourself a minute more time than I have, or the cat by the fire has.[192]

Arnold Bennett (1867–1931) was an American writer who spent considerable time in Paris.[193] Bennett's book was a self-help guide for white-collar workers, encouraging them to seize 'free' moments that they had outside of work in order to enjoy life. The concept of time as a limited resource arose from a culture of increased timekeeping practices. Within this culture of time ownership, the context of Satie's account of his daily timekeeping and domestic life becomes apparent. Even the series title for his *Revue musicale S.I.M* articles, *Mémoires d'un amnésique*, is a tongue-in-cheek play on time and memory, and

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[191] Rachel Rich, '"If you desire to enjoy life, avoid unpunctual people": Women, Timetabling and Domestic Advice, 1850–1910', *Cultural and Social History*, vol. 12/1 (2015), p. 98.
[192] Enoch Arnold Bennett, *How to Live on 24 Hours a Day* (New York: George. H Doran, 1910), p. 3.
[193] Bennett left New York and moved to Paris in 1903, and spent the next decade writing plays, inspired by artists in Montparnasse and Montmartre.

the idea that our memories are unreliable. Satie's satirical account of his daily habits is a mockery of the widespread notion of time as commodity, and of the increased accuracy of timekeeping. Satie's article mocks the accuracy of temporal precision of daily life, documenting an absurd and eccentric account of his daily life and illustrating his interest in time. It begins plausibly, only later descending into the impossible when he delves into his eating habits. He mocks domestic time practices by exploring where the boundaries of precise timekeeping spill over into the absurd.

Alongside his satirical take on timekeeping, Satie began composing *Heures séculaires & instantanées* (*Instantanaeous Centuries-Old Hours*), a set of texted piano pieces completed in 1914. The words are a satire of nostalgia and the concept of the past: 'the weather is prehistoric', from *Morning Twilight (At Midday)*; 'It is 9.17 by the shadow of the thousand-year-old trees', from *Venomous Obstacles*; and in the third movement, *Haywire in Granite*, he writes, 'The clock in the old deserted village is also going to strike most terribly: to strike thirteen. […] Alas! The clocks have not gone back.' Ravel's *L'Heure espagnole* (1911) is a fascinating forerunner to these ideas: set to a libretto by Franc-Nohain, the opera takes place in a Spanish clockmaker's workshop. The interplay between the thematic material of clocks and the mechanical nature of the music is a fascinating earlier precursor to these ideas in Satie's temporal writings.[194]

Satie, as a composer, has polarised opinions since his teenage years as the 'laziest student' at the Conservatoire de Paris.[195] He is regarded at once as a genius, a forerunner to some

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[194] Much has been made of Ravel's *L'Heure espagnole*, including its status as an opera and its Spanish inspirations, such as: Duff Murphy, 'L'Heure espagnole, Maurice Ravel', *Opera Quarterly*, vol. 6/2 (1988), pp. 135–137. It is also the subject of a Ph.D. thesis: Keith E. Clifton, 'Maurice Ravel's *L'Heure espagnole*: Genesis, sources, analysis' (Ph.D. thesis, Northwestern University, 1998).
[195] Robert Orledge, 'Erik Satie', *Grove Music Online* (2001), https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.40105, accessed 30 March 2019. 'Satie

of the most important musical innovations in the twentieth century, and at other times as craft-less and bad-tempered. John Cage believed that 'it's not a question of Satie's relevance. He's indispensable.'[196] Pierre Boulez, on the other hand, disregarded Satie's significance for twentieth-century music, arguing that there was 'something completely lacking in [Satie's] intellectual development, and the development of his abilities'.[197] Debussy and Ravel both recognised him as a precursor to many musical developments, but did not always see eye to eye with him.[198] Both Ornella Volta and Robert Orledge have said that they would not actually have liked to meet the composer[199]—or phonometrician (i.e. someone who measures sounds), as he liked to be called.[200]

What emerges from the recent literature on Satie is a picture of an isolated, misunderstood, and sidelined composer, often separated from the composers around him; 'once marginalised on account of his flawed technique and connections to "low" and experimental art, he is now lauded precisely for these connections.'[201] He often remains an enigma—an outlier, an extremist, an anomaly—in scholarship on French music. The extant literature on Satie explores the influence of other composers on his music, and his

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loathed his seven years at what he later called "a sort of local penitentiary" and was described by Descombes in 1881 as the "laziest student in the Conservatoire".'

196 John Cage, *Art News Annual* (1958).

197 Pierre Boulez (1997), cited in Robert Orledge, *Rhinegold* (April 2016), http://www.rhinegold.co.uk/international_piano/repetitive-strains/, accessed 30 March 2019. He argued that Satie lifted inspiration from Stravinsky, and that he lacked 'craft'.

198 Robert Orledge, 'Erik Satie', *Grove Music Online* (2001). 'Debussy christened him "the precursor" because of his early harmonic innovations, though he surpassed his friend's conception of him by anticipating most of the "advances" of 20th-century music.'

199 As part of an interview for Alistair McGowan, 'The Unsent Letters of Erik Satie' (Radio 4, 13 July 2013). See: Alistair McGowan, 'Erik and Me', *Guardian* (12 July 2013): 'In the course of recording the documentary, I was surprised when two of our interviewees—the leading Satie scholars, Ornella Volta and Robert Orledge—both said that they wouldn't have wanted to meet the composer. He was too quixotic and unpredictable a character, they said, and they'd have found him too difficult to talk to.'

200 Robert Orledge, *Satie the Composer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990/repr. 2008), p. xxviii. Orledge notes that he started to use this term around 1912.

201 Barbara L. Kelly, *Music and Ultra-Modernism in France: A Fragile Consensus, 1913–1939* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013), p. 3.

influence on composers (Debussy, Ravel, Les Six for instance). As Barbara L. Kelly argues, 'Debussy is identified in every major study as an early or transitional figure of musical modernism alongside his less gifted but more radical colleague Satie.'[202] His status as an enigmatic outlier composer remains, despite the considerable Anglophone scholarship of recent years. Robert Orledge, however, held that 'he was an iconoclast, a man of ideas who looked constantly towards the future'.[203]

Early commentaries on Satie may have cemented this image of the composer. In April 1913, Roland-Manuel's first essay on Satie appeared in *L'Écho musical*, in which he describes Satie as a 'mocking elf' and '*fantaisiste*'.[204] As Kelly notes, the term '"fantaisiste" carries a pejorative meaning, suggesting nonsense and unreliability'.[205] Kelly argues that Roland-Manuel

> links Satie's intellectual humour with clowns, the 'ordinary procedures of the Circus', describing it as 'the transposition of these comic procedures into the domain of thought'; in particular, he associates *Descriptions automatiques* (1913) with a hidden 'imagination of a clown' (*fantaisie de clown*).[206]

In 1913, a young Georges Auric also published an article on Satie, recognising the significance of Satie's humour, identifying Satie's work as 'free from *debussysme* and infused with counterpoint, as a key for the future'.[207] Recent scholars also echo this conception of

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[202] Kelly, *Music and Ultra-Modernism in France*, p. 6.
[203] Robert Orledge, 'Erik Satie', *Grove Music Online* (2001).
[204] Kelly, *Music and Ultra-Modernism in France*, p. 46, citing Roland-Manuel, 'Silhouettes d'Artistes, Erik Satie', *L'Écho musical* (April 1913), p. 1.
[205] Kelly, *Music and Ultra-Modernism in France*, p. 46.
[206] Kelly, *Music and Ultra-Modernism in France*, p. 48. Citing Roland-Manuel, Satie (1916), p. 7: 'les procédès ordinaries du Cirque'; 'la transposition de ces procédés comiques dans le domaine de la pensée'. Translated by Kelly.
[207] Georges Auric, 'Erik Satie: musicien humoriste', *Revue française de musique*, vol. 12 (1913), cited in Kelly, *Music and Ultra-Modernism in France*, p. 50. Florent Schmitt also wrote about Erik Satie for *Montjoie!* in 1913, vol. 1/11–12.

Satie as precursor. Jonathan Kramer describes Satie as an 'avant-gardist' and part of an early modernist trend that sought to eschew the trappings of history:

> The avant-gardists of early modernism (such as Luigi Russolo, Satie, Cowell, and Varèse) sought to escape history, but were hopelessly trapped in the continuity of historical development. To see themselves on the cutting edge, such avant-gardists (and also early modernists like Schoenberg, Webern, and Stravinsky) had no choice but to accept history as a linear progress, even as they rejected historical concepts of what music is.[208]

Kramer's analysis of Satie's position within the twentieth century as an early modernist differs from early interpretations of the composer as an outlier: in Kramer's perception, he is still seen as an innovative composer, but in keeping with wider trends to reject established ideas surrounding musical composition.

The period from 1912 to 1915 was a particularly busy and creative period for Satie, and as Orledge writes, may be best labelled as the period of his humoristic piano works.[209] 1913 was a productive year for Satie, who spent most of the year working and completing compositions in fast succession to keep up with the demands of his publisher, in response to Ravel's 'rediscovery' of Satie.[210] Caroline Potter, discussing the context for the rather difficult process of finding a publisher, argues that:

> Following the critically acclaimed performances of Satie's piano works by Ravel and the great pianist Ricardo Viñes in Parisian concert halls, Satie attracted the attention of publishers: Eugène Demets (1858–1923) was especially eager to publish more piano pieces

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[208] Jonathan D. Kramer, *Postmodern Music, Postmodern Listening* (New York, London: Bloomsbury, 2016), pp. 14–15.
[209] Robert Orledge, *Satie the Composer*, p. 3.
[210] On 16 January 1911, Ravel performed Satie's *Sarabande*, Act II Prelude to *Le Fils des étoiles* and the third *Gymnopédie* at an SMI concert. See Orledge, *Satie the Composer*, p. xxviii and p. 3. This was followed by Satie's alignment with the *Revue musicale SIM* in 1912.

> by the composer. […] On 13 September 1913, Demets, whom Satie described as a 'decent fellow', accepted the *Véritables Préludes flasques (pour un chien)*: the composer 'immediately obtained a contract for this work and 50 francs in exchange for his rights'. The publication and performance of these new works, all of which had extravagant titles and in-score texts, led to a step change in the public view of Satie.[211]

These texted piano works are characteristic of this period of his humoristic style, which incorporated parody, pastiche and quotation. Satie's music of 1913 often uses humour and absurdity—much like his written thoughts on time—in order to push the boundaries of musical time.

Descriptions automatiques was completed in quick succession in 1913, and is an example of one of many absurd and experimental piano works that Satie completed that year. The first movement, 'Sur un vaisseau' (On a boat), includes a continuous dotted quaver rhythm, which is repeated to such an extent that it becomes a mechanical gesture. Much in the same way that his 'day in the life' article pushes the boundaries of reality, beginning in plausibility and gradually descending into the absurd in order to satirise society's preoccupation with time, the first movement of *Descriptions automatiques* begins with an air of stability and slowly descends into temporal uncertainty and absurdity. At first the lack of time signature and lack of bar lines are not apparent to the listener, but slowly the repetitive, circular figure pushes at the boundaries of the listener's expectation of the linear temporal pattern and metre. Below is an analytic overview of the work.

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[211] Caroline Potter, *Satie: A Parisian Composer and his World* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2016), pp. 100–101.

Table 3.1: Analysis of Satie's 'Sur un vaisseau', *Descriptions automatiques*

Text	*Translation*	*Tonal centre*	*Rhythmic element*
Petit embrun, Un autre	Small spray, Another	E♭ chord I – vi – V^6	Establishes a dotted rhythm ostinato. Two descending semiquaver melodic figures accompany the text
Coup d'air frais	Breath of fresh air	B♭	Ascending semiquaver scale
Mélancolie maritime	Maritime melancholy	A♭	Arching, lyrical quaver motif
Petit embrun, Un nouveau	Small spray, Another	F minor	Two descending semiquaver motifs
Gentil tangage, Petite lame, *Le capitaine dit*: Très beau voyage	Small blade, *The captain says*: Very nice trip	C minor	Repetitive semiquaver motif; ascending semiquaver scale; oscillating semiquavers
Le vaisseau ricane	The ship chuckles	F / B♭	Broken chord quaver figure
Paysage au loin	Land in the distance	A♭	Ascending arpeggiated chords
Petite brise, Petit embrun de courtoisie	Gentle breeze, Small spray of courtesy	E♭	Oscillating semiquavers; small descending semiquaver motif
Pour accoster	To dock	Diminished 7th chord V of E♭ minor / E♭	Alternating crotchets

There are only two rhythmic cells in the work, cells 'a' and 'b' (see ex. 3.1 and 3.2). Rhythmic cell 'a' is repeated continuously throughout the work. Rhythmic cell 'b' is used

to provide melodic interruptions. At first glance, the piece has an ambiguous metre, no time signature, bar lines, or clefs (apart from at the start), and no key signature.

Ex. 3.1: Rhythmic cell 'a' in 'Sur un vaisseau'

Ex. 3.2: Rhythmic cell 'b' in 'Sur un vaisseau'

The opening musical direction is 'Au gré des flots' (At the mercy of the waves). The image of uncertainty and fluidity that this direction conjures up accurately portrays the music's unsettling waves of changes. It opens, however, with a degree of certainty and familiarity. Paralleling the satirical account of social timekeeping found in his article, we find a stability of metre: this slowly disintegrates. We find a stability of key area, yet the certainty of E♭ major quickly unravels as the piece transposes quickly through a host of major and minor keys, ending in E♭ minor. We also find a clearly defined, tonic to dominant, repeating phrase structure, but the repeated phrase based on the harmonic progression of I – vi – V – I – vi – V quickly vanishes. The harmonic unravelling of the work is also a key element in creating the music's nonlinear temporal construction.

In a loose sense it could be construed as A – B – A structure, as it begins and ends (minus what might be termed in this structure as a Coda) in E♭, with the same ostinato, dotted rhythmic figure in the left hand. If we look closely, however, each movement to a new tonal centre contains a new melodic idea, accompanied by a new texted idea written in the

score. In a piece that is only a minute and a half in length, the main seeds of change seem to stem from these transpositions of key, ending unexpectedly in a dissonant tonal area. The piece does not move forward linearly, as we might expect on listening to the opening bars. The tonal movement is erratic and disintegrates into dissonance. Coupled with the repetitive, non-developing rhythmic element of the work, it challenges expectations of linear development. The right hand punctures the repetitive dotted figure with sparse moments of melodic colour, using rhythmic cell 'b' (see ex. 3.2). Finally, the ostinato suddenly stops, ending the piece. The harmonic, metric, rhythmic and melodic elements of the music all slowly unravel to create a linear uncertainty in the work, just as the music comes to a close.

'Sur un casque' (On a helmet), the third movement of *Descriptions automatiques*, also features no time signature and no bar lines, indicating that Satie was thinking beyond conventional measurements of musical time. While it has no time signature, it does begin with the metric feel of a 4/4 time signature. However, the final few beats of the movement disrupt this whole perception of the metric consistency. The implied 4/4 metre is suddenly thrown into question when the music ends on an unfinished third beat, as if halfway through a bar (see ex. 3.3). The over-exaggeration and delaying of cadences adds to the absurdity and humour of the piece.

The second movement, 'Sur une lanterne' (On a streetlight), also contains texted, barless temporal experimentation, but of a different kind. While there is repetition of the quaver gesture in the first half (ex. 3.4), the frequent change of mood creates fragmented snapshots of fleeting gestures, avoiding any sense of consistency in the movement.

Ex. 3.3: Fragmentary ending of 'Sur une lanterne', *Descriptions automatiques*

Ex. 3.4: Repetitive pattern from second movement of *Descriptions automatiques*

The first half of the short movement alternates between stating this pattern in a 2/4 metre and stating it in a 6/8 metre, in groups of threes. While a listener would not necessarily notice the disruption of the metric consistency, it does provoke an unsettled feeling in the music, and this is heightened when the metric consistency then disintegrates further as the repetitive quaver pattern is disrupted by an unmistakably 6/8 three-quaver pattern at 'Retirez votre main'. After this each thematic moment lasts only a few beats before moving to another thematic idea, and finally drifting away into silence. Satie's 'Sur une lanterne' evokes the prisms of the streetlamps through the disjunctive, fleeting gestures of the music. Satie creates the impression in the music of distinct snapshots of musical gestures without a unifying, developmental connection.

Satie was one of the first French composers to directly experiment with temporality in the 1880s, in his much earlier work, *Vexations* (1893). *Vexations* confronts ideas surrounding linear temporalities, challenging what we know about our understanding of time as well as musical temporality,[212] through its lack of cumulative closure and removal of the sense of progression. *Vexations* is an experiment in boredom. The performance direction—playfully given by Satie—notes that the theme should be repeated 840 times, and that the performer should prepare with a period of meditative silence. Satie's theme is constructed from a whole tone theme, distorting a sense of climactic progression and expectation of resolution. Had the work been based on chords I, IV, and V of a tonal scale, the music would undoubtedly have had a sense of expectation and forward motion, rather than an experience of temporal stasis—although even with climactic harmonic progressions, it would have been unlikely to retain this sense of forward motion after 840 repetitions. There is a sense that time in the music is in some sense abolished, so that it does not seem to matter where the work begins or ends. Karol Berger argues:

> Like language, music takes time. It cannot actually be made timeless, but it can suggest timelessness by bending the linear flow of time from past to future into a circular shape—by making the ending approximate the beginning, rather than being radically different from it.[213]

While his music is not, linguistically speaking, exactly 'timeless', it does conjure 'timelessness'. Some of Satie's other earlier works also illustrate his status as a precursor in temporal experimentation in many ways: the *Gnossiennes* (1893) and *Gymnopédies* (1888) experiment with free time, music that does not include a time signature or bar lines, and

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[212] The extended use of repetition removes any sense of climax or development, instead exploring boredom, especially if performed 840 times as instructed. See: Robert Orledge, *Rhinegold* (2016).
[213] Orledge, *Rhinegold*, p. 106.

are some of the earliest works in Western art music to do so. Satie's humorous piano works from 1913 are filled with temporal experimentation. Many avoid the use of bar lines as well as time signatures, implying a free metric structure as well as an ambiguity of the temporal linearity. The eschewing of bar lines in these works is reminiscent of one of the early examples of nonlinear temporal experimentation such as the *Rose+Croix* music (1892) as well as *Vexations*. However, his interest in musical time intensified in 1913, in volume and in approach. Satie produced a number of works in a flurry of productivity during 1913, which parallel his written thoughts on time. This chapter has suggested parallels between Satie's thoughts on time and changes in the urban landscape, from streetlighting to temporal regulations. Space and place were an important part of Satie's life. Jonathan Hicks notes that despite the fact that Satie 'lived, worked, walked, and died in Paris' he 'has often been presented as an eccentric individualist far removed from any social or geographical context'.[214] Hicks's thesis rectifies this and draws useful connections between the spaces through which Satie moved—in Paris, the suburban Arcueil and the bohemian Montmartre—and his creative output.[215]

As Hicks argues, Satie drew inspiration from the places through which he moved. Caroline Potter also argues that the people surrounding Satie—his collaborators, friends and enemies—had an influence on him, as well the places in which he lived.[216] Given that he was a composer rooted in the Parisian scene, as Hicks and Potter argue, it follows that some of his musical experiments stemmed from his surroundings, perhaps even the changes in those surroundings. Satie is often seen to have had more in common with visual

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[214] Jonathan Hicks, 'Music, place and mobility in Erik Satie's Paris' (D.Phil. thesis: University of Oxford, 2012), p. i.
[215] Of course, there are other places that draw connections to Satie: his childhood home in Honfleur, Normandy, and his connections to Scotland through his mother, Jane Leslie, who was born in London to Scottish parents.
[216] Caroline Potter: *Erik Satie: A Parisian Composer and his World* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2016).

and literary artists than with other composers. Orledge claims that Satie's 'art derived more from painters (especially the Cubists) than from any composer, alive or dead'.[217] Perhaps more than any composer, Satie is a perfect subject for considering the impact of small changes in the experience of time in early twentieth-century Paris on musical and cultural activity. The meaningful connections to be made between Satie's temporal experimentation and the changing space(s) and place(s) in which he moved can, therefore, illuminate parallels in the temporal experience in 1913 Paris.

[217] Orledge (1990), p. 1.

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AN EPISTEMOLOGICAL READING OF BERGSON, PROUST & RAVEL

In the closing chapter of Proust's *Swann's Way*, the first instalment of *A la recherche du temps perdu*—published in 1913—the narrator describes a walk through the Bois de Boulogne gardens on an autumnal morning and reflects on memory and reality:

> The places we have known do not belong only to the world of space on which we map them for our own convenience. They were only a thin slice, held between the contiguous impressions that composed our life at that time; the memory of a particular image is but regret for a particular moment; and houses, roads, avenues are as fugitive, alas, as the years.[218]

Proust's view of memory is tied up with concepts of place and emotion, but it is the temporal element that comes first. Memories are echoes of a past moment, and within those moments are contained the places, streets and homes in which the moment took place. Proust's philosophy of time, expounded in this first volume of his epic, encourages us to think of memory as the element that spawns our understanding of spaces, spaces that exist only in memory. It is these themes of memory, time and emotion that come together in Proust's writing to evoke a particular tension between the traditional and the modern,

[218] Marcel Proust, *Du côté de chez Swann* (Paris: Éditions Grasset, 1913). Translation: *Swann's Way*, translated by C. K. Scott Moncrieff and Terence Kilmartin, revised by D. J. Enright (London: Random House, 1992), p. 513.

the past and the present, found in the social and cultural life of the culmination of the *fin de siècle* period in Paris. Proust's work is one of the most famous literary treatments of temporality and memory. In this chapter, I want to explore whether this publication in 1913 validates the hypothesis that ideas of time and sensibilities towards time were becoming more prominent in socio-cultural life.

This chapter explores connections between Henri Bergson, the nineteenth-century philosopher, and literary and musical works by Marcel Proust and Maurice Ravel from 1913.[219] Both Proust's literary philosophical treatment and Ravel's musical compositions are manifestations of Bergsonian temporality in different ways. Bergsonian time was not a *Zeitgeist* of 1913 Paris, but one aspect of an era in which sensibilities towards time were changing. Michel Foucault's concept of *episteme* best encapsulates this approach to understanding the relationship between Bergson and temporality in 1913 Paris. *Episteme* is more heterogeneous than the concept of a *Zeitgeist*, which defines a singular 'spirit or mood of the age'. Instead, the concept of *episteme* considers 'the orderly "unconscious" structures or "epistemological field" underlying the production of scientific knowledge in a particular time and place'.[220] This concept first appeared in *The Order of Things* (*Les Mots et les choses*, 1966) with reference to Western epistemological structures, such as 'The Renaissance episteme'. In this instance, it is the 'unconscious structures' of time and temporal themes underlying the production of scientific—and cultural—knowledge in Paris at the end of the belle époque. Foucault would describe the use of Bergson as a dispositive, or an

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[219] It is worth noting that Bergson also had a profound impact on the twentieth-century French composer André Jolivet (1905–1974). Caroline Rae's chapter on Jolivet's literary influences discusses the role of Bergsonian philosophy in Jolivet's music. Caroline Rae, 'Sourcing Jolivet's Compositional Aesthetic: Literary Influences and his Library', in Caroline Rae (ed.), *André Jolivet: Music, Art and Literature* (Abingdon; New York: Routledge, 2009), pp. 194–213. Deborah Mawer also discusses Bergson and Jolivet: Deborah Mawer, 'Jolivet's Search for a New French Voice: Spiritual 'Otherness' in *Mana* (1935)' in Barbara L. Kelly (ed.), *French Music, Culture and National Identity, 1870–1939* (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2008), pp. 172–193.
[220] Clare O'Farrell, *Michel Foucault* (London: Sage Publications, 2005), p. 134.

apparatus, for understanding time as part of these unconscious structures of knowledge. Bergson is one lens through which we can understand the temporal underpinning of Ravel's innovation and the part it plays in a wider change in musical temporality.

While Barbara L. Kelly has deftly explored dialogues between Ravel and his relationship with symbolism and the poet Mallarmé, in this thesis I want to consider the temporal elements of Ravel's music.[221] Although there is little evidence to support a connection between Ravel and Bergson directly, Ravel was a devotee of Proust. At his home in Montfort-l'Amaury, he collected the entire works of Proust for his library. Michael J. Puri has closely examined the relationship between Proust and Ravel, remarking:

> Their lives resembled each other in several respects: They were born four years apart, were Parisian dandies, and ran in similar social circles. Although Ravel receives only an incidental mention in *À la recherche*, they clearly respected each other's work, as indicated by Proust's asking for the *Pavane pour une infante défunte* to be played at his funeral and Ravel's collecting all the volumes of Proust's novel.[222]

Puri locates the aesthetic origins of Ravel's elusive music in the French Decadence, using Proust as a literary example of this dandyism and exploring the dandyism of Ravel's musical modernism. Puri's research places decadence and memory at the heart of Ravel's music. In an earlier article, Puri examines melancholy as a figment of memory in Ravel's *Valses nobles et sentimentales*, mentioning that the 'embodied memory' of the epilogue is akin to Bergson's philosophy of time and memory.[223] I want to develop this idea further and

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[221] Barbara L. Kelly, *Music and Ultra-Modernism in France, 1913–1939* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2013), pp. 98–110.
[222] Michael J. Puri, *Ravel the Decadent* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 15. See also, 'Memory, Pastiche and Aestheticism in Ravel and Proust' in Deborah Mawer (ed.), *Ravel Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
[223] Michael J. Puri, 'Memory and Melancholy in the Épilogue of Ravel's Valses Nobles et Sentimentales', *Music Analysis*, vol. 30 (2011), p. 279.

explore the connection between Proustian memory, Bergsonian time and the wider cultural milieu of a technologically developing Paris. Taking Puri as a starting point, I want to explore how 'Bergsonian time' is manifested in Ravel's music. I will consider the historical and aesthetic memory in Ravel's music as part of a wider temporal manipulation. In order to do so, I want to look more closely at an influence on Proust and the wider cultural field of Parisian life, a figure that framed much of the debate and thought around ideas of temporality in 1913: Bergson and his treatise on time.

Henri Bergson's ideas on time, duration and memory emerged within a crucial period of change regarding the cultural and social perceptions of temporality. Bergson's philosophy contributed to a cultural climate in which musicians rethought musical representations of time. Today, Bergson retains an influential position within the field of French philosophy. Examining Bergson's influence on music is not new: alongside Puri's Proustian reframing of Ravel's dandyism, Kent Cleland has examined how Bergson's 'description of the nature of knowledge and his critique of nothingness'[224] had an aesthetic influence on Arnold Schoenberg's atonal compositional technique, and on John Cage's aleatoricism. However, connections between Bergson and the music of the early twentieth century, when, as a public figure, his ideas were becoming mainstream, have thus far remained relatively unexplored.

The aim of this chapter is to use Bergson's philosophy as a means of crystallising our understanding of this period of history. In particular, I will look closely at concepts of duration, multiplicity, memory and nonlinearity within Bergson's philosophy, as a method for the analysis of musical temporality. These concepts will be largely taken from a reading

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[224] Kent Cleland, 'The Temporalist Harp: Henri Bergson and Twentieth-Century Musical Innovation', *The European Legacy: Toward a New Paradigm*, vol. 16 /7 (2011), p. 953.

of *Time and Free Will* and *Matter and Memory*. In the following sections of this chapter, I will explore the impact, transmission and reception of Bergson's writing. Examining Bergson's philosophy and the dissemination of his ideas will begin to add to a metaphorical 'cultural map' of this particular climate in which musicians and composers rethought musical representations of time.[225] The final section considers Bergsonian time in the music of Ravel.

Bergson first deliberated temporal ideas in his Ph.D. thesis, 'Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience'.[226] These ideas were a response to Herbert Spencer's philosophy, and formulated through the influence of Kant's concept of free will, existing only outside of time and space. At the end of the nineteenth century, French philosophical institutions were dominated by Neo-Kantian philosophy.[227] The Sorbonne, in particular, was dedicated to Kantian theory in its university curriculum. Bergson challenged this Neo-Kantian philosophy in his work. Into a culture marked by dramatic changes in society, technology, science and even fashion, Bergson launched a thesis that defined inner consciousness through an understanding of time as defined not in space, but through pure duration. According to Bergson, in order to understand time, we must first understand how we conceptualise our thoughts, the space around us, and our memories. We think spatially, and thus we think of time in spatial terms too, misunderstanding our own feelings and experiences of time outside of this framework. Bergson wanted to evaluate our

[225] I use this 'cultural map' metaphor as a means of figuratively 'colouring in' a fuller picture of the role of Bergson in this cultural climate, in which perceptions of time and temporality arguably changed. This cultural map is used as a metaphor, as opposed to the rather more literal map in Chapter 2 that explored cultural networks.
[226] Henri Bergson, 'Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience' (Ph.D. dissertation: Paris, 1889).
[227] See Suzanne Guerlac, 'The Time Factor', *Thinking in Time: An Introduction to Henri Bergson* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2006).

conscious states, and defined free will within duration, not space. To do this, he explored the concept of multiplicity.[228]

Bergson begins *Time and Free Will* by setting up the concept of the qualitative and quantitative differences within our thinking. He examines the different intensities of 'psychic states' (i.e. feelings, passions and sensations), and the perception of one sensation being more intense than another. We perceive them as being quantitative, measurable by quantity, because we understand these different levels in our perception of sensations (higher or lower) as capable of growth or diminution—we understand them in spatial terms.[229] The very language of these concepts ('greater' and 'lesser', 'higher' or 'lower') creates the idea of our consciousness occupying a 'space'.[230] If a sensation is perceived as having a 'greater' intensity, it is because through the faculties of memory we are able to perceive that a previous sensation was, comparably, of a 'lesser' intensity.[231] However, our consciousness rejects this idea because we desire clear-cut distinctions and defined outlines, easily perceived in space. We want to perceive our consciousness, feelings, sensations and emotions through definitions of space, and not of time.

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228 Henri Bergson, *Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience* (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1889), translated by F. L. Pogson, *Time and Free Will: An Essay on the Immediate Data of Consciousness* (New York: George Allen & Co, 1910; rev. eds. 1912, 1913). p. 1.

229 'If a quantity can increase and diminish, if we perceive in it, so to speak, the *less* inside the *more*, is not such a quantity on this very account divisible, and thereby extended?' Bergson, *Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience*, translated by F. L. Pogson, p. 3.

230 In examining our perception of the intensity of sensation, Bergson poses the question: 'How do you become aware of a deep passion, once it has taken hold of you, if not by perceiving that the same objects no longer impress you in the same manner? All your sensations and all your ideas seem to brighten up: it is like childhood back again.' Bergson, *Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience*, translated by F. L. Pogson, p. 8.

231 'We ought to understand by this simply that its image has altered the shade of a thousand perceptions or memories.' Bergson, *Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience*, translated by F. L. Pogson, p. 9.

Bergson understands music as one of the sensations that we try to measure through spatial intensity. According to Bergson, sounds correlate with rhythm to create music. Bergson believes that music has a temporal aspect:

> How will the expressive or rather suggestive power of music be explained, if not by admitting that we repeat to ourselves the sounds heard, so as to carry ourselves back to the psychic state out of which they emerged, an original state, which something may suggest, viz., the very motion and attitude which the sound imparts to our body?[232]

Bergson believes that we repeat to ourselves the sounds heard, creating a temporal shift—the music continues, but an echo, a memory, of the music is heard in our heads as we process the sensation of sounds and rhythms. The external source of the music creates an internal perception of intensity. We perceive the sensation of external sounds through internal repetition in our consciousness, a perception associated with spatial understandings of music and sound.

According to Bergson, the intensities of auditory sensations have quantitative differences. Notes of the scale have different qualities based on how we can reproduce them in our vocal chords (whether imagined or physical):

> As the effort by which your voice passes from one note to another is discontinuous, you picture to yourself these successive notes as points in space, to be reached by a series of sudden jumps, in each of which you cross an empty separating interval: this is why you establish intervals between the notes of the scale.[233]

[232] Bergson, *Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience*, translated by F. L. Pogson, p. 44.
[233] Bergson, *Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience*, translated by F. L. Pogson, p. 45.

Much like the way we visualise different notes as different points in space, musical instruments also echo this perception. We see a string plucked or bowed at a different spatial point on the instrument, or hear a melody descend or ascend through various spatial locations within an orchestra. Musical intervals are one 'sensation' that we perceive through space. Perception, therefore, is key to understanding music, memory and time in Bergson's philosophy, and it is through music that Bergson poses the problem of perception.

Suzanne Guerlac, in her sharply acute reappraisal of Bergson's theories on time and memory, argues that

> One of the reasons for abstracting out a notion of Pure Perception is to underscore the radical difference (a difference in kind, not merely in degree) between perception and memory. People tend to confuse the two because memory and perception operate together.[234]

Guerlac reminds us that, 'from Bergson's point of view, of course, perception is not representation at all. It involves contact. And relations between subject and object (or inside and outside) must be from the perspective of time, not space.'[235] Bergson believes that if we free ourselves from this acquired perception we can understand our consciousness—our free will—through the 'feeling' of time: a pure concrete duration, which moulds in multiplicities and melds memories and thoughts together, and exists outside an understanding of space.

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[234] Suzanne Guerlac, 'The Time Factor', *Thinking in Time: An Introduction to Henri Bergson* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2006), p. 120.
[235] Guerlac, p. 120.

According to Bergson, this is an *acquired* perception, and is really a *confused* perception. This is a confused perception of our conscious states. Our consciousness (of which perception is a key part) is more accurately described as having several multiplicities, and these multiplicities are not spatial, but rather, they unfold in 'pure duration'. If we eliminate our perception of our consciousness occupying a space (which it does not), we are left with duration.[236] Bergson forms a theory of time based on the elimination of our inner self as perceived in a linear space:

> Let us notice that when we speak of time, we generally think of a homogeneous medium in which our conscious states are ranged alongside one another as in space, so as to form a discrete multiplicity.[237]

Bergson argues that as soon as we attempt to measure time or perceive an intensity or moment, we perceive it as a series of moments in a linear space. Time, however, eludes scientific and mathematical definitions, according to Bergson. Time is not an immobile line but a mobile, flexible, fluid entity. True concrete duration (*la durée*) is not quantitative, but qualitative, and the measure of its quality depends on the individual. It cannot be measured in linear terms, but can only be grasped through the imagination.

Bergson, therefore, has set up two different conceptions of time—that have since been infinitely repeated and reworked through various 'Bergsonisms'. In the first instance—which Bergson believes is a false perception—time is set out as a homogeneous medium defined by space. This *temps espace* is perceived as being measurable in linear, spatial terms, immobile and definable by science and mathematics. This concept is largely drawn from an acquired and confused spatial perception of our consciousness and conscious states.

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[236] Bergson, *Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience*, translated by F. L. Pogson, pp. 73–74.
[237] Bergson, *Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience*, translated by F. L. Pogson, p. 90.

Each strand of the multiplicity of our consciousness is perceived separately, in spatial terms, not as a whole. This 'incorrect' version of time sees moments as dots along an imaginary line, not in the way that true duration is felt.

The second definition of time, and—in Bergson's argument—the true definition of time, is not quantitative. Bergson argues that true duration, 'real concrete duration' (*durée concrète*), is one that can only be felt, not truly measured. Time is not a linear strand of moments, but something much more ineffable, indescribable and heterogeneous. In this way, he also sets up free will as a function of time: we must place ourselves within duration in order to attempt to understand it. This duration is the true definition of time, according to Bergson. Concrete duration of the inner consciousness, as opposed to homogeneous time, is freed from spatial understandings of time as presented in science and mathematics. Duration is nonlinear and mobile. This real duration cannot be measured or represented by a symbol, but only grasped by intuition and imagination.

We may perceive images of this true time, but not the whole. Perhaps one medium in which we can begin to understand this Bergsonian duration is through music: music combines both the quantitative *temps espace* (the ticking of the clock, the striking of the metronome) as well as the ineffable *la durée*. As explored in Chapter 1, definitions of musical temporality are dependent on the concept that time is more than something measurable by science. True duration is made of quantitative multiplicities—multiplicities that cannot be lined up and measured individually in spatial terms, but that are dependent on the intuition and imagination. Perhaps music is one avenue that can express these quantitative multiplicities.

One remaining element in this construction of time is the past: the role of memory. Guerlac summarises Bergson's process of understanding consciousness, past, present and future, and the relationship with memory:

> Consciousness helps the body cope with time. Time is always on the move. Consciousness serves the body as a centre of action by synthesizing the heterogeneous rhythms of duration into temporal horizons of past, present, and future. Consciousness is more or less equated with memory and therefore with past. The present is defined in terms of action. Everything else is already past—even as it heads into the future! There is no present moment except the moment of action, the event of contact with the real. All the rest, essentially, is memory.[238]

Defining memory seems an impossible task, since Bergson has already stated that we have a flawed perception of our own understandings of memory. The relationship between perception and memory is complex. Perception is attached to the present, while memory is firmly attached to the past; however, as soon as we perceive the present moment it is already in the past. Memory, in Bergsonian terms, is the means by which our consciousness helps us make sense of time—and this time is not linear, measurable or easy to perceive; therefore, it follows that our memories are not linear, measurable or easily perceivable. Memory becomes the point of contact, playing a pivotal role in the relationship between consciousness and matter (the material and actions of everyday life that we perceive in our consciousness).

Bergson's theory of time was revolutionary.[239] It rejected scientific and mathematical definitions of time; it rejected the measurable time of the clock. It was ineffable and could

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[238] Bergson, *Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience*, translated by F. L. Pogson, p. 122.
[239] Even in the twenty-first century, his ideas are profoundly revolutionary and can shake the world of physics. In 2003, a writer named Peter Lynds had a paper published that created a huge controversy—he was described as the next Einstein by the press until it was discovered that his

only be felt through intuition and imagination. For a general public who had access to Bergson's ideas—as well as artists, writers and the press—this was a radical new way of thinking about the world. As we saw in Chapter 1, time was viewed as circular, or linear; scholars such as Karol Berger have illustrated various ways in which time was conceived in periods of history. Berger described the circular time of the Renaissance—cyclical, seasonal and spiritual—becoming linear, as time was seen to ruthlessly march forward with the spirit of advancement and progress. Now, thanks to Bergson's new philosophy, time could be understood as flexible, intuitive and personal. What is particularly fascinating about Bergson in relation to this thesis is that the synthesis of his philosophy into the public consciousness (and the epistemological structures of knowledge underpinning Parisian cultural) seems to have occurred in pre-war public consciousness in 1913.

Bergson's role in the shift in sensibilities towards time in 1913 Paris cannot be overestimated. Although his Ph.D. thesis was first written in 1889, the proliferation of his ideas within French culture did not occur until the 1910s. There are a number of reasons for this: the huge success of his public lectures, his adoption as a public figure in the press, supported by his tours abroad, and the publication of the English translation in 1910, which brought his philosophies to a global stage and generated more interest back in Paris. Between 1907 and 1914, Bergson gave lectures at the Collège de France, which was one of the few academic institutions that made their lectures open to the public. Robert Grogin argues that, 'as the most charismatic intellectual figure of his day, he was able to communicate his attack on the mechanistic principles of nineteenth-century thought to a

theory of time was lifted from Bergson: 'His big idea, put simply, is that time cannot be thought of in physical, definable quantities. To the uninitiated that may seem obvious, but to some physicists it's heresy. Current thinking in quantum mechanics relies on time being made up of tiny, discrete packages—just like light and energy.' (*Guardian*, 14 August 2003).

public which was increasingly attracted to his lectures'.[240] Bergson was charismatic, anti-establishment, and spoke of time as a personal, intuitive concept. Martha Hanna argues that 'Bergson became something of an intellectual idol. Disaffected students from the Sorbonne and society women jockeyed for position in the lecture hall at the Collège de France, all seeking admission to his weekly lectures.'[241] Bergson was the anti-establishment figure, and it is no wonder that the public attending his lectures were attracted to his innovative ideas of being and temporality. It was this public forum that initially enabled Bergson's philosophy to reach a wider Parisian audience beyond the world of Parisian academia.

Bergson's works were published by Éditions F. Alcan, a Parisian publishing house set up by Félix-Mardochée Alcan.[242] It is difficult to trace the transmission of the print run of Bergson's text through Éditions Alcan; however, Bergson was their most published author, with 18 different texts published through Alcan, and 33 known editions of some of his more popular texts, such as the *Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience*. In the first (and authorised) English edition of *Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience*, the translator's preface by F. L. Pogson in 1910 makes some intriguing remarks surrounding the popularity of Bergson's ideas in the public consciousness:

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[240] Robert C. Grogin, *The Bergsonian Controversy in France, 1900–1914* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1988), p. ix.

[241] Martha Hanna, 'The New Bergson', *Theory, Culture & Society*, vol. 20/2 (April 2003), pp. 145–154.

[242] Valérie Tesnière, 'L'Histoire aux Éditions Alcan, 1874–1939', *Vingtième siècle: Revue d'histoire*, vol. 28/1 (1990), pp. 15–28. Valérie Tesnière notes that as a 'student of the École Normale ['*Normalien*'], Dreyfus supporter, [and] close friend of Gabriel Monod and Ernest Lavisse, Félix Alcan was also and above all else a great editor'. Tesnière, p. 15. Original text: 'Normalien, dreyfusard, proche de Gabriel Monod et d'Ernest Lavisse, Félix Alcan fut aussi et avant tout un grand éditeur. A travers son itinéraire se lisent deux évolutions décisives: d'une part, avec la Revue historique notamment, celle de la mise en forme, de l'apogée puis de la contestation de l'école "positiviste"; d'autre part celle qui, passant pour un temps par la figure de l'éditeur-universitaire, conduit du libraire-éditeur traditionnel à l'émergence de l'édition modern, au sein de laquelle les universitaires s'efforcent de contrôler leur production.'

> In France the *Essai* is already in its seventh edition. Indeed, one of the most striking facts about Professor Bergson's works is the extent to which they have appealed not only to the professional philosophers, but also to the ordinary cultivated public. The method which he pursues is not the conceptual and abstract method which has been the dominant tradition in philosophy. For him reality is not to be reached by any elaborate construction of thought: it is given in immediate experience as a flux, a continuous process of becoming, to be grasped by intuition, by sympathetic insight.[243]

The translator traces the popularity of Bergson in France to a number of reasons: not only his Collège de France lectures, or the widespread adoption of Bergsonisms in contemporary philosophy, but also the very methodology and approach used by the philosopher. To Pogson's mind, it was the concrete and applicable concepts of immediate experience, and the eschewing of 'abstract method' that made Bergson so popular around 1910. Pogson describes Bergson's rejection of 'intellectualist philosophy' as a call to arms for the 'ordinary cultivated reader' to immerse themselves in the endless flow of time and living things, eschewing the artificial reconstruction of dead fragments of life.

With the publication of the English translation of *Time and Free Will* by Pogson in 1910, the English-speaking world was introduced to Bergson's philosophy. T. E. Hulme's review notes: 'I have to confess that Bergson's originality is so profuse that many of his ideas baffle me entirely. I doubt whether any one understands him all over, so to speak.'[244] Despite the complexity of his philosophy, his ideas were considered original and important. Years later, referring to the publication of the English edition, Virginia Woolf wrote: 'On or about December 1910, human character changed.'[245] *Bergson for Beginners: A*

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[243] F. L. Pogson, 'Translator's Preface' in Bergson, *Time and Free Will* (New York: George Allen & Co, 1910), p. vi.
[244] T. E. Hulme, 'Review: Bergson', *Times Literary Supplement* (22 September 1910).
[245] Virginia Woolf, *Mr. Bennett and Mrs. Brown* (London: Hogarth Press, October 1924).

Summary of His Philosophy introduced Bergson to American audiences, positing Bergson within the context of Spencer, Huxley and Kant.

SOME BOOKS ABOUT BERGSON

The Philosophy of Bergson. By A. D. Lindsay. (A clear and able discussion, dealing mainly with the critical aspect of Bergson's thought).

A Critical Exposition of Bergson's Philosophy. By J. McKellar Stewart. (Contains much acute criticism of Bergson's chief positions).

An Examination of Professor Bergson's Philosophy. By David Balsillie. (Mainly critical, and useful as a corrective to the too ready acceptance of philosophical novelties).

Bergson. By Joseph Solomon. (A short sketch in the series "Philosophies: Ancient and Modern").

Henri Bergson: The Philosophy of Change. By H. Wildon Carr ("The People's Books")—A little book which contains a great deal.

A New Philosophy: Henri Bergson. By Edouard Le Roy. Translated from the French by Vincent Benson. (A sympathetic presentment of the main features of the philosophy).

An Introduction to Bergson's Philosophy. By T. E. Hulme.

See also *A Pluralistic Universe*. By William James.

Illustration 4.1: 'Some books about Bergson', fragment from the 1913 publication *Bergson for Beginners*[246]

In it, the author remarks that 'it is now rare for a philosophical magazine to appear without dealing with the subject in some form or other', and that 'the periodical literature connected with Bergson's philosophy is now very large'.[247] In London, *The Philosophy of Bergson* (London: Dent & Sons, 1911), claimed Bergson was the greatest philosopher since

[246] Darcy Butterworth Kitchen, *Bergson for Beginners: A Summary of his Philosophy* (New York: Macmillan, 1913), p. 255.
[247] Kitchen, p. 255.

Plato.[248] The wealth of publications across continents on Bergson's philosophies renewed interest in Bergson's philosophies in Paris. From metaphysics to memory, Bergson was introduced and re-introduced into most discussions in literary reviews as the central figure. In an article on contemporary philosophical beliefs, it is his 'distinction between the soul and the body' that stands out.[249] Even within the same month, and the same journal, he is declared by another author to be 'a pragmatist, but he adds intuition to anti-intellectualism, which alone is capable of making pragmatism more or less a durable system of philosophy'.[250] An abundance of articles published around 1913 also pointed out the contradictions between Bergson and the multiple, differing, interpretations of his philosophy.[251]

The Google Books Ngram Viewer provides fascinating corroborating evidence to this effect. The Ngram is a new research tool designed by Google Books, which takes as a data set six million digitised published books. A research paper on Ngrams by the Google Books Team describes their motivation for their new methods:

> Reading small collections of carefully chosen works enables scholars to make powerful inferences about trends in human thought. However, this approach rarely enables precise measurement of the underlying phenomena. Attempts to introduce quantitative methods into the study of culture have been hampered by the lack of suitable data. We report the

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248 Mary Ann Gillies argues that in 1909–1911, over two hundred articles on Bergson were published in English journals, newspapers and books. Mary Ann Gillies, *Henri Bergson and British Modernism* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1996), p. 28.
249 'La Lutte philosophique et la division des croyances', *Revue philosophique de la France et de l'étranger* (July 1913), p. 411. Original French: 'Bergson a présenté en les resumant, ses idees sur la distinction de l'âme et du corps.'
250 'Revue des périodiques,' *Revue philosophique de la France et de l'étranger* (July 1913), p. 553. Original French: 'M. Bergson est pragmatiste, mais elle ajoute à l'anti-intellectualisme l'intuitionisme qui seul est capable de faire du pragmatisme un système de philosophie plus ou moins durable.'
251 See: René Gillouin, 'La philosophie de M. Henri Bergson', *La Revue de Paris* (1 October 1911); André Joussain, 'L'expansion du bergsonisme et la psychologie musicale', *Revue bleue* (15 June 1912); Nicolas Ségur, 'Bergson et le bergsonisme', *La Revue* (1 October 1912); Gilbert Maire, 'Les bergsoniens contre Bergson', *La Revue* (1 February 1914).

creation of a corpus of 5,195,769 digitized books containing ~4% of all books ever published. Computational analysis of this corpus enables us to observe cultural trends and subject them to quantitative investigation. 'Culturomics' extends the boundaries of scientific inquiry to a wide array of new phenomena.[252]

Although there are a number of pitfalls in studying language using Google Ngrams, it does serve as an additional method through which to study cultural trends at a glance.[253] In examining archival texts, Bergson repeatedly surfaced as a philosophical figure, and this archival research is corroborated with the Google Ngrams quantitative analysis.

Fig. 4.1: Google Ngrams graph showing number of mentions of the word 'Bergson' in French-language publications within 1800–2000, with a first peak observed in 1913

[252] Jean-Baptiste Michel, Yuan Kui Shen, Aviva P. Aiden, Adrian Veres, Matthew K. Gray, The Google Books Team, Joseph P. Pickett et al., 'Quantitative Analysis of Culture Using Millions of Digitized Books', *Science*, vol. 331/6014 (2011), p. 176.
[253] For instance, in certain fonts used in mid twentieth-century publications, the Optical Character Recognition (the computing technology that converts a scanned image to text) misinterprets the letter 'f' as an 's'. There is also some debate as to whether the number of academic texts towards the end of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first century provides undue weighting for certain words, and misrepresentation of the importance of others. For early twentieth-century texts, however, these two main concerns do not apply. See: Eitan Adam Pechenick, Christopher M. Danforth and Peter Sheridan Dodds, 'Characterizing the Google Books Corpus: Strong Limits to Inferences of Socio-Cultural and Linguistic Evolution', *PLos ONE* 10/10 (2015).

By using a quantitative analysis of the data provided by Google Books, from scanning millions of digitised books, it is possible to plot a graph of mentions of the word 'Bergson' in French-language publications. The first and highest peak observed within the period 1900–1920 is at 1913 (see fig. 4.1). It is at 1913 that the first explosion of mentions surrounding Bergson occurs in French texts, with a later peak in 1944. Interestingly, in English, 1913 is also the peak of these mentions of Bergson (fig. 4.2).

Fig. 4.2: Google Ngrams graph showing number of mentions of the word 'Bergson' in English-language publications within 1800–2000, with a peak observed in 1913

In English, 1913 is the year with most mentions of 'Bergson' in the entirety of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, whereas in French, while the first explosion of Bergsonian mentions occurs in 1913, the influence and proliferation of Bergsonian philosophy continues to grow, and the highest peak is at 1944. Quantitative analysis suggests that, both in France and abroad, his philosophy began to rapidly disseminate within cultural and literary discourse. In 1913, Bergson was prolific and part of the *episteme*.

Evidence of the dissemination of Bergson's philosophies within the Parisian *episteme* can be found in the writings of Marcel Proust. Proust's writing evokes the temporal fluidity expounded in Bergson's philosophy; in many ways it is a literary manifestation of

Bergsonian ideas. There is a familial connection between Bergson and Proust as well as a literary one: on 7 January 1891 Bergson married Louise Neuberger, one of Proust's cousins, and Proust acted as best man at the wedding. In 1905, Bergson attended the funeral of Proust's mother. The two corresponded at intervals, and are known to have attended salons at the same time. Later in life, Fernand Gregh recalled that Proust had invited him and Bergson to dinner on 7 November, a Friday evening: 'soon after [introducing me to his parents], Proust sent me a note to invite me to dinner with Bergson … It was the first time I had dined at Proust's.[254] Paul Douglass has shown that Proust attended at least two of Bergson's lectures at the Collège de France, and in 1908 and 1909, Proust read and annotated Bergson's *Matter and Memory*. Proust's annotations of Bergson's philosophical ideas focus primarily on the two types of memory described by Bergson—one that we recall deliberately, and the type of memory used to remember times tables, as well as the concept of perception.[255]

Proust took these two concepts of memory further, depicting a literary treatment of a third type of memory in his novel: involuntary memory. The infamous madeleine scene is a classic example of 'involuntary memory', which characterises much of Proust's legacy. Proust documents the minutiae of this sensation: it takes a while for the narrator to untangle what the strong sensation means when he first tastes the madeleine and to discover the associated sense of joy with the memory in question:

> I declined at first, and then, for no particular reason, changed my mind. She sent for one of those squat, plump little cakes called 'petites madeleines,' which look as though they

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254 Fernand Gregh, *L'Age d'or*, 1947, p. 154, cited in *Revue des deux mondes*, vol.1/1 (1954), p. 192. Original French: 'Bientôt après [avoir présenté Gregh à ses parents], Proust m'envoya un mot pour m'inviter à dîner avec Bergson … C'était la première fois que je dînais chez Proust.'
255 Marcel Proust (1908–1909), cited in Paul Douglass, 'Bergson, Vitalism, and Modernist Literature' in S. E. Gontarski, Paul Ardoin and Laci Mattison (eds.), *Understanding Bergson, Understanding Modernism* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013), p. 154.

> had been moulded in the fluted valve of a scallop shell. And soon, mechanically, dispirited after a dreary day with the prospect of a depressing morrow, I raised to my lips a spoonful of the tea in which I soaked a morsel of the cake. No sooner had the warm liquid mixed with the crumbs touched my palate than a shiver ran through me and I stopped, intent upon the extraordinary thing that was happening to me. An exquisite pleasure had invaded my senses […] Undoubtedly what is thus palpitating in the depths of my being must be the image, the visual memory which, being linked to that taste, is trying to follow it into my conscious mind.[256]

It is the senses that enable a rediscovery of long-forgotten memory: the taste and texture of a small cake dipped in tea (in an earlier draft it had been buttered toast). The immediate joy of the taste evokes, after a moment, the memory in question, which rises to the surface of the narrator's conscious mind:

> And suddenly the memory revealed itself. The taste was that of the little piece of madeleine which on Sunday mornings at Combray (because on those mornings I did not go out before mass), when I went to say good morning to her in her bedroom, my aunt Léonie used to give me, dipping it first in her own cup of tea or tisane. The sight of the little madeleine had recalled nothing to my mind before I tasted it; perhaps because I had so often seen such things in the meantime, without tasting them, on the trays in pastry-cooks' windows, that their image had dissociated itself from those Combray days to take its place among others more recent […] after the people are dead, after the things are broken and scattered, taste and smell alone, more fragile but more enduring, more immaterial, more persistent, more faithful, remain poised a long time, like souls, remembering, waiting,

[256] Marcel Proust, *Du côté de chez Swann* (Paris: Éditions Grasset, 1913). Translation: *Swann's Way*, translated by C. K. Scott Moncrieff and Terence Kilmartin, revised by D. J. Enright (London: Random House, 1992), pp. 51, 53.

> hoping, amid the ruins of all the rest; and bear unflinchingly in the tiny and almost impalpable drop of their essence, the vast structure of recollection.[257]

The memory of this childhood occurrence springs from taste and smell, not sight alone. From this memory springs whole scenes of childhood activities, the places he lived and the things he did:

> And as soon as I had recognised the taste of the piece of madeleine soaked in her decoction of lime-blossom which my aunt used to give me […] immediately the old grey house upon the street, where her room was, rose up like a stage set to attach itself to the little pavilion opening on to the garden which had been built out behind it for my parents…[258]

Proust's literary treatment of time and memory is perhaps the most famous in the twentieth century. It embodies Bergson's concept of time as flexible, fluid and personal, time as qualitative multiplicity of being. Proust's writing is a literary illustration of Bergson's concept of perception, in the sense that perception is the juncture between matter, memory and music.

Jean-Jacques Nattiez in *Proust as Musician* explores Proust's process and inspirations for 'composing' his imaginary works of music by the imagined composer Vinteuil.[259] He

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[257] Proust, *Du côté de chez Swann*, trans. by C. K. Scott Moncrieff and Terence Kilmartin, revised by D. J. Enright, pp. 53–54.
[258] Proust, *Du côté de chez Swann*, trans. by C. K. Scott Moncrieff and Terence Kilmartin, revised by D. J. Enright, p. 54.
[259] In 1923, *La Revue musicale* published a collection of Proust's writings on music ('*Sur la musique*'). Proust's ideas on music were considered alongside contemporary music criticism, indicating that music and temporal themes were perceived as intertwined. Proust's writings on music are cited in the *Revue musicale* article in such a way that suggests these writings encapsulate contemporary philosophical thought and ideas on music from the time. Proust notes that 'I was struck by a passage in the sonata, a passage with which I was quite familiar, but sometimes our attention throws a different light upon things which we have long known, and we remark in them what we have never seen before. As I played the passage, and for all that in it Vinteuil had been trying to express a fancy which would have been wholly foreign to Wagner, I could not help murmuring 'Tristan,' with the smile of an old friend of the family discovering a trace of the grandfather in an intonation, a gesture of the grandson who never set eyes on him.' Marcel Proust, 'Sur la musique:

considered in depth the affinities between Vinteuil and Wagner, as well as Proust's debt to the music of Debussy and Beethoven in shaping his literary masterpiece.[260]

Among the many claims for Proust's adoption of Bergsonian ideas of time for his own writings, Pete Gunter argues that we should be careful about assuming influence and should instead recognise the coinciding of ideas. He notes that

> the hypothesis to be offered here is simply this: among the welter of claims for and against a Bergsonian influence on Proust, at least one appears inescapable: that Proust owed to Bergson the belief that all human memories are preserved.[261]

Despite the difficulty of assuming influence in any situation, it is impossible not to link these two writers together, considering their focal topic of writing—ideas of time and memory—particularly given the concepts of multiplicity and the feeling of time (real duration) represented in fictional form in Proust's writing. Bergson brought the concept of time (and temporal philosophy) to the public and the mainstream, launching nonlinearity and fluidity of time into the popular consciousness, which was brought further into the public eye through the literary treatment of time and memory in Proust's writing.

At the time of Bergson's explosion of popularity, and the publication of the first volume of Proust's *A la recherche*, composers were experimenting with the disintegration of linear

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Fragments inédits', *La Revue musicale*, vol. 5/1 (1 November 1923), p. 2. Original text, translation by C. K. Scott Moncrieff: '[Au moment où je pensais cela,] une mesure de la sonate me frappa, mesure que je connaissais bien pourtant, mais parfois l'attention éclaire différemment des choses connues pourtant depuis longtemps et où nous remarquons ce que nous n'avions jamais vu. En jouant cette mesure, et bien que Vinteuil fût là en train d'exprimer un rêve qui fût resté tout à fait étranger à Wagner, je ne pus m'empêcher de murmurer: "Tristan" avec le sourire qu'a l'ami d'une famille retrouvant quelque chose de l'aïeul dans une intonation, un geste du petits-fils qui ne l'a pas connu.'

[260] Jean-Jacques Nattiez, *Proust as Musician*, trans. Derrick Puffet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

[261] Pete A. Y. Gunter, 'Bergson and Proust: A Question of Influence' in Gontarski, Ardoin and Mattison (eds.), *Understanding Bergson, Understanding Modernism* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013), p. 157.

progressions in music. Ravel, along with composers such as Debussy, was one such composer who began inverting the expected linear gestures of temporality in his music, by using thematic fragmentation that manipulated expected temporal linearity and using a framework of manipulation that played with linearity rather than rejecting it outright, surprising and subverting the listener's expectation. While the connection between Bergson and Proust is well established—they were in close dialogue and Proust took extensive notes of Bergson's texts—Ravel was an admirer of Proust's work from a distance. Nevertheless, parallels between Ravel and Proust can offer new understandings of the way in which temporality was being treated in Paris in 1913. Given the infiltration of the concept of Bergsonian time throughout Parisian society, comparing the parallels between Proustian memory, Ravel's temporality and understanding each work as a manifestation of Bergsonian time helps us understand Parisian music through the prisms of literary and philosophical influences.

In a letter from April 1913, Ravel wrote to Madame Alfredo Casella:

> I was going to write to you as soon as I received your letter, but I myself was in pitiful shape, because my work began to resemble a grave illness: fever, insomnia, lack of appetite. At the end of 3 days, a song emerged, based upon a text by Mallarmé…[262]

This was the first song of his work *Trois poèmes de Stéphane Mallarmé*, 'Soupir', which he completed in Clarens-Montreux at Hôtel des Crêtres. At the time, he envisaged two songs, not three, but the three movements were all conceived and completed in 1913. 'Soupir' was completed on 2 April in Clarens, 'Placet futile' in Paris, in May 1913, and the last movement, 'Surgi de la croupe et du bond' was completed in August 1913, in St.-Jean-de-

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[262] Ravel, 'Letter to Madame Alfredo Casella', 2 April 1913, anonymous private collection, in Arbie Orenstein (ed.), *A Ravel Reader*, *Correspondence, Articles, Interviews* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990, revised 2003), p. 134.

Luz. In the following page of the letter, which he asked Madame Casella to pass on to the S. M. I., Ravel described an idea for a

> Stupendous project for a scandalous concert. Perhaps not at the Conservatoire: the Ministers would never permit the same kind of behaviour there as they do in the Chamber of Deputies. Pieces for (a) narrator; (b) and (c) voice and: piano, string quartet, 2 flutes, and 2 clarinets.
>
> (a) *Pierrot lunaire*: Schoenberg (21 pieces: 40 minutes)
> (b) Japanese Songs: Stravinsky (4 pieces: 10 minutes)
> (c) 2 poems by S. Mallarmé: Maurice Ravel (about 10 minutes)
>
> (a) and (b) will make the audience howl; (c) will calm them down, and the people will go out whistling tunes.[263]

It is fascinating that Ravel conceived his as yet uncompleted songs as part of a concert featuring Schoenberg and Stravinsky. The concert that Ravel had in mind never took place as planned, but it does illustrate a connection in Ravel's mind between his own composition and the 'scandalous' works of Schoenberg and Stravinsky to create a 'stupendous' project. Ravel's songs were similar in their orchestration to Schoenberg's and Stravinsky's works, but his music would calm the audience down and make them whistle tunes. This similarity in orchestration was deliberate, which we know from another comment Ravel made in a lecture in Texas later in life:

> I wished to transpose Mallarmé's poetry into music, especially that precocity so full of meaning and so characteristic of him. 'Surgi de la croupe et du bond' is the strangest, if

[263] Ravel, 'Letter to Madame Alfredo Casella', trans. Orenstein, pp. 135–136.

> not the most hermetic of his sonnets. In this work, I used approximately the same instrumental ensemble that is found in Schoenberg's *Pierrot lunaire*.[264]

He also commented on

> the immaterial poetry of Mallarmé—unbounded visions, yet precise in design, enclosed in a mystery of sombre abstractions—an art where all the elements are so intimately bound up together that one cannot analyse, but only sense its effect.[265]

Ravel's settings of these poems are also precise, mysterious and sombre, pushing the boundaries of tonal music.

Others have remarked on the influence of Stravinsky. Kelly has also drawn parallels between these works, arguing that there are useful dialogues to be drawn from them:

> Although [Ravel] was right to identify the essential differences between the three composers, there is more of a dialogue, particularly, between Ravel and Stravinsky; Schoenberg generally remains a more distant musical presence although he inspired the instrumentation, the frenetic clarinet and flute writing of Stravinsky's second song, 'Mazatsumi', and arguably other select moments. […] Although neither composer abandons his particular stylistic instincts, the two songs are clearly in dialogue.[266]

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264 Ravel, 'Lecture delivered under the auspices of the Rice Institute Lectureship in Music by Maurice Ravel in the Scottish Rite Cathedral, Houston, Texas' (7 April 1928), first printed in *The Rice Institute Pamphlet*, vol. 15 (April 1928), pp. 131-145; cited in Arbie Orenstein, *A Ravel Reader*, p. 46.

265 Ravel, 'Lecture delivered under the auspices of the Rice Institute Lectureship in Music by Maurice Ravel in the Scottish Rite Cathedral, Houston, Texas', pp. 46–7. Duscheneau and Kelly have discussed this.

266 Kelly (2013), p. 105.

Kelly sees the connection between the composers as a dialogue—particularly the interaction in the choice and use of instrumentation. Gronquist demonstrates (taking influence from an earlier article by Boulez) that:

> Ravel, joining Stravinsky at Clarens on Lake Geneva, discovered his *Poèmes de la lyrique japonaise* with their instrumentation derived from Schoenberg's recent *Pierrot Lunaire*; and how Ravel grew fascinated with the coloristic possibilities of such a scoring […] It was at Clarens, too, that Ravel first saw the score of Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du printemps*, a work whose first performance he predicted would be 'as important an event as the premiere of Pelléas.' He witnessed the chaotic première of *Le Sacre* in Paris on May 29 and soon after spent the summer at Saint-Jean-de-Luz where 'Surgi de la croupe et du bond' was completed.[267]

Clearly Stravinsky had an influence on Ravel.[268] There is an implication here that Stravinsky inspired Ravel's orchestration and his choice of instruments—but what if there was also an impact on the temporal manipulation? Perhaps the radical new temporality and rhythmic ingenuity found in *Le Sacre* had an impact on Ravel's compositional process. Ravel's proposed concert shows that he imagined creating music that would compete alongside *Poèmes de la lyrique japonaise* and *Pierrot Lunaire*. His music is innovative in the way that it plays with musical temporality, but remains lyrical and true to his style. The music shimmers with his trademark delicate orchestration and a harmonic language full of

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[267] Gronquist, pp. 509–510. See also Barbara L. Kelly: 'Stravinsky showed him the *Three Japanese Lyrics*, inspired by the instrumentation of Schoenberg's *Pierrot lunaire*, which in turn influenced Ravel's choice of instrumentation in his *Trois poèmes de Stéphane Mallarmé*. Ravel also saw the score of Stravinsky's *The Rite of Spring* and anticipated that it would cause a reaction similar to *Pelléas*.' *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Oxford Music Online: http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/43935, accessed 12 March 2019).

[268] This has also been explored in the important essay by Pierre Boulez, 'Trajectories: Ravel, Stravinsky, Schoenberg', Contrepoint (Paris: Autumn, 1949). Later included in Boulez, *Notes of an Apprenticeshi*p (New York, 1968) pp. 242–267.

extended chords, nostalgic for a lost soundworld, and there is playfulness around the music's treatment of temporality.

While the second and third movements of the work engage with questions of temporal nonlinearity in different ways, it is the first movement that is suggestive of timelessness. Gronquist recognises the timelessness of the opening of 'Soupir', the first movement, arguing that the music evokes the symbolism of the poetry:

> Ravel begins 'Soupir' as if *without* time, or with time halted. The static, shimmering effect of the strings in harmonics and glissandos creates—for the entire first half of the poem—an aural suggestion of the timeless 'white fountain' which 'sighs towards the azure'.[269]

This is a tantalising insight, which has not been revisited since. Gronquist also refers to the later echo of the glissandos, but chooses not draw any conclusion on form, structure or the impact of this echo, instead moving to discuss the melodic and poetic construction of the three movements, in order to explore the musical evocation of symbolism found in the songs. As explored in Chapter 1, music occurs 'in' time, it unfolds alongside the unfolding of time. On one level musical temporality is the distinction between the chronology that has passed—the number of seconds and minutes that have been counted while the music is in action—and the contradiction to the sense of time that is manipulated by the music. The listener, in music that is described as 'timeless', senses that, contrary to what a clock might say, they have not observed the passing of time. In other words, the listener has been entranced by the music, and does not observe the chronological passing of time. Ravel's musical timelessness conjures this 'intuitive' timelessness. This can be

[269] Gronquist, 'Ravel's Trois Poèmes', p. 513.

understood as a manifestation of Bergsonian duration: musical temporality that conjures a fluid, nonlinear, mobile sense of time.

The first movement, 'Soupir', translates as 'sigh'. It is also the French word for a crotchet rest, and there is certainly a sense of a 'rest' or a pause, a sense of time slowing down in the music. The key to the reading of Ravel's music as a manifestation of Bergsonian duration is his use of several facets of compositional technique: harmonic language, repetition and tempo. Through the treatment of these compositional processes, Ravel conjures a 'sigh'—the sense of time slowing down and becoming personal and fluid and nonlinear.

The rest of the poem, superbly translated by Arthur Symmons, reads as follows:

> My soul, calm sister, towards thy brow, whereon scarce grieves
>
> An autumn strewn already with its russet leaves,
>
> And towards the wandering sky of thine angelic eyes,
>
> Mounts, as in melancholy gardens may arise
>
> Some faithful fountain sighing whitely towards the blue!
>
> Towards the blue pale and pure that sad October knew,
>
> When, in those depths, it mirrored languors infinite,
>
> And agonizing leaves upon the waters white,
>
> Windily drifting, traced a furrow cold and dun,

Where, in one long last ray, lingered the yellow sun.[270]

The poem evokes a certain slowing down: approaching winter, autumn leaves are falling, the excitement of spring is winding down and the rays of the sun, lingering, are dying. Each verse has five lines, and musically they are treated very differently in Ravel's music.

Table 4.1: Analysis of Ravel's 'Soupir', *Trois poèmes de Stéphane Mallarmé* (1913)

Section	*Bars*	*Harmony*	*Melodic line*	*Time sig. & tempo*	*Rhythm*
A	Figures 1–2	Extended chords, resting on E minor 11th chord with a flattened 7th	Climbs the modal scale step-wise; lyrical melodic line; voice carries the melody while the strings provide a shimmering static background	4/4 throughout. Crotchet = 40, *Lent*	Aside from the constant noise of the glissandos, there is little rhythmic movement
B	3–5	Moving from tonal centre of E to dissonance	Angular and disjointed melodic line	4/4–3/4–4/4–2/4–4/4. *Un peu plus lent*	Increased rhythmic intensity: each quaver is accentuated
(A')	5 (three final bars)	Returning to the extended chord E minor 11th	Arpeggiated final chords	4/4	

[270] Arthur Symmons' translation of Stéphane Mallarmé, *Soupir* (Paris: *Le Parnasse contemporain*, 1866): 'Mon âme vers ton front où rêve, ô calme soeur, / Un automne jonché de taches de rousseur, / Et vers le ciel errant de ton oeil angélique / Monte, comme dans un jardin mélancolique, / Fidèle, un blanc jet d'eau soupire vers l'Azur ! / Vers l'Azur attendri d'Octobre pâle et pur / Qui mire aux grands bassins sa langueur infinie / Et laisse, sur l'eau morte où la fauve agonie / Des feuilles erre au vent et creuse un froid sillon, / Se traîner le soleil jaune d'un long rayon.'

Musically, the structure may be referred to as a two-part binary form, but the final three bars create an echo of the opening. Table 4.1 demonstrates an outline of the movement's structure. How is the 'timelessness', remarked upon by Gronquist, constructed? Firstly, the strings play a shimmering, repetitive figure of glissandos and harmonics for the entirety of the first half (and first verse) of the song.

Ex. 4.1: The ostinato pattern that dominates the first half of Ravel's 'Soupir'

This is not a repetition of a phrase, motive, or thematic material that leads to further development, variation and reinterpretation, but repetition of a single extended chord. The pitch, rhythm, metre, tempo and harmony of this figure remain a constant within the first half: it is an ostinato pattern that is forefront in the music, without elaboration, development or resolution. It does not progress in a linear fashion—there is no resolution. This stasis creates one aspect of the feeling of 'timelessness' in the music: temporally, the music is not linearly driven, but slows to a pause, shimmering and waiting.

The collection of notes that make up the glissando repetition can be understood as an extended E minor 11th chord with flattened 7th, or as a part of E Aeolian mode (E – G – B – D – C – A). As Kelly notes, 'extended chords, 9ths and 11ths especially, are integral

to Ravel's harmonic language'.[271] Here an extended chord is bought to the foreground: there is nothing else; even the notes of the melodic line of the voice form part of this extended chord (with the addition of C#—this could also be read as E Dorian mode or E 11th chord with 7th and flattened 7ths). There is almost a feeling of ambivalence in the lack of movement towards resolution or suspension, manipulating traditional tonal resolutions and patterns.

The final aspect of this moment of nonlinear stasis is the tempo of the melodic line and its rhythmic texture. The slow tempo, long tied notes and sparse rhythmic texture (i.e. minimal rhythmic intensity or complexity) in the voice line contribute to the stasis. The notes of the melodic line are part of the extended E minor 11th chord that makes up the glissando pattern. Coupled with a languid and slow tempo and the sparse rhythmic texture, the notes of the voice get embedded into and lost in the ostinato figure. This heightens the effect of the stasis: the sense of a moment of non-developmental 'timelessness'. This musical 'timelessness' is one way in which Ravel's 'Soupir' evokes Bergsonian duration. Bergsonian time is not linear. For the individual, time is unique and intuitive, and can slow down and stop—unlike scientific, ontological definitions of time.

Another aspect of the temporal manipulation in Ravel's music is the connection, or rather lack of connection, between the first and second half of the song. Following the static timelessness of the first half, there is a bar's rest before we move into the second verse of the song. The second half of the song uses sparse orchestral texture, angular melodic lines and dissonance to subvert linear gestures in different ways; unlike the nonlinear stasis of

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[271] Barbara L. Kelly, 'Maurice Ravel', *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Oxford Music Online: http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/43935, accessed 12 March 2019).

the first half, the second verse uses movement to create temporal nonlinearity. Ravel uses extended 11th chords to reach increasingly dissonant places with resolution: the music leaps around disjointedly in terms of its angular melodic line (reminiscent of Schoenberg's *Pierrot lunaire*) as well as in the harmonic leaps. The shift from the stasis of the first half to the disjointed, angular second half adds to the lack of a sense of temporal linear direction. Each verse is a pocket of its own time. The disconnect between the verses creates moments of Bergsonian duration. Within the song there are multiplicities of temporal intensities: the interwoven extended harmonies surrounding the temporal stasis of the first verse, the moment of pause between the verses, and the temporally separate second verse create their own mobile, ineffable, incomplete duration. Bergsonian time has no beginning, no end and no chronology, and there is a sense that Ravel's music conjures this in the use of a combination of simple mechanisms, pushing compositional processes (such as extended harmonies and ostinato) to a place of temporal ingenuity.

The final aspect of the temporal manipulation, or lack of temporal chronology, in Ravel's music is the final moment of the first movement. The return of the ostinato figure at the very end of the music embodies a Proustian manifestation of Bergsonian memory. There is an echo of the ostinato figure, but it is not allowed to fully develop or recapitulate—it is simply an echo (see ex. 4.2).

Ex. 4.2: The return of the ostinato figure

The echo of the introduction appears almost involuntary. It arises out of an angular, seemingly coincidental jump to the E minor extended chord, and suddenly the glissando pattern returns for the final cadence. This is the musical equivalent of an involuntary memory as described by Proust: the unexpected musical movement brings back a memory of the beginning. However, unlike a conventional recapitulation, this is not given a moment to develop and continue linearly, but echoes the beginning, before switching gears and entering a new temporality in the second movement. The brevity and the subtlety of the echo of the opening makes this feel like a memory, and not a re-lived experience: we are not returning and developing a past idea, but given a taste of an unexpected Proustian memory before another silence.

The second and third movements of Ravel's Mallarmé songs also suggest nonlinear temporal readings in different ways. The second movement, 'Placet futile', dedicated to the composer Florent Schmitt, alternates between 12/8 and 9/8 with rhythmic dynamism. Phrases of two, three and four bars' length bounce between animated and 'très ralenti'

within the space of a single bar, creating temporal flux and destabilising the rhythmic sense of pulse. In the third movement, 'Surgi de la bord et du bond', dedicated to Erik Satie, Ravel comes as close to atonality as he ever would. This final movement, only 24 bars long, begins with the sparse, bright tones of the flute and piccolo, and fizzes into a languid, atonal melody that dissolves into dissonant strings, fading away to nothing. These two much shorter movements offer glimpses of other forms of temporal manipulation in Ravel's musical writing. His manipulation of the musical temporality of the first movement, however, is fluid, intuitive and personal—it invokes Bergson's philosophy of time. Not only does reading this music through Bergsonian duration help us understand another layer to the musical multiplicities, but listening to Ravel's musical experimentation also can help us understand Bergson's theory of duration. The manifestation of Bergsonian time can help us understand the 'unimaginable', ineffable duration that Bergson puts to us. His philosophy of time cannot be described, but it can be conjured in musical terms. Bergson and Proust are both fascinating for understandings of music. We cannot fully perceive Bergsonian 'real duration', the intuitive *durée*, or force a Proustian 'involuntary memory', but they can be invoked in music. Both Bergsonian time and Proustian memory cannot perhaps be fully felt through language, as they invert the understanding of time as a linear progression.

This chapter has posed several questions around the relevance of Bergson's philosophy of time for 1913 Paris. Bergson became mainstream in 1913, and therefore it is not surprising that Proust's work, which in many ways is a manifestation (and development) of Bergson's ideas in literary form, was first published in 1913 Paris. Bergsonian ideas of an intuitive, personal temporality offer useful understandings for Parisian music. There are certainly parallels to be drawn between the musical manifestation of temporal nonlinearity and Proust's manifestation of Bergson's temporality. As Proust's literary work is in many ways

a manifestation of Bergsonian duration and memory, Ravel's setting of Mallarmé's poems also invokes a similar manifestation of Bergsonian time.

– 5 –

TEMPORALITY IN FEUILLADE'S *FANTÔMAS* AND DEBUSSY'S *JEUX*

Cinema is a temporal art form. The arrival of cinema challenged established ideas of time. Mary Ann Doane argues that

> Before the invention of phonography and cinema, written texts and musical scores were Europe's only means of preserving time. Each was clearly dependent upon writing as a symbolic system and eschewed the apparent fullness, presence, and unrelenting continuum of the forums of mechanical reproduction. Time hence became very insistently a problem of representation. Accompanying the cinema as a new technology of temporality was a sustained discourse on time in the philosophical, psychoanalytic, and scientific realms.[272]

Early cinema impacted upon perceptions and sensibilities towards time, as part of a wider shift in cultural change. Cinema was radically new in its ability to store time; it captured and recorded moving images of the past for generations to come. The new technology of film epitomised the modern experience of temporality in the twentieth century. 'There is too much, too fast', writes Doane, and the 'emergence of mechanical reproduction is accompanied by modernity's increasing understanding of temporality as assault,

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[272] Mary Ann Doane, 'Temporality, Storage, Legibility: Freud, Marey, and the Cinema', *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 22/2 (Winter, 1996), pp. 314–315. Doane argues that both recorded sound and cinema respectively pushed the boundaries of temporal imagination at different points in time. Cinema pushed the perception of temporality further and also into the public's imagination, due to its hit popularity with the public.

acceleration, speed'.[273] The speed and acceleration of the development of film and its adoption into the cultural mainstream was exemplary of this new assault of modernity. Cinema could mechanically reproduce lived experiences. Artists, writers and composers grappled to make sense of this new temporal reality, in which time could be captured and stored like never before.

In this chapter, I argue that there is a meaningful connection to be made between cinematic temporality and musical temporality. The arrival of popular cinema heralded new changes in the public consciousness of memory and time as cinema offered new perspectives on the unchallenged assumption of time as fleeting and linear. Coinciding with the arrival of mainstream cinema were forays into experimenting with musical time. This chapter considers the parallels between these two art forms and their respective representations of time.

Cinema's temporal form was part of the shifting perception and experience of time in pre-war Paris. This chapter explores the affinities between cinematic time and musical time, by examining two works which emerged from Parisian culture at the same time: Louis Feuillade's *Fantômas* series and the ballet *Jeux* by Debussy. There are parallels to be drawn between the cinematic techniques of this popular film series from 1913 and the temporal gestures of the music of *Jeux*, which this chapter hopes to illuminate. The primary focus is Debussy's moment form, and its significance for understandings of temporality within French musical culture. *Fantômas* and *Jeux* illustrate affinities in their manifestation of cinematic temporal linearity.

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[273] Doane, p. 314.

Music and cinema today seemed inextricably intertwined; both are temporal art forms that dominated the twentieth century with their remarkable changes. Today it is difficult to untangle how music and film are interwoven. Cinema has had musical accompaniment since its early days; the silent films were rarely silent, and were often accompanied by musical improvisation. As Martin Marks writes,

> The process of recording sound photo-electrically alongside an image on a single strip of film was not adopted for commercial use until the late twenties. Before this time, despite various attempts to synchronize sound and film mechanically, the movies were mostly silent, accompanied by live music.[274]

This live music was usually a piano accompaniment. In 1909 leading film producers, the Edison Company, released a small publication entitled 'Suggestions for Music' with its film rentals. These 'cue sheets' became popular with film companies until the end of the silent film era. This music was a mixture that 'consisted of improvisations, compilations, and original scores'.[275]

Cinema represented time in a visual, visceral new medium. It differed from previous artistic and creative representations of time because it was better able to capture and store the past: moving memories that could be re-lived on screen in a way that was a vivid and accurate portrayal of a past reality. It is central to understanding temporal concerns in Parisian culture. The significance of film as an entirely new media for the twentieth century was profound:

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[274] Martin Miller Marks, *Music and the Silent Film* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 9.
[275] Marks, p. 9.

> What was new about the storage capability of the phonograph and cinematograph […] was their ability to *store time*: as a mixture of audio frequencies in the acoustic realm, as a movement of single picture sequences in the optic realm.[276]

This 'storage' of time, an ability to capture and preserve the lived experiences of the past, and re-live them, was one of the ways in which cinema transformed and reimagined tropes of time.

Many scholars argue that films should be considered 'as historical documents, sociological phenomena, and works of art'.[277] Cinema is a record of the past: it transports the viewer from the present to the time in which it was filmed. It distorts this perspective of time further by representing narratives of time within the display of this historical record: it can mimic 'real time' (from a past time), but it can also fast forward in the narrative, or transport the viewer back in a narrative flashback. The use of cinematic filmic and editing techniques can further allow the film to create its own temporality. Helen Powell notes that there 'are three layers of temporality contained within any film image: the time of registration (production); the time of narration (storytelling); and the time of its consumption (viewing)'.[278] In a sense, it is a time machine: it can transport us back to a recorded past.

On 12 June 1912, Claude Debussy (1862–1918) signed a contract with Diaghilev to compose a new ballet, based on a scenario by Nijinsky, for which he would receive 5000 francs on receipt of the piano score, and a further 5000 francs on receipt of the full score, due on 31 March 1913. According to Robert Orledge's studies of the scores, he began

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[276] Friedrich Kittler, Dorothea von Mücke and Philippe L. Similon, 'Gramophone, Film, Typewriter', *October*, vol. 41 (Summer, 1987), p. 104.
[277] Martin Miller Marks, *Music and the Silent Film*, p. 8.
[278] Helen Powell, *Stop the Clocks! Time and Narrative in Cinem*a (London; New York: I. B. Tauris, 2012), p. 3.

work on 23 July, and completed the initial sketches of the score on 22 August 1912.[279] In a letter to his editor Durand on 22 July, he wrote that he was breaking off his work on 'Gigues', to work on *Jeux*, and complained of the stifling heat (32 degrees Celsius) and also of the noise of a nearby railway.[280] A few years earlier, in a letter to his editor, Jacques Durand, Debussy wrote:

> Generally speaking, I feel more and more that music, by its very essence, is not something that can flow inside a rigorous, traditional form. It consists of colours and of rhythmicized time…[281]

Jeux is a manifestation of this 'rhythmicized time', flowing outside a traditional form. Debussy did not compose the work in a cultural vacuum. It is likely that the rapid speed of change in technology, communication and travel had an influence on his compositional approach. On 1 November 1913, Debussy published a column in the *Société internationale de musique* (the monthly magazine), in which he lamented the state of French music, and pointed to a new innovation, which might give composers inspiration:

> There remains but one way of reviving the taste of symphonic music among our contemporaries: to apply to pure music the techniques of cinematography. It is the film—the Adriane's thread—that will show us the way out of this disquieting labyrinth. M. Léon Moreau and Henry Février have just supplied the proof of this with great success.[282]

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[279] Robert Orledge, 'The Genesis of Debussy's Jeux', *Musical Times*, vol. 128/1728 (Feb. 1978), pp. 68–73.
[280] Orledge, p. 68.
[281] Debussy, 'Letter to Jacques Durand', Pourville, 3 September 1907, F-Pgm, Archives Durand, in *Correspondance*, p. 1030, trans. *Debussy Letters*, p. 184. Original French: 'Par ailleurs, je me persuade de plus en plus que la Musique n'est pas, par son essence, une chose qui puisse se couler dans une forme rigoureuse et traditionnelle. Elle est de couleurs et de temps rhythmés…'
[282] Claude Debussy, *Debussy on Music: The critical writings of Claude Debussy*, introduced by François Lesure, translated and edited by Richard Langham Smith (London: Secker & Warburg, 1977), p. 298.

Debussy was referring to another film by Louis Feuillade, *L'Agonie de Byzance*, a historical fantasy that had just been released on 24 October 1913. For the first time, he was publicly demonstrating his fascination and enthusiasm for cinema—it is possible that he might have been ruminating on these thoughts privately for some time.

He continued:

> Those hordes of listeners who find themselves bored stiff by a performance of a Bach *Passion*, or even Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis*, would find themselves brought to attention if the screen were to take pity on their distress. One could even provide a film of what the composer was doing while composing the piece.[283]

Debussy was lamenting the current trajectory of symphonic music, and the influence of Liszt and Richard Strauss, and desires a 'pure music', taking inspiration from French composers, for a French tradition. It is particularly illuminating that Debussy claimed cinema was emblematic of modernity and innovation, a medium to inspire hope for the future of music. Debussy's music and his treatment of musical time in *Jeux* are, arguably, cinematic. The parallels between Debussy's ideological approach to cinema and the rise and popularity of cinema support the hypothesis that there was a connection between interdisciplinary developments in modernity and their impact on the way in which temporality was being manifested in artistic outputs.

In *Le Matin*, the daily Parisian journal (see illustration 5.1), Debussy and the film *Fantômas* appeared side by side, in parallel. On the day of the premiere, Debussy published an article

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[283] Claude Debussy, *Debussy on Music*, trans. by Richard Langham Smith (London: Secker & Warburg, 1977), p. 298.

in *Le Matin* on the ballet *Jeux*: the music, the process of working with Nijinsky, and the choreography.

Illustration 5.1: *Le Matin*, 15 May 1913, page 4

It was intended to promote the premiere performance that evening.[284] On the same page are listings for other concerts and a listing for the 'final showing of *Fantômas*, at 2'30 and

[284] Claude Debussy, 'Jeux', *Le Matin* (15 May 1913), p. 4. 'A propos du ballet "Jeux", dont il a composé la musique et qui doit être représenté ce soir au théâtre des Champs-Élysées, le maître Claude Debussy a écrit les lignes suivantes qu'il nous a adressées.' This article contains a tongue-in-cheek denouncement of Nijinsky's Dalcroze-inspired choreography.

8'30'.[285] While we cannot know whether Debussy read the published version of his essay (the placement of the listing for *Fantômas* was clearly an editorial decision), it is indicative of the parallel worlds of Debussy and cinema. They arose out of the same cultural climate. Their innovative sensibilities towards time in order to create ground-breaking works of art signify epistemological shifts in thinking and manipulating cultural temporality.

Cinema was still in its infancy in 1913. On 28 December 1895, approximately 30 people came to the Salon Indien at the Grand Café, Boulevard des Capucines, Paris, to watch a film presented by Auguste and Louis Lumière. The entry ticket price was one franc.[286] It marked the beginning of Parisian cinematic audiences. Institutional commercial film, however, did not become established until around 1910 or later: as Gaudreault et al. note, 'the French word *cinéma*, derived from *cinématographe*, began to enter public discourse around 1910'.[287] In the early 1910s, the development of multi-reel films in French cinema enabled 'feature-length' films to be adapted from stage plays and novels for the first time, such as *Les Mystères de Paris* (1912) and *Les Misérables* (1912), which ran for 3500 metres, or 12 reels of film.

Beginning in 1913, newspapers and arts journals, dedicated to entertainment, began to devote regular listings to film showings, alongside other popular theatre events and concert

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[285] Anon., 'Aujoud'hui', *Le Matin* (15 May 1913), p. 4. 'Aujourd'hui […] Gaumont-Palace Hippodrome. En matinée à 2 h. 1/2 et en soirée à 8 h. 1/2, dernières représentations de Fantômas, sensationnel film d'aventures.'

[286] Michael Temple and Michael Witt (eds.), *The French Cinema Book* (London: BFI Publishing, 2004), p. 9.

[287] André Gaudreault, Nicolas Dulac and Santiago Hidalgo (eds.), *A Companion to Early Cinema* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), p. 9. See also: Jean Giraud, *Le Lexique français du cinema des origines à 1930* (Paris: CNRS, 1958), pp. 79–82. A fascinating alternative perspective is the Americanisation of French films in the pre-war period. French cinema, until the First World War, was the international leader. Richard Abel's *Americanizing the Movies and 'Movie-Mad' Audiences, 1910–1914* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006) offers an alternative perspective on the ways in which French films, including the *Fantômas* series, were adapted for American audiences in the 1910–1914 period.

listings, indicating the rapid speed at which cinema became adopted into the popular consciousness. Early journals devoted to film—that pre-dated the industrial magnitude of film production from 1910 onwards—included *Ciné-Journal* (from 1908), a biweekly journal edited by Georges Dureau; *Le Courrier cinématographique*, edited by Charles Le Fraper; *Le Cinéma*, edited by E. L. Fouquet; and *L'Écho du cinéma*, edited by Georges Lordier. By 1913, at least four large Parisian dailies also printed film columns, including *Le Journal* and *Comœdia*, which had a daily column alongside theatre and concert events listings for each evening.

The cinema listings in *Comœdia*, and the ways in which they changed during 1907–1913, suggest that 1913 was the year in which film reached the mainstream. When the journal launched in 1907, there were no mentions of film showings. In 1909, occasional mentions of film showings began to be included, usually at the very end of the theatre section. On 15 September 1911, a new column, titled 'Music-Halls, Cafés-Concerts, Cabarets, Cirques, Bals et Divers', regularly included one or two listings for cinematic shows among the other popular music spaces. This was a new distinct column, separate from theatre listings. Cinema is not part of the title, but is included regularly. On 31 March 1913, cinema, which for the previous two years had been mentioned at the end of a section on popular music, now had its own column. By the autumn of 1913, this column was larger that the column on popular music spaces.

On 1 April 1913, an article in *Comœdia*, titled 'Time is money', justifying the new column space afforded to cinema, noted:

> Alas! Life is short and times are hard! We do not always have time for leisure, or the finances to afford expensive tourism […] The proof that we live in the century of speed is that time runs for us! And cinema is the perfect symbol of this: its name is the

> stenographic version of the famous expression: time is money. The popularity of cinema has gained new momentum, thanks to intense interest.[288]

The article went on to note that the 'astonishing popularity' of cinema was growing every day, allowing people to experience 'the greatest number of new sensations and pleasures in the shortest possible time'.[289] This is a fascinating insight into the popularity of cinema and its role in Parisian culture. This article suggests not only that the twentieth century was seen to be one of immense 'speed' but also that cinema was seen as enabling viewers to travel the world from their own city, offering the rush of experiences and sensations that normally would have required costly tourism.

Film occupied a strange space between high and low art: by 1913 it was still seen as a popular entertainment medium, but was increasingly attracting a curious middle-class and upper-class audience. The films themselves, however, took their lead from popular art forms in their choice of subjects and narratives: melodramatic crime thrillers or sensational melodramas were usually popular at Gaumont, for instance.

As the urban environment changed so did the reach of early cinema. Brian Jacobson has argued that 'as urban populations adjusted to the artificiality of modern space, cinema arrived to both re-imagine the built environment and re-create artificial worlds on the

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[288] Des Angles, 'Cinématographe: Time is money', *Comœdia* (1 April 1913), p. 4. Original French: 'Hélas! la vie est brève et les temps sont durs! L'on n'a pas toujours les loisirs, non plus que les finances opportunes, de s'offrir le tourisme couteux […] Ce qui prouve bien que nous vivons au siècle de la vitesse, c'est le temps qui court pour nous! Et le cinéma en résume parfaitement le symbole; son nom semble même être la traduction sténographique de fameux *Time is money*. La vogue du cinéma a repris un nouvel élan, grâce à l'intérêt puissant.'

[289] Des Angles, 'Cinématographe: Time is money', p. 4. Original French: 'Elle puisse son éblouissante popularité dans notre actuel besoin, dont l'acuité progresse intensivement chaque jour de vivre et d'éprouver dans le moindre temps la plus forte somme de sensations neuves et de jouissances.'

screen'.[290] This change in environment, both real and imagined on film, coupled with the new industrial distribution system set in motion by Pathé, also attracted new audiences. Temple and Witt argue that:

> By 1911 the 3,000-seat Gaumont Palace was proudly proclaimed as 'the biggest cinema in the world!' The change in distribution system was therefore linked to the growing trend in the exhibition sector, where the informal, temporary and polyvalent sites of the early years (fairgrounds, cafés, theatres, shops) had been gradually replaced by more formal, fixed and single-purpose venues.[291]

The earlier informal spaces for film distribution must have had a role in the way film was perceived from a social and cultural perspective. Film's public origins (after their private ones) were in cafés and fairgrounds, as a popular art form. These fairground origins, and the following move to theatre-like, purpose-built venues such as the Gaumont Palace, ensured cinema could be a medium for everyone: communal, experienced, and audience-focused. As a widely accessible new medium, it had greater potential to catapult the *fin de siècle* obsession with time to the public consciousness, more so than philosophical or literary manifestations in which time remained a popular thematic concept.

The manipulation of space in cinema, through the use of studios, which enabled artificial, architectural experiments, helped create a world of half-real, half-imagined fantasies, captured on film as if from another time and place. Jacobson argues that these human-created spaces enabled the key features of modernist cinema:

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[290] Brian R. Jacobson, 'The "Imponderable Fluidity" of Modernity: Georges Méliès and the Architectural Origins of Cinema', *Early Popular Visual Culture*, vol. 8/2 (2010), p. 189.

[291] Temple and Witt, p. 13. See Illustration 7.4 on p. 172 in the appendix for a photograph of the Gaumont Palace taken in 1913.

> Artificiality, spatial plasticity and fluidity (between interior and exterior, visibility and invisibility, and reality and fantasy), and the manipulation of light became defining characteristics of early cinematic form.[292]

An early film produced by Méliès, *Une Chute de cinq étages* (1906), is an excellent example of how the real and unreal intermingle and disintegrate. It takes place in a studio that is supposed to mirror Méliès's own, complete with a parallel Méliès character. Realism and spectacle collide: the scene opens within the four walls of a photographer's studio, and a couple have arrived to have their photograph taken. In the process, a portrait behind them comes crashing down, revealing that the concrete walls of the photographer's studio are in fact just a paper set, a stage for the action. They escape onto a painted set of a street outside this collapsed, artificial frame, and chaos ensues. The distortion of place in this film—and others like it—heightens the manipulation of real and unreal, creating a place that never truly existed, in a time that distorted the sense of past and present. Early silent films manipulated and distorted the sense of time, in a way that had not been experienced before.

Fantômas was the first mainstream phenomenon in cinema's history. Today, the poster (illustration 5.2) remains ubiquitous and recognisable, a legacy of its cultural phenomenon. *Fantômas* is noteworthy for the international popularity it received from contemporary audiences, and the position it holds in cinema as one of the key pre-war films that captured popular imaginations. It was a hit series of five feature-length films, directed by Louis Feuillade and produced by Gaumont studios, based on the popular fictional serial of the same name by Marcel Allain and Pierre Souvestre.[293]

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[292] Jacobson, p. 202.
[293] These films came out in close succession to the books (the first three books came out in 1911, two years before the first films: *A l'ombre de la guillotine*, *Juve contre Fantômas* and *Le Mort qui tue*,

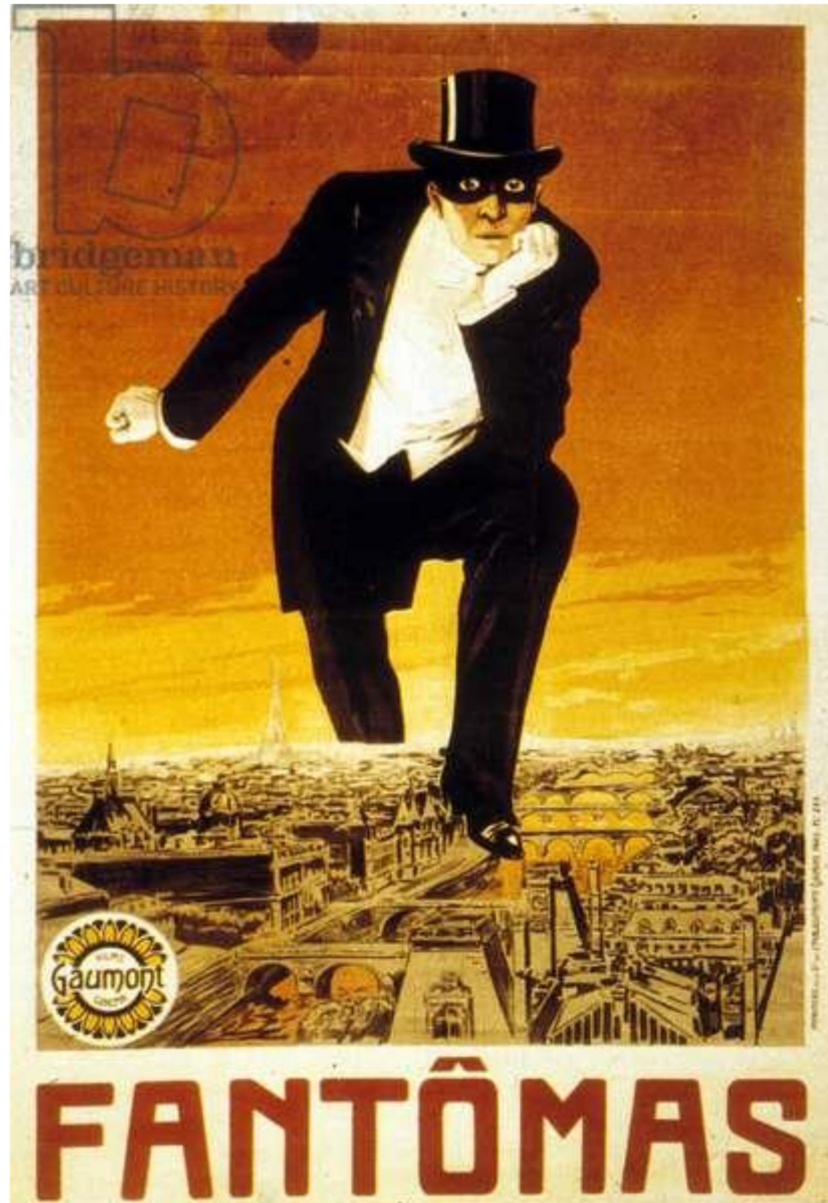

Illustration 5.2: The instantly recognisable poster for the 1913 *Fantômas* films

1913). Five feature-length films were released in total between 1913 and 1914. As an interesting aside, for the DVD release of the films (evidence of the lasting popularity of these films), music was added from Catalogue Sonimage. It is worth noting what music was considered appropriate to accompany these silent films for a contemporary audience. As stated, they would not have been heard silently for the original release, but the symphonic music that accompanies the digitised version would not have been what was heard either: rather, keyboard improvisation by a pianist or organist, that was designed to accompany the mood of the film but without drawing attention directly to the music.

Allain and Souvestre's 32 novels, published between 1911 and 1913, 'sold over five million copies' and 'served as inspiration for surrealist and avant-garde artists', according to Nanette L. Fornabai.[294]

Vicki Callahan's article on the cinematic origins of film noir pinpoints Louis Feuillade's crime series as a pivotal early example of 'noir' in cinema.[295] Crime dramas became popular both in literature and in cinema during the 1910–1913 period. The films were marketed as a 'crime drama' or a 'detective drama', with each feature-length film depicting short stories in episodes, sometimes interlinking, sometimes not, about the murderous thief and anti-hero Fantômas terrorising the city of Paris, and the detective Juve, always hot on his heels trying to catch him.

These films navigate the ground-breaking temporal reality of early cinema for the Parisian public. There is a vividness and an authenticity in the recorded faces from the past that audiences would have seen on screen, which heightens the impact of their 'pastness'. Passers-by going about their daily life look curiously at the camera while walking down a Parisian street or stop and retrace their steps to smile into the frame before a scene cuts. These are not the faces of actors and might not otherwise have been recorded on film; now they are preserved in a moving, temporal moment, acting in their natural gestures.

Furthermore, it is evident that these passers-by—hopping on a train, dashing out of the *Métro* with a curious face towards the camera, passing a café—are not acting but are accidentally caught on screen. Tom Gunning's article on visuality in early cinema shows

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[294] Nanette L. Fornabai, 'Criminal Factors: "Fantômas", Anthropometrics, and the Numerical Fictions of Modern Criminal Identity', *Yale French Studies*, vol. 108 (2005), p. 60.
[295] Vicki Callahan, 'The Cinema of Uncertainty and the Opacity of Information from Louis Feuillade's Crime Serials to Film Noir' in Homer B. Pettey, Linda Badley and R. Barton Palmer (eds.), *Film Noir* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), pp. 16–37.

that Feuillade 'self-consciously stages his uncanny events within a recognizable world, making stunning use of location shooting—the actual streets, train stations, and rooftops of Paris'.[296] For the contemporary audiences, this may have been one of the first times that they would have seen footage of the past, particularly of these everyday Parisians, peering at them from a recorded, previously unreachable past. For the first time, it was possible to re-live a captured, lost moment in time, through the magic of the silver screen. These films are also navigating deliberate temporal shifts—narrative jumps and distortions in the fluidity of time—through cinematic techniques. There is, therefore, a two-pronged impact on the experience of temporality in the films.

Cinema's new feature-length films (which began to be produced in 1912–1913) encouraged a move from the visual attraction[297] towards new narrative techniques. Feuillade, in particular, 'devised new scenarios of visibility and obscurity' in the *Fantômas* series, argues Gunning. Cinematic tricks became 'increasingly popular' as cinema entered the year 1913, which could create 'processes of ambiguous vision and elusive identity', a technique which Feuillade uses frequently for Fantômas's many disguises.[298] Véronique Nahoum-Grappe in her article 'Le Rire du méchant' shows how trick shots added layers of humour and laughter to the early crime thrillers, of which *Fantômas* was the first and most famous.[299]

There are several uses of cuts and close-ups in particular in this film, usually used to emphasise an important detail in Juve's crime-fighting activities. A recurring shot in the first film is of Fantômas's card, on which the name Fantômas appears and disappears like magic. These scenes repeatedly cut between shots of the main scene to close-up shots of

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[296] Tom Gunning, 'Lynx-Eyed Detectives and Shadow Bandits: Visuality and Eclipse in French Detective Stories and Films before WWI', *Yale French Studies*, vol. 108 (2005), p. 84.
[297] Tom Gunning, 'The Cinema of Attractions' in Thomas Elaesser and Adam Barker (eds.), *Early Cinema: Space Frame Narrative* (London: British Film Institute, 1990).
[298] Gunning (2005), p. 81.
[299] Véronique Nahoum-Grappe, 'Le Rire du méchant', *Esprit*, vol. 398/10 (2013), pp. 126–130.

the calling card. Not only do these close-up shots manipulate the framework and the audience's involvement in the action, but also the action of picking up the calling card is repeated in these close-up shots, meaning we see the same scene twice, from different angles.

Illustration 5.3: Close-up shot of Fantômas's calling card

This manipulates the linearity of the temporal narrative. These techniques also draw the audience in, encouraging these early viewers of silent film to engage with the temporal shifts and immerse themselves in the temporal fluidity of the cinematic narrative. This is not like theatre, seen at a distance from a chair in a hall: this is a close-up shot, almost as if it were your own hand, heightening the potential to embrace the novel temporality of the film. Today we are accustomed to the techniques used in film—but for contemporary audiences this would have been new and immersive, and would, arguably, have made the distortions of temporality more powerful.

There are certain shifts between day and night, days and weeks, between the narrative and the audience's time that create layers of temporal multiplicity in such a dramatic and novel way on film that probably had an impact on cultural perceptions of time. An example of this appears immediately in the opening scene of the first film: it begins at night, with a

dimly lit landscape outside a grand building. The text declares that it is 1am, as the Princess Sonia is entering her building (presumably after an evening out). This immediately sets up a subtle time shift for the audience, who would be watching at a theatre hour, around 8.30pm. The temporality is distorted, shifting between the imagined time (represented on film) and the real time (the time of the audiences). The visual realness of the late-night scene, played out before them from a recorded past, was viscerally compelling, in its manipulation of a sense of time. The audience is transported to a past time and night time: it is almost as though a kind of time travel occurs.

Another instance of temporal distortion surrounds the use of a lift. There is prominent use of a lift in the first scene to transport different characters between three floors, enabling key narrative elements of disguise and theft to occur.

Illustration 5.4: Lift sequence in *Fantômas*

We see three scenes featuring the movement of a lift, rising between the floors.[300] On the first viewing, the Princess takes the lift up to her room on the first floor. This takes place in 'real time': we witness the lift rise through the floors taking the right amount of time it would take in 'reality'. Each scene cuts to show the next floor up, right on cue.

Later, however, when there is more dramatic urgency in the narrative, as the lift rises—this time for the lift attendant to offer emergency assistance to the Princess following the robbery by Fantômas—time skips. The lift is seen fleetingly on each floor, before the attendant dashes out.[301] The film skips over the time it would have taken, manipulating the temporal narrative and the expectation of the viewer. These distortions happen many times in this opening episode, the time taken for the lift to reach the third floor being different each time: sometimes it cuts away and we see only fragments, as if time were speeding up through each floor. It is one of the many ways in which the film distorts a sense of linear time from the start.

There are other ways in which the novel cinematic techniques used may have distorted and manipulated sensibilities towards time for film viewers. Incidences throughout the films point to passages of time, but there remains ambiguity about how much time has passed. Clues point to the passage of time, but do not tell us in quantifiable terms: for instance, at 10'37 in the first film, the text announces that it is 'A short time later' following Fantômas's theft and disappearance. The Princess is now dressed, but still in her room looking concerned. With the heavy curtains at the windows in her bedroom it is impossible to tell

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300 For further references, see table 7.12 on p. 188 in the appendix.

301 Werner von Siemens built the first electric lift in Germany in 1880. The first lift in Paris was an oil-powered hydraulic lift installed in the Eiffel Tower for the 1889 Exhibition. It was a relatively new phenomenon for the everyday Parisian, hence, perhaps, Feuillade's fascination with it. It is interesting to note certain parallels with another (time-orientated) work that debuted in 1913, Proust's *A la recherche du temps perdu*, and in particular the importance of the lift and its attendant in the Grand Hotel at Balbec.

whether it is night or day. We are left guessing at ambiguous visual cues. The amount of time that has passed and the current time of day in the scene are left deliberately vague and unknown, giving the effect of a pause or a suspension in the dramatic proceedings, in the aftermath of the sensational crime committed by Fantômas. This is a moment of temporal stasis created through the manipulation of cinematic techniques.

Alternating shots also manipulate the linear temporal narrative, creating a sense of tension. In *Juve contre Fantômas*, an animated chase takes place on a train, in which we see alternating shots from within and outside the carriage. We see the carriage rush past, destined for a crash, and then the action cuts to a scene of altercation inside the carriage. As the tension heightens, and an imminent crash is suspected, these repeated alternating shots help to manipulate a nonlinear temporal narrative and increase the tension of the storytelling.

Illustration 5.5: The fading sequences of *Fantômas*, illustrating his many disguises

Disguise is integral to the character of Fantômas. In the 32 novels, Didier Blonde has counted 52 named disguises and approximately 24 unnamed ones,[302] and the films do not shy away from disguises either. Tom Gunning argues that 'Feuillade's stable framing grounds a shifting play of identity' in the films.[303] The opening of the first *Fantômas* film contains a memorable series of scenes, in which Fantômas faces the camera, sneering, as the scene fades into another, and then another, of his many disguises. These fading sequences help to distort the linear narrative of the film's temporality.

In this case study for the treatment of time in cinema, early cinematic techniques alter the sense of linear time, through simple devices available to filmmakers at the time. Ultimately, the use of these newly developed cinematic techniques forms many layers of temporal multiplicity. Cinematic techniques, including close-up shots and cuts, narrative shifts, skipping time and fading sequences, distort the linear temporal framework of the film, creating multiple experiences of fragmentary cinematic time. As Richard Abel notes, early cinema had primarily been one of 'attraction': 'not so much storytelling or narrative but rather attractions—that is, forms of spectacle or display'.[304] *Fantômas* marks a transition from these spectacle films to narrative, associated with the mid-1910s onwards.[305] It is the manipulation of narrative on screen that makes it so compelling. However, in experimenting with these cinematic techniques, the film manages to retain the magic of the 'attraction' of the first films. These techniques inject the element of magic into a new form of cinematic narrative. The launch of several full-length films at the point of transition between two periods of early cinema is part of what makes the *Fantômas* series

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302 Didier Blonde, *Les Voleurs des visages* (Paris: Métailié, 1992), pp. 140–144.
303 Gunning (2005), p. 86
304 Richard Abel, *Encyclopedia of Early Cinema* (Oxford: Routledge, 2005), p. xxix.
305 Abel, Encyclopedia of Early Cinema, p. xxix.

so fascinating, because it combines elements of both 'early' and 'mid' stages of early cinema successfully to push the boundaries of temporal representation in new ways.

Multiplicities of nonlinear, fragmentary temporality may also be found in the treatment of musical time in Debussy's *Jeux*. The potential parallels between these two cultural works, and the way in which they shift the experience of time towards a temporal nonlinearity, can be considered as part of a wider cultural moment in which the perception and experience of temporality was changing. We can see affinities between *Fantômas* and *Jeux* with what may be termed 'cinematic temporal nonlinearity', that is, representations of cinematically-influenced, temporal manipulations in music.

Debussy's *Jeux* (1913) is often seen to be foreshadowing later (particularly French) experimentations with musical nonlinearity. Following the ballet's quiet disappearance around the outbreak of the First World War, it remained relatively unknown until the post-war period, when Pierre Boulez's rediscovery and reappraisal of *Jeux* introduced it to a new generation of composers and scholars. In this rediscovery of *Jeux*, the temporal innovation of the music was considered in isolation from cultural and historical contexts. Boulez argued that in his late music:

> Debussy rejects any hierarchy outside the musical moment itself […] the fluid and instantaneous irrupt[s] into music […It is] a genuinely relative and irreversible conception of musical time, and more generally of the musical universe.[306]

[306] Boulez, 'Claude Debussy', *Stocktakings from an Apprenticeship*, collected by Paule Thévenin, trans. Stephen Walsh (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 276.

Boulez's comments mark the moment in which *Jeux* began to be widely considered as uniquely innovative in its temporality, particularly pointing out Debussy's music as a form of unending timelessness, confined within the musical moment.

Debussy's ballet has, since Boulez, been recognised for its innovative form and compositional experimentations. However, there are some suggestions of a contemporary recognition of the innovative temporal form of *Jeux*, before this heralding of its innovation by Boulez onwards. The dancer Vera Krasovkaya, a contemporary of Debussy, 'remembered *Jeux* not as a ballet, but as a *poème dansé* […] in which "time was stopped, allowing the players to examine their feelings and look deep into the recesses of their consciousness."' [307] Her comment encourages the idea that there is an innovative temporality to Debussy's music, and highlights her own perception of the nonlinear, static timelessness of the music. What did Krasovkaya mean, however, when she said that 'time stopped' in the music, and how can we analyse this temporal innovation?

In the press reception surrounding the premiere of *Jeux*, there emerged an immediate recognition that there was something indefinably new in the music. We cannot say for certain that this was an indication of a perception of the experimental temporal-based musical structures that formed the work. It does, however, suggest that though 'time' may be difficult to perceive, there was, at the very least, an immediate reaction to the nonlinear temporal framework across an array of reviews: the fragmentary, discontinuous musical and innovative rhythmic elements were felt by contemporary listeners, in some way.

The initial reception of *Jeux* was less reactionary than the commentaries towards the infamous premiere of *Le Sacre du printemps*, which immediately noted its 'rhythmic

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[307] Vera Krasovkaya, *Nijinsky*, trans. John E. Bowlt (New York: Schirmer Books, 1979), p. 247.

power'.[308] While commentaries towards *Jeux* do not have the same strong reactions, *Jeux*'s temporal ingenuity is subtler, and the press reaction reflects this. In immediate reactions to *Jeux*, we get a sense of a different kind of nonlinearity: subtler, harder to define, a temporal ingenuity that is not so clearly wrapped up in rhythmic innovation, but is fragmentary, discontinuous in its structures in a myriad of musical ways.

Le Courrier musical had a column dedicated to 'les premières', newly audited compositions in Paris and abroad. *Jeux*, however, featured in a dedicated column of its own. In it, the author correlates the work, as well as Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du printemps*, with protest, rebellion and riot:

> Just think: to the spectacle of the scene is added the spectacle of the room, divided into admirers and protesters, and it is not the least entertaining. *Jeux* by M. Claude Debussy, and *The Rite of Spring*, by M. Igor Stravinsky, were the causes of this demonstration. […] *Jeux* prepared the rebellion. For this pantomime, M. Nijinsky wrote a scenario that shows us a tennis player running in a park after his ball. It is evening.[309]

The author likens these two compositions to 'demonstrations' of rebellion and protest, as two compositions taking different approaches in the same call to arms. This association with the same innovation (or ridiculed rebellion) in relation to Stravinsky's composition is because of the scenario, however, not its music, which is a recurring theme in the press reception; the music is hard to understand, write about, or contextualise. Further emphasis

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[308] Adolphe Boschot, 'Le "Sacre du Printemps" Ballet de MM. Rœrich, Stravinsky et Nijinsky', *L'Écho de Paris* (30 May 1913).
[309] Victor Debay, 'Les Ballets russes au Théâtre des Champs-Élysées', *Le Courrier musical*, vol. 16/12 (Paris, 15 June 1913), pp. 340–341. Original French: 'Songez donc: au spectacle de la scène s'ajoute le spectacle de la salle, divisée en admirateurs et protestataires, et celui-ci n'est pas le moins divertissant. *Jeux*, de M. Claude Debussy, et le *Sacre du Printemps*, de M. Igor Stravinsky, furent les causes de cette manifestation. […] *Jeux* prépara la révolte. Pour cette pantomime, M. Nijinsky composa un scenario qui nous montre un joueur de tennis courant dans un parc après sa balle. C'est le soir.'

of this inability to 'understand the music' can be found in Debay's critique of *Jeux*, noting that the audience (and himself) had 'understood neither the dancing nor the music'.[310]

Debay also goes on to write:

> The public may have been, like me, astonished at the contrast that exists between the overly precise, even mechanical, gestures of the interpreters, and the vagueness of line in unclear music, where the subtle harmonies and curious combinations of timbre follow each other; it is not possible at a first hearing, to distinguish between a rhythm and one of its developments.[311]

The music's vagueness might be attributed to its fragmentary and discontinuous form, and might be explained by the multiple, non-developed directions of static, discrete linearities, which form its innovative and ingenious temporal form.

In musicological discourse, *Jeux* is seen to represent Debussy's late style. Marianne Wheeldon describes it as 'fragmented and discontinuous' in its form,[312] although she does not elaborate on how this form is manifested. Myriam Chimènes dissects the timbres of *Jeux*, taking as her central source the drafts and editions of the work.[313] As an editor of the

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[310] Debay, *Le Courrier musical*, p. 341. Original French: 'N'ayant compris ni la danse ni la musique, une partie du public, qui avait payé très cher le droit de voir et d'entendre quelque chose qui lui plût, manifesta tout d'abord avec discrétion sa surprise et son mécontentement.'

[311] Debay, *Le Courrier musical*, p. 341. Original text: 'Le public a peut-être été, comme moi, étonné du contraste qui, existe entre les gestes trop précis, mécanique même, des interprètes, et l'imprécision de ligne d'une musique vague, où les harmonies subtiles et les curieuses combinaisons de timbre se succèdent, sans qu'il soit possible, à une première audition, de distinguer un rythme ou une ses évolutions.'

[312] Marianne Wheeldon, *Debussy's Late Style* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2009), p. 1.

[313] Myriam Chimènes, 'The Definition of Timbre in the Process of Composition of Jeux', trans. Sidney Buckland, in Richard Langham Smith (ed.), *Debussy Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 1–25. See also: the critical edition of *Jeux*: Claude Debussy, *Jeux*, Pierre Boulez and Myriam Chimènes (eds.), in *Édition critique des œuvres complètes de Claude Debussy* (Paris: Costallat & Durand, 1988); and Myriam Chimènes's article on sources: 'L'étude des sources de *Jeux* ou la double fonction d'une édition critique', *Revista de Musicologia*, vol. 16/2 (1993) pp. 1020–1029.

1988 edition of the score, Chimènes is well placed to consider the compositional stages of *Jeux*, and to look at whether the timbral qualities of the music were added at a later stage of the compositional process. Marie Rolf's extensive work on the composer includes a study of Debussy's changing compositional strategies and processes, tracing musical concepts that the composer first developed as a student at the Conservatoire.[314] Jonathan Kramer, in his influential treatise on temporality *The Time of Music*, refers to Debussy's *Jeux* as an example of 'multiply-directed time', which is a form of musical temporality that he claims approaches complete nonlinearity, but has elements of linear direction. That is, the discontinuities of multiply-directed time threaten the linearity but do not completely eliminate it.[315] He indicates that alongside the often-noted 'fragmentary material', which creates a sense of nonlinearity, the 'discrete sections in *Jeux* are sometimes static, but often they are in motion toward goals (or from sources) that do not appear in adjacent sections and may not even appear at all in the piece'.[316] He notes that this form of multiply-directed time 'anticipates the still more radical "moment time"'[317], which is to be found in the music of Messiaen, later Stravinsky, and Stockhausen. Kramer defines this form of musical temporality as 'discontinuous time; its discontinuities segment and reorder linear time',[318] and he considers *Jeux* to be a key example. Can we understand this fragmentary music—the anticipation of the still more radical 'moment time', the non-developmental, static,

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314 Marie Rolf, 'Debussy's Rites of Spring' in Elliot Antokoletz and Marianne Wheeldon (eds.), *Rethinking Debussy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
315 Jonathan Kramer, *The Time of Music: New Meanings, New Temporalities, New Listening Strategies* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1988), p. 46. Kramer notes that multiply-directed time may be found in 'pieces in which the direction of motion is so frequently interrupted by discontinuities, in which the music goes so often to unexpected places, that the linearity, though still a potent structural force, seems reordered. I call the time sense in such music "multiply-directed." There *is* a sense of motion, but the direction of that motion is anything but unequivocal. […] A graphical analogy (comparable to a straight line for goal-directed linear time or a meandering line for nondirected linear time) for multiply-directed time would be a multidimensional vector field.' Kramer, p. 46.
316 Kramer, *The Time of Music*, p. 48
317 Kramer, *The Time of Music*, p. 49.
318 Kramer, *The Time of Music*, p. 46.

discontinuous music of *Jeux*—as a musical parallel of cinematic manipulations of temporality?

Jann Pasler, in the only significant article dedicated entirely to *Jeux*'s temporality, argues that it was necessary to consider the work's temporal framework in order to understand its radical form; she pointed particularly to the timelessness and nonlinearity of the music. One idea dominates each section, creating 'its own distinct sense of time and giving rise to an expectation that the same material could continue indefinitely'.[319] Within each small musical section the sense of timelessness exists, bound together in a coherent whole. This is a key aspect of Debussy's unique treatment of temporality in *Jeux*: a form in constant, nonlinear temporal flux.

Herbert Eimert, in an earlier analysis from 1959, considered instead a variety of musical elements of *Jeux*, in order to make the case that the music was 'avant-garde' and innovative, and worthy of attention.[320] In the article, Eimert attempts to make sense of *Jeux*'s fragmentary motivic nature by comparing the melodic shapes of the various motivic materials.[321] The lack of coherence in thematic or motivic means, is, according to Eimert, the true meaning of the work: 'The symbol of coloured kinetic curves, in which time passes, blooms.'[322] Eimert concludes that 'traditional musical theory is helpless in face of this work' and to truly appreciate this music, we 'must be familiar with the resources of present-day composition', so that we can comprehend that the novelty of *Jeux* 'lies not in

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[319] Jann Pasler, 'Debussy, "Jeux": Playing with Time and Form', *19th Century Music,* 6/1 (1982), p. 63.
[320] Herbert Eimert, 'Debussy's "Jeux"', *Die Reihe: A Periodical Devoted to Developments in Contemporary Music*, vol. 5: Reports Analyses, ed. Herbert Eimert and Karlheinz Stockhausen, trans. Leo Black (Bryn Mawr Pennsylvania: Theodore Presser Company, original ed. 1959, translated ed. 1961), pp. 3–20.
[321] Eimert, 'Example 6' (1961), p. 15.
[322] Eimert, p. 4.

its construction, but in time, the pre-constructive, true element of music, which has only today become theoretically accessible'.[323]

Eimert's analysis clearly comprehends the temporal innovation of the work, and although he merely touches on elements of melodic phrases, tempi changes and ornaments, he lays the foundation for further analysis. His conclusion hints at the fact that Debussy's innovation in this work is due to the innovative temporality: one in which time 'blooms', as 'an image of ceaselessly fluctuating time',[324] noting that 'one is faced by […] a permanent tempo rubato which brings the stream of time into the basic wave form of *Jeux*.'[325] This 'wave' system of time that Eimert describes might be analogous to the refractory, disjunctive cinematic time of *Fantômas*: there is no formal pattern and cohesive tendency to repetition in *Jeux*, but in waves, elements of repetition emerge under scrutiny among the fragmentary and discontinuous material.

In chronological order, table 7.14 (on pp. 190–196 in the appendix) illustrates how the discontinuous, fragmentary temporal form of *Jeux* is manifested.[326] It also notes the frequent changes of tempo and time signatures. As the table illustrates,[327] this form is made up of numerous thematic sections, as Debussy repeatedly introduces new themes. The table deliberately marks the repetition of figures that occur immediately after the first statement, as this is often the only form of repetition heard: it is likely that this immediate repetition after the introduction of a new idea gives the music a false sense of coherency within what is otherwise fragmentary form. This table, therefore, aims to outline the entire

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[323] Eimert, p. 20.
[324] Eimert, p. 17.
[325] Eimert, p. 17.
[326] The source for the score of *Jeux* used here is the Dover Libraries 2012 reprint of the Paris: Durand & Cie 1913 first edition. I also refer to the original piano score (Paris: Durand & Cie, 1912).
[327] Table 7.14 is produced on pp. 190–196 in the appendix.

work, to show the ways in which musical figures emerge and then submerge within a fragmentary musical landscape, creating a nonlinear temporality.

The table demonstrates the fragmentary nature of the music, which creates the sense of temporal nonlinearity, marked by a disintegration of pulse and metric consistency, a form in constant flux, limited repetition of ideas, interruptions and sudden cuts to new material, and a lack of development. Unlike previous works, and other late works, Debussy does not constrain himself to using one particular mode but makes full use of the scale, occasionally passing through pentatonic moments (such as at b. 626), makes use of whole tone chords only in the prelude and postlude (figure A: bars 5–8), touches upon polytonality and otherwise uses chromaticism and diatonicism.

The music's form cannot be summed up easily into an A–B–A form or similar; instead, it might be described as follows:

> *Prélude* (b. 1–46): A – B – A
>
> Main section (b. 47–700): B – C (C') – D (D') – B – E (E1 E2 E2 E2') – F – G – H – I – H – I – J – K – J – K – L – M – N – O – P – N' – J' – E2' – Q – R – S – B' – S – B' – T (T') – U (B') – V – W – X – B – X' – B' – Y – B – Z – Z' – X' – B
>
> *Postlude* (b. 701–708): A

The constant introduction of new material contributes to the lack of development and to the fragmentary temporality. Although B, the principal, repeating musical idea of the main section, appears to return several times (which might create a sense of coherency and unity), these repetitions are not audible to a listener, and are often repetitions of rhythmic patterns submerged within a more complex texture.

Section B is made up of two short principal phrases. As Ex. 5.1 illustrates, the first musical phrase of B is an ascending semiquaver figure, starting on D#, which is first heard on the clarinet.

Ex. 5.1: First musical phrase of B (B1), b. 49–50

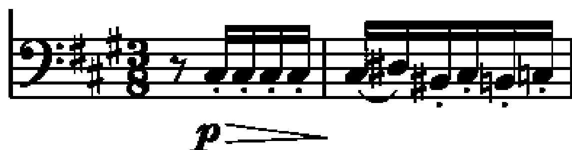
Ex. 5.2: Second phrase of B (B2), b. 57–58

The second phrase of B (ex. 5.2) is first heard on the cor anglais: a descending semiquaver figure, followed by a repetition of the second bar of the first phrase of B. The first return of this phrase, after D in bar 118, might indicate a rondo form, as Eimert suggests. However, this pattern disintegrates, and further repetitions of B are hidden within the texture of new material (new chromaticism, new rhythmic ideas, new tempi, new time signatures, new key signatures, new orchestration). The repetitions of B, in its various disguises, are mostly manifested in the repetition of its rhythmic pattern. Even when the melody is repeated along with the rhythm, it is often buried within the orchestration and new rhythmic ideas. For instance, in the return of B at bar 618 (ex. 5.3) the dotted semiquaver rhythm dominates the texture and rhythmic drive of the music.

Ex. 5.3: Return of phrase B at b. 618

The *Prélude* itself takes the form of A – B – A; it is curious that the non-danced prelude and postlude are moments that adhere to a simple pattern. The short statement of A, a quiet, slow chordal sequence in 4/4, is followed by a faster, disjointed and climactic middle section, in 3/8. At the end of the *Prélude*, A is restated, one of the few moments of truly noticeable repetition to the listener. Standing alone, this introductory *Prélude* does not push many innovative structural boundaries, but this quickly disintegrates as the curtain is lifted.

This fragmentary middle section of the *Prélude* anticipates the livelier 3/8 phrase of the main section, hence I have labelled them both B (see ex. 5.4).



Ex. 5.4 Prélude 'B', b. 9–10

Compare ex. 5.4 with ex. 5.1 and ex. 5.2 on the previous pages: there is a similarity in their character, an animated semiquaver figure in 3/8, and this is as much repetition as we can expect in *Jeux*.

The main section of the ballet might be divided up episodically, into groups of thematic material; at certain moments, there are points of more dramatic change: for instance, at H (bar 224). Until H, the sections are marked by a continuation of the same time signature and key signature, if not a consistency of thematic material and tempo. At H, however, these small consistencies begin to disintegrate further. H is marked by a change of both time and key signature, as well as clearer marked 'interruptions' between sections than elsewhere. These sections (H – I – H – I – J – K – J – K – L) are not repeated elsewhere nor do they contain elements of repetition from earlier sections (with the exception of a dotted rhythm from J utilised as part of new material in bar 402), whereas other sections contain rhythmic elements from earlier thematic materials of E and B, repeated in some form. Within this fragmentary form, therefore, there are moments of change that are more pointed and audible than others, though the entire form is in a state of constant flux. As Eimert remarks, the material repeated is constantly new, and these brief moments of repetition demonstrated in the table, often taking an earlier rhythmic idea and weaving it into a new phrase, give the only sense of coherency that we find in *Jeux*.

It is not only the non-developing, fragmentary form that contributes to the sense of nonlinear temporality in *Jeux*. The way in which these thematic sections interact with each other is also noteworthy, and indicates a potentially cinematic approach to the manipulation of nonlinear temporality in *Jeux*. These interactions between musical ideas are particularly cinematic in their gestures: the interruptions, snapshots, cuts and material fading into new material mimic the cinematic techniques found in *Fantômas*.

As illustrated above, *Fantômas* showcases some of the early, pre-war cinematic techniques used to manipulate temporality on film. In Debussy's innovative treatment of musical temporality in *Jeux*, we may see some affinities between these nonlinear temporal manipulations in music and cinema. One such technique is the use of close shots and cuts,

in which a scene is repeated from a different, close-up angle, manipulating the linear temporal narrative. As described previously, this occurs repeatedly with Fantômas's calling card: the action of picking up or leaving the calling card is repeated from an altered, close-up shot. This cinematic technique is mimicked in the treatment of musical ideas in *Jeux*, in which an idea is repeated immediately and without development, this time with the musical melody more prominently heard due to the orchestration, before the narrative cuts to a new idea, and the melodic idea is submerged within the fragmentary framework of the form. We see this repeatedly: for instance, at C (b. 84–99), a chromatic figure is introduced and then immediately repeated (b. 100–105), more prominently in the clarinets. At D (b. 106–112), a sweeping quaver figure occurs in the violin, and is immediately repeated with a fuller orchestration texture (b. 114–117). At Z (b. 644–651, 652–675), the idea is stated and then repeated with increased momentum, animation and fuller orchestration. The effect may be seen to parallel a series of cinematic images, alternating between stage and close shots as the film does, and thus distorting the temporal narrative.

Another example of the interaction between musical ideas, and the potential parallel to be found with early cinematic techniques, is the use of fading scenes. In *Fantômas*, as we saw earlier, a series of fading scenes showing Fantômas's disguises opens the first film. In the fragmentary musical framework of *Jeux*, certain musical ideas fade away, before another is introduced. This is particularly noticeable towards the end: for instance, at the end of X' (b. 676–687), the music fades away to nothing before the reintroduction of B (b. 688–700), which, in turn, fades to nothing before the final repeat of the *Prélude* phrase A. There are other, less drawn out moments, in which one idea fades and submerges, and another idea emerges. At the end of J (b. 264–283), the music quietens and slows down (*Retenu… Plus retenu…*), before a new musical idea (K) emerges (b. 284–289).

At this point in the music, we also come across interruptions, in which one musical idea, often mid-phrase, is interrupted by a wholly different idea. These interruptions, cutting from one idea to another, and then back, mirror the alternating shots used in *Fantômas*, as the tension heightens inside and outside the train carriage, increasing the momentum and distorting a unilinear temporality. An animated, quiet and static musical figure (K) in 2/4 (b. 284) is interrupted by the grandiose dotted figure of J in 3/8 (b. 290), and then interrupted again by the quiet yet animated K (b. 294). Key signature, time signature, musical character, dynamics and orchestration change with these interruptions, with no interaction or development of these themes together. Having interrupted each other, they disappear and a new musical idea appears—in an almost cinematic gesture of temporal nonlinearity, like the interruptions of alternating shots of inside and outside the carriage, until the train collides and the characters move on to a new crime.

The disintegration of pulse and metric consistency throughout also contributes to the fragmentary temporality of *Jeux*. There are fluctuations of tempo throughout the music, each section characterised by alternating slowing down and speeding up of the music: for instance, in the space of only ten bars, section T (b. 488–498) has six changes of tempo: *Tempo rubato – Serrez – Tempo rubato – Serrez – Tempo rubato – Serrez*. The fluctuations of tempo can arguably be found to have parallels with cinematic temporal distortion in *Fantômas*. The treatment of the lift, as discussed earlier, in which we experience the lift both in 'real time' (the time it would actually take to ascend) and in 'distorted time' (flashes of the lift on each floor, speeded up for the benefit of the narrative), might be seen to mimic the treatment of repeated ideas in *Jeux*. At T, for instance, a new melodic idea is introduced on the clarinets (b. 488–498) and is then repeated in a different tempo (b. 499–513). This distorted repetition of the melodic idea mimics the cinematic treatment of the lift and its distortion of linear temporality.

Beyond the constant fluctuations of tempo, the recurring changes of time signature, particularly from section H onwards, create a fragmentary sense of temporality, from 3/8 to 3/4 to 2/4, back to 3/8, to 4/8, in which the pulse consistency disintegrates, contributing to the temporal flux. Paralleling the distortions of cinematic time manipulated on screen in *Fantômas*, the metric and pulse regularity continually disintegrates, contributing to the temporal nonlinear flux.

In a version of the scenario published in the programme notes for a concert performance in 1914, the musical aspects of the ballet are emphasised alongside the scenario: 'a first motive *scherzando* in 3/8 appears, soon interrupted by the return of the prelude'. It continues: 'Now all three dance (3/8) quicker and quicker up to the moment of ecstasy (3/4, very moderate), which is interrupted by another stray tennis ball, causing the three young people to flee.'[328] What is added to the scenario is the description of the time signatures, marking moments of change in musical time for the audience to listen out for.[329] This indicates that the temporal aspects of the music are important for understanding the ballet. It also suggests that the music is deliberately mirroring the action on stage. If we look closely at the choreographic directions, included in the original score, we can see that there are clear parallels between the scenario and the music.

The fragmentary, disconnected aspects of the music often mirror the climactic and fragmentary nature of the dancing: for instance, the interruptions discussed earlier, between sections J and K, parallel the alternating dancing between the first girl and the man, dancing in love, and the jealous, mocking dance of the second dance. New

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[328] Programme notes for the concert version of *Jeux* (1 March 1914). Translation by Jann Pasler. According to Jean Barraqué, we are to believe that Debussy wrote the above text, although he did not sign it. See: Barraqué, *Debussy* (Paris, 1962), pp. 166, 169.
[329] As we saw in Chapter 3, the original scenario mentioned 'the artificial light of the large electric streetlamps', responding in a different way to the urban changes in the temporal landscape of Paris.

choreographic directions are matched with new ideas: as the trio begin a final dance, this is matched with a new musical idea at M (b. 331–355), which is suggestive of a waltz in its rhythmic treatment. There is something profoundly cinematic in the way in which Debussy pieces together these series of images, to create music in constant flux: it is perhaps due to Debussy's compositional process that this cinematic temporality is created.

This chapter has explored a collection of affinities between the manipulation of linear time in early cinema, and the manipulation of time in the music of 1913. Both shift towards a breakdown of temporal linearity, manipulating and distorting the sense of past, present and future into fragmentary snapshots and sequences of enclosed non-developing stasis. In exploring the temporal form of Debussy's *Jeux*, it is, therefore, useful to compare with early cinematic techniques that also manipulate temporal narratives. There are parallels to be found between Debussy's *Jeux* and Feuillade's *Fantômas*, particularly if looking at various cinematic techniques such as close-up shots, alternating shots, fading sequences, temporal shifts and skipping time. In doing so, this poses the question of whether this shift towards nonlinearity in musical temporality may be due to changing sensibilities towards time more generally in *fin de siècle* Paris. Debussy's innovative approach to nonlinear temporality as a musical form suggests a cultural symbiosis of ideas with cinematic temporal nonlinearity. Rather than viewing the music in isolation it is, therefore, informative to explore parallels in the experimentation and representation of time between early cinema and music of 1913 Paris.

– 6 –

CONCLUSION

This thesis has looked closely at musical culture in a particular historical moment, a moment characterised by the rapid speed of change. Paris in 1913 was at the peak and culmination of a period of transformation. Many developments contributed to this sense of change: the advances and firsts in aviation, the rise in popularity of the motorised vehicle, the boom in popularity of Bergson's philosophy, the development of the Métro, the end of horse-drawn public transport—ubiquitous as part of the image of the golden age of Paris—the establishment of the electric system and electric lighting in Paris, and finally, the rise in popularity of cinema. Speed, and the contracting of time and space, was the unifying factor of these changes.

Our sensibilities towards time are an important factor in the way that we view and understand the world that we live in. By examining a particular influence on the way in which time was viewed in a historical moment, we can better understand the cultural and musical outputs of that period. This thesis has looked at the impact of philosophical developments in the understanding of time, but as is explored in the other chapters, aspects of technology, changes in the cityscape, and cultural changes can have an effect on sensibilities towards time. If we want to understand the cultural product of a historical moment, understanding sensibilities towards time in that moment is one avenue that can elucidate our understanding.

One of the key conclusions to draw from this kaleidoscopic portrait of 1913 Paris is that there are useful parallels to be drawn between subtle changes in everyday life and changes in musical temporality. The rapid increase in change in the development of the railways and the Métro not only enabled musicians and artists to move about more freely and easily, and to converge in spaces together more readily, but it also increased the speed of change, in the contraction of space and time. Although alone, these changes may not seem significant, when we take the wider picture of what it was like to live in, and experience the changing temporal space of Paris in this year, these cells of transformation in the city space create a significant impact on the experience and perception of time. Taken together, they create a snapshot of a world of rapid speed of change and the contraction of time and space.

What has emerged from an analysis of three key musical figures of 1913 Paris is that, despite variances of style and approach, temporal innovation arises primarily from metric and thematic fragmentation, discontinuity and disintegration. Each composer exhibits temporal nonlinearity in different ways, and yet the parallels to be drawn are the ways in which they were challenging their conception of musical temporality and their own manifestation of linearity in the music. Unlike other forms of linear disintegration in the early twentieth century, many of the temporal experimentations in music discussed in this thesis are primarily related to form and structure: Satie, Ravel and Debussy manipulate linear temporal gestures in different ways, but each experiments with temporality: it is a subtle manifestation of the changing world around them, the changing experience of temporality in the 'city of time'.

Kramer summarises temporal manipulations as music that can 'deconstruct time', 'use musical time as material as well as context', 'create multiple time senses' and 'depend on a

re-ordered linearity created not by the performer but mentally by the listener'.[330] 'Piece time' is the 'normal succession of events' in a musical work, which is contradicted by 'gestural time, in which temporal function is created not by the order of events but by their conventional profiles'.[331] It is this 're-ordering of linearity' in accordance with gestural time that is found in postmodernist music, according to Kramer, but it is dependent on temporal direction.

In the light of Kramer's definition of 'temporal manipulation', the musical figures of 1913 Paris manipulate musical temporality in different ways: what is common is the way in which musical temporality is deconstructed and linear temporal gestures are thrown into confusion. In Chapter 3, I explored Satie's thoughts on time in 1913 and looked at the relationship between place and time in his compositions. Satie's fruitful year of compositional development in 1913 played with temporality in new and subtle ways: metric and thematic fragmentation were used in order to manipulate rather than reject the linearity of temporal gestures. In Chapter 4, I explored the influence of Bergson on philosophical thought in 1913 Paris, examining how Bergson was becoming mainstream in this year and the influence of his philosophies on Proust. I considered the ways in which Bergsonian conceptions of time and memory may be found in the musical construction of Ravel's *Trois poèmes de Stéphane Mallarmé*, and the interchange of ideas as Ravel influenced Proust in turn. New perceptions of time were being exchanged back and forth—a testament to how changing attitudes towards time were at the forefront of many artists' thinking. Ravel's settings of the Mallarmé poems play with Proustian and Bergsonian gestures of memory and multiplicity, inverting the expected linear gestures of temporality we might expect. The framework of temporal manipulations plays with conventional expectations of linearity,

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330 Jonathan D. Kramer, *Postmodern Music, Postmodern Listening*, p. 154.
331 Kramer, *Postmodern Music*, p. 153.

rather than rejecting it outright, but uses this to subvert and surprise the listener. Cinema had a profound effect on the way people thought about time, as it had an ability to capture and store the past in a new and vivid way. In Chapter 5, the analysis of the cinematic temporality in Debussy's *Jeux* showcased the fragmentary, non-developing temporal framework. The disintegration of pulse and metric consistency, the fragmentary thematic material and the recurring changes of time signature contributed to the temporal form in flux, made up of fragmentary snapshots and sequences of enclosed non-developing stasis. Each of these chapters explored two questions: the parallels to be drawn between shifting sensibilities towards time and musical temporality, and the way in which that temporality was manifested in the music.

While I have focused on three primary composers in this thesis, preliminary research suggests that other musicians were engaging with ideas of time. As would be expected in a shift from old to new forms of temporality, there are a number of other compositions published or composed in Paris in 1913 that do conform to constructions of temporal linearity, such as *Le Rossignol des Lilas* by Reynaldo Hahn (Paris: Heugel, 1913). Hahn set Léopold Dauphin's poem about the nightingale, singing at dawn and dusk, for soprano and piano. Its harmonic language is dependent on progression and development, its rhythm remains stable throughout, and it is constructed through patterns of repetition in the melodic line and between the piano and voice. Eugène Gigout's *Douze pièces pour orgue* (Paris: Alphonse Leduc, 1913) uses repetition, suspensions and resolutions, which construct a sense of temporal linearity, as does Henriette Renié's *Pièce Symphonique* (Paris: Louis Rouitier, 1913). In the first movement, the *Marche Funèbre*, Renié makes almost satirical use of a funeral march. Its use of the continuous, metric stability of a funeral march, developing as expected within the framework of linearity, is only momentarily interrupted. Temporal gestures of finality are anticipated and then delayed, however, due

to her use of extended harp techniques. In bar 3, for instance, we expect resolution and finality in the opening theme of the funeral march, but instead the temporal direction momentarily pauses, and we hear instead elaborate harp flourishes—descending arpeggios and harmonics—embellishments that pause the temporal linearity, but do not disrupt it. This has the effect of momentarily distorting the metric stability, before the temporal gesture of finality is reached. These works do not, on the whole, therefore, disrupt and manipulate the temporal linearity of the music, but they do engage with pushing the boundaries of the linearity in certain ways. Further research will continue to map out the breadth of musical activity in 1913 Paris, and assess the relationship between music and time: how did other musical activity in this moment interact with temporality, and what parallels can be drawn between their work and socio-cultural change?

Creating a snapshot portrait of one moment helps us understand small currents of change in the wider narrative of historical seismic shifts. This is, in a sense, a micro history of one year and one city, which brings us closer to the rush of experiences that created the patterns of daily life for citizens of that time. An early example of this form of 'time-travelling' historical narrative was Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht's seminal exploration of the year 1926.[332] Gumbrecht experimented with the form of historical narrative, attempting to eschew any bias in chronological history-telling by creating a dictionary-like account of one year. Each entry was a microcosm of one moment, offering a glimpse of what it was like to live in the year 1926. Similarly, the approach taken in this thesis to studying the *fin de siècle*, by homing in on 1913 Paris, allows us to examine patterns of historical change at a minute level.

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332 Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, *In 1926: Living at the Edge of Time* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997).

Ultimately, this thesis has shown that innovation in musical temporality did not occur in a vacuum. It is fruitful to consider temporality and socio-cultural history together. Further research may develop this interdisciplinary method further in order to create a closer relationship between historical approaches in musicology and analytical-philosophical approaches, specifically the potential overlaps between the philosophy of time and its usefulness for musicological discourse. Further research might consider how we can bring together temporal philosophy and historical musicology in the way that cultural and urban geography and musicology have been embraced together in interdisciplinary fields.

This interdisciplinary approach might be explored in an approach to the relationship between social change and temporality, particularly with regard to the development of silent film. This period is rich in musicological scholarship, from politics and nationalism in Jane Fulcher's *The Composer as Intellectual: Music and Ideology in France, 1914–1940*, to Roger Nichols' *The Harlequin Years*, and more recently, a new narrative of modernism in Barbara L. Kelly's *Music and Ultra-Modernism in France: A Fragile Consensus, 1913–1939*. However, studying the temporal element—one of the key foundations of music—can offer an alternative reading to augment our understanding. Silent film continued to rise in popularity, and with it advances in cinematic techniques. The influence of cinema on cultural activities in the twentieth century is well explored, such as in Martin Mark's *Music and the Silent Film: Contexts and Case Studies, 1895–1925*; Mervyn Cooke's *A History of Film Music*; the discussion of the interaction of the arts in *Music, Film and Art* by Haig Khatchadourian; Ben Winters' *Music, Performance, and the Realities of Film*, on the performance experience of cinema; and, more specifically on later French culture, *Listening to the French New Wave: The Film Music and Composers of Postwar French Art Cinema* by Orlene Denice McMahon. Further research, however, might consider the manipulation of time in cinema's burgeoning technology, and its impact on musical temporality. As cinema's

technology progressed, what impact did it have on the way composers in the 1920s and beyond thought about time?

As an exploration of a particular time and place, further research might explore different historical moments and places. It is fascinating that themes such as nostalgia for the past—a stripping away of excess and the loss of innocence—that became associated with post-war reactions to four years of crisis, can be found in 1913. Further research might map out the reception of these themes as particularly 'post-war' concerns and explore why 1913 became painted as the last 'golden summer' before the war. In terms of place, while in Paris, manifestations of this shift in thinking about time seems to converge quickly within the same year, this moment of rapid change is not replicated at the same time elsewhere. Further research might explore the effects of this period of change—and the difference in pace—in other cities. Developments in recorded sound over the fin de siècle were not unique to Paris and had an effect on the way in which time was presented and stored. Further research might consider the impact of mechanical recording and reproduction of sounds and music and its impact on sensibilities towards time and musical temporality. Recording technology had varied and layered effects on representations and experiences of time in different places and moments. In London, the effect of an onslaught of sudden technological change could not have taken place in 1913, for instance, as the rapid development of transport happened at a gradual pace. The London Underground, the world's first underground railway system, opened in 1863, decades earlier than in Paris, and in 1890, electric traction trains were rolled out. Horse-drawn carriages were phased out at a slower pace. In Vienna, for instance, the change was fast—the crucial year might well be 1897 with the arrival of the electric trams and the electric wheel in Prater Park.[333]

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[333] Research on Vienna's temporal modernity might build on the work of Leon Botstein—see for example, his foundational Ph.D. thesis on modernity, music and space: 'Music and its public:

Further research, therefore, might consider the ways in which these changing ideas of temporality were present in other cities and spaces across the world at different historical moments.

Ultimately, how we think about time now may also be as a result of a shift in sensibilities towards time as a result of cultural, social and technological changes at the turn of the twentieth century. Returning to Justin London's definition of time in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, we recall that time is

> (1) A synonym or shorthand for musical metre, as in '6/8 time'.
>
> (2) A general term to designate the rhythmic acuity of a performer or ensemble, as in 'playing in time'.
>
> (3) The essential medium for music and musical performance, a non-spatial continuum of past, present and future in which music exists and is understood.[334]

This understanding of time as a 'non-spatial continuum' arose around Bergson's philosophies of time and continued into the twentieth century to today's understanding of time. Bergson's conception of our inability to consider time in terms of non-spatial dimensions catapulted the concept of time into the popular consciousness. The way in which we define time now might, therefore, be the result of a shift in time—in part at

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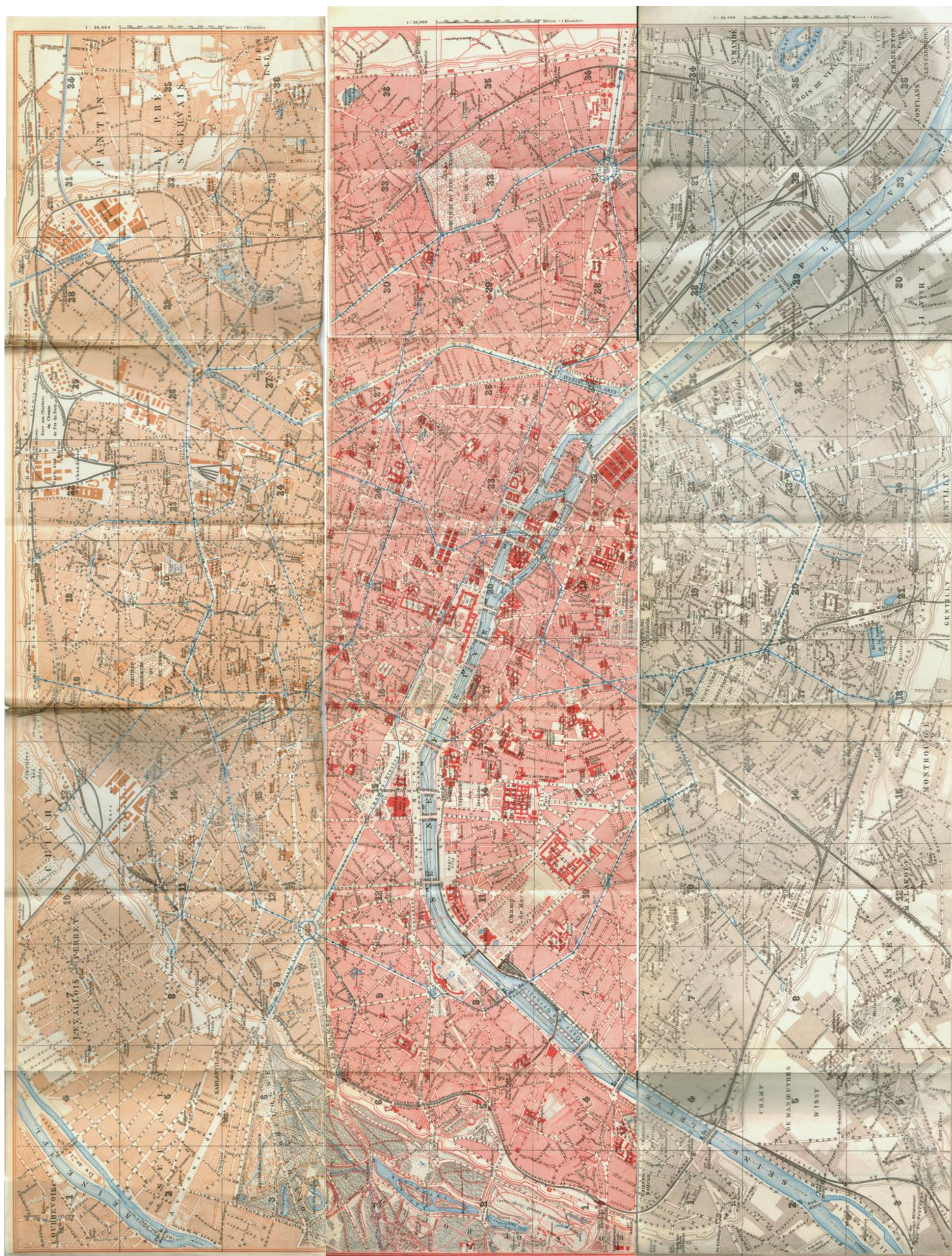
habits of listening and the crisis of musical modernism in Vienna, 1870–1914' (Ph.D.: Harvard University, 1985).

[334] Justin London, 'Time', *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Oxford Music Online: http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/43935, accessed 12 March 2019).

least—around 1913 Paris. Time is not only an essential medium for music, but it is also essential for understanding our human condition, and our societies and cultures.

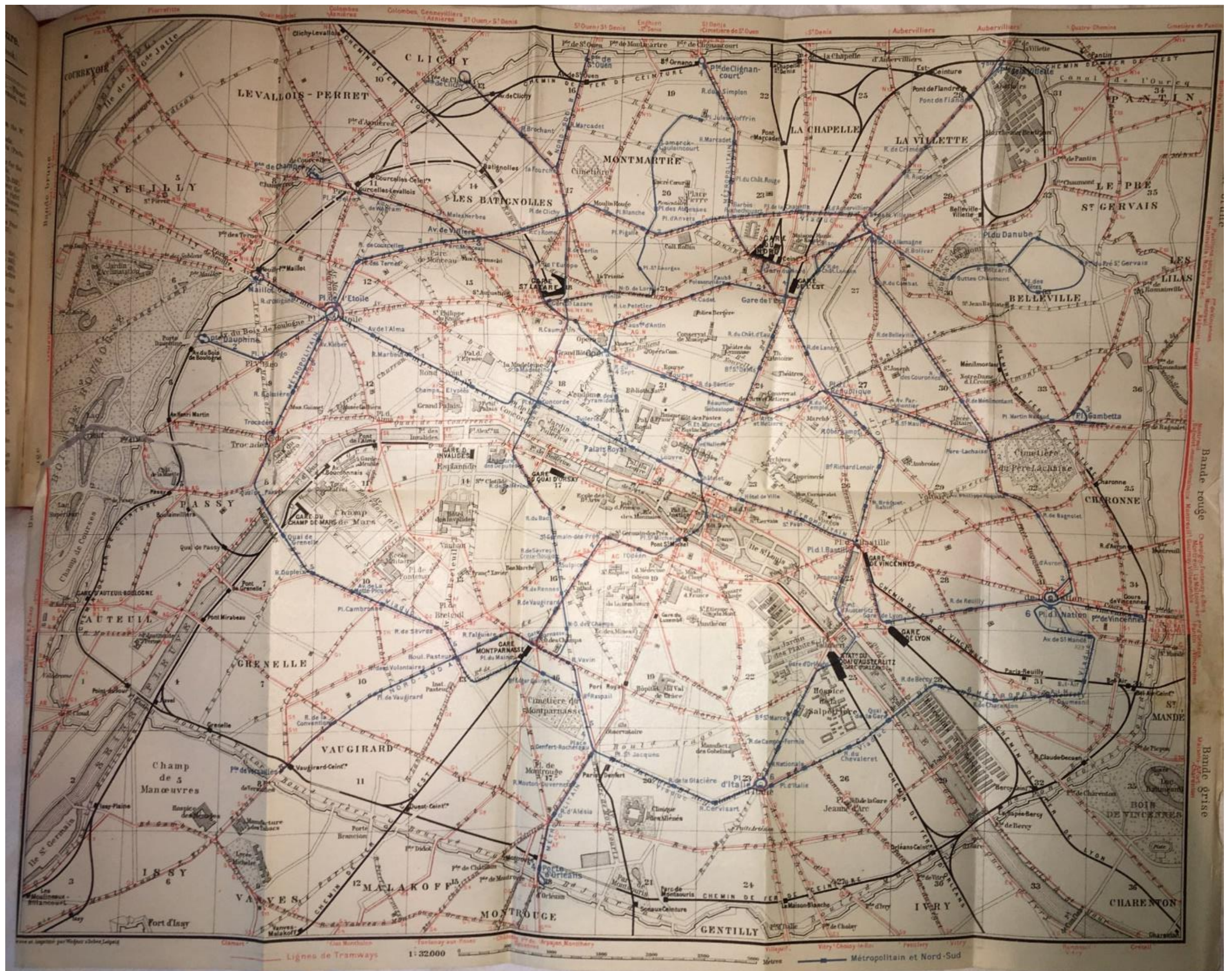
APPENDICES: MAPPING A CITY OF TIME

Map 7.1: A Métro plan from 1913, the kind that was popularised by 'les grands magasins' from the beginning of the twentieth century (Private collection © Sandmarg)

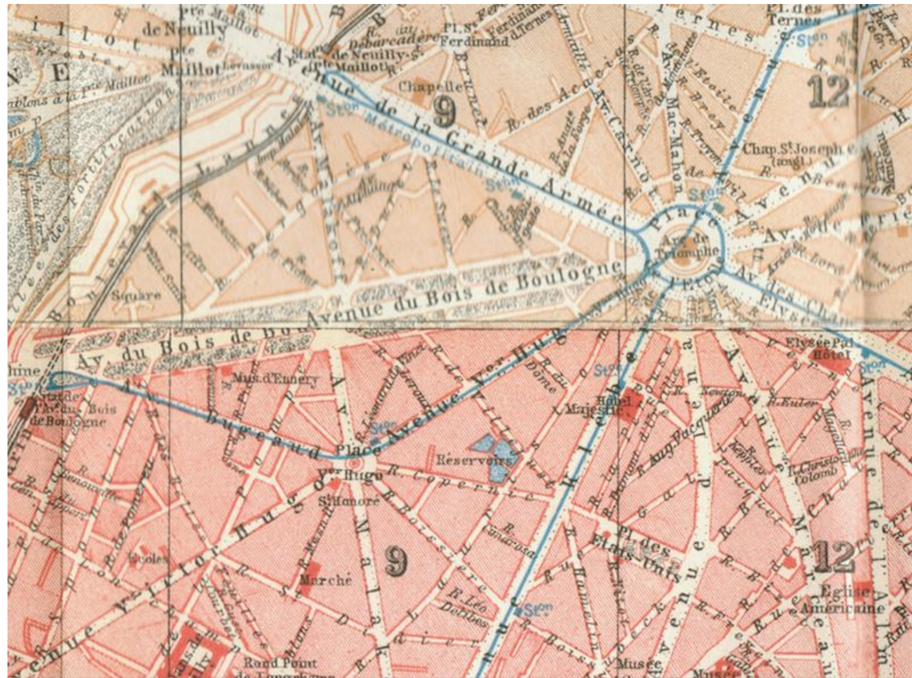


Map 7.2: Baedeker's map of Paris from 1913[335]

[335] Baedeker (1913), pp. ii–iv. This map has been pieced together from three detailed section maps, using Photoshop to align the three segments. The scale is 1:20,000.

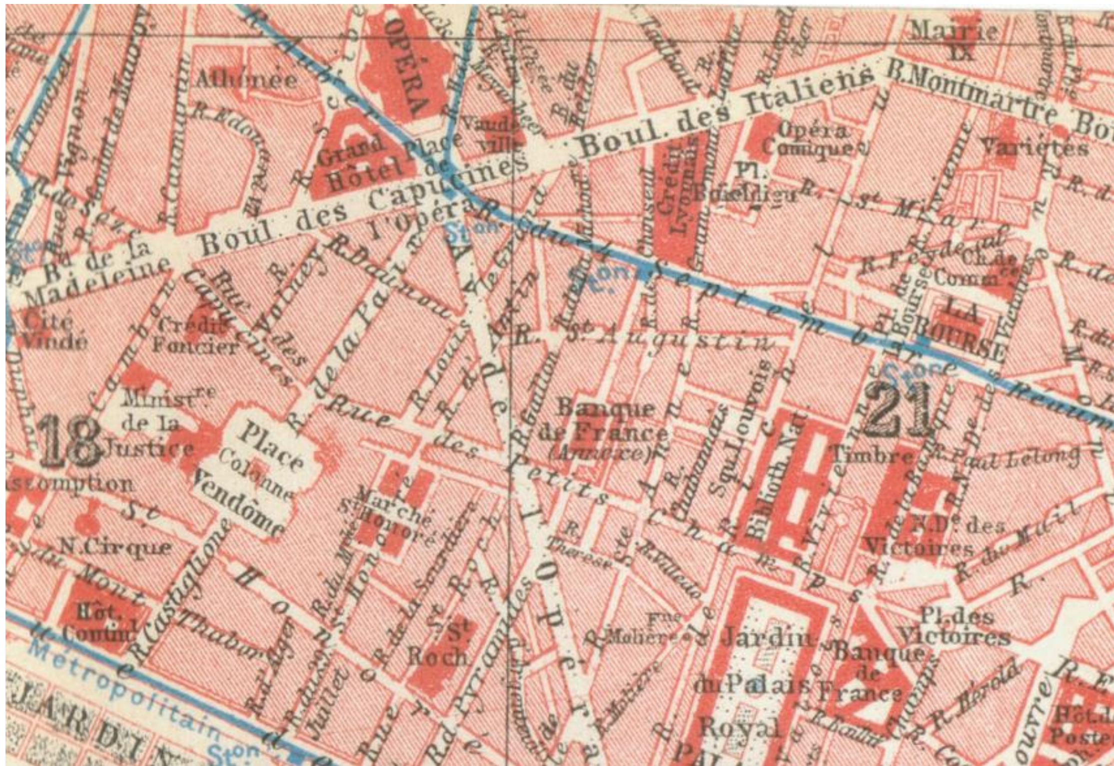


Map 7.3: The 1913 edition of Baedeker includes a 'transport' map of Paris in the endmatter of the book

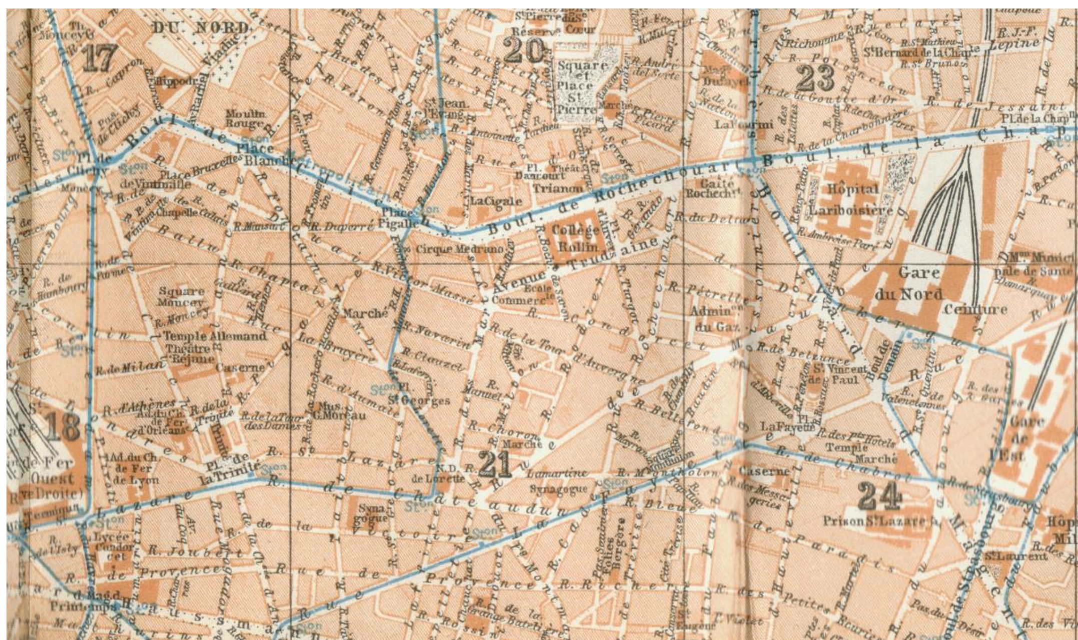


Map 7.4: Map fragment showing Avenue du Bois de Boulogne

Map 7.5: Cross-section of 1913 map, showing Boulevard Péreire running along the railway



Map 7.6: Cross-section from Baedeker map showing the Place de l'Opéra



Map 7.7: Cross-section from Baedeker map with Boulevard de Rochechouart, the location of several theatres and the location of the majority of the listed cabarets

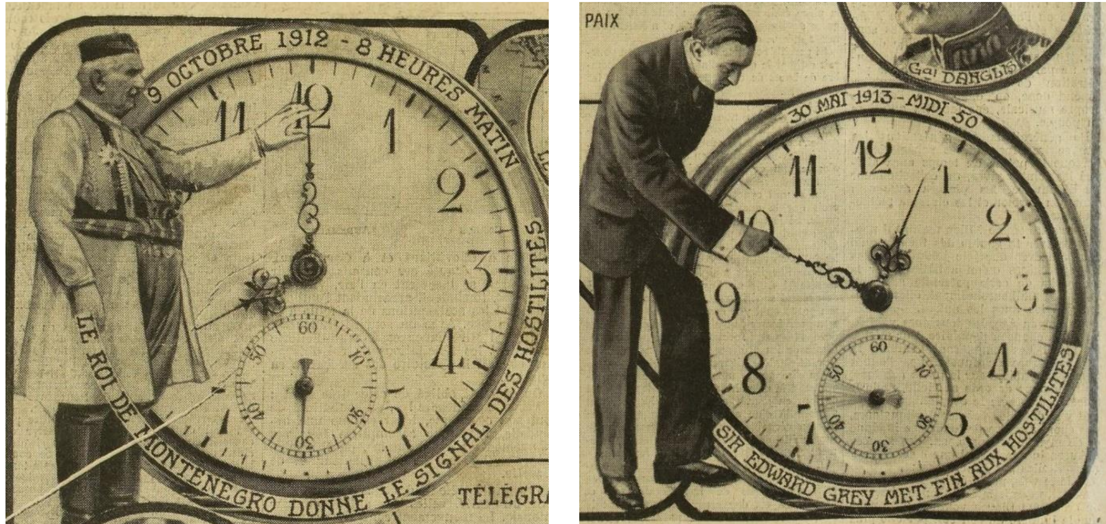


Illustration 7.1: Front page of the *Excelsior*, 31 May 1913[336]

Illustration 7.2: The construction of the Métro[337]

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[336] Anon., *Excelsior* (31 May 1913), p. 1.

[337] Image credit: Jules Girard, Construction du Métro 1902–1910, *Archive photographiques (Médiathèque du patrimoine) © Caisse nationale des Monuments historiques et des Sites*.

Illustration 7.3: The façade of the newly built Galeries Lafayette[338]

Illustration 7.4: Cinéma Omnia Pathé (Boulevard Montmartre, la salle de projection)[339]

[338] Galeries Lafayette, 1912 (WikiCommons).
[339] Press photo: Agence Rol, agence photographique (1913). Bibliothèque nationale de France, département des estampes et de la photographie, EST EI-13 (320)

Illustration 7.5: 'Enterrement du dernier omnibus'[340]

[340] Press photo: Agence Rol (Paris, 11 January 1913). BnF Estampes et photographie, EI-13 (34). Rol, 25760.

Table 7.1: List of maps featured in Baedeker's 1913 guide to Paris

Map	*Scale*	*Page number in Baedeker Guidebook*
Bois de Boulogne	1:20,000	p. 245
Bois de Vincennes	1:50,000	263
Immediate Environs of Paris	1:200,000	347
Asnières, Rueil, and Bougival	1:75,000	348
Bois de Meudon	1:50,000	351
St-Cloud and Sèvres	1:25,000	352
Environs of St-Germain-en-Laye	1:75,000	388
Enghien and Montmorency	1:25,000	397
St-Denis to Pontoise	1:50,000	399
Remoter Environs of Paris	1:800,000	403
Forest of Chantilly	1:100,000	413
Clamart, Sceaux, and Villejuif	1:50,000	419
Forest of Fontainebleau	1:100,000	433
Railway Map of France	1:7,000,000	Inside cover at the end of the book

Table 7.2: List of plans featured in Baedeker's 1913 guide to Paris

Listed as a 'plan' in Baedeker	*Scale, if available*	*Page number in Baedeker Guidebook*
Key Plan of Paris	1:66,600	Appendix
Plan of Paris	1:20,000 in three sections	Appendix. See Map 7.2 for a reproduction of this map
Champ-de-Mars, Trocadéro, and Champs-Élysées	1:12,500	Appendix
Grands Boulevards and the Halles	1:12,500	Appendix
Invalides and Luxembourg	1:12,500	Appendix
Cité, Jardin des Plantes, and Bastille	1:12,500	Appendix
Railway and Tramway Plan of Paris	1:32,000	Appendix. See Map 7.3 for a reproduction of this map
Petit Palais	n/a	p. 69
Historical Plan of the Louvre and Tuileries	1:5150	p. 89
Galleries of the Louvre: Ground floor	n/a	p. 95
Galleries of the Louvre: First floor	n/a	p. 117
Galleries of the Louvre	n/a	p. 168
Musée des Arts Décoratifs	n/a	p. 177
Musée Carnavalet	n/a	pp. 195 and 197
Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers	n/a	p. 206
Bibliothèque Nationale	n/a	p. 211
Cemetery of Montmartre	1: 5000	p. 225
Cemetery of Père-Lachaise	1: 5000	p. 251
Palais de Justice	n/a	p. 269
Notre-Dame	n/a	p. 275
Musée de Cluny	n/a	p. 281
École des Beaux-Arts	n/a	p. 299
Hôtel des Invalides	n/a	p. 310
Musée du Luxembourg	n/a	p. 324
Jardin des Plantes	n/a	p. 335
Town and Park of Versailles	n/a	p. 358
Palace of Versailles	n/a	p. 361

St-Germain-en-Laye	n/a	p. 385
St-Denis	n/a	p. 391
Château and Park of Chantilly	n/a	pp. 409 and 413
Fontainebleau	n/a	p. 433
Boulogne	n/a	p. 441
Amiens	n/a	p. 445
Calais	n/a	p. 448
Dieppe	n/a	p. 450
Rouen	n/a	p. 452
Le Havre	n/a	p. 458
Cherbourg	n/a	p. 460
Caen	n/a	p. 463

Table 7.3: Large or Principal Theatres[341]

No.	*Name*	*Address*	*Opened*	*Seats*	*Notes: uses and other names*
1	Théâtre Antoine	14, Boulevard de Strasbourg, 10e arr.	1866	780	Other names: Théâtre des Arts, Théâtre des Menus-Plaisirs. Now Théâtre Antoine-Simone Berriau. Formerly: Opéra-Bouffe, Comédie Parisienne, Théâtre Libre.
2	Théâtre de l'Ambigu-Comique	Boulevard Saint-Martin, 10e arr.	1828	2000	Known as 'Ambigu'. Demolished in 1966. Earlier theatre on Boulevard du Temple destroyed by fire in 1827.
3	Théâtre de l'Athénée	7, Rue Boudreau, Place de l'Opéra-Louis-Jouevet, 9e arr.	1883	570	Formerly Éden Théâtre, Grand-Théâtre, Comédie-Parisienne. Plays and concerts.
4	Bouffes Parisiens	4, Rue Monsigny, 2e arr.	1855	668	Mostly plays. Baedeker: 'farcical and broad pieces' (p. 37)
5	Théâtre des Champs-Élysées	15, Avenue Montaigne, 8e arr.	1913	1905	Opera and ballet.
6	Châtelet (Théâtre du Châtelet)	Place du Châtelet, 1e arr.	1862	2500	Opera and concerts.
7	Comédie-Française,	2, Rue de Richelieu, 1e arr.	1790 (opened at	800	Other name: Théâtre-Française. Comédie-Française founded in 1680.

[341] Theatres listed in alphabetical order of name; e.g. '[Théâtre] Antoine' is listed before 'Comédie-Français'. Categorisation is based on Baedeker's distinctions: main theatres, small but fashionable theatres, other theatres, music halls, concert rooms, cafés-concerts and cabarets. Information found in *Baedeker* (1913) is supplemented with information from other sources: see bibliography. In particular, Nicole Wild's invaluable *Dictionnaire des théâtres parisiens 1807–1914* (Paris: Symétrie & Palazzetto Bru Zane, 2012).

	Salle Richelieu		the Salle Richelieu)		
8	Folies-Dramatiques	Rue de Bondy, 10e arr. (now Rue René Boulanger)	1863	1600	The 'première salle' closed in 1862, and was turned into a cinema in the 1930s.
9	Gaîté	Rue Papin, off Rue Saint-Martin, 3e arr.	1862 / 1908	1800 / 2100	Also known as Théâtre de la Gaîté-Lyrique, and formerly Théâtre National Lyrique. The original theatre had four different installations (1760–1862) before reopening in 1862. It was then restored in 1908 by architect Émile Jeandelle, after which it held 300 more seats. It closed on 1 January 1914 (see Nicole Wild, 2012).
10	Théâtre du Gymnase Marie-Bell	38, Boulevard Bonne-Nouvelle, 10e arr.	1820	800	Named simply as 'Gymnase' in Baedeker.
11	Odéon (Odéon-Théâtre)	2, Rue Corneille, 6e arr.	1819	800	Formerly Seconde Théâtre-Français. Mostly plays.
12	Opéra, Palais Garnier	Place de l'Opéra, 9e arr.	1875	220	Ballet and opera
13	Opéra-Comique, Salle Farvart	Place Boïeldieu, 2e arr.	1898	1248	
14	Théâtre du Palais-Royal	38, Rue Montpensier, 1e arr.	1641	750	Other names: Théâtre des Beaujolais. Destroyed by fire in 1770, rebuilt in 1784. Louis Philippe II commissioned two new theatres, one on the old site and a larger one (the Comédie-Française).

15	Port Saint-Martin	18, Boulevard Saint-Martin, 10e arr.	1873	1800	Mostly plays. Port Saint-Martin and Renaissance marked as 'Theatres' together on Baedeker map.
16	Théâtre Réjane	15, Rue de Blance, 9e arr.	1891	1100	Mostly plays. Formerly Nouveau-Théâtre.
17	Renaissance	20, Boulevard Saint-Martin, 10e arr.	1873	650	Plays. Now called Théâtre du Petit Saint-Martin.
18	Théâtre Sarah-Berhardt	2, Place du Châtelet, 4e arr.	1874	1000	Managed by 'the great actress' Sarah Berhardt (Baedeker, p. 36). Other names: Théâtre de la Ville.
19	Théâtre des Variétés	7, Boulevard Montmartre, 2e arr.	1807	928	Plays.
20	Théâtre du Vaudeville	Boulevard des Capucines, 9e arr.	1869	1800	The theatre had several different versions, first built in 1792 and a new restoration was inaugurated in 1869. After it closed in 1925, it was turned into a cinema in 1927.

Table 7.4: Small Theatres, 'the fashionable "théâtres d'à côté"'[342]

No.	*Name*	*Address*	*Opened*	*Seats*	*Notes*
21	Théâtre des Capucines	39, Boulevard des Capucines, 11e arr.	1889, restored in 1896	200	Closed in 1974. Converted into Théâtre Musée des Capucines Fragonard (perfume museum) in 1993. Repertoire was mostly comedies, vaudevilles and dramas. Armand Berthez was the director in 1913.
22	Comédie Royale	25, Rue de Caumartin, 9e arr.	1901	390	Also known as Comédie Caumartin. Plays and comedies.
23	Grand-Guignol	20 bis, Rue Chaptal, 9e arr.	1897	c. 200	Closed in 1962.
24	Théâtre Impérial	5, Rue du Colisée, 8e arr.	1912	200	Named in Baedeker as a fashionable new theatre. It was demolished in 1923, and in its place the Théâtre de l'Avenue was built, inaugurated in 1924.
25	Théâtre Michel	38, Rue de Mathurins, 8e arr.	1908	350	

[342] Baedeker, p. 33.

Table 7.5: Other Theatres

No.	*Name*	*Address*	*Opened*	*Seats*	*Notes*
26	Théâtre Apollo	20, Rue de Clichy, 9e arr.	1909	c. 200	Operettas. Alphonse Franck was the director in 1913. It was demolished in 1958.
27	Théâtre des Arts	78, Boulevard des Batignolles, 17e arr.	1838	630	Plays. Other names: Théâtre Hébertot. Formerly: Théâtre des Batignolles.
28	Théâtre de Cluny	71, Boulevard Saint-Germain, 5e arr.	1879	1100	Closed in 1929. Transformed into a cinema in 1933. Louis Duplay was the director in 1913.
29	Théâtre Déjazet	4, Boulevard du Temple, 3e arr.	1851	600	
30	Théâtre Trianon-Lyrique	80, Boulevard de Rochechouart, 18e arr.	1895	1000	Known as 'Le Trianon'. Concerts. Other names: Trianon-Concert, Trianon-Théâtre, Théâtre Victor-Hugo.

Table 7.6: Music Halls, 'mostly unsuitable for ladies'[343]

No.	*Name*	*Address*	*Opened*	*Seats*	*Uses, other names, and notes*
1	Alhambra	50, Rue de Malte, 11e arr.	1866	n/a	Full name: Alhambra-Maurice Chevalier. Marked as 'Alhambra' on Baedeker map. Demolished in 1967.
2	Folies-Bergère	32, Rue Richer, 9e arr.	1869	1679	Formerly Folies Trévise. Baedeker: 'fashionable…but the society is very mixed' (p. 39)
3	Moulin Rouge	82, Boulevard de Clichy, 18e arr.	1889	850	Described as a Music Hall (as opposed to a Cabaret) in Baedeker.
4	Olympia	28, Boulevard des Capucines, 9e arr.	1889	1772	Opened as 'Montagne Russes' by Joseph Oller, renamed in 1893.
5	Théâtre Marigny	Avenue des Marigny, 8e arr.	1885	1024	Baedeker: 'with garden, open in summer only' (p. 39). Near the popular summer Cafés-Concerts of the Champs-Élysées.

[343] Baedeker, p. 39.

Table 7.7: Concert Rooms, or *Salles*, 'Chamber music is performed in winter in the concert-rooms'[344]

No.	*Name*	*Address*	*Opened*	*Seats*	*Notes*
1	Les Agriculteurs	8, Rue d'Athènes, 9e arr.	1894	n/a	Also known as Salle des Agriculteurs. Closed in 1925.
2	Salle Érard	13, Rue du Mail, 2e arr.	c. 1801	c. 400	The 'hôtel particulier' of the Erard empire of instrument makes.
3	Salle Gaveau	45, Rue la Boétie, 8e arr.	1906	1020	
4	Salle Pleyel	22, Rue de Rochechouart, 18e arr.	1839	300	Current Salle Pleyel opened in 1927.

[344] Baedeker, p. 38.

Table 7.8: Societies and Orchestras[345]

Name of Institution	*Date founded*	*Notes: Concert dates and tickets*
Société Nationale de Musique	1871	
Société Musicale Independant	1909	
Société des Concerts du Conservatoire	1828	Concerts: Sunday at 2.15pm, Nov.–April. Baedeker describes these as 'Masterpieces of classical music'. Conductor: André Messager. According to Baedeker, 'all the seats are taken by subscription, tickets returned by subscribers are alone available for outsiders'. (p. 38).
Concerts Lamoureux	1881	Baedeker: 'classical and modern' (p. 38). Sunday at 3pm, Oct.–April, at Salle Gaveau. Conductor: Camille Chevillard.
Concerts Colonne	1873	Sunday at 2.30pm, Oct.–April, at Théâtre du Châtelet. Conductor: Gabriel Pierné. Office at 13, Rue de Tocqueville.
Concerts Sechiari	n/a	Sunday at 3pm, twice a month, Oct.–April, at Théâtre Marigny. Conductor: Pierre Sechiari.
Concerts de la Schola Cantorum	1894	Concerts 'regularly in winter'.
Concerts Rouge	n/a	Concerts 'regularly in winter' at 6, Rue de Tournon.
Concerts Touche	n/a	Concerts 'regularly in winter' at 25, Boulevard de Strasbourg.

[345] Much of this information on ticket prices and concert details is taken from Baedeker (1913), pp. 37–38.

Table 7.9: Cafés-Concerts

No.	*Name*	*Address*	*Notes*
1	Alcazar d'Été	Avenue des Champs-Élysées, 8e arr.	Open in summer. Opened c. 1860
2	Bataclan	50, Boulevard Voltaire, 11e arr.	Named as 'Ba-ta-Clan' in Baedeker. Opened 1865, 1500 seats
3	Concert des Ambassadeurs	Avenue des Champs-Élysées, 8e arr.	Open in summer
4	Cigale (La Cigale)	120, Boulevard de Rochechouart, 18e arr.	Winter resort. Opened 1887, 1389 seats
5	Concert Mayol	10, Rue de l'Échiquier, opposite Rue de Mazagran, 10e arr.	Winter resort
6	Eldorado	4, Boulevard de Strasbourg, 10e arr.	Winter resort
7	Étoile Palace (also called 'Salle Wagram')	39 bis, Avenue de Wagram, 17e arr.	Winter resort
8	Gaîté-Rochechouart	15, Boulevard de Rochechouart, 18e arr.	Winter resort
9	Jardin de Paris	Avenue des Champs-Élysées, 8e arr.	Open in summer. Baedeker: 'covered in case of rain' (p. 39)
10	Petit-Casino	12, Boulevard Montmartre, 9e arr.	Winter resort
11	Scala	13, Boulevard de Strasbourg, 10e arr.	Baedeker: 'winter resort…with a hall unroofed in summer'. (p. 39). Opened 1874. Turned into a cinema in 1936.

Table 7.10: Cabarets artistiques: 'These are the descendants of the famous Cabaret du Chat-Noir', which was open between 1881 and 1897[346]

No.	*Name*	*Address*	*Notes*
1	Aristide-Bruant	84, Boulevard Rochechouart, 18e arr.	
2	Boîte à Fursy	58, Rue Pigalle, 9e arr.	Baedeker: 'fashionable; fauteuils 10 and 8 fr.; political songs' (p. 40).
3	Cabaret de l'Enfer	53, Boulevard de Clichy, 18e arr.	A 'Cabarets Illusionnistes' (Baedeker, p. 40).
4	Cabaret du Ciel	53, Boulevard de Clichy, 18e arr.	
5	Cabaret du Néant	34, Boulevard de Clichy, 18e arr.	
7	La Lune-Rousse	36, Boulevard de Clichy, 18e arr.	Now Théâtre de Dix Heures. Opened in 1890, seats 140.
8	Noctambules	7, Rue Champollion, 5e arr.	Baedeker: 'frequented by students' (p. 40).
9	La Pie qui Chante	159, Rue Montmartre, 9e arr.	
10	Quart'z-Arts	62, Boulevard de Clichy, 18e arr.	

[346] Baedeker, p. 40.

Table 7.11: Performance venues according to arrondissement

Arrondissement	*Number of theatres*	*Music Halls*	*Concert Rooms (Salles)*	*Cafés-concerts*	*Cabarets*
1	3 (all large theatres)	0	0	0	0
2	3	0	1	0	0
3	1	0	0	0	0
4	1	0	0	0	0
5	1 ('other' theatre)	0	0	0	1
6	1	0	0	0	0
7	0	0	0	0	0
8	3	1	1	3	0
9	7	2	1	1	2
10	6 (all large theatres)	0	0	3	0
11	1 (small theatre)	1	0	1	0
17	1 ('other')	0	0	1	0
18	1 ('other')	1	1	2	7

Table 7.12: The use of the ascending and descending lift, manipulating the cinematic temporality

Time in film[347]	*Scene narrative*
3'10	Lift ascending, in 'real' time
5'35	Lift ascending again, in quickened time. Skipping some of the floors, the lift arrives at the ground floor quicker than reality: subversion of reality into spectacle
7'45	Lift descending through each floor in real time, while Fantômas changes into the lift attendant's uniform, ready to trick the concierge and get away with his theft of the Princess's money and pearls. Reverting from the fantasy, 'spectacle' time into real time: yet, the repetition of the scene makes the feeling of reality slip away

[347] Time references are based upon the 2006 re-mastered DVD release.

Table 7.13: Other experiences of time and temporal fluidity in the first *Fantômas* film

Reference point in film (chronological order)	*Character involved*	*Action / Time*
13'02	Inspector Juve: letter from the Chef de la Surêté	Date printed on letter is first indication of the past being seen in the present: 5 June 1911, two years earlier than the film release
13'55	Scene cuts to the villa of Lady Beltham in Neilly	No indication of when, what time of day, and how much time has passed since the first incident with Princess Sonia Danidoff: ambiguous passage of time
23'00	Juve & Gurn	'For several long weeks, Gurn could not be found': indication of a rapid passage of time in the same time of an audience-experienced second
24'43	Gurn condemned to death	'Six Months Later': again, rapid passage of time among scenes of silent dialogue
43'39	Lady Beltham	The use of a pocket watch: a concrete, visual symbol of time, used with a close-up shot to indicate that Lady B. would like an unspecified amount of time alone with theatre actor Valgrand (dressed as Gurn)

Table 7.14: Analysis of *Jeux*'s temporal form

Section	*Bar no.*	*Time sig.*	*Key sig.*	*Notes & expression*	*Stage action*
Prélude: A	1–4, 5–8	4/4	3 #	*Très lent*, crotchet = 52. An introductory b#–c#–d# chromatic figure in harps and horns, over a b in the lower strings, leads to main figure A in bar 5: chords made of all the notes of the whole tone scale, stated in inversions	
B	9–42	3/8	3 #	*Scherzando (Tempo initial)*. a–a#–a in bass and cellos. A descending chromatic semiquaver figure is heard that becomes the second half of B in the main section	
A	42–46	4/4	3 #	Repeat of the 'whole tone' chords ends the *Prélude*	
Main section: B	47–83	3/8	3 #	*Tempo initial: Scherzando e molto grazioso*. First statement of a two-bar recurring ascending semiquaver figure (B1) and another two-bar descending figure (B2). At bars 68–74, a chromatic descending scale mimics the movement of the ball thrown on stage	*Le Rideau se lève sur le parc vide*. Bar 70: *Une balle de tennis tombe sur la scène*. Bar 74: *Un jeune homme, en costume de tennis, la raquette haute, traverse la scène en bondissant*
C	84–99	3/8	3 #	*Au mouvement*. Characterised by chromatic a–b♭–b trill in violins	*Du fond, à gauche, apparaissent deux jeunes filles craintives et curieuses*
C'	100–105	3/8	3 #	Repetition of C with added ascending chromatic demisemiquaver figure in clarinets	*Pendant un moment, elles semblent ne chercher qu'un endroit favorable aux confidences*
D	106–113	3/8	3 #	*Sans rigueur, doux et expressif*. Sweeping quaver figure, a–a ♭–a♭–c in violins	

D’	114–117	3/8	3 #	Repeated quaver figure, a tone up: b–bb–bb–d	
B	118–129	3/8	3 #	Repetition of B, including both ascending and descending figures of the melody, which retains same pitch (starting on d# ascending to b) and rhythm, orchestrated less sparsely, with melody heard on flute and oboe	
E1	130–137	3/8	3 #	E, made of two short repeating phrases, E1 and E2. Ascending dotted semiquavers in upper strings (e#–f#–g#–b), which shifts the sense of the temporal beat (shifting weight of the beats to 4 rather than 3 per bar) and creating a sense of forward-moving momentum, further created by the *molto crescendo*	
E2	138–156	3/8	3 #	*Tempo (sans rigueur)*. Texture drops back to a sparse, violin pizzicato on d#–d#–d#–d–b. *Diminuendo* and *retenu* at end of section, as music drops away before repeating	*Une des deux jeunes filles danse seule*
E2	157–167	3/8	3 #	Repeated figure in all strings, creating a fuller texture, ends with *diminuendo* and *cedez*	*L’autre jeune fille danse à son tour*
E2’	168–173	3/8	3 #	*Rubato*. Repetition of E, this time on b#–b#–b#–c#	
F	174–181	3/8	3 #	*Rubato*. Dotted chromatic figure on solo flute	
B’	182–185	3/8	3 #	Brief reappearance of B ascending figure on the flutes and clarinets	
F	186–195	3/8	3 #	Repetition of 174, exact notes and rhythm, this time with pizz. strings accompaniment. *Reprendre peu à peu le mouvt.*	

G	196–223	3/8	3 #	Characterised by increasingly fragmentary material, creating sense of impending climatic moment, which mirrors the stage action. Also mirrored in the changing tempo: *Très marqué, cédez un peu – Mouvt. – Cédez un peu – Mouvt. – Retenu – Mouvt. – Serrez un peu – Mouvt. (sans rigueur) – Retenu.* Consists of two phrases, which repeat themselves, creating more fragmentary section	*Les jeunes filles s'arrêtent interloquées par un bruit de feuilles remuées…* Bar 196: *On aperçoit le jeune homme au fond, à gauche, qui semble se cacher…il les suit dans leurs mouvements, à travers les branches, il s'arrête en face d'elles… Elles commencent par vouloir fuir…mais il les ramène doucement…et leur fait une nouvelle invitation…*
H	224–225	3/4	6 #	*Tempo. Doux et caressant.* Harmonically non-functioning descending chordal chains: chords create texture and rhythmic contrast and sudden cut-off from previous material. New key sig. and time sig. give sense of the beginning of a new episodic group	*Il commence à dancer…*
I	226–244	3/8	6 #	*Mouvt. (sans rigueur).* Cuts to a rhythmic agitated new section, with *crescendo* and chromaticism	*La première jeune fille court vers lui*
H	245–246	3/4	6 #	Cuts back to return of H, repeated in with fuller orchestration. *Pianissimo, soutenu et expressif*	*Il dansent ensemble*
I	247–263	3/8	6 #	Almost complete repeat of I. Changes of tempo: *Mouvt. – Rubato – Mouvt. – Cédez – Mouvt. – Cédez – Cédez – Mouvt. – Très retenu*	*Il lui demande un baiser… Elle s'échappe… Nouvelle demande. Elle s'échappe…et le rejoint, consentante*
J	264–283	3/8	6 #	*Au mouvt. (plus alangui).* New melodic figure: dotted quaver – semiquaver – quaver, in woodwind	

K	284–289	2/4	No sharps or flats	An agitated section, *assez animé, ironique et léger, piano*. Pizz. strings and bassoon. In violins, c#-c#-c#-d# repeated from E in different rhythm and orchestration	*Dépit et légère jalousie de la seconde jeune fille*
J	290–293	3/8	6 #	*Passionnément, forte*. K interrupted by repeat of part of J	*Les deux autres restent dans leur amoureuse extase*
K	294–300	2/4	No sharps or flats	J interrupted by repeat of K. In violins, notes c#-c#-c#-d# repeated from figure E in different rhythm and orchestration	
L	301—330	3/8	No sharps or flats	*Animez peu à peu*. Discordant and chromatic. A sense of agitated momentum	*Danse ironqiue et moqueuse de la seconde jeune fille*
M	331–355	3/8	5 ♭	*Mouvement de Valse*; change of rhythmic time. Waltz mirrors the dancing of the characters on stage. Diatonicism. Ascending – descending semiquaver figure in clarinet	*Le jeune homme a suivi cette dernière danse par curiosité d'abord, y prenant ensuite un intérêt particulier; il abandonne bientôt la première jeune fille, ne pouvant résister au désir de danser avec l'autre… 'C'est ainsi que nous danserons.' 'Ne vous moquez pas moi'*
N	356–375	3/8	3 ♭	*Joyeux*. Sweeping ascending semiquaver figures and chromatic quaver figure: b–c–b–b♭–a–g#–g–c	*Ils dansent ensemble… Leur danse se fait plus tendre*
O	376–385	3/4	No sharps or flats		*La jeune fille s'échappe et va se cacher derrière un bouquet d'arbres*
P (M')	386–394	3/8	3 ♭	*Revenir progressivement au Mouvt. de Valse*. Melodic figure in the woodwind is (almost) an inverse of the shape of the melodic figure in M (descending – ascending semiquavers): might be termed M' instead of P	*Disparu un moment, ils reviennent presqu'aussitôt, le jeune homme poursuivant la jeune fille*

N’	395–401	3/8	3 ♭	*Jouyeux.* Melodic figure of N repeated in different orchestration	*Ils dansent de nouveau tous les deux*
J’	402–423	3/8	3 ♭	*En animant progressivement.* Echo of earlier dotted rhythm from J	
E 1’	424–427	3/8	3 ♭	Similar rhythmic material repeated, 4 ascending dotted semiquavers in 3/8 time	
Q	428	4/8	3 ♭	Cadenza-like descending chromatic figure on violin. *Mouvement précèdent, expressif et éperdu*	*Dans l’emportement de leur danse, ils n’ont pas remarqué l’attitude d’abord inquiète, puis chagrine, de la première jeune fille qui tenant son visage entre les mains veut s’enfuir. Sa compagne essaie en vain de la retenir : elle ne vue rien entendre*
R	434–453	3/4	5 #	*Très modéré, doux et expressif.* d#–e–g–f#, similar phrase shape to B’, although different notes, rhythm, orchestration, tempo, time sig. and key sig.	*La seconde jeune fille réussit à la prendre dans ses bras*
S	454–	3/8	No sharps or flats	*Mouvt. initial.* Change of section marked by building back up of the orchestration with the strings and quaver chords on the celeste (f, a♭, b, e). Diatonicism	*Pourtant, le jeune homme intervient en écartant leurs têtes doucement. Qu’elles regardent autour d’elles : la beauté de la nuit, la joie de la lumière, tout leur conseille de se laisser aller à leur fantaisie*
B’	458–459	3/8	No sharps or flats	Appearance of the initial two-bar B figure (B1), within the context of the new S material on solo cor anglais	
S	460–465	3/8	No sharps or flats	Continuation of S material	
B’	466–471	3/8	No sharps or flats	Reappearance of the ascending figure B1 on solo cor anglais and descending figure B2 with flute and oboe	

S – E2	472–487	3/8	No sharps or flats	Continuation of S section, concluding with descending dotted semiquaver figure, a rhythmic echo of E1	
T	488–498	3/8	No sharps or flats	Tempo fluctuations: *Tempo rubato – Serrez – Tempo rubato – Serrez – Tempo rubato – Serrez*. New melody on cor anglais	
T'	499–513	3/8	3 #	*En animant – Très intense (sans presser)*. Similar melodic figure in different tempo and key area	
U / B'	514–529	3/8	5 ♭	*Mouvement initial*. Dotted rhythmic figure: rhythmic element has some similarities to B figure rhythm	
V	530–559	3/8	5 ♭	*En retenant – Plus modéré*. Ascending arpeggio figure on two harps	*Ils dansent désormais tous les trois*
W	560–577	3/8	5 ♭	*Un peu retenu – A tempo*. Dotted rhythm figure	
X	578–585	3/8	5 #	*En animant*. Similar dotted rhythm to W, with different melodic shape and pulse. All strings and woodwind. Waltz-like rhythm	
B	586–591	3/8	5 #	Return of the ascending semiquaver figure from B interrupting	
X'	592–603	3/8	5 ♭	*Toujours très intense dans l'expression*. Dotted ascending-descending scale figure from X starting on c on clarinet. Increasingly animated	
B'	604–609	3/8	3 #	*Mouvt. initial – sans presser, joyeux et léger*. Reappearance of B figure	
Y	610–	3/8	3 #	*En animant progressivement*. Increasingly animated rhythmic 4 dotted semiquavers of E	
B	618–643	3/8	No sharps or flats	Over the dotted semiquaver material of Y, we hear the ascending rhythmic melodic figure B	

Z	644–651	3/8	No sharps or flats	*Violent*. a–a♭–a♭–a figure repeated, descending chromatically	
Z'	652–675	3/8	No sharps or flats	*Violent*. Repeated figure, increasing sense of animation and momentum	
X'	676–687	3/4	6 #	Cuts away to new section, with rhythmic echo of X. Tempo changes: *Très modéré – Retenu – Serrez un peu – A tempo. Doux et retenu – perdendosi:* fades away to nothing	
B	688–700	3/8	No sharps or flats	*Mouvt. initial.* Repeated music from the first time the ball fell on stage (B). Descending glissando and scale. End of main section, with two bars silence before postlude	*Une balle de tennis tombe a leurs pied…surpris et effrayés, ils se sauvent en bondissant, et disparaissent dans les profondeurs du parc nocturne*
Postlude: A	701–708	4/4	3 #	*Mouvt. du Prélude*, *pianissimo, très doux*. Return of the 'whole tone' chords: a clear echo of the opening *Prélude*	

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