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I, Christopher Hill, hereby submit this original work as part of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Musical Arts in Conducting, Orchestral Emphasis.

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Art Nouveau and the Symphony during the Fin-de-Siècle: The Intersection of the Arts in Paris and Vienna

Student's name: **Christopher Hill**

This work and its defense approved by:

Committee chair: Jonathan Kregor, PhD

Committee member: Mark Gibson, MM

Committee member: Jeongwon Joe, PhD



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Art Nouveau and the Symphony during the Fin-de-Siècle: The Intersection of the Arts in Paris and Vienna

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By

Christopher Hill

M.M., University of Michigan, Orchestral Conducting (2005)
B.M., Michigan State University, Double Bass Performance (2001)

Advisor: Prof. Mark Gibson

Reader: Dr. Jeongwon Joe

Reader: Dr. Jonathan Kregor

ABSTRACT

This interdisciplinary document examines the intersection of art and music during the fin-de-siècle in Paris and Vienna, with particular emphasis on the convergence of Art Nouveau with the symphonic genre. It relates the more fluid Art Nouveau of Paris with the more geometric *Jugendstil* and *Sezessionstil* styles of Art Nouveau that emerged in Vienna, and explores the reciprocal influence of each in the development of the symphony during the fin-de-siècle. Four symphonic works that span the height of the Art Nouveau era are examined in detail, including the Symphony in B-flat major (1890) by Ernest Chausson (1855–1899), the Symphony No. 3 in B-flat major (1897) by Alexander von Zemlinsky (1871–1942), the Symphony No. 2 in B-flat major (1902–3) by Vincent d’Indy (1851–1931), and the Symphony No. 7 (1904–5) by Gustav Mahler (1860–1911). Through an analysis of the shared Art Nouveau characteristics of each, a new lens for understanding and contextualizing these works is proposed.

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CHAPTER I:

ART NOUVEAU AND THE FIN-DE-SIÈCLE IN PARIS AND VIENNA

Introduction

If the study of the Viennese symphony during the fin-de-siècle (1884–1910) has neared oversaturation, an examination of its relationship to the works of Art Nouveau during the same period most certainly has not. Similarly, the study of Art Nouveau as it relates to music during the fin-de-siècle of Paris is almost never centered around the symphonic genre, but rather typically explored through more intimate works of smaller scope by composers such as Claude Debussy (1862–1918), inevitably the first composer to garner such comparisons. Indeed, the symphony as a strict genre had waned even throughout inspired, classicist Vienna; even as Gustav Mahler (1860–1911) began his symphonic odyssey and Anton Bruckner (1824–1896) had completed his, popular music such as the operetta and program music through the opera, drama, and symphonic poem dominated the concert hall.

The symphonies of Paris and Vienna during the fin-de-siècle encompass a broad variety of works, schools and styles. Although the techniques of their composition differ based on these elements, there nevertheless exist many similarities amongst a pocket of works that have long defied proper examination and categorization, similarities that are shared with the geographic localizations of Art Nouveau in each location. In fact, the four works that this paper will examine—Ernest Chausson's (1855–1899) *Symphony in B-flat* (1890), Vincent d'Indy's (1851–1931) *Symphony No. 2* (1902–03), Alexander Zemlinsky's (1871–1942) *Symphony No. 3 in B-flat* (1897), and Gustav Mahler's *Symphony No. 7* (1904–05)—are scarcely programmed when compared alongside their contemporaries.

In the century that has passed since the fin-de-siècle, capitalism and materialism has changed the way that the public approaches the appreciation of art and the way that its inventors approach its creation. Today, in an era of specialization, rigid distinctions between disciplines draw a line in the sand

between the study of art and music. Even within these branches, sub-disciplines, such as musicology, theory, and performance, have continued to grow further apart in a way that endangers the preservation of their shared roots. The shared tree-trunk from which both art and music were born—particularly during the fin-de-siècle in Paris and Vienna—is one that is worthy of preservation.

As these relationships were born out of the human condition, they mirror the inconsistencies of chance meetings, haphazard encounters, and free-form collaboration between artists. Their study is anything but scientific. Yet the approach grew increasingly organized during the fin-de-siècle. An unprecedented move toward collaborations across genres became more systematized through the development of performance venues such as the salon and the café. Cross-disciplinary exchanges, once confined to informal letters and chance meetings, developed into organized exhibitions, performances and discussions, even if the atmosphere was still informal.

With an increase in upward mobility, the concept of a shared tree-trunk, born out of a fusion of Renaissance zeal for man's zeal for deep, cross-disciplinary knowledge and the Greco-Roman search for balance in athleticism, arts, and intellect became more widely adopted by the public. Just as artistic collaboration became more widespread, so did an increased interest in the arts by the general population. While for some time the sparse and often un-public nature of these collaborations were difficult to quantify, they grew increasingly more public and more common through the late Art Nouveau period and the era of Modernism that directly followed it. Most famously, these intersections are formalized in the relationships of Gustav Mahler and Alfred Roller (1864–1935), Arnold Schoenberg (1874–1951) and Wassily Kandinsky (1866–1944), and Igor Stravinsky (1882–1971) and Pablo Picasso (1881–1973).

If we view art as a product of the time in which it was created, the predominant influence was one of reaction to the Industrial Revolution, along with other cultural, political, and economic factors. The humanistic struggle to comprehend the changes that were taking place in terms of the Industrial Revolution were of critical importance to how we view Art Nouveau; as a reaction, artists carved dragonflies from wrought-ironwork and decorated subway entrances in golden metallic flowing plant

tendrils. The crisis of naturalism and the attempt to reconcile the meaning of life in an anti-naturalistic world manifested itself as far away as the Art Nouveau style of typefaces that emerged at the time. Amongst oppositional forces, it was hoped that through Art Nouveau some sense of balance could be redeemed through nature.

Paris, the definitive cosmopolitan center of the fin-de-siècle, was not only the place for opera but all things *Nouveau*. Old Vienna, classical in taste and conservative in style, despite the surface popularity of the untroubled operetta, was nevertheless rooted in the more classical traditions of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. These characteristics reflect and embody the cultures of the two cities of the time, just as the art born from these two locales became their legacy. Even contrast between linguistic differences is evident in comparison between the German-language, forward-looking yet classicist-inspired geometry of Viennese Art Nouveau when juxtaposed against the flowing Parisian whiplash line, a signifier of its naturalism.

Literature Review

Though a large body of literature exists exploring the cross-pollination of music and Art Nouveau, its focus typically centers on a single geographic location or a single composer. Others, such as the monograph *Fin-de-siècle Vienna* (1961) by Carl Schorske, emphasize socio-cultural and historical aspects but in their encompassing approach lack musical depth. Studies exclusive to *Jugendstil* have fared better in this regard, including explorations of Lieder and opera by Hugo Wolf (1860–1903), Alexander Zemlinsky (1871–1942), Franz Schreker (1878–1934) and even Arnold Schoenberg (1874–1951). In terms of methodology, work in this category has historically relied on literature to mediate the connection between visual art and music. This includes the monograph *German Modernism* (2005) by Walter Frisch¹, who uses this method to explore technical and structural ideas that relate *Jugendstil* with music. In a previous article that Frisch draws upon for *German Modernism*, he connects *Jugendstil* with abstraction, indicating that “there is considerable evidence that ideas about music were a force behind the aesthetic of *Jugendstil*, especially the movement's tendency toward abstract design.”²

The seminal works that relate music with Art Nouveau are two collections that date from a period of heightened activity and interest in academic, cross-disciplinary Art Nouveau and *Jugendstil* publications between 1970 and 1985: *Musik und Jugendstil* (1975) by Hans Hollander,³ and the collection *Art Nouveau, Jugendstil und Musik* (1980) edited by Jürg Stenzl.⁴ The latter contains essays in German, French and English, including *Musik und Jugendstil* (1980) by Carl Dahlhaus that Frisch draws upon for his work. Sixteen papers published in *Miscellanea Musicologica*, “Art Nouveau and Jugendstil and the Music of the Early 20th Century” (1984)⁵ provide further avenues for exploration, including a notable discussion of temporality and Art Nouveau included in William W. Austin’s “The Rhythms of Satie and Oriental

¹ Walter Frisch, *German Modernism: Music and the Arts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

² Walter Frisch, “Music and Jugendstil,” *Critical Inquiry* 17, no. 1 (1990): 143.

³ Hans Hollander, *Musik und Jugendstil* (Zürich: Atlantis-Verlag, 1975).

⁴ Anna Amalie Abert, Willi Schuh, and Jürg Stenzl, ed., *Art Nouveau, Jugendstil und Musik* (Zürich: Atlantis, 1980).

⁵ Andrew D. McCredie, ed., *Art Nouveau and Jugendstil and the Music of the Early 20th Century* (Adelaide: University of Adelaide, 1984).

Timelessness,”⁶ as well as two articles that argue against comparison by Reinhold Brinkmann⁷ and Frits Noske. Noske’s arguments, rooted in linguistics, are summarized here:

Any attempt to establish analogies in musical structure is doomed to fail. The musician has no equivalent for the linguistic concept of syntax; he may create new sounds but no new significations. He has no choice of tenses; his discourse is a continuous present participle. Nor can he apply specific sonorous devices, because his language is nothing but pure sound.⁸

So, while both Noske and Brinkmann acknowledge a shared socio-cultural context, they underscore the leanings of Carl Dahlhaus, who argues that the careless comparison of technical aspects between art and music create distortion:

True, there is a distinct if virtually ineffable tie between Jugendstil and the Viennese Secession, on the one hand, and many works by Mahler, Schönberg, Zemlinsky, and Schreker on the other, but we cannot pinpoint it technically without doing interpretive injustice to these pieces.⁹

Notwithstanding the valid difficulties raised by Dahlhaus, it is worth mentioning that it is he himself who credits the Wagnerian *Gesamtkunstwerk* and its popularity in France as the fertile soil from which the Art Nouveau movement blossomed.¹⁰ Several essays in the more recent collection *The Arts Entwined* (2000) contain fresh methodological perspectives that can be applied to assist in confronting the challenges that Dahlhaus raises, including “The New *Paragone*” by Philippe Junod.

⁶ William W. Austin, “The Rhythms of Satie and Oriental Timelessness”, in *Art Nouveau and Jugendstil and the Music of the Early 20th Century*, ed. Andrew D. McCredie (Adelaide: University of Adelaide, 1984), 97.

⁷ Reinhold Brinkmann, “On the Problems of establishing Jugendstil as a Category in the History of Music with a negative plea”, in *Art Nouveau and Jugendstil and the Music of the Early 20th Century*, ed. Andrew D. McCredie (Adelaide: University of Adelaide, 1984), 19.

⁸ Frits Noske, “Visible and Audible Art Nouveau: The Limits of Comparison,” in *Art Nouveau and Jugendstil and the Music of the Early 20th Century*, ed. Andrew D. McCredie (Adelaide: University of Adelaide, 1984), 15.

⁹ Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 332.

¹⁰ Carl Dahlhaus, “Musik und Jugendstil,” in *Art Nouveau, Jugendstil, und Musik*, ed. Jürg Stenzl (Zürich: Atlantis, 1980), 73-88.

Political and Cultural Context: Paris and Vienna

Paris

The politics and culture of Paris and Vienna between 1884 and 1914 were similar in their framing from the events of a large, global scale. This was despite a significant population imbalance between the two cities; by 1891, Paris was the second largest city in the world after London, with a population of around 2.4 million,¹¹ far exceeding that of Vienna. The first major event of international significance during this time was the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871), which ended with the defeat of the French. The second, of more global scope, was World War I (1914–1918). Examining the politics, economics, and culture both between and surrounding these two world events in each place give the art context for comprehension. These same events also frame the period of the Art Nouveau (1884–1910). Known in popular culture today as a city of romance, Paris was anything but during the *fin-de-siècle*:

Raymond Abellio, born in 1907 into a modest family home in a suburb of Toulouse: two rooms for his parents and grandparents, two for his father's sister and her husband. No electricity, no gas, just candles and petrol lamps; no running water, but a public fountain a hundred yards away; no windows, only the door to let in light and air. In their apartment the fire burned in the hearth all year round, as much for light as for cooking. The uncle and aunt had a small charcoal stove, "symbol of comfort, even of luxury."¹²

As in the case of Vienna, the development of rail (ca. 1840) was arguably the most influential catalyst for the city of Paris. Not only did its development spur industrialization, but it contributed to the development of arteries that connected the countryside with the city, promoting cultural exchange as immigrants made the city their home in the hopes of greater wealth and prosperity. In his monograph *Fin de Siècle*, Eugen Weber discusses these issues, adding to them others that include: nationalization from the development of rail, universal suffrage, shortage of water, the medical condition of the population, the free press, and the servant and labor problem (including foreign labor). Additionally, Weber cites the problem of *Français* (ca. 1856), in which the fear of foreign English words 'infecting' the French language

¹¹ Colin Jones, *Paris: Biography of a City* (New York: Viking, 2005).

¹² Eugen Weber, *France, Fin de Siècle* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press, 1986), 53.

became widespread.¹³ The climactic Dreyfus affair (beginning ca. 1894) would later symbolize this age filled with silent rage and anxiety, reflecting the density of critical issues, changes and developments to life in France during such a compressed time-span. The glamorization of crime contributed to its rise, particularly in literary and fashionable circles. Fashion itself continued to play an important role in the life of the upper classes. The corset in itself was a huge industry. In terms of fashion, “new, more slender lines, though honored largely in the breach until the 1920’s, were to affect other aspects of feminine apparel.”¹⁴

To completely understand the city during this time, however, it is necessary to explore the events of the previous century. Beginning with the storming of the Bastille (1789), the French Revolution (1789–99) provides a good foundation with which to understand fin-de-siècle Paris. It was during this time that the absolute monarchy which had ruled France collapsed in just three years, culminating with the execution of Louis XIV (1792). Until this time, there was substantial differentiation between the classes. After a brief period of unrest, Napoleon Bonaparte quickly rose to power (1795). Through a combination of willpower and brute force, Napoleon cemented himself in power through successful expeditions in Italy (1796–97) and Egypt (1798–1801). He viewed Paris as a new Rome, and crowned himself Emperor in 1804. Growing hubris caused the annihilation of his army (1813) during a severe Russian winter. When the Russian and Austrian armies invaded France (1813–14), the city of Paris fell to the Prussians as a result.

Parisian turmoil continued as a reaction to these events. Between 1814 and 1830, the monarchy in France was restored via Louis XVIII (1755–1824) and Charles X (1757–1836). But the dissolution of the free press, voting rights, and the parliamentary body of the *Chambre des Deputies* by Charles resulted in further instability. In 1830, Louis Philippe (1773–1850) began an eighteen-year reign. During this time (1830–1848), public discord continued with population growth that paralleled the development of rail. When French troops fired into a crowd of demonstrators on February 22, 1848, Louis Philippe relinquished the throne, and his position was eliminated. That same year, Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte (1808–1873), was elected

¹³ Weber, 6.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 99.

president. His reign as Napoleon III was initiated (1851) in a *coup d'état*. The nephew of the great emperor became the leader of a period known as the Second Republic.

It was during this time and under the leadership of Napoleon III that Paris in its modern form was created. Inspired by urban development in a visit to London, Napoleon III made the decision to appoint “Baron” Georges-Eugène Haussmann (1809–1891) to the Seine prefect (1853–1870). His tenure is most memorable for the *Haussmann Plan*, an urban modernization model for Paris. Many of the seeds for the Haussmann plan could be found in the Commission of Artists, a group charged with the demolition and organization of a new urban Paris organized by Napoleon I under the shadow of the French Revolution. In particular, this proposition involved the widening of the Paris Boulevards (1794), helping to influence the turn toward industrialization.

Haussmann, often viewed as aloof and calculating, ignited great controversy through the scope of the project, so much so that he inspired the opera *Les Contes des Hoffmann* (1879–80) by Jacques Offenbach (1819–1880). Hoffmann, a word play for Haussmann, was inspired by his real-life *Doppelgänger* in character. The plot deals with the expropriation of owners who refused to give up their houses to the project, which had a significant influence on Parisian daily life. Narrow alleys that had not changed since medieval times were suddenly replaced with wide boulevards. In the final years of his reign, Haussmann annexed the outside suburbs of Paris into *arrondissements*, districts that caused further population growth and contributed to a growing delineation of social imbalance between the deprived east and aristocratic west. Richard Derderian explores this idea in his essay “The *Banlieues* as *Lieux de mémoire*: Urban Space, Memory, and Identity in France”:

...from the early nineteenth century the East/West division of Paris reflected and helped reinforce the left/right, working-class/élite divide in the capital. Street names, monuments, and various political processions were the symbolic markers and commemorative acts that reified this divide and anchored it in the collective conscious of the left and right.¹⁵

¹⁵ Pierre Lagayette, Christian Huetz de Lemps, and Jean-Claude Redonnet, *Géopolitique et mondialisation: la relation Asie du Sud-Est/Europe: actes du colloque de Singapour* September 1999 (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2003), 108.

Aside from his highly successful sewer system, Haussmann's initiatives were widely condemned as bleak and monotonous, and funding began to erode with the financial crisis that began in the 1860s. The renovations were increasingly viewed by the population as exaggerated in ambition and having "paralyzed" the city. Yet Haussmann's own somewhat naturalistic conceptualization of the city stood in stark contrast to the functionalism of his architecture. Quite uniquely, he viewed the city "as a body, with lungs, bowels" and "arteries."¹⁶ His urban planning also dictated aesthetics: "Haussmann's guidelines were neoclassical, striving for compatibility with existing structures and forms while setting new architectural standards."¹⁷ Yet his ideas, described as "bureaucratic harmony," had more to do with achieving "a uniformity of aesthetics and scale he imposed upon Paris" in order to give the city "harmony and proportion, qualities all too lacking in most urban landscapes."¹⁸

The divide between the classes continued to increase in Paris through the initiatives of Haussmann, particularly with the rise of immigration and population increases due to annexation, which peaked around 1860. As the population increased due to the influx of immigrants and the annexation of outer boroughs, the gap between the rich and the poor continued to widen, and governmental fiscal problems increased. Combined with food shortages and military failures, the majority of the population was in a state of widespread discontent. Yet, a belle époque opulence completely divorced from the lower classes continued to strengthen among the élite.

In Paris, the culture of the café, traditionally aligned with the proletariat, began to become increasingly integrated with the upper-classes, a central theme of Art Nouveau:

By the mid 1870s, the resurgent republican movement adopted the café and its owner as yet further victims of imperial, royalist, and rightist despotism. The rehabilitation of the café, which embodied not only the virtues of free enterprise but also the freedoms of speech and assembly, figured nicely in their overall program.¹⁹

¹⁶ David P. Jordan, *Transforming Paris: the Life and Labors of Baron Haussmann* (New York: The Free Press, 1995), 295.

¹⁷ Roxanne Panchasi, *Future Tense: The Culture of Anticipation in France between the Wars* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2009), 57.

¹⁸ Jordan, 359.

¹⁹ W. Scott Haine, *The World of the Paris Café* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 12.

It seems ironic that both Paris and Vienna, mortal enemies during the belle époque, the cultural differences of which continue to shape modern thought, both shared the idea of the café and the salon. Following the Treaty of Frankfurt (1870), a “truce, not a peace,”²⁰ the French lived under the constant threat of war with the “official” German enemy. This threat culminated with two distinct climaxes: the first with Germany in 1887, and the second against Britain in Africa.²¹

The Paris Commune significantly shaped the Parisian reality leading into the Art Nouveau period. It was the first governance of the working class during the city, if only for a brief reign of three months, from March 28, 1871 to May 28, 1871. The lower classes had long supported a democratic republic. Smaller French towns, governed by election, served as a model in this regard. The popular appeal was for “*la république démocratique et sociale!*” (“the democratic and social republic!”) Despite the fact that they started well, especially with regard to their organization of public services, the Communards failed to seize the assets of the central bank. This mistake coupled with their “excessive magnanimity” was viewed by Lenin as the chief reason for their downfall.²² It is interesting to note that Montmartre, the area that would eventually give rise to the café and cabaret that included such archetypes as *Le Chat Noir*, was one of the safe-holds for cannons stored during the invasion of the Prussians.

Later, several events of national significance would cast a specter of racism and cynicism over France. Although construction did not begin until 1904, the groundwork for the Panama Canal had already been laid in 1892, the same year in which a massive corruption amongst the French Third Republic surfaced. This included the so-called Panama Affair of the same year, in which over 500 members of Parliament were accused of accepting bribes from developer Ferdinand de Lesseps (1805 – 1894) in 1888, in order to silence massive corruption.

Since 1806, Napoleon Bonaparte had advocated equality for Jews through legislation, eventually adding it as an official religion of France (1807), only to later rescind many of these changes (1808). Those

²⁰ Weber, 105.

²¹ Ibid., 105.

²² Vladimir I. Lenin, *Toward the Seizure of Power* (Gardners Books, 2007), 241.

rollbacks included the annulment of Jewish debt in order to facilitate their integration within French society. Later, 40,000 Algerian Jews were granted French citizenship by the Crémieux decrees (1870). Unable to overthrow the Third Republic, the opposition became anti-Semitic in their leanings; one such result was a growing movement that targeted Jewish military officers.

The Dreyfus Affair (ca. 1894–1906) was unfortunately a perfect example in this regard, and proved to be an event not unique in its demonstration of Parisian anti-Semitism. Fueled in part by the backlash against the rising tide of Zionism, the arrest of Captain Alfred Dreyfus (1859–1935) in the autumn of 1894 exemplified the dark side of French nationalism. Accused of treason, Dreyfus was framed for the passing of military documents to German forces. Found guilty by a military tribunal, he was sent to the French penal colony Cayenne in South America.²³ The scandal was unprecedented not only in its divisiveness of the population but also for its reach within the military. Colonel Georges Picquart (1854–1914), who suspected Major Ferdinand Walsin Esterhazy (1847–1923), was reassigned in a further military conspiracy (1897). As a result, the country effectively split in two; for the idealistic right, military “justice” should not have been questioned, and the “Dreyfusards” on the left continued to raise the issue until his exoneration in 1906.

²³ Brian Moynahan, *The French Century: An Illustrated History of Modern France* (Paris: Flammarion, 2007), 36.

Vienna

Nearly eight-hundred miles to the east of Paris, Vienna had experienced a number of similar political and cultural developments. Yet unlike Paris, its strong classical roots continued to grasp the foundation of the city. Furthermore, despite integration and migration, the population of Vienna was still much smaller, even though it had more than doubled since 1857 to 1.3 million.²⁴ In contrast to the increasingly cosmopolitan and globally awakened Paris, the provincial attitudes of the Viennese reinforced the poor economic conditions of much of the country:

The economic difficulties of Vienna in the 1870s and 80s, the reactionary Viennese adherence to artisan and shopkeeper traditions (and therefore the city's relative economic, commercial and industrial backwardness by comparison with Berlin and London) and the consequences of rapid migration to the city had, by the late 1880s, spawned radical reactionary political attitudes, skillfully exploited by the Christian socialism of Karl Lueger (who would become the powerful mayor of the city in 1897, despite monarchical reluctance).²⁵

Yet the Viennese had reason to be cautious of their neighbors; the forces of Napoleon Bonaparte had captured Vienna on not one but two occasions, the first in 1805 and the second in 1809. It was following his defeat in 1814 and 1815 that the Congress of Vienna took place. The goals of the Congress were to resolve issues related to the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire. Additionally, the Congress sought to de-emphasize the rights that had been brought to the foreground during the French Revolution. The results of the Congress preserved the balance of power in Europe, preventing another war on the continent for nearly a century. Although a failed series of nationalist revolutions between 1848 and 1849 threatened the existence of the Habsburg Empire, its conservatism prevailed in spite of the populist liberal sentiment. The noted author Carl Schorske describes what he terms the "Austrian Cultural Inheritance," one that would have significant bearing on its art and culture:

Part aristocratic, Catholic, and aesthetic, part bourgeois, legalist, and rationalist, with which the makers of the fin-de-siècle culture faced their crisis of function and meaning.²⁶

²⁴ Andrew Nicholson, "Introduction" in Donald Mitchell and Andrew Nicholson, *The Mahler Companion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 9.

²⁵ Theophil Antonicek, et al., "Vienna," in Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/29326>> (accessed December 11, 2011).

²⁶ Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1979), xxviii.

The rise of intellectualism in the fin-de-siècle was an enormous influence on both Vienna and throughout the rest of the world. Freud monitored the rise of the new right,²⁷ including the Dreyfus affair. A Jewish man late to blossom into the world, Freud did not receive his first University post until age 42. The increasing global influence of world events was evidenced in his realization of the potential political fallout of events in France to affect the future course of his life. His own personal influences include Karl Lueger (1844–1910), whom Schorske describes as his “*bête noir*,” and the novelist Émile Zola (1840–1902), the author who first championed Dreyfus as a political hero (1898). It was at least in part from the psychoanalytical intellectualism that was en vogue from which the eroticism that pervaded Viennese Art Nouveau and the Expressionists that followed would emerge.

Despite its provinciality, there was a strong movement in Vienna that advocated advancement in science and its eventual replacement of religion. Part of this was a political challenge. Parliament, according to Schorske, existed in a constant state of paralysis due to social and internal conflicts. He notes that “social forces rose to challenge the liberal ascendancy,”²⁸ and that these “1860s liberals” were “neither utopians nor believers in perfectibility.”²⁹

Yet there were official and unofficial politics. Schorske describes three people of note whom he feels significantly impacted the politics of Vienna during the fin-de-siècle. These include Georg von Schöner (1842–1921), whose anti-Semitism was not shared by his entrepreneurial sister Alexandrine (1850–1919), who bought the *Theater an der Wien* (1895), with many Jews in its employ. Her purchase eventually influenced the repertoire of the house from historical classics to popular operetta.³⁰ The second political influence was Karl Lueger, who transformed an ideology of the Old Right into a new left, known as Christian Socialism.³¹ Finally, Schorske mentions Theodor Herzl (1860–1904), a Jewish man who represented “*Wollen macht frei*” (“desire makes freedom”) against the views of Anton von Schmerling

²⁷ Ibid., 185.

²⁸ Ibid., 116.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid., 123.

³¹ Ibid., 133.

(1805–1893) that encompassed “*Wissen macht frei*” (“knowledge makes freedom”). He spent early years in France, and despite his religion he was profoundly affected by a performance of Wagner’s *Tannhäuser*.³²

From the standpoint of architecture, both cities were undergoing similar transformations. Just as Paris had the urban development initiatives of Haussmann, so did Vienna have the development of the *Ringstraße*. Yet the Viennese equivalent, rooted in its rich historicism, was somewhat of a more grandiose spectacle. While the scope of the reconstruction did exceed that of the Haussmann project in Paris, both the work in Paris and Vienna could be described as the “visual representation of the values of a social class.”³³ In Paris, with the exception of the sewer system, urban development was often visible through spectacular displays not necessarily grounded in functionality, such as the Eiffel Tower (1889). In Vienna, development consisted of a more blended countenance with roots in function over appearance. Part of this was out of necessity, in order to accommodate an impending population growth that was much discussed during the time. The first city hospital opened in Vienna in 1873, and the channeling of the Danube took place in during those same years, between 1870 and 1875.

Viewed strictly from its architecture, Vienna was a city immobilized. The city “had throughout history clung to its historical points while other countries had razed their buildings to pave the way for new things.”³⁴ While the retention of a “baroque commitment to open space”³⁵ resulted in many parks and city-wide green-spaces frequented by the proletariat, the *Ringstraße* was designed to ‘glorify’ the professionals and upper classes, developed by the imperial decree of Emperor Franz Joseph I (1830–1916).

³² Ibid., 146.

³³ Ibid., 25.

³⁴ Ibid., 27.

³⁵ Ibid., 26.

The Role, Presentation and Intersection of the Arts in Paris and Vienna

Despite the many differences that led to somewhat different fin-de-siècle experiences in Paris and Vienna, there were many similarities. As already mentioned, Paris and Vienna exhibited a shared café culture, while the presentation of arts in more intimate venues, particularly the salon, rose in popularity as an alternative to the grand spectacle of French Grand Opera in Paris and the Symphony in Vienna. Such venues presented an increased opportunity for interaction between artists of diverse interests and disciplines.

As identified by John Rink, there were three types of performance promoters in the nineteenth century: institutions, amateurs, and individuals, largely for the performance of benefit concerts, which peaked in London in the 1830s.³⁶ The majority of these performances consisted of either popular music, known as the so-called “salon music,” or music rooted in the historical style of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven.³⁷ The idea of the salon appeared not only in Paris and Vienna, but across Europe:

Salons took place up and down the social ladder throughout Europe, but the most prestigious were held at the homes of upper middle-class families, many of them Jewish. Hosted by the lady of the house, they often featured extended musical performances amounting to formal concerts in which new solo or ensemble works – possibly of the lightweight nature denoted by the problematic term ‘salon music’, but more frequently of real compositional substance – could be unveiled in relative privacy before a supportive yet discerning audience. Older repertory was also performed, including such large-scale pieces as oratorios by Handel and operas by Mozart. Celebrated virtuosos appeared at the most glittering salons, sometimes ‘out of friendship for the host’¹² or, at least in Paris, in preference to truly public concert engagements. Performers derived material advantages from salon appearances, for instance by gaining pupils or by indebting their hosts to attendance at their own annual benefit concerts. However, more immediate financial rewards could be obtained by performing at private parties, which, paying up to 25 guineas in London, were highly lucrative, especially for ‘favoured performers’ who made the ‘rounds of the mansions, playing at as many as three parties a night’.³⁸

³⁶ John Rink, “The Profession of Music” in Jim Samson, *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 59.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 60.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 62.

Paris

Above all, the increasing accessibility of performances to the bourgeoisie highlights the trend of public performance in belle époque Paris. The increased accessibility of these performances was mirrored by the growing desire by the average listener to attend performances. As Gordon Anderson describes, “increasing numbers of bourgeois listeners were drawn to concerts, replacing the wealthy élite as the largest component of the Parisian musical public.”³⁹ He continues:

From the internal conflicts between those in the *Chambre des Députés* who have demanded that music be more accessible to les classes populaires and those who have preferred to protect élitist traditions and the international reputation of French music have also come various attempts to ‘return art to the people’. This has included four versions of an *Opéra Populaire* in Paris (1874; 1879–80; summer seasons in 1879–82 and 1883–4; 1900–01; and again in the late 1930s). It has also resulted in recurring efforts at decentralization, especially after 1901; the expansion of radio in the late 1930s; and the *Jeunesses Musicales* around the country in the 1940s and 50s.⁴⁰

In Paris, the principal public venues for musical performance were the opera houses. Together with the ballet, these two genres proved to be the principal musical interests of the time. The grand spectacle of the *Palais Garnier* (1875), built in the highly ornamental Beaux arts style of the Second Empire, was designed by the one-time highway architect Charles Garnier (1825–1898). Garnier, who was also the president of the *Société Centrale des Architectes*, advocated for a design that “should disguise the system’s technological and mechanical reality and be conceived in antique styles. Each should provide a lavish array of onyx, gilding, and granite.”⁴¹ His attempts to aesthetically reconcile nature and industrial development foreshadowed the eventual complete disguise of the machine in the Art Nouveau.

It was the cafés in the Montmartre *arrondissement* that were perpetually packed with large exchanges of artists. It was also in this same district that the first cabaret opened in 1881 as *Rodolphe Sallis’* “*cabaret artistique*.” Shortly after its founding, it was renamed *Le Chat Noir*, and it would eventually become the archetypal symbol for the fin-de-siècle Parisian artistic subculture. There, staff pianist Charles de Sivry

³⁹ Gordon A. Anderson, et al., “Paris,” in Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40089>> (accessed December 11, 2011).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Stephen Escritt, *Art Nouveau* (London: Phaidon, 2000), 19.

(1848–1900) invited Debussy⁴² to the keyboard, and Chausson appeared as a regular guest. *Le Chat Noir* was also frequented by Erik Satie⁴³ (1866–1925) and the artist Édouard Manet (1832–1883). Under the guise of a restaurant or nightclub, the cabaret was an informal gathering place for comedy, song, dance, and theater, in which seedy behavior was normal and its absence was cause for suspicion. If a single theme framed the culture of Paris during the fin-de-siècle, it was the culture of the cabaret, the café, and the salon, which paralleled the rise of the bourgeoisie:

More indirectly, Paris has also proved immensely stimulating for musicians seeking inspiration, fame and fortune. Cafés, journal headquarters, bookstores and private homes have provided important contexts for discussing ideas, performing music and building bonds. In the early 1880s Debussy, who came from the working class, visited daily the bourgeois home of Mme Vasnier for whom he wrote some of his best songs and whose encouragement was an important part of his early career. He met Satie at the Auberge du Clou and Proust at the Café Wéber. In the early 1890s he discussed occultist and symbolist ideas with poets and other writers at the Revue Blanche and at the bookstore, the Librairie de l'Art Indépendent. He also attended Mallarmé's Tuesday salon. In the 1920s Adrienne Monnier's bookstore and Jean Wiener's Gaya bar similarly attracted composers such as Ravel, Auric and Poulenc and singers such as Maurice Chevalier, together with Cocteau, Picasso, Tzara, Paul Poiret and others for jazz performances.⁴⁴

The walls between disciplines that often sectionalize and fragment areas of study today were then crossed on a nightly basis, as artists such as Debussy, Satie, Redon, and Monet exchanged conversations. Yet, more so than composers, it was the visual artists and authors that often displayed the most cross-disciplinary enthusiasm for another field, in this case music. Marsha Morton describes “Liszt, Mendelssohn, Chausson, Chabrier, and Debussy” as “unusual in their close contacts with painters”:⁴⁵

These collaborations reflected a musical literacy on the part of painters which was typical of nineteenth-century middle-class society. While relatively few musicians could draw or had been raised in an artistic milieu (Mendelssohn and Debussy being exceptions), most painters possessed at least a rudimentary musical education. These included, among others, Ingres (who socialized with Gounod and Cherubini), Delacroix (a close friend of Chopin and member of a musical club with Gautier, Baudelaire, Balzac, and Boissard de Boisdenier), Von Schwind, Feuerbach, and Böcklin (founding members of a vocal quartet in Rome), Klinger (a talented musician who kept a piano in his studio and corresponded with Brahms), Redon (who played the violin with Chausson in a chamber group and described himself as having been “born on a sound wave”), Fantin-Latour and Bazille (who performed four-hand piano transcriptions with Edmond Maître), and Munch (a friend of Frederick Delius). Van Gogh was unusual in having been exposed to music only as an adult; Gauguin played a little piano but preferred the guitar, which was certainly more suited to his peripatetic lifestyle.⁴⁶

⁴² Edward Lockspeiser, *Debussy. His Life and Mind* vol. I (London: Cassell, 1962), 64.

⁴³ Steven Moore Whiting, *Satie the Bohemian: From Cabaret to Concert Hall* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 113.

⁴⁴ Anderson, et al., “Paris.”

⁴⁵ Marsha L. Morton, “From the Other Side,” in *The Arts Entwined: Music and Painting in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Marsha Morton and Peter L. Schmunk (New York: Garland, 2000), 12.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 15.

In their modern form, like the café, salons had been in existence for some time (ca. 1725). They would eventually become the official art exhibition of the *Académie des Beaux-Arts* in Paris. Between 1748 and 1890, this was the greatest annual art event, although it was reorganized in 1881, under the auspices of the *Société des Artistes Français* owing to the withdrawal of official support by the French government. As Gordon Anderson notes, “the continuity of French traditions can be linked to this centralization of power, a relic of France’s monarchical past.”⁴⁷ Music societies continued to grow in Paris: “in 1900 there were 162 music societies in Paris, although the increasing popularity of sports clubs and other activities led to a decline thereafter.”⁴⁸

The salon could be defined in several different ways: either as an art exhibition, or more predominately as an anti-bourgeoisie style of household soirée that embodied music and intellectual conversation. The host or hostess would embark upon the preparations for a rich presentation that included opulent interior decoration, often including the specific selection of tapestry and cutlery, as well as musical performances. The salon, with its encompassing sensory overload, embodied the *Gesamtkunstwerk* character of the Art Nouveau aesthetic.

Much like similar events in the present day, the historical bent of these gatherings had always been conservative. As such, there was a susceptibility to “the allure of *snobisme*, or the élite public’s desire to stay abreast of the most recent trends, whether represented by Wagner, the *Ballets russes* or ... ‘scandals’ to draw crowds and generate interest.”⁴⁹ Yet despite even this early conservatism, following the Revolution in 1848, a greater number of works were accepted outside of previously held constraints. As art continued to develop toward the fin-de-siècle, ideas of Impressionism began to take a stronger hold, resulting in opposition from aesthetic conservatives, particularly within the academic ranks. These increasingly conservative and academic juries were generally unfavorable to the Impressionists. Eventually, the counteroffensive against them became emboldened, and Napoleon III instituted a new

⁴⁷ Anderson, et al., “Paris.”

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

salon to ensure democracy. Designed to house rejected works of art, the *Salon des Refusés* (1863) included works by Édouard Manet, Henri Fantin-Latour (1836–1904), and James Abbott McNeill Whistler (1834–1903).⁵⁰ These exhibitions would eventually draw larger crowds than the official Paris Salon. Nevertheless, some Impressionists were kept out even of the *Refusés*; they held their own exhibitions instead.

In 1890, the leader of the Société des Artistes Français, William-Adophe Bouguereau (1825–1905), proposed that the Salon should feature the work of young, emerging artists who had yet to receive accolades. This resulted in further fragmentation, as the sculptors Auguste Rodin (1840–1917) and Ernest Meissonier (1815–1891) seceded. Together with others, they revitalized the stagnant *Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts* (1890). Other salons exhibited a more secretive, mystical side as evidenced in the Salon de la Rose†Croix organized by Joséphin Péladan (1858–1918), a frequent guest at the *Chat Noir*, which included in particular music of Erik Satie (1866–1925) throughout the course of its history.⁵¹

The persistent evolution of artistic groups in Paris at the fin-de-siècle coincided with the increasingly important, centralized role of the arts in the French government:

What makes Paris distinct as a musical centre is what links the musical world with the world of politics. Because republican (and later socialist) leaders have believed that music can have a healthy moral influence, shape people's identity and behaviour and, as a collaborative medium, promote respect for social institutions, they have subsidized it with significant state funding.⁵²

Supported by the government, the increasing success of public performances had the effect of linking “music to family life.”⁵³ As a result, “this led many to taking piano or singing lessons, contributed to the growth of the musical instrument industry and created demand for easily available and inexpensive musical scores.”⁵⁴ The beginning of the second World War, however, “interrupted musical life. The Opéra

⁵⁰ “Salon des Refusés,” in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Art Terms*, Oxford Art Online, <<http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t4/e1486>> (accessed December 15, 2011).

⁵¹ Moore Whiting, 163.

⁵² Anderson, et al., “Paris.”

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

closed after *Les Huguenots* on 29 July 1914, moved for a brief period to the Trocadéro and returned to the Palais Garnier in December 1915.”⁵⁵

Vienna

In Vienna, the popularity of musical theater, in particular the works of Offenbach and later Strauss,⁵⁶ ran parallel to the popularity of opera in Paris. In 1874, the *Komische Oper am Schottentor* (also known as the *Ringtheater*) was built in accordance with the desire of the general population for increased access to comic opera and musical theater. The *Ringtheater* was partly fashioned after the Paris *Opéra Comique*. Ironically, the house was destroyed in a fire just prior to a performance of *Les Contes d'Hoffmann* in 1881. Somewhat striking is the juxtaposition of this light repertory against the classical canon of works evidenced in the popular orchestral canon of the Vienna Philharmonic at the time that—for the most part—bore no trace of the large-scale, monumental works of Bruckner and Mahler:

During the 1870s and 80s the repertory of the Vienna Philharmonic was somewhat less conservative, reflecting the absence of amateur governance, although more than a quarter of its offerings were devoted to Mozart and Beethoven. This more progressive stance was the result of the long tenure of Wagner's close associate Hans Richter who conducted the orchestra 214 times between 1875 and 1898. In his tenure not only were all the Brahms symphonies performed, but also the second, third, fourth and eighth symphonies of Bruckner alongside the works of less well-known Viennese composers such as Robert Fuchs, Ignaz Brüll and Goldmark. The Gesellschaft, in continual financial difficulties, was supported less by the high aristocracy and more by the so-called 'second society', the newer élite of the city.⁵⁷

From 1890 forward, the number of orchestral concerts steadily increased with the assistance of music publisher and impresario Albert Gutmann (1852–1915). In 1892, a visiting performance by the Meiningen orchestra under the leadership of conductor Hans von Bülow (1830–1894), the first husband of Cosima Wagner (1837–1930), cast a dark shadow over the Vienna Philharmonic. The Philharmonic, under the leadership of Hans Richter (1843–1916), was comparatively weak. This event alone spurred a number of developments:

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Peter Kemp, “Strauss,” in Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/52380pg2>> (accessed March 25, 2012).

⁵⁷ Ibid.

The 1892 exhibition sparked a sustained local debate about the need for a second orchestra and another major concert hall. Furthermore, in the 1890s, a younger generation of critics and scholars, trained at the university and conservatory, sought to challenge and expand the tastes of the Viennese public. Guido Adler, Mahler's boyhood friend, founded the Musikhistorisches Institut in 1898 at the university when he succeeded Hanslick. Adler established Vienna as a centre of modern scholarship and initiated a series of new critical editions of early music and the classical masters (e.g. founding the *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* series), following in the tradition of the great 19th-century Bach, Handel, Mozart and Schubert editions. For Adler's generation, however, contemporary musical composition and music history were inextricably linked, as he expressed in 1885 in the first issue of the *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*.⁵⁸

As in Paris, the many performances and their increasing accessibility to a curious general public gave rise to the "cult of the amateur." Particularly in Vienna, the demand for music teachers far outstripped the supply:

By the mid-1890s, Ludwig Bösendorfer would complain of a veritable 'plague' in the demand for piano instruction. Teachers and simplified instruction systems became ubiquitous.⁵⁹

The reactionary nature of the *Secessionist* (1897) movement in Vienna mirrored that of Art Nouveau in Paris, and of the whole movement in general. Like their Parisian counterparts, the reaction of the *Secessionists* against historicism was evidenced not only through their artistic product, but through the frequent application of ideas born out of cross-disciplinary relationships:

The stirrings of the late 1890s coincided with new movements in literature (*Jung Wien*) and visual arts (the Vienna Secession, founded in 1897). Even more relevant to new music were rival radical modernists in literature, art and architecture (Kraus, Loos, Egon Schiele and Oskar Kokoschka). Mahler participated in the 1902 Secession exhibition, devoted to Max Klinger's statue of Beethoven, to which Gustav Klimt also contributed.⁶⁰

Eventually, with the explicit support of Brahms, Mahler was appointed music director at the *Hofoper* (1897), the first significant building to be constructed on the *Ringstraße* (1869). In contrast, the opening of the *Stadttheater* (1898), later renamed the *Volksoper* (1903), was designed first to offer additional access to the spoken theater, but was later converted into a house for popular opera. One year later, Johann Strauss II (1825–1899), the progenitor of the operetta and waltz in Vienna, had died. Esteem for Strauss far extended from the general public into what would be considered today as more serious musical circles. Both Arnold Schoenberg (1874–1951) and Alexander Zemlinsky were closely familiar with

⁵⁸ Antonicek, et al., "Vienna."

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

his work, not only from their experiences in the concert hall, but through their work as copyists in their early years. The Schrammel ensemble would later gain the inheritance of the Strauss legacy:

In the early 20th century the new operettas came under fire as cheap, trivial and reflective of the commercial corruption of musical taste. Despite the admiration of young modernists such as Schoenberg and Zemlinsky for Johann Strauss (ii), the output of the silver age of operetta composers was largely found wanting. After all, a striking contrast between the public taste for operetta and domestic salon music (a mixture of operatic tunes and sentimental piano music) and the rejection of new concert music was clearly visible. Following the lead of the writer and journalist Karl Kraus and his close friend, the architect Adolf Loos, the manipulative sensationalism and superficiality in modern musical theatre, celebrated by a corrupt world of newspaper criticism, was condemned. The works of Nestroy, Offenbach and Johann Strauss were held up as examples of ethical and aesthetic greatness in popular art forms. A new dimension of popular music found its expression in the success of the Schrammel ensemble, a quartet of local players who specialized in dance and song music. The Schrammels, all trained musicians, began to perform their unique amalgam of Viennese music in 1878; by the 1890s their distinct style and sound began to rival the Strauss tradition as emblematic of Viennese culture.⁶¹

While the music of France certainly impacted Vienna, particularly the influence of opera, the walls of Paris were also susceptible to outside influence. Indeed, the Parisian symphonists drew predominately from the Austro-German symphonic model, as did other international appropriations of the genre:

The 19th-century tension between a carefree surface attitude and reactionary historicist cultural taste within the Viennese public and a younger generation's progressive engagement with music as the most noble of the arts (cast in the image of the era of Viennese Classicism) came to a head in the first decade of the 20th century. Mahler came under fire for his own music and the presumed arrogance evident in his reorchestrations of Beethoven and cuts in Bruckner. His effort to mount the première of Strauss's *Salome* failed when censors declared the work unfit for the imperial stage. Much to Mahler's embarrassment, the Vienna première took place in 1905 under the aegis of a travelling company from Breslau.⁶²

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

The Rise and Development of Art Nouveau

Also known as *Jugendstil* in Austro-Germany and *Sezessionstil* in Austria, Art Nouveau can be “characterized by sinuous, asymmetrical lines based on organic forms” that also encompass “the geometrical and more abstract patterns and rhythms that were evolved as part of the general reaction to 19th-century historicism.”⁶³ Thus, the style had strong socio-cultural and political underpinnings in the belle époque (1871–1918). Yet the lavish indulgence that has so often been used to characterize the era was largely illusory; an external peace that floated atop an undercurrent of social unrest, a result of the expanding gap between the working class and bourgeoisie. This tension is clearly expressed through the quasi-socialist agenda of Art Nouveau, a style that sought not only to unify the “minor” decorative arts with the “major” fine arts,⁶⁴ but to unify the classes:

The style had no respect for the boundaries of class or quality. The finest luxury objects were conceived and handcrafted in the Art Nouveau manner, as was the cheapest jewelry and the most ordinary industrially produced tableware, along with all manner of printed ephemera. This dichotomy meant that Art Nouveau embodied all the tensions within art, design, and society at the turn of the century. In its variety of manifestations Art Nouveau was both elitist and populist, private and public, conservative and radical, opulent and simple, traditional and modern.⁶⁵

Despite regional differences, these manifestations shared a number of common characteristics. The style was born out of the “planar aspect”⁶⁶ of the Japanese woodprints in vogue at the time.⁶⁷ These achieved broad recognition through their prominent display in Paris at the World Exhibitions of 1878 and 1889, prior to the prominent display of Art Nouveau at the Exhibition of 1900. This Parisian style of Art Nouveau can be “characterized by sinuous, asymmetrical lines based on organic forms”⁶⁸ and a move toward natural ornamentation⁶⁹ in the decorative arts. In Vienna, aside from nomenclature, Art Nouveau differed through its significant presence in the fine arts and architecture; its primary distinction was the

⁶³ Michèle Lavallée, “Art Nouveau,” in *Grove Art Online*, Oxford Art Online, <<http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T004438>> (accessed February 26, 2011).

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Escritt, 5.

⁶⁶ Peter Howard Selz and Mildred Constantine, *Art Nouveau; Art and Design at the Turn of the Century* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1960), 14.

⁶⁷ Phylis Floyd, “Japonisme,” in *Grove Art Online*, Oxford Art Online, <<http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T044421>> (accessed February 26, 2011).

⁶⁸ Lavallée, “Art Nouveau.”

⁶⁹ Eugène Grasset, *Plants and Their Application to Ornament: A Nineteenth Century Design Primer* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2008).

use of more “geometrical and more abstract patterns and rhythms.”⁷⁰ Nevertheless, both movements were viewed as two sides of the same coin:

To contemporaries in 1900 there was no polarization between the geometry of Vienna and the curvaceous linearity of France. Both were considered as contrasting parts of the same movement.⁷¹

Despite a strong perception of French influence and association, owing largely to the Franco-Belgian origin of the term and its notoriety in Paris, its history lies farther north. The roots of the Art Nouveau movement stem from England. There, the so-called “Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood”, a group of English painters and writers founded in 1848 by William Holman Hunt (1827–1910), John Everett Millais (1829–1896), and Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828–1882) foreshadowed the work of the Art Nouveau. They criticized the intellectually rigorous work that succeeded Renaissance artists like Raphael (1483–1520), Michelangelo (1475–1564) and Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519), advocating instead for a return to naturalism and changing the direction of the color palette:

Technically, the Pre-Raphaelites brought about a revolution, banishing the heavy, dark colours of much academic painting and replacing them with bright, naturalistic detail painted on a wet, white ground to give added brilliancy.⁷²

One Pre-Raphaelite in particular, the socialist designer and author William Morris (1834–1896), brought about a revolution in the decorative arts, particularly through his interest in stained glass.⁷³ Together with the work of John Ruskin (1819–1900), whose work also focused on the relationship between art and politics, significant changes were brought about in the perception of the decorative arts. To Ruskin, “art was not an activity that [could] be cut off from scientific thought, from educational practice or from moral responsibility.”⁷⁴

This aesthetic inclusivity is not only reflected in the philosophies of Morris and Ruskin, but in the many parts of life where Art Nouveau appeared. Ruskin was a favorite of the Irish author and poet Oscar

⁷⁰ Lavallée, “Art Nouveau.”

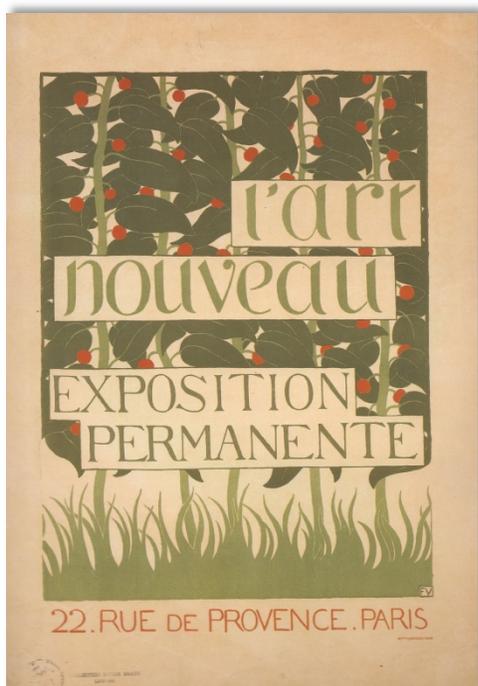
⁷¹ Escritt, 133.

⁷² “Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood,” in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Art Terms*, Oxford Art Online, <<http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t4/e1373>> (accessed December 10, 2011).

⁷³ Peter Stansky. “Morris, William,” in *Grove Art Online*, Oxford Art Online, <<http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T059724>> (accessed December 15, 2011).

⁷⁴ Dinah Birch, “Ruskin, John,” in *Grove Art Online*, Oxford Art Online, <<http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T074542>> (accessed December 15, 2011).

Wilde (1854-1900). It is no coincidence that his deep knowledge of Ruskin's work is reflected in the bookbinding of his only novel, *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1890). Wilde, who was closely aligned with the symbolist movement and widely admired both publicly and within artistic circles, wrote the novel based on the story of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's (1749–1832) *Faust* (1806–32). This dark tale is covered—literally and figuratively—with simple, subtle natural symbolism that exemplifies the Art Nouveau. The bookbinding itself existed in a number of different subtle versions, designed to accommodate or influence the mood of the reader.⁷⁵



1. Félix Vallotton, *Poster for L'Art Nouveau* (1895). Musée de la Publicité, Paris.

The idea of Art Nouveau as it is known today originated in Belgium. Most importantly, the term was first used in association with the group *Les Vingt*, a Belgian society formed in Brussels by artists disillusioned with the establishment in 1883. The group, which produced annual exhibitions from 1884 to 1893, at various times featured or counted amongst its membership such luminaries as Henry de Groux (1866–1930), Auguste Rodin (1840–1917), Jan Toroop (1858–1928), and Henry van de Velde (1863–1957). It was van de Velde, a Belgian artist inspired from the English Arts and Crafts movement who was most influential in propagating Art Nouveau to France, Germany and Austria.

The association with French composers with *Les Vingt* is particularly striking. It was there that the works of composers such as Debussy, Chausson, and Fauré were featured alongside the works of Art Nouveau artists. In particular, the Franck acolyte and biographer composer Vincent d'Indy was eventually

⁷⁵ Nicholas Frankel, *Oscar Wilde's Decorated Books* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 153.

tapped to organize the music for the society beginning in 1886. His *Cours de composition musicale* (1912) is overflowing with artistic references and Art Nouveau association.

The symbolic appearance of birds, plants, and insects in the metalwork of Art Nouveau was part of the psychological need to reconcile the loss of nature that comes from the development of industrial progress. This crisis provided much of the fuel for Art Nouveau. In terms of curvilinear



2. Henry Van de Velde, dining room in Bing's *L'Art Nouveau* (1895). Wallpaper by Paul-Elie Ranson. Fonds Louis Bonnier. Institut français d'architecture, Paris.

architecture, the exterior and interior work of Victor Horta (1861–1947), particularly the *Hôtel Tassel* in Brussels (1892–23) is a widely accepted landmark in Art Nouveau history. Interestingly, it was Horta, and not the artist Max Klinger (1857–1920) who designed the grave of Johannes Brahms (1833–1897) at the *Zentralfriedhof Wien*.⁷⁶ Henry van de Velde (1863–1957) and Paul Hankar (1859–1901) were also strong influences to the early Belgian style of the movement.

Art Nouveau was a movement that synthesized all of everyday life into a clever artistic package. No longer simply an object for an observer to muse about from afar on a wall, Art Nouveau was a three-dimensional, virtual reality that immersed an observer into an alternate space encompassing architectural exterior façades through minute interior details. In the same way, the reliance on these objects as well as earlier artistic models was clear:

⁷⁶ The close relationship between Klinger and Brahms is explored in Walter Frisch's *German Modernism*.

Close scrutiny reveals that most products of Art Nouveau were re-workings of earlier models found most frequently, and understandably, amidst the heroic splendour of the 18th century.⁷⁷

Trained in ceramics, the German art dealer Siegfried Bing (1838–1905) had in his early career opened several galleries devoted to Japanese craft and woodprint in Paris. The term *Japonisme*, first described in 1872 by the critic Phillipe Burty (1830–1890), designated a new field that encompassed Japanese decoration, landscape and their Westernized equivalents.⁷⁸ Yet even as Bing's empire and career as a decorative oriental businessman continued to grow, he searched for new endeavors. In 1894, demonstrating the interest of the Parisian government in cultural affairs, Bing was commissioned by the French government to investigate the American "artistic culture."⁷⁹ This would eventually spur his interest in design and his opening of a new gallery in Paris: *Maison de L'Art Nouveau*. Together with the critic Julius Meier-Graefe (1867–1935), a late influence to Paul Klee (1879–1940) and the creator of the magazine *Pan* (1895) that was dedicated to the decorative arts,⁸⁰ Bing approached Van de Velde (1895) to design several of the rooms for this new gallery.

Typical of the interior Art Nouveau of the period, the design is characterized as having largely exaggerated yet still naturalistic curvilinear lines. Much later, in his book *Vom neuen Stil* (1907), Van de Velde argues that "ornament should not be applied but should grow naturally from the structure it enriched."⁸¹ In his biography, Klaus-Jürgen Sembach frames the natural vocabulary of the architect in terms of his aesthetic:

"The words 'life', 'skeleton' and 'organ' show that van de Velde does not understand reason as an abstraction, but perceives it as a natural manifestation, based more on observation of available examples of logic than on a new intellectual structure."⁸²

⁷⁷ Klaus-Jürgen Sembach, *Art nouveau: Utopia: reconciling the irreconcilable* (Köln: Taschen, 1991), 69.

⁷⁸ Floyd, "Japonisme."

⁷⁹ Gabriel P. Weisberg, "Bing, S.," in Grove Art Online, Oxford Art Online, <<http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T008931>> (accessed December 15, 2011).

⁸⁰ Lavallée, "Art Nouveau."

⁸¹ Jane Block and Paul Kruty, "Van de Velde, Henry," in Grove Art Online, Oxford Art Online, <<http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T087845>> (accessed December 11, 2011).

⁸² Klaus-Jürgen Sembach and Michael Robinson, *Henry van de Velde* (Rizzoli: New York, 1989), 11.

It was “the redemption of the modern world from its own ugliness”⁸³ by Van de Velde that marked his aesthetic. He did not restrict design to “architecture and craft,” but rather “extended [it] to all spheres of human life, which was informed by it in absolute fashion.”⁸⁴

The *Exposition Universelle* of 1900 predominately featured Art Nouveau as its central underlying style. There, the architect and designer Hector Guimard (1867–1942) provided the “most public and lasting testament to Art Nouveau at the 1900 Exposition with his series of remarkable structures designed for the stations of the new Paris Métro.”⁸⁵ These structures completely blurred the distinction between man and machine; the ornamental, decorative wings of his dragonflies exhibited a visceral, organic metamorphosing into the functional object—in this case a subway entrance—that they adorned.

The Parisian lines of Art Nouveau that were grounded in organic plant line straightened as they began to appear in Vienna, where ideas were crafted through subtle geometry and abstract, humanistic representations of symbols, and eventually eroticism. The pollination of Art Nouveau from France to Austria made its way there via Germany through the work of Van de Velde:

On the other hand, van de Velde, by introducing Art Nouveau into German Jugendstil, represents in his own artistic being aspects of the essential tension within the relationship between Jugendstil and/or Art Nouveau.⁸⁶

Officially, it first appeared in Munich under the name *Jugendstil* and in Vienna as *Sezessionstil*. *Jugendstil* was so named as it adorned the cover of the magazine *Jugend: Illustrierte Wochenschrift für Kunst und Leben* (1896),⁸⁷ while *Sezessionstil*—as suggested by its name—was closely linked with the artists of the Viennese Secession. Stephen Escritt articulates some of these differences, particularly of Jugendstil, which he describes as highlighting “ideas of the heroism of youth, racial purity, and mysticism.”⁸⁸ Yet these ideas, with the possible exception of the heroism of youth, can also be found in the French style as well.

⁸³ Ibid., 9.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 9.

⁸⁵ Escritt, 19.

⁸⁶ Klaus Kropfinger, “The Shape of Line” in *Art Nouveau and Jugendstil and the Music of the Early 20th Century*, ed. Andrew D. McCredie (Adelaide: University of Adelaide, 1984), 135.

⁸⁷ Lavallée, “Art Nouveau.”

⁸⁸ Escritt, 115.

The geometry unique to the *Sezessionstil* had its origins in the work of Alois Riegl (1858–1905). He wrote several books concerning aesthetics, beginning with *Stilfragen (Problems of Style)* (1893), in which he promoted the idea of *Kunstwollen*, a “will to art” that represents a “continuous, autonomous development of linear design from Egypt and Mesopotamia to Greece and Rome and back to the Islamic cultures of the Near East.”⁸⁹ The depictions of his lotus blossoms and suggestions of Islamic arabesque highly resemble the type of ornament found in the style of the Viennese Secessionists such as Otto Wagner (1841–1918), Joseph Maria Olbrich (1867–1908) and Gustav Klimt (1862–1918). It is these geometric traits that in particular distinguish it from the style found in the flowing line based on plant tendrils of Parisian Art Nouveau. Yet aside from these obvious differences, the characteristics of Art Nouveau by locale are often inconsistent, and not always easy to delineate. Just as with music, their content is eminently subjective and abstract in nature. Regardless of geography, Art Nouveau gave a nervous population of the fin-de-siècle hope for redemption through art:

“As the concept of integration differs from artist to artist, we can observe something like a gradation of artistic horizons. In the writings of Otto Wagner, Petrus Berlage, Peter Behrens and Henry van de Velde, artistic as well as social and moral considerations are highly important. They are not seen as separate, but as integral parts of a whole. This integration aims at a regeneration of art and society, at a fundamental new style, encompassing all aspects of human life.”⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Jenny Anger and Paul Klee, *Paul Klee and the Decorative in Modern Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 22.

⁹⁰ Kropfinger, “The Shape of Line,” 134.

CHAPTER 2:

WAGNER, DEBUSSY, THE SYMPHONY AND ART NOUVEAU

Introduction

Despite their bipolar compositional styles and their avoidance of the symphony in the strict sense, both Wagner and Debussy were unified in their desire for musical progress and in their breadth of artistic interests across disciplines, particularly in literature and—at least in the case of Debussy—in the visual arts. Pillars for progressive musical thought during the fin-de-siècle, the work of both composers created successive musical turning points. For Wagner, a love for the theater is exemplified not only in his writings idolizing ancient Greek dramaturgy beginning with *Die Kunst und die Revolution* (1849),⁹¹ but through the construction of his own *Bayreuth Festspielhaus* (1872–1876). Similarly, Debussy's fascination with the exotic timbres of Java are difficult to separate from the *Exposition Universelle* (1889), during which he first encountered them, together with the Art Nouveau prominently on display.

Both Wagner and Debussy each influenced and contributed to the Art Nouveau movement. Their avoidance of the symphonic genre and resistance to absolute music makes them useful external forces by which to measure its development. Their contributions to the Art Nouveau movement were varied. The social agenda and artistic unification inherent in the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, an idea that Wagner hinted at in his early writings and fully elucidated first in *Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft* (1849),⁹² correlate with the general principles of Art Nouveau: the unification of the decorative and high arts into a single entity for the people. On the other hand, Debussy wrote about the arabesque, the patterns of which formed a central precept of Art Nouveau, which Debussy discussed with artistic company in the cafés of Montmartre.

⁹¹ Richard Wagner, "Art and Revolution" in Richard Wagner and William Ashton Ellis, *Richard Wagner's Prose Works*, vol. 1 (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1895), 21.

⁹² Richard Wagner, "Artwork and the Future" in Richard Wagner and William Ashton Ellis, *Richard Wagner's Prose Works*, vol. 1 (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1895), 69.

More than any others, these two men shaped the future of music in the nineteenth century, and with it defined the musical precepts of Art Nouveau.

If Wagner aligns with or influenced Art Nouveau from a socio-cultural perspective, then Debussy molded it from an artistic one. The idea of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* that Wagner elucidated in his writings demonstrate not only his interconnected view of the arts, but of the ideas of social equity derived from Beethoven and the ideals of *égalité* based in the reforms of the French Revolution. This equates with the destruction of class boundaries of Art Nouveau, including the unification of high and low art. With the interest of Debussy in the literary symbolist poetry by Mallarmé, Poe, and Wilde, the two men function as pillars by which to understand the Art Nouveau movement.

Wagner, the Gesamtkunstwerk and Art Nouveau

The monumental influence of the fin-de-siècle continued to be Richard Wagner (1813–1883), who attracted much attention and admiration from his French contemporaries during his time in Paris. The aesthetic ideals alone of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* and the grandiosity through which those ideals were implemented became as famous as his anti-Semitism, *en vogue* at the time in reaction to the burgeoning Zionist movement that had gained traction under the leadership of Theodor Herzl (1860–1904).

Wagner was born in Leipzig, a city of rich orchestral history, where the Jewish-turned-Christian composer Felix Mendelssohn (1809–1847) was the conductor (1835–1847) of the Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra (1781). Wagner frequented the rehearsals and performances of Mendelssohn and the Gewandhaus Orchestra in his youth, only to later denigrate the conservative tastes of Mendelssohn as well as his religious orientation.

Rather, it was Beethoven who became the greatest influence on Wagner. The composer viewed him as a creative, progressive force through his unification of symphony and song in the Ninth Symphony (1824). More than anything else, this influenced his idea of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*. However, it seems likely that Mendelssohn, who wrote symphonies, chamber music, and a large amount of choral music – including the Handel-inspired oratorios *Paulus* (1832) and *Elijah* (1846) – influenced Wagner to a degree perhaps higher than he would be prone to admit owing to his anti-Semitism. Like Beethoven, Mendelssohn was also well known for his symphonic works. The sole work of Wagner in the strict sense of the genre was his student Symphony in C major (1832). Later, Wagner chose to focus on the through-composition of grand operatic works that reflected the convergence of symphony, song and drama.

Despite the fact that most of his life was spent in Bavaria, Wagner was nevertheless wrapped in the culture of Paris and Vienna. He spent substantial time in both of the pillar Art Nouveau cities. In particular, the performances of his opera *Tannhäuser* (1845, revised 1860) in each locale provide not only cultural insight, but an interesting comparison of his relative failure and success in Paris and Vienna, respectively. The story of *Tannhäuser*, based in folk mythology, is one of erotic seduction that foreshadows

the eroticism of the fin-de-siècle. In Paris, the première of *Tannhäuser* (1861) was a new version adapted from the one given in Dresden (1845). For this “Paris version”, given at the *Salle Le Peletier*, the preparation was immense.

For this version, the libretto of *Tannhäuser* was translated into French. Composer Emmanuel Chabrier (1841 - 1894) assisted with the copy of the manuscript.⁹³ A newly composed ballet was inserted into Act I, rather than in its customary position of Act II out of Wagner’s discretion for the plot. It was hoped the inclusion of the ballet would satisfy the traditions of the opera house. Yet despite a polished performance owing to the 164 rehearsals for the première, the opera was protested by members of the aristocratic Jockey Club. The members of the club were angered with the positioning of the ballet in Act I, which meant that their presence was a necessity from the beginning of the evening. As a result, the first two performances were laden with heckling. Following the conclusion of the third performance, Wagner withdrew the production, and with it all hopes of establishing himself in Paris.

Following several unfruitful early visits to Vienna, Wagner was eventually able to achieve the success that had eluded him in Paris. For the performance of *Tannhäuser* (1875) that he conducted and directly supervised, Wagner restored many of the revisions originally made for the Paris première. These give the opera a visceral “stylistic incongruity” that stems from the application of his post-Tristan style to a work from the mid-1840s.⁹⁴ Although the opera had been heard within the city limits several times before, it was this series of performances that represented the height of preparation and publicization.⁹⁵ These last performances in Vienna helped cement him into Viennese musical life, despite the fact his debts ultimately drove him from the city.⁹⁶

And so the Wagner conflict, for years the central conflict in German music, and perhaps in all music, was in no small part a struggle for the possession of Vienna, a struggle in which Wagner himself repeatedly took an active

⁹³ Steven Huebner, “Chabrier, Emmanuel,” in Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05351>> (accessed December 11, 2011).

⁹⁴ Barry Millington, “Tannhäuser,” in The New Grove Dictionary of Opera, edited by Stanley Sadie, Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/O905051>> (accessed December 15, 2011).

⁹⁵ Alfred Orel and W. Oliver Strunk, “Richard Wagner in Vienna” *Musical Quarterly* 19, no. 1 (1933): 29-37.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 36.

part in order to gain and maintain the advantage.⁹⁷

It was not only a turning point for his career, but a victory for musical progress that had been obstructed by the debate between absolute and program music. This debate had been fueled largely by the criticism of Eduard Hanslick (1825–1904), who admired Brahms and his classicist agenda while denouncing Wagner, Wagnerism, and many composers by extension, including Bruckner. In all, regardless of initial reception, the compositional style and ideas of Wagner quickly permeated audiences of Paris and Vienna not long after their initial appearance during the late nineteenth century. The absorptive and influential power of his music had lasting effect:

Its fateful consequence was to glorify violence with a euphoria deriving from the spirit of music. Music could no more rise above politics than vice versa: politics cast its shadow on music, and was infected by music's emotionally charged irrationality in return.⁹⁸

The entire *Art Nouveau* movement has been accredited to Wagner by Carl Dahlhaus.⁹⁹ The areas of convergence include the relation of through-composition with line, of the composer's quest for a homogenous, connected sonority with line, of "endless melody" (*endlose Melodie*), eroticism and naturalism, and of course the idea of *Gesamtkunstwerk* as it can be applied to the complete inclusion and interior decoration and ornamentation of Art Nouveau. As Roger Paden elaborates:

Wagner thought that Art Nouveau might be able to help people adapt to the new age and, as it was not identified with any of the traditional subcultures, it would help people prepare for the newly emerging modern cosmopolitan culture. Art Nouveau was thus ideally suited to smooth Austria's transition into the modern world.¹⁰⁰

The *Gesamtkunstwerk* is essentially a borrowed Greek idea that has appeared throughout history in varying amalgamations. The idea first appears in the writings of Wagner in the mid-nineteenth century; in his essays *Art and Revolution* and *Artwork for the Future*, both from 1849. Wagner alludes to these Greek ideals, as well as to false Christian dogma, socialism, a return to nature, and the idea of the "folk."

⁹⁷ Ibid., 32.

⁹⁸ Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 340.

⁹⁹ Dahlhaus, "Musik und Jugendstil."

¹⁰⁰ Roger Paden. *Mysticism and Architecture: Wittgenstein and the Meanings of the Palais Storbrough* (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2007), 60.

Importantly, all are central tenets to the *Art Nouveau* movement. He believed that art became such only “when it enters into open life; and a work of dramatic art can only enter life upon the stage.”

Let us glance, then, for a moment at this future state of Man, when he shall have freed himself from his last heresy, the denial of Nature,—that heresy which has taught him hitherto to look upon himself as a mere instrument to an end which lay outside himself.¹⁰¹

The personality of Wagner tended to eclipse contemporaries that also contributed to ideas similar to *Art Nouveau*. Gottfried Semper (1803–1879), a close friend of Wagner in Dresden, not only crafted a baton for the conducting composer but played a role in the construction of the Ringstraße. In fact, many features of the *Bayreuth Festspielhaus* were borrowed from him by Wagner. A theater designed by Semper was to be built with the help of King Ludwig II of Bavaria, but it was never realized.

In summation, the Wagnerian *Gesamtkunstwerk* played an important role in the development of the Art Nouveau aesthetic:

As the concept of integration differs from artist to artist, we can observe something like a gradation of artistic horizons. In the writings of Otto Wagner, Petrus Berlage, Peter Behrens and Henry van de Velde, artistic as well as social and moral considerations are highly important. They are not seen as separate, but as integral parts of a whole. This integration aims at a regeneration of art and society, at a fundamental new style, encompassing all aspects of human life.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Wagner, “Art and Revolution,” 57.

¹⁰² Kropfingher, “The Shape of Line,” 134.

Debussy, the Arabesque, and Art Nouveau

In many ways a musical antidote to the sheer excess and exaggeration of the music of Wagner, the work of the Parisian composer Claude Debussy (1862–1918) represents a concentrated focus on subtlety and color. His musical sensitivity was mixed with a strong tendency against academic pedantry, particularly as it related to harmony:

We can be sure that old Bach, the essence of all music, scorned harmonic formulae. He preferred the free play of sonorities whose curves, whether flowing in parallel or contrary motion, would result in an undreamed of flowering, so that even the least of his countless manuscripts bears an indelible stamp of beauty.¹⁰³

Debussy's relationship with Wagner was complicated; although he loathed Wagnerian plots and poetry, he nevertheless appreciated its stylistic beauty.¹⁰⁴ It was Wagner's final opera *Parisfal* (1882) that had the deepest influence on Debussy, owing to its sublime, refined sensibilities.¹⁰⁵ If Wagner constructed the reality of his ideas for a grandiose stage, Debussy's were built for the salon, with their focus on timbre and nuance. Following the pilgrimage of his friend Ernest Chausson to Bayreuth in 1882, Debussy followed in his footsteps in 1888. But at the end of his life, his views had markedly changed: Debussy described the work of Wagner as "a beautiful sunset that was mistaken for a dawn."¹⁰⁶ Just as both Debussy and Wagner were interested in orchestration and sonority, they shared an interest for literature. Multifaceted in his writing and criticism, Debussy was a critic for the French journal *La Revue Blanche* where he wrote not only important reviews, but described his own philosophies on art. Like his friend Chausson, he eventually turned against Wagner:

Debussy and Chabrier are the only French composers individual enough to take on Wagner and survive. But Debussy's secretive nature compelled him to cover his traces and eventually to turn against his early love. Chabrier, however, declares unambiguous affection everywhere, even when he mocks.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ Claude Debussy, François Lesure, and Richard Langham Smith, *Debussy on Music: The Critical Writings of the Great French Composer Claude Debussy* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977), 84.

¹⁰⁴ Edward Lockspeiser, *Debussy. His Life and Mind* vol. II (London: Cassell, 1965), 68.

¹⁰⁵ Lockspeiser, *Debussy. His Life and Mind* vol. I, 95.

¹⁰⁶ Simon Trezise, *The Cambridge Companion to Debussy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 46.

¹⁰⁷ Robin Holloway, *On Music: Essays and Diversions* vol. 1 (London: Continuum, 2005), 251.

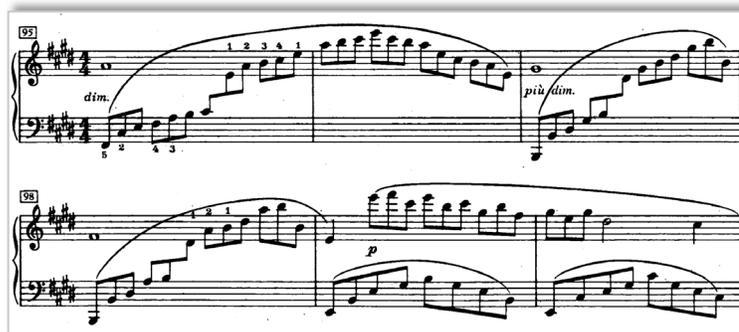
In contrast to Wagner, Debussy eschewed politics. From a literary perspective, Wagner and Debussy shared many influences, with markedly different results. But it was Debussy's connection to symbolist poets as well as impressionism, two movements very important to the structure of the Art Nouveau that enabled this to happen:

Music should humbly seek to please; within these limits great beauty may perhaps be found. Extreme complication is contrary to art. Beauty must appeal to the senses, must provide us with immediate enjoyment, must impress us or insinuate itself into us without any effort on our part.¹⁰⁸

In terms of his own style, Debussy was mislabeled both during his time and today as an Impressionist, a derogatory term that to him was more importantly inaccurate. He himself disparaged the use of the term Impressionism to describe both his own work and the work of others.¹⁰⁹ Rather, it is his frequent association with Symbolism and Art Nouveau that figure prominently into his aesthetic:

We have much evidence showing that Debussy's musical and artistic sensibility at this stage was a reflection of the theories of the Art Nouveau movement. His conception of melody as an 'arabesque' was the direct musical counterpart of these theories.¹¹⁰

His work for solo piano, *Deux arabesques* (1888, 1891), L. 66, are striking in their portrayal of Art Nouveau whiplash line. The listening experience of the first could be described from the vantage point of an ant on a plant,



3. Claude Debussy, *Deux arabesques* (1888, 1891), L. 66: I, m. 95 – 100. Leipzig: Edition Peters, 1969.

passing carefully over each tendril. Even the frequently depicted curled over effect that often terminates such tendrils is written in by Debussy, represented by the steep trailing off in m. 97 and m. 98, as the visual curl-over must be expanded in horizontal fashion. Written early in his career, these two arabesques represent a vivid depiction of Art Nouveau in music.

¹⁰⁸ Robin Holloway, *Debussy and Wagner* (London: E. Eulenburg, 1979), 207.

¹⁰⁹ Nigel Simone "Debussy and Expression" in Simon Trezise, *The Cambridge Companion to Debussy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 102.

¹¹⁰ Caroline Potter "Debussy and Nature" in Simon Trezise, *The Cambridge Companion to Debussy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 143.

Nor was Debussy the only composer whose compositional style was influenced from encounters with Art Nouveau and the Javanese Gamelan at the 1889 *Exposition Universelle*. The critic Charles Koechlin (1867 - 1950), the first to report the strong response by the public against the première of *Le Sacre du Printemps* in 1913, was also influenced by performances of the Gamelan at the *Exposition*.¹¹¹ An amateur composer as well as a critic, the eclecticism of his works was “similar to the diversity of stylistic elements in Art Nouveau”:¹¹²

In his choice of registration, wide spacing of parts and transparent harmonic language, he seems to emancipate space from mass.” He goes on to say that “However, it is within his unique melodic style, that *Art Nouveau’s* new cult of line, ornamentation and organic growth attains a kind of musical realization.”¹¹³

In addition to *Japonisme* and the Eiffel Tower, the exhibition showcased performances of music:

The 1889 Exhibition also greatly encouraged an interest in the decorative arts of the Orient, Japanese painting and the batik designs of Java, and in the interesting movement known as Art Nouveau. This movement, an offshoot of Impressionism and closely allied with the Nabis, advocated that works of art should include not only paintings but utilitarian objects, bookbindings, furniture, metal craft, tapestries, and murals.¹¹⁴

Debussy, the composer most often associated with the Art Nouveau, was well known for his enthusiastic participation within a number of artistic and musical circles. Debussy was a “reader of the German magazine *Pan* (founded by Julius Meier-Graefe in 1895) devoted to the most significant art movements throughout Europe and prominently displaying the work of the Art Nouveau painters.”¹¹⁵ Most importantly, as a music critic for the journal *Le Revue Blanche*, Debussy famously noted (1901) that “the musical arabesque or rather the principle of the ornament is at the basis of all forms of art.”¹¹⁶ This idea is further elaborated by Richard Langham Smith:

Debussy’s notion of ‘arabesque’—he had written two piano ‘arabesques’—is crucial to an understanding of his art, for it meant something quite different from the concept of melody. It was an ornamental line ‘based on natural curves.’ His ideas on the nature of such lines had been fertilized by writings on visual art, probably by Ruskin, whose ideas were echoed by many painters at the turn of the century. The so-called art-nouveau movement, with which Maurice Denis

¹¹¹ Elise K. Kirk, “Art Nouveau and the Melodic Style of Charles Koechlin” in *Art Nouveau and Jugendstil and the Music of the Early 20th Century*, ed. Andrew D. McCredie (Adelaide: University of Adelaide, 1984), 118.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 122.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 119.

¹¹⁴ Lockspeiser, *Debussy, His Life and Mind* vol. 1, 116.

¹¹⁵ Lockspeiser, *Debussy, His Life and Mind* vol. 1, 118.

¹¹⁶ Alexandre Natanson, ed. *La Revue Blanche* 25 (May 1, 1901).

was associated, inherited Ruskinian and Pre-Raphaelite ideals of natural line.¹¹⁷

Friends with Chausson and Chabrier, Debussy was adept in social relations within Parisian artistic circles. His own studio was decorated with Art Nouveau objects that he had obtained through his experiences in the salon, the café and the cabaret. He was associated with the sculptress Camille Claudel (1864–1943), and a bust of her sculpture *La Valse* adorned his mantle. This same work likely provided some inspiration to the work of Maurice Ravel (1875–1937) by the same name (1919–20). Yet it was the work of the Japanese Woodprint artists that served as profound inspiration to Debussy.¹¹⁸ His tastes became more inclusive later, but throughout his life most of his influences shared at least some elements of the Art Nouveau movement. Noted Debussy scholar Edward Lockspeiser elaborates:

Maurice Denis, who was to have illustrated Debussy's *L'Après-midi d'un faune*, and Bonnard, who wished to undertake the décor for *Pelléas et Mélisande*, were associated with this movement; and so were Toulouse-Lautrec, influenced, as he himself declared, by William Morris, Gustave Moreau, Gauguin, Seurat, and Picasso (notably in his *Courtesan with Jewelled Collar* of 1891 (who made sketches for the décor of *L'Après-midi d'un faune*). The serpentine dances of Loie Fuller and her elaborate use of veils were well known to Debussy. At the time of Debussy's association with the Diaghilev ballet, Loie Fuller presented her choreographic version of the *Nocturnes*, using a profusion of shining, flame-coloured veils.¹¹⁹

Debussy led, at times, a provincial life. The Spanish composer Manuel de la Falla (1876–1946) described the only visit of Debussy to his own native country: “Only once did he cross the Franco-Spanish frontier, to spend a few hours at San Sebastian where he watched a bull-fight. This was hardly knowing Spain!”¹²⁰ However, Debussy did venture to Rome in 1885 and travelled to London in 1902, where he likely observed the works of Turner. An English Romantic painter, Turner foreshadowed the impressionists “plein-air” landscapes through his promotion of landscape painting that surpassed historical subjects. Debussy called him “the finest creator of mystery in art”:¹²¹

...the fact that Turner is twice mentioned in Debussy's correspondence, first in 1891 when he was hardly known in France, and again, in superlative terms, in 1908 clearly indicates the extent to which his work had aroused Debussy's imagination.¹²²

¹¹⁷ Debussy, Lesure, and Langham Smith, 31.

¹¹⁸ Lockspeiser, *Debussy. His Life and Mind* vol. II, 15.

¹¹⁹ Lockspeiser, *Debussy. His Life and Mind* vol. I, 117.

¹²⁰ Lockspeiser, *Debussy. His Life and Mind* vol. II, 257.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹²² *Ibid.*

Debussy also admired the swirling floral designs of Walter Crane (1845–1915), an English author and illustrator. He “cherished the single exquisite object in the manner of the heroes of Huysmans and Oscar Wilde.”¹²³ Debussy’s orchestral song *La damoiselle élue* (1887–8) foreshadows his mature style, and the work was given its première on March 1, 1894 in front of an ornamental backdrop at *La Libre Esthétique* (the successor to *Les Vingt*) in Brussels, the main center of Art Nouveau. Lockspeiser describes it in a manner befitting of Art Nouveau:

The score of this work [*La damoiselle élue*] brings us very near to a purely visual conception of music: the decorative Pre-Raphaelite curves are projected or translated into the long sinuous arabesques of Damozel’s aria.¹²⁴

¹²³ Lockspeiser, *Debussy. His Life and Mind* vol. I, 119.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 120.

The Fin-de-Siècle Symphonic Landscape in Paris and Vienna

In the absence of song and drama—elements that were to Wagner critical to his idea of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*—the symphony in the fin-de-siècle represents many facets of the embracing aims of the Art Nouveau movement. In terms of culture and politics, Carl Dahlhaus seems to agree, citing a thesis of Paul Bekker when he articulates, “the symphony is ideally directed to the mass audience of the entire bourgeoisie.”¹²⁵ Even so, in spite of his allegiance to Beethoven, it was Wagner who predicted the end of the symphony:

The Last Symphony of Beethoven is the redemption of Music from out her own peculiar element into the realm of universal Art. It is the human Evangel of the art of the Future. Beyond it no forward step is possible; for upon it the perfect Art-work of the Future alone can follow, the universal Drama to which Beethoven has forged for us the key.¹²⁶

Yet despite their position as the two pillars of fin-de-siècle musical influence – student works aside – neither Wagner nor Debussy composed any legitimate symphonic works in the strict sense. Nevertheless, both composed works that reflected them. In particular, these works include Debussy’s *La Mer* (1903–5), and the drama¹²⁷ *Tristan und Isolde* by Wagner (1857–9). While the original Durand publication of *La Mer* is adorned with Japonisme artist Katsushika Hokusai’s (1760–1849) *Great Wave of Kanagawa*, Wagner’s heroine *Isolde* appears in English Art Nouveau artist Aubrey Beardsley’s (1872–1898) painting *Isolde* (1895). Both share symphonic characteristics that can be used to further explore elements of Art Nouveau in the symphony.

The first phrase of *Tristan*, though subject to endless harmonic interpretation and debate, is through its innovative chromaticism a move away from conventional harmony. Noted for its colorful orchestration, *Tristan* comprises many of the aspects of Art Nouveau, including its capitalization on the philosophy of Arthur Schopenhauer (1788–1860) and Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900) for the creation of the expression of ecstasy:

¹²⁵ Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 265.

¹²⁶ Wagner, “The Artwork of the Future,” 126.

¹²⁷ In his own words, Wagner spoke of *Tristan* as “eine Handlung”, literally a “drama” or “plot.”

The weltanschauung of Art Nouveau was inspired by some 'life philosophers,' mainly Friedrich Nietzsche and Bergson and Arthur Schopenhauer before them, as well as by Richard Wagner...¹²⁸

In the case of the two lovers in the drama, the encapsulation of life and death, and of class strife, also aligns itself with Art Nouveau and the inspired progression toward modernism evident in the symphonies of fin-de-siècle Paris and Vienna. There is a shared philosophy behind *Tristan* with connections to Art Nouveau:

Nietzsche had a profound love for music; he admired the revolutionary character of Wagner's work; and they shared a passion for Schopenhauer. *Tristan*, moreover, celebrated not only Schopenhauer's ceaseless, blind, and passionately striving will but also a drunken frenzy which suggested to Nietzsche's mind the static abandonment of the ancient Dionysian cults.¹²⁹

Joseph Kerman, in his monograph *Opera as Drama*, argues that the operas of Wagner tend toward the direction of the symphonic poem.¹³⁰ Indeed, the entire *Ring* cycle could be viewed as a single symphonic spectacular with an added vocal component, comprising one movement each during the course of the four evening performances. Kerman describes the music of both Debussy and Wagner as passages of "great eloquence and power, loosely bound together" by a connective fabric, similar to Art Nouveau whiplash lines connecting discrete points. In the case of both composers, Kerman characterizes these connective tissues as "a forceful instrument of mood, and ... of great dramatic value" within themselves.¹³¹

While the symphonic genre had never achieved widespread adoption in nineteenth century France on the scale of Austro-Germany, its more progressive cousin the symphonic poem was inspired by the programmatic music of Hector Berlioz (1803–1869), a Parisian from age seventeen who inspired its main progenitor Franz Liszt (1811–1886) during a stay there in his youth. Despite the overt differences in the containers of their elements, *La Mer* bears many similarities with *Tristan und Isolde*. Like Wagner, Debussy bends the tonal framework, largely by the use of the whole tone and pentatonic scales

¹²⁸ György M. Vajda, "Some Aspects of Art Nouveau in Arts and Letters" *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 14, no. 4 (1980): 82.

¹²⁹ Walter Arnold Kaufmann, *Nietzsche, Philosopher, Psychologist, Antichrist* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1974), 31.

¹³⁰ Joseph Kerman, *Opera as Drama*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 171.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 171.

throughout its compositional fabric. Subtitled “symphonic sketches,” *La Mer* is far more condensed than Wagner’s drama, whose work by comparison foreshadows the detailed dramatic articulation of a Thomas Mann (1875–1955) novel. In place of the idea of “redemption through love”¹³² that permeates the great majority of Wagner’s work, including *Tristan*, *La Mer* gives a purely natural depiction of the sea, complete within itself. Unfortunately, Debussy never achieved the eventual success of Wagner in Austria and the Viennese première of *La Mer* was scrapped by mutual agreement between composer and players.¹³³

The symphony “was a view of musical works in particular as monads, ‘containing’ their own meaning rather than exemplifying a genre, articulating a style or confirming an institution. To put it rather simply, it encouraged a shift from function and genre to the work itself.”¹³⁴

The strict symphonic landscape between the two sturdy pillars that best characterized the symphony in the fin-de-siècle, though unified through Wagner, were nevertheless quite different. A look at the broad trends in each locale frames the Art Nouveau context. In Paris, a burgeoning of interest in drama of the grand operatic style was established by mid-century through the innovations of Louis-Désiré Véron (1798–1867), director of the Paris Opera (1831–35). Repertoire by Giacomo Meyerbeer (1791–1864) and Fromental Halévy (1799–1862) grew increasingly common within the performance canon. These works also helped to accelerate an interest in popular music in the form of musical theater as evidenced by composers such as Johann Strauss II in Vienna. Speaking of a mid-nineteenth century “caesura” in line with the 1848 revolutions, Jim Samson recalls, “the separation of art and entertainment was formalized in music drama and operetta” while “nationalist programmes were launched around the edges of Europe.”¹³⁵

In Paris, the popularity of the symphony paled in comparison to the popularity of opera; as a result, its initial light, balletic style was influenced not only through the influence of other genres and

¹³² Laurence Dreyfus, *Wagner and the Erotic Impulse* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2010), 123.

¹³³ Debussy, Lesure, and Langham Smith, 241.

¹³⁴ Jim Samson, “The musical work and nineteenth-century history,” in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, ed. Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 22.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 21.

disciplines, but by several representative works. In particular, this includes the idea of cyclicity first apparent in Cesar Franck's *Symphony in D minor* (1886–8). The absence of symphonic tradition gave the symphony in fin-de-siècle Paris a new freedom, led by Camille Saint-Saëns. A new version of the Viennese Classical tradition was imported:

In order to found a national symphonic and chamber music culture in opposition to their exclusive orientation on opera, French composers had to appropriate and recast a specifically German tradition – namely, Viennese classicism, a tradition upheld in Paris by Saint-Saëns himself.¹³⁶

The support of opera by the French had been established since the time of composer Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632–1687). Similarly, in the nineteenth century the majority of governmental music expenditures were allocated to the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique, cementing the superiority of the genre in the capital.¹³⁷ Symphonic composers active in fin-de-siècle Paris were a rarity. Aside from the *Symphony No. 3* (1886) by Saint-Saëns, the only successful examples of the genre from fin-de-siècle Paris are those of César Franck and his two devoted pupils, Ernest Chausson (*Symphony in B-flat*, 1890) and Vincent d'Indy (*Symphony No. 2 in B-flat*, 1902-3), who together refined and integrated the cyclical concept to a highly regimented degree, survived as absolute representations of the genre. Despite their smaller stature, more minor works by Paul Dukas (*Symphony in C major*, 1895-6) and Édouard Lalo (*Symphony in G minor*, 1886) remain, and warrant further investigation. It was Franck's *Symphony* that split with the incorporation of weighty ideas from Wagner and German intellectualism toward the more “devotional” work of the “conservative ‘message symphony.’”¹³⁸

The use of folk song, real or derived, was endemic of the Art Nouveau symphonic period. James Hepokoski labels these works Nationalistic, defining them as “works which made a *primary* appeal to national pride, national ownership and a privileged access of understanding possessed by a clearly identifiable regional audience” and a “reliance on ‘national’ turns in the music- melodic, rhythmic (dance-

¹³⁶ Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 263.

¹³⁷ François Lesure, et al., “France,” in Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40051>> (accessed February 25, 2012).

¹³⁸ James Hepokoski “Beethoven reception: the symphonic tradition” in Jim Samson, *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 440.

based), textural, harmonic or modal quirks that called attention to themselves as standing out from normative Austro-Germanic practice.”¹³⁹ For Hepokoski, the two French symphonies that will be later discussed fall into this category:

Several other symphonic works were composed in the general orbit of Franck, including Vincent d’Indy’s colourful, regionalistic ‘Symphony on a French Mountaineer’s Song’ or *Symphonie cévenole* with piano obbligato (1886), Ernest Chausson’s Symphony in B flat (1889-90), and d’Indy’s later Symphony No. 2 in B flat (1902-3).¹⁴⁰

The legacy left by Beethoven was not easily interpreted by those following in his footsteps, and the rise of other alternatives meant that the symphony was no longer the default means of compositional expression. Yet despite this, the fin-de-siècle in Vienna and Paris produced some of the most astonishing symphonic works, however incompatible they may have been with one another during the time of their creation. More and more, symphonic activity in Vienna was influenced from the traditions of Franz Schubert (1797 – 1828), whose symphonies enjoyed revival in the capital during the second-half of the Nineteenth century, beginning with a performance of the “Unfinished” Symphony, D. 759 (1822) in 1865.¹⁴¹ Carl Dahlhaus cites the silhouette *Schubert im Himmel* (ca. 1897), by the Austrian artist Otto Böhlér (1847–1911) as representing Schubert’s entry to “the Pantheon of classics in the minds of the educated classes” by the end of the century.¹⁴² Though many composers would make pilgrimage and ultimately settle in the historically musical city, notably Mozart and Beethoven, Schubert was the first composer of note to be born within its limits. Other local symphonists Johannes Brahms (1833–1897), Anton Bruckner (1824–1896), Gustav Mahler (1860–1911), Alexander Zemlinsky (1871–1942), Hans Rott (1858–1884), and Joseph Joachim Raff (1822–1882) were all performed to some extent during their time. The continued expansiveness of their music with an unknown destination was in line with the fin-de-siècle ideology.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 439.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 440.

¹⁴¹ A. Peter Brown, *The Second Golden Age of the Viennese Symphony: Brahms, Bruckner, Dvořák, Mahler, and Selected Contemporaries* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), xvi.

¹⁴² Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 392.

Nevertheless, the influence of the Viennese Classical tradition and the classical symphonic works of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven and Schubert weighed heavily in shaping their output:

In the later 19th century, Schubert symbolized the uniquely Viennese synthesis of international classical greatness and distinctly Viennese traditions. In the contemporary local debate concerning Brahms and Bruckner, both sides claimed the spirit of Schubert for their cause.¹⁴³

In particular, the symphony and other genres benefited from the growing view in Vienna of operetta as an amateur endeavor:

In the early 20th century the new operettas came under fire as cheap, trivial and reflective of the commercial corruption of musical taste.¹⁴⁴

Despite this activity, the symphony—a strict genre and a formulaic structure for composers since the late Baroque period—suddenly found itself in decline. This can be attributed to several factors. The Ninth Symphony of Ludwig van Beethoven, the heir of the symphonic legacy, left the world with a final symphonic movement that combined voices and orchestra into a genre unaccustomed to the combination of these two elements. There was a growing emphasis on programmatic musical genres, such as the symphonic poem made popular by Liszt, which led them to through-composition. The rise of opera and ballet in Paris and operetta in Vienna also contributed to its decay. Particularly in Vienna, the juxtaposition of this popular concert music with the serious works of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler today make for a striking comparison. Nevertheless, in its day the light works of Strauss were familiar to even the most sophisticated musicians and composers.

Simon Sechter (1788–1867), who embraced the idea of the fundamental bass from Jean Philippe Rameau (1683–1764), was influential in his shaping of Viennese harmony. His most notable pupil, Anton Bruckner, succeeded him at the Vienna Conservatory as professor of thoroughbass and counterpoint. The views of Sechter were instilled, if sometimes by proxy, to many integral composers during the period in which Art Nouveau held strong:

¹⁴³ Antonicek, et al., “Vienna.”

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

Sechter's work influenced later theorists, including Cyrill Hynais, Carl Mayrberger and Josef Schalk, who attempted to analyse late Romantic harmony, especially that of Wagner. Schoenberg's Stufentheorie, his discussion of root progressions and interpolated roots, and his derivation of augmented 6th chords are indebted to Sechter. Along different lines, Schenker's Stufentheorie also rests upon Sechter's.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁵ Janna Saslaw, "Sechter, Simon," in Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/25293>> (accessed February 25, 2012).

Folk Music and the Decorative Arts

In parallel with the integration of the decorative and fine arts, both folk music and “high” music became more tightly integrated in the fin-de-siècle. This was not an entirely new idea in the symphony, as is evidenced in the inclusion of folk music in the symphonies of Franz Joseph Haydn (1732–1809), among whose one-hundred-plus symphonic works include his final numbered symphonies, the Symphony No. 103, “Drumroll” (1794–5) and the Symphony, No. 104, “London” (1795), the latter of which features the use of Croatian-influenced folk melody. His Symphony No. 85, “La Reine” (ca. 1785) includes the French folk song ‘*La gentille et jeune Lisette*.’ However, borrowings both before and after Haydn were largely focused on the inclusion of the minuet, with its aristocratic and court association. As Meredith Ellis explains, the decline of the symphony paralleled the increasingly noticeable absence of the minuet from its formal architecture:

19th-century composers were less interested in the minuet, an attitude which may have been influenced by political as well as musical considerations; nonetheless, Schubert (some of his piano works) and Brahms (Serenade op.11, 1857–8) included minuets in a number of their works, and Bizet used the form in his music for *L’arlésienne* (1872) and in the *Symphony in C* (1860–68). The courtly minuet was one of the programmatic associations in the symphonic poems of Liszt (see Johns, 1990). Late 19th- and early 20th-century neo-classicism led to a revival of interest in the minuet, evidenced by its appearance in Fauré’s *Masques et bergamasques* (1919), Chabrier’s ‘*Menuet poupeux*’ from *Pièces pittoresques* (1881), Debussy’s *Suite bergamasque* (1890), Jean Françaix’ *Musique de cour* (1937), Bartók’s *Nine Little Pieces* (1926) and the second book of *Mikrokosmos*, Schoenberg’s *Serenade op.24* (1920–23) and *Suite for piano op.25* (1921–3) and Ravel’s *Sonatine* (1903–5), his independent *Menuet antique* (1895) and *Menuet* (on ‘Haydn’, 1909).¹⁴⁶

Still a new concept, the incorporation of discrete parts of folk music in the symphony was an exception rather than the norm. Instead, it had been more often alluded to rather than quoted directly. During the fin-de-siècle, as a tenet of Art Nouveau, it became fashionable to include low-art within high-art as means for unification. In particular, the work of Vincent Van Gogh (1853–1890) and Henri Toulouse de Lautrec (1864–1901) incorporate elements of the largely decorative Art Nouveau style within their paintings.

¹⁴⁶ Meredith Ellis Little, “Minuet,” in Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/18751>> (accessed December 11, 2011).

Folk and popular music is often separated from art music by nature of its oral rather than notated tradition and transmission; similarly, the tendency of *Art Nouveau* was to propagate by imitation rather than through any type of prescribed documentation. The decorative arts, a term first coined in opposition to the fine arts, generally include functional objects; among them metalwork, glassware, ceramics, furnishings, textiles, and wallpaper. The *Art Nouveau* movement originated and evolved from the decorative arts container, but the sweeping plant tendrils eventually outgrew their figurative pots. They found their way into the fine arts as their proponents utilized the inherent naturalism and ornamentation of *Art Nouveau* in an effort for mass appeal. This helped to unify not only various segments of the arts, but the social strata of the fin-de-siècle with it.

The social distinctions of *Art Nouveau* and folk music provide another point of similarity. Dahlhaus describes how works such as Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* (1791) and Haydn's *Die Schöpfung* (1796–8), as well as some compositions of Beethoven, exhibit a desire to reach across through scope of humanity in order to “transcend the distinction between popular and esoteric music.” Yet, as he continues, Dahlhaus makes clear his opinion that this was merely a passing moment in musical history:

In contrast, the nineteenth century, as a result both of the cult of genius and of the industrialization of popular music, witnessed an increasing rift between ‘high-brow’ and ‘lowbrow’ music until, in our century, music reached a stage of alienation which Theodor W. Adorno could portray as a rift between avant-gardism and kitsch.¹⁴⁷

Like the wallpaper, cutlery, book-covers and ceramics of *Art Nouveau*, folk music was also classified according to its function rather than its content. Music based on occasion has existed throughout history: for celebration, for dance, for mourning. Owing to its differing usages, musicologists have long avoided a precise definition of folk music.¹⁴⁸ Bruno Nettl, cautious in his assessment, describes its intrinsic functionality:

¹⁴⁷ Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 36.

¹⁴⁸ Carole Pegg, “Folk music,” In *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09933>> (accessed December 11, 2011).

The early literature of ethnomusicology often dwells on the presumption of that in prehistoric, folk, or indigenous cultures people used music principally to accomplish certain essential things for them, and that therefore this music is functional.¹⁴⁹

If one examines the way that composers began to incorporate more and more ‘lowbrow’ folk music within ‘high-brow’ genres, such as the symphony, a parallel can be seen: works rooted in folk music were extended by the ornamental fabric of art music in the same way as an everyday object, an Art Nouveau teacup for instance, might be dressed with flowing tendril lines. This ornament was given to otherwise functional objects. A plain, bare ceramic mug, once decorated, becomes an ornamented work of art. It is not so much what the object becomes, but the juxtaposition of the two elements that is the central idea.

The predominate existence of the decorative arts within the home brings a further parallel, in particular with the encompassing works of Gustav Mahler vis-à-vis many of the aesthetics of the Wagnerian *Gesamtkunstwerk*. It was the idea of the existence of the encompassing totality of art as a part of everyday life that was musically paralleled by Mahler in his symphonic works that depicted the idea of “the symphony as the world.” The French composer Vincent d’Indy also made significant use of folk melody in his works, to quite different effect within his regimented framework of cyclicity.

Eventually, in part due to the development of rail systems (ca. 1860s), music in existence far beyond the bounds of what would otherwise be available only to specialists suddenly became available, predating the ethno-musicological work of Bartók and Kodály. In France, the waltz, musette, and the java — “a popular French dance in an alternating 3/4 and 2/4 time”¹⁵⁰ — were the most important genre of folk music during the fin-de-siècle. Not surprisingly, their origins can be traced to the country that was becoming more integrated with urban centers through the development of rail, giving the prevalent nineteenth century idea of “nationalism” tangible physicality. Areas with strong folk music traditions during the fin-de-siècle included Auvergne, the Basque country, Corsica, Provençal, Vendée, and several

¹⁴⁹ Bruno Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-One Issues and Concepts* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 244.

¹⁵⁰ Maurice Hinson, *Music for More Than One Piano: An Annotated Guide* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 135.

Alpine regions.¹⁵¹ Italian musical influence can be heard in the fife and drums as well as in the musette, while Eastern influences can be heard from the frequently ornamented *Orgue de Barbarie*, a form of the barrel organ.

It was particularly the Auvergnats, who in their migration to Paris *en masse* also spread their traditional musical styles. Their distinct characteristics were made prominent through the use of the bagpipe, which slowly began to permeate the walls of Paris. Although once in Paris many of the unique features of their music became homogenized into the existing folk repertoire, some—including the *cabrette* and the *bourée*—retained their individual Gallic hallmarks. Many of the Auvergne immigrants became workers in Haussmann’s development, with only temporal relocation intentions.¹⁵² Their criminality was often insinuated on the basis of their unique appearance when juxtaposed against native Parisians. They went on to found their own newspaper, *L’Auvergnat de Paris* (1882). Further groups followed, including the formation of the *Association auvergnate* (1886), later renamed the *Ligue auvergnate* (1887). The meetings of these associations often involved complicated social ritual in the form of the *bal musette*, a general term for “dance halls and dance events.”¹⁵³

During the last decades of the 19th century the number of *bals musette* increased and after 1900 there existed more than 200 *bals musette* in all districts of Paris, many of them continuations of the *bals auvergnats* or *bals de famille*.¹⁵⁴

Within Paris, the folk music that emerged around the fin-de-siècle was the Valse musette. Born from the Bal-musette, Crével later suggested that it had in the early 20th century remained “much a part of the Parisian tourist trail as Notre-Dame, though a place where, instead of buying pendants or lighting candles, visitors would get tipsy and pick up rent boys.”¹⁵⁵ It was developed from Auvergnats who settled in the fifth, eleventh, and twelfth *arrondissements* of Paris. The immigrants opened cafés, including the

¹⁵¹ François Lesure, et al., “France.”

¹⁵² Ursula Hemetek, *Manifold identities: studies on music and minorities* (Amersham: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2004), 138.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 138.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 138.

¹⁵⁵ Paul Cooke, “The Paris of René Crevel” in *The Modern Language Review* 100, no. 3 (1985): 623.

bourée with musette accompaniment,¹⁵⁶ the grelot and sleigh-bells¹⁵⁷ attached to a narrow, hand-held loop of leather.

In Vienna, more familiar popular folk idioms need somewhat less introduction. The Viennese waltz, which emerged from the more rustic and typically less nimble *Ländler*, was the predominate influence:

The centre of 19th-century dance music was Vienna, and the upsurge of interest in dancing was prompted by the popularity of the waltz. During the 18th century the waltz had developed from various country dances in triple time (such as the German dance and the *ländler*) to make its way during the early years of the 19th century from the taverns in the suburbs of Vienna to the large dance halls that were being built in the city...¹⁵⁸

This was closely followed by the polka. With its Bohemian origins, the militaristic qualities of the polka became a folk source drawn upon by the newly established government in Austria in order to reinforce the legitimacy of their new regime:

The polka provided the folk source for many marches in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the interaction between the two instrumental forms, one used for dancing and the other for regimented mobilization of the nation (but also for dancing), created a cultural axis from the provincial lands to the cities.¹⁵⁹

Philip Bohlman also points out three determining factors in the Austrian folk music tradition: the multiculturalism of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, the city as an organizing force that drew folk music from the countryside inward for consolidation, and the re-contextualization of folk music genres that accompanied modernization.¹⁶⁰ In contrast with Parisian folk music, the music of traditional Vienna was more isolated by the valleys of Alpine landscape.¹⁶¹ There were also stark differences in the qualities of their respective timbres owing to function. For instance, varying forms of the yodel, including the *Juchzn* were frequently used. Other more “street”-ready instruments of Eastern European association were also utilized:

The guitar, the harmonium, the zither, the piano – in their various sizes and configurations, including mechanical devices which simplified the need for technique – and singing were the popular mediums of musical expression.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁶ Robert A. Green, et al., “Musette,” in Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/19398>> (accessed December 16, 2011).

¹⁵⁷ Percival Price, et al., “Bell (i),” in Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/42837>> (accessed December 18, 2011).

¹⁵⁸ Julia Sutton, et al., “Dance,” in Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/45795>> (accessed December 11, 2011).

¹⁵⁹ Philip V. Bohlman, *The Music of European Nationalism Cultural Identity and Modern History* (Oxford: ABC-Clio, 2002), 87-88.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 87.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² Nicholson, “Introduction,” 24-25.

Schrammelmusik, named for two brothers, Johann and Joseph Schrammel, eventually inherited the place of Johann Strauss II in Viennese traditional musical culture. With guitarist Anton Strohmayr and clarinetist George Dänzer, the two brothers formed the *Schrammel-Quartett*, designed to bring songs associated with the *Heurigen* and *Wirsthausen* (vineyards and inns) to the upper classes. Jewish themes also permeated the folk music fabric of Vienna, and the influence of Klezmer can also be heard, particularly in Mahler's folk music borrowings:

Not surprisingly, at the turn of the century Viennese popular music mirrored the social composition of the city. It emerged from the Schrammel tradition of pseudo-folk chamber music, to Jewish secular music, the operetta, and the modern eclectic hit song which drew on or imitated folk sources.¹⁶³

Within the art music tradition, the idea that folk music ought not be replicated precisely, but smoothed out into a cohesive framework became popular from its roots in Wagner. Gelbart argues that in 1850, Wagner laid a foundation for both art and folk music.¹⁶⁴

It was Wagner, already in 1850-1, who had put this ideal in the starkest terms, arguing that opera composers had failed to absorb folk-music universality into art music when they simply imitated folk melody, because they could not invent it organically from within, "as the folk."¹⁶⁵

The inclusion of passages that resemble folk music in the works of Debussy are almost always original ones. Born of inflection and suggestion, they are rarely an overt juxtaposition or copy. Even his use of pentatonic scales in his composition was a mere analogy to Hungarian folk music.¹⁶⁶ Debussy himself described his views more completely:

Debussy was always consistent on the point that a folk or national music should not be used for its themes but rather in the manner of Albéniz: 'Without using actual popular tunes he is the kind of person who has them in his blood. They have become so natural a part of his music that one barely distinguishes a demarcation line'. To a Hungarian friend, he wrote: 'Your young musicians could usefully take inspiration from them, not by copying them but by trying to transpose their freedom, their gifts of evocation, colour, rhythm ... One should only ever use the folk music of one's country as a basis, never as a technique'.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶³ Nicholson, "Introduction," 25.

¹⁶⁴ Matthew Gelbart, *The Invention of "Folk Music" and "Art Music"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 221.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ François Lesure and Roy Howat, "Debussy, Claude," in Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/07353>> (accessed December 11, 2011).

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

Within all areas in which Art Nouveau was popular there existed a burgeoning interest in the integration of folk music. This included England, the birthplace of the Arts and Crafts movement that anticipated the development of Art Nouveau. Interestingly, in “1906, Percy Grainger recorded several outstanding singers, including Joseph Taylor of north Lincolnshire, whose singing of Brigg Fair inspired Delius’ English Rhapsody.”¹⁶⁸ Through his devotion to naturalism and idyllic sonic landscapes, the music of Delius figures prominently into English Art Nouveau. Thus, in line with the central precepts of Art Nouveau such as the seamless, flowing organic line, folk music became inextricably woven into the fabric of its musical counterpart.

¹⁶⁸ Carole Pegg, “Folk music,” in Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09933>> (accessed December 17, 2011).

The Parallel Development of Instruments and Materials

Music has always been bound by the forces for which it was written. That binding began to erode in the nineteenth century, when instrumental mechanization and development reached new heights in convergence with the Industrial Revolution, an increase in depictive program music, and the desire for a connective sonic aesthetic, similar to the flowing line of Art Nouveau. Expanded ranges and greater chromaticism also made ornamental musical writing possible. In his warnings of the dangers of relating Art Nouveau with music, Carl Dahlhaus speaks specifically to the idea of instrumentation as a central component of the music of the fin-de-siècle. He gives both his own assessment of the primary musical characteristics of the time and the predominant obstacle in relating them:

No matter how we bend the terms, it is hard to imagine a category linking the primacy of 'sonority' (meaning the fusion of harmony and instrumentation) in fin-de-siècle music and the bold outlines of *Jugendstil*.¹⁶⁹

Innovation in the development of instruments as distinct from their compositional usage holds parallels with the Art Nouveau movement. Even in the case of instrumental ideas that pre-dated the fin-de-siècle, the means by which to produce them, or means of which to produce reliable working models did not exist until well after the Industrial Revolution. The enhanced possibilities brought about by instrumental development were in themselves an abstract form of ornamentation. Through either innovation or mechanization, instruments could play more notes and embellishments than ever before. So too did the resultant orchestral palette too became ornamented, capable of far greater nuance and breadth of color than previously possible.

Likewise, these new possibilities of sonic transformation were made possible through innovations in materials and their development. Ironically, the simplification through mechanization – valves on the trumpet, for instance – had the result of creating more possibilities. The Wagnerian concept of *endlose* or *unendliche Melodie* and the desire for smooth, cohesive sonic landscapes is exemplified in the

¹⁶⁹ Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 332.

case of the Wagner tuba. Developed out of an aesthetic need to create a seamless whiplash line of musical continuity, Wagner devised this instrument following the composition of *Das Rheingold* (1853). Its purpose was one of “bridging the gap between the horns and trombones.”¹⁷⁰

The development of instruments that depicted naturalism also grew in parallel with the rise of Art Nouveau. This was particularly prevalent in the work of Austro-Germanic composers: for instance, the wind machine in the works of Richard Strauss and the rute, a “birch brush used to beat the bass drum to obtain special effect”¹⁷¹ in the works of Gustav Mahler. Strauss also developed a breathing aid known as Samuel’s Aerophone, designed to allow woodwind players to sustain connected musical lines for much longer than previously possible.

The Belgian Adolphe Sax (1814–1894) invented the saxophone, first introduced in 1841, in order to “to eradicate displeasing tonal differences and disproportions between brass and woodwind instruments,”¹⁷² in an orchestral or band framework, “intended to replace the Ophicleide.”¹⁷³ The ophicleide, patented in 1821,¹⁷⁴ was also subject to mechanization during the fin-de-siècle. Close relatives, oddities like the contrabass sarrusophone appeared in the scores of Ravel, Debussy, and Delius.¹⁷⁵ Mechanization afforded many instruments with difficult personalities new hope for accuracy and possibilities for orchestral incorporation. William Waterhouse describes the increasing usage for instruments like the contrabassoon:

In 1879 an improved model was made which was held and fingered conventionally; Wagner praised its new-found ability to play smoothly, and subsequently employed it in Parsifal.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁰ Raymond Bryant, et al., “Wagner tuba,” in Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online,

<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/29794>> (accessed October 16, 2011).

¹⁷¹ “Rute, rute,” in The Oxford Dictionary of Music, 2nd ed. rev., edited by Michael Kennedy, Oxford Music Online,

<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t237/e8827>> (accessed October 16, 2011).

¹⁷² Claus Raumberger and Karl Ventzke, “Saxophone,” in Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online,

<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/24670>> (accessed December 11, 2011).

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Reginald Morley-Pegge, et al., “Ophicleide,” in Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online,

<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40954>> (accessed December 11, 2011).

¹⁷⁵ William Waterhouse, “Bassoon,” in Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online,

<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/02276>> (accessed December 11, 2011).

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

One of the most important innovators of instruments around the time of the fin-de-siècle was the German Wilhelm Heckel (1856–1909), who worked with Wagner on the development of an instrument known as the Heckel-clarina, intended for use in the shepherd's pipe solo in Act III of *Tristan und Isolde*. Although never used, he did devise a special version of the clarinet and later the Heckelphone, a type of bass oboe:

This was developed by Wilhelm Heckel and his sons Wilhelm Hermann and August to fill Wagner's request, expressed in a meeting of 1879, for a baritone voice to fill out the double-reed choir. Wagner had envisioned an instrument combining 'something of the character of the oboe with the mellow but powerful sound of the alphorn'.¹⁷⁷

The German composer Richard Strauss (1864–1949) considered and utilized many of the innovative instruments of Heckel, employing the Heckelphone in both his opera *Salome* (1905) and the tone poem *Eine Alpensinfonie* (1915).

Innovations in materials and construction practices paved the way for new instrumental developments. Similar to the way that objects such as cups, cutlery, and furniture became adorned with ornaments, so did instruments in a figurative way. Yet the florid, decorative designs of some instruments during the Art Nouveau, particularly as seen in the piano with its prominent figuration in the musical life of the café, salon, and cabaret, provided a more direct physical analogy. Like orchestration, which in a classicist sense was a material divorced from basic musical substance, the exterior physical ornamentation of some instruments during the Art Nouveau had nothing to do with their sound, only their visual presence. The essential uselessness and wasted labor of such superfluous ornament, both in physical and abstract, would become, a central criticism of Adolf Loos (1870–1933) against the movement in his polemic *Ornament und Verbrechen* (*Ornament and Crime*) (1908).

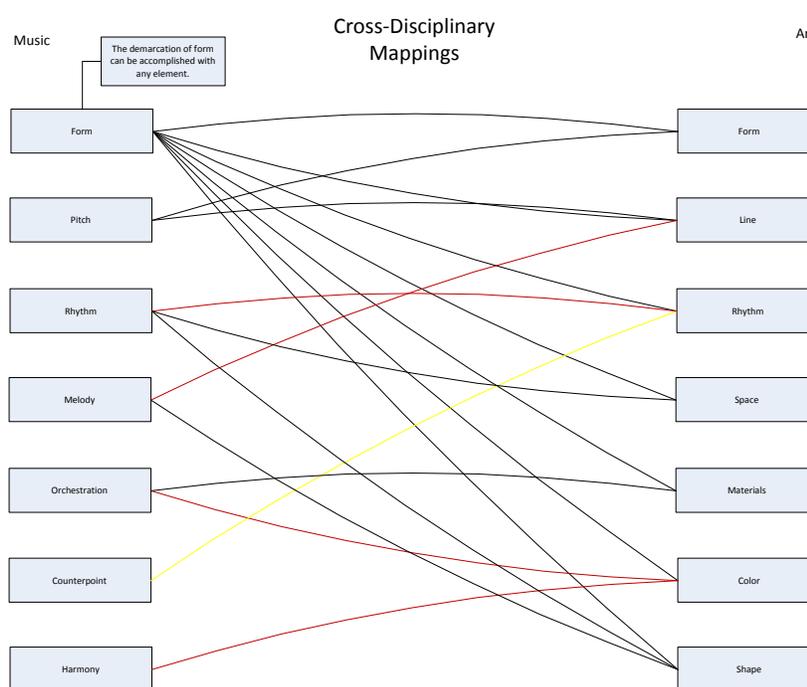
¹⁷⁷ Philip Bate and Michael Finkelman, "Heckelphone," in Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/12655>> (accessed December 11, 2011).

Methodologies for Cross-Disciplinary Comparison

The following two chapters will relate the aesthetic aspects of Art Nouveau with the symphonic genre through four selected case studies that include fin-de-siècle symphonies by Chausson, d'Indy, Zemlinsky and Mahler. The first means by which these works will be related is the idea of creating “nodes” from the elements of each discipline, then mapping them to different combinations with one another. In this way, many different possibilities are created for comparing stylistic attributes.¹⁷⁸ The second is using cross-disciplinary concepts

and vocabulary developed from the writings of Paul Klee (1879–1940) and Arnold Schoenberg, experts in complementary fields with a breadth of knowledge that spanned across disciplines.

The most abstract of the arts, music defies easy written description without loss of fidelity even before the



4. Christopher Hill, *Cross Disciplinary Mappings*.

complexity of relating it with another discipline. The wide variety of literature on the intersection of art and music is frequently criticized for its lack of concreteness and definitive findings. Yet much of this can be attributed to the unsystematic way that many cross-disciplinary studies of art and music have been undertaken, particularly how the two relate art and music. In short, the idea of “node mapping” is one that mimics the neural paths in physiology. Researchers have related Art Nouveau with music by endlessly

¹⁷⁸ DW Robertson, DK Martin, and PA Singer, “Interdisciplinary Research: Putting the Methods Under the Microscope,” *BMC Medical Research Methodology* (2003): 3.

relating arabesque and linear constructs in both disciplines; indeed, I will do the same. Yet this singular focus, combined with that of color with timbre, excludes many other possibilities of mappings between elements.

For example, the correlation of materials with orchestration is one that yields interesting results. Both represent the physical manifestation of an abstract creation, and both underwent extraordinary development during the years of 1884–1910. The relation of shape in art also has elements that create interesting results when mapped to melodic line in music; cyclicity as represented by the Franck school, for instance. Musical form and the spatial characteristics of art are often compared, particularly in the case of modernist composers. Yet the tendency is to focus on mappings that register immediate surface understanding, such as the long flowing hair of a Jugendstil maiden with a beautifully shaped melodic line. This analogy alone has resulted in gross, popular overuse. Although exploring all such possibilities is outside the scope of this document, it is hoped that a more scientific approach can be adopted in future cross-disciplinary studies, particularly those that relate discrete elements. These mappings result in abstract comparisons that require some thought to synthesize. In particular, the socio-historical narrative given here is for good reason, as much these relations generate a layer of abstraction as a result of the nodular comparison.

As Carl Dahlhaus and others have implied, the stretch (ca.1960–1985) of renewed interest in relating music and Art Nouveau in particular proved to be somewhat of a fad. These studies have failed to overwhelmingly convince a general audience of the validity of reading an Art Nouveau influence in music as reflected in the continued use of the term Impressionism to continue to describe the music of Claude Debussy and Maurice Ravel. Although surface comparisons such as this may captivate public interest, it is precisely the preponderance of these vague comparisons in the literature that relates music with Art Nouveau that has in fact shrouded deeper connections between the two. A more descriptive means by which to understand some possible relations lay in the relation of the use of compositional materials across genres.

While the precise elements of each discipline are debatable, the most common include form, melody, harmony, rhythm, counterpoint, and orchestration in music and line, figure, shape, rhythm, and color in art.¹⁷⁹ So, melody and line are often related. Interestingly, while many authors parallel the idea of the ornament with melodic figurations, artist Paul Klee instead relates ornament with rhythm as evidenced below. One could also make a case for relating ornament and form, particularly in the case of the finale of the Seventh Symphony of Mahler, with its frequent interruptions, twists and turns. What about relating shape with rhythm, or counterpoint, and line?

Developing Relational Methods through Klee and Schoenberg

Fortunately, two artists, each adept in *both* painting and music, have articulated some of their thoughts in writing. While not always providing complete analytic clarity, together their literary and artistic products provide useful assistance in relating art with music. Schoenberg was not only a composer, but a thoughtful writer and an accomplished amateur visual artist. He studied painting with Richard Gerstl (1883–1908), an artist with whom his wife had an affair that ultimately led to his suicide. Schoenberg's varied artistic output, including architectural plans and schematics as well as a number of self-portraits, underpins not only strong interdisciplinary interest but substantial interest in structure and form. In an early fragment, "Some Ideas for the Establishment of a Modern Theory of Composition" (ca. 1900), Schoenberg describes his displeasure with the idea of theme or motif as the chief impetus for a compositional work.¹⁸⁰ In order to create depth of expression, Schoenberg argued that it is "the effective arrangement and structure [that] become most important, demanding consideration alongside the material, if not even priority."¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁹ Ron Sylva, in his article "Parameters of Art" (1988), defines eight areas that may be of interest. I will paraphrase them here: 1. Art area (fine, environmental, pragmatic); 2. Medium (immediate, technological, conceptual); 3. Mindset (spontaneity, precision, ingenuity); 3. Dimensions (four, three, two); 4. Process (manipulate, add, subtract, transform); 5. Approach (juxtapose, realize, synthesize); 6. Intention (interpretive, expressive, formalistic); 7. Imagery (realistic, abstract, non-objective); 8. Subject (people, surroundings, ideas, emotions, art).

¹⁸⁰ Joseph Henry Auner and Arnold Schoenberg, *A Schoenberg Reader: Documents of a Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 17.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 17.

In the first page of his later publication the *Structural Functions of Harmony* (1959), Schoenberg discusses the difference between a succession and progression. The “succession is aimless,” Schoenberg says, while “a progression aims for a definite goal.”¹⁸² Later, he explains how the development of extended tonality arose in parallel with text:

A melody, if it followed the dictates of its musical structure alone, might develop in a direction different from that in which a text forces it. It might become shorter or longer, produce its climax earlier or later – or dispense with it entirely...¹⁸³

While his later ideas are not always related to discussions of Art Nouveau, they nevertheless have generalist relevance to methodology for comparison. Eventually, fueled by the vitriol of the Viennese architect and polemicist Adolf Loos, Schoenberg would hasten the demise of ornament and with it Art Nouveau. As Holly Watkins notes:

While Loos campaigned for the removal of meretricious architectural ornaments, Schoenberg recognized that musical ornaments had played (and would continue to play) a vital role in music’s evolution and thus could not be excised as a mere appendix to musical structure.¹⁸⁴

The Swiss painter Paul Klee (1879–1940), an accomplished amateur violinist, is a near-perfect complement to Schoenberg. Around the time of the Art Nouveau, Klee was in Munich (ca. 1900), still in his infancy as an artist, absorbing the work of Meier-Graefe through his writings, a central figure to Art Nouveau who distinguished color as decoration and line as ornament. Once Art Nouveau had run its course (ca. 1910), Klee became a member of *Der Blaue Reiter* (1911–13) and later the *Bauhaus* (1919–1933), a German school of modernism that was for a time run by Henry van de Velde. Nevertheless, at this late time the Bauhaus still bore many similarities to Art Nouveau, including the integration of the decorative and fine arts. A fusion of the Parisian and Viennese Art Nouveau ideas, their emphasis was even more strongly rooted in architecture. Eventually, it was led by the architect Walter Gropius (1883–1969), a German who married Alma Mahler-Werfel (1879–1964) following a lengthy affair and the passing of her

¹⁸² Arnold Schoenberg and Leonard Stein, *Structural Functions of Harmony* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1969), 1.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 76.

¹⁸⁴ Holly Watkins, “Schoenberg’s Interior Designs,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 61, no. 1 (2008): 126.

first husband, Gustav Mahler. Klee was also a keen intellectual; like Schoenberg, he was an avid writer and kept copious notebooks of his experiences. His “*Diaries, Notebooks, and other writings...* [make] frequent reference to music as a means of clarifying theoretical ideas about color themes and movement in time and space.”¹⁸⁵

In *Paul Klee: Painting Music*, Hajo Düchting extracts some of the most important ideas from his writing. He describes the first and most basic element to his oeuvre as rhythm, demonstrated as a structural idea. Klee would often examine “how several parallel lines” would “combine to form simple patterns, which he termed ‘structural rhythms.’” If vertical and horizontal lines intersect, the result is a chessboard pattern, frequently used by Klee during this period not only to demonstrate certain problems with colours but to study rhythm as well.¹⁸⁶ He also likened rhythm to ornament, as illustrated in his *Rhythms of a Planting*.¹⁸⁷ The measured organization of rhythm into bars is also important for Klee; he went as far as to develop “the linear progression produced by the movement of the conductor’s baton” into an image based on three and four beat conducting patterns in his painting the *Departure of the Ships* (1927).¹⁸⁸ Like Schoenberg, Klee demarcates between “individual” – indivisible, unrepeatable, irregular and independent units – and “structural” ones – divisible owing to their containment of smaller units of fundamental structure.¹⁸⁹ Düchting describes his ideas further:

Klee was just as innovative with his linear structures, with which he created a wealth of dynamic linear progressions, inserting them in his ‘structural’ grid-systems like musical notation. In *Pastoral (Rhythms)* (1927) there is a rich vocabulary of small fragmentary forms inserted into parallel, horizontal lines which are repeated at regular intervals in a rhythmical fashions like the notes of a musical bar. These simple forms can be varied and expanded, yet again, by rearranging, inverting, or using mirror-images to form larger complexes; a technique that recalls the art of the fugue.¹⁹⁰

Klee frequently uses the idea of counterpoint, particularly of polyphony and the fugue through overlapping layers and their resultant gradients to describe his art:

¹⁸⁵ K. Porter Aichele, “Paul Klee’s Operatic Themes and Variations” in *Art Bulletin* 68, no. 3 (1986): 451.

¹⁸⁶ Hajo Düchting and Paul Klee, *Paul Klee: painting music* (Munich: Prestel, 2004), 33-34.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 57.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 34-35.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 35.

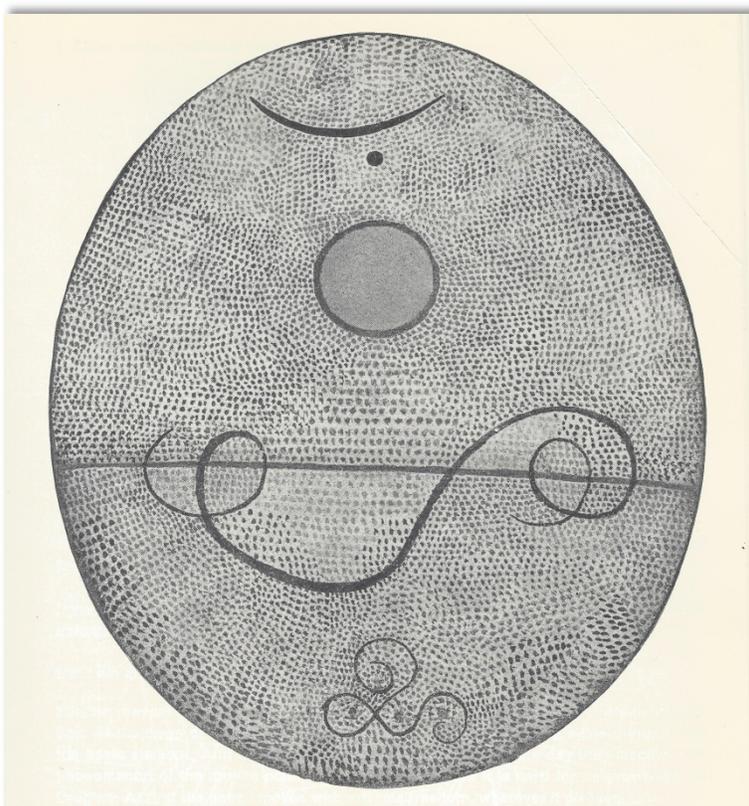
¹⁹⁰ Düchting and Klee, 42.

In his images of fugues, for example *Fugue in Red*, the temporal dimension is visualized by varying the intensity of the colour-values. The progression of a theme corresponds, therefore, to the development of the coloration (e.g. from light to dark, from yellow to violet).¹⁹¹

As in the case of Schoenberg, these ideas are descriptive and date from after the time of the Art Nouveau. Nevertheless, they can be applied ahead of their time. Richard Verdi elaborates on the use of line by Klee as it depicts a leaf. “Our initial perplexity before nature is explained by our seeing at first the small outer branches and not penetrating to the main branches or the trunk. But once this is realized, one will perceive a repetition of the whole law even in the outermost leaf and turn it to good use.”¹⁹² The element of time is inferred from the presence of various lines:

For, to Klee, the visual arts—like music—were essentially modes of expression which unfolded in time; and, as we shall see, any number of his pictures seek to encapsulate more than one temporal moment in their treatment of a natural subject.¹⁹³

Interestingly, Klee viewed coloration not as analogous with orchestration or sonority, but as something of suggestive power comparable to the “expressive content of the musical tone.”¹⁹⁴ Most strikingly, similar to much of his naturalistic early drawings, Klee’s organic image *Tendrils* (1932) bears all of the hallmarks of Art Nouveau; an arabesque



5. Paul Klee, *Tendrils* (1932). Felix Klee, Berne.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 40.

¹⁹² Richard Verdi, *Klee and Nature* (New York: Rizzoli, 1985), 107.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 25.

¹⁹⁴ Düring and Klee, 45.

background juxtaposed against the foreground of an ornamented line. Jeanne Anger convincingly describes the arabesque of Klee:

If he had, after all, he would have known that his largest motif in this painting is a specialized Islamic tendril motif, namely, an arabesque, because it intersects not just the straight line, but intersects itself twice. Indeed, in doing so, as is common for the arabesque, the intersections form other shapes, which we see in the two loops or egglike shapes. Klee accentuates these shapes not only by the intersecting horizontal line but also by shifting the color of the dots in the enclosed areas. In so doing Klee unites the flow of linear ornament with the decorative surface color to produce a stirring harmonic resolution. Thus we see the integration of the German principle of ornament as meaningful line and the French conception of the *décoratif* as a flat and pleasing arrangement of color. This unity represents what I have called the decorative in painting.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁵ Anger and Klee, 30-1.

CHAPTER 3: THE FIN-DE-SIÈCLE PARISIAN SYMPHONY AND ART NOUVEAU

Ernest Chausson, the Symphony in B-flat, and Art Nouveau

The two symphonies explored in this chapter, despite their many differences, are nevertheless musical siblings. The Symphony in B-flat (1890) of Ernest Chausson (1855–1899) demonstrates the Art Nouveau principles of line and mysticism, while the Symphony No. 2 of d’Indy (1902–3) emphasizes rigid adherence to cyclical with an infusion of folk music. Yet both are related through a common parent in their symphonic father: César Franck. As Richard Taruskin notes:

...the most noteworthy aspect of Franck’s status as a preceptor and example remains the simple fact that he made his mark primarily as a composer – and inculcator – of “absolute” instrumental music. This was virtually unprecedented in a French composer.¹⁹⁶

The distinguishing characteristic of French music during the fin-de-siècle was the diversity of competing schools of musical thought. Donald Grout neatly reduces these influences into three, distinctive trends between 1871 and the early 1900s:

...(1) the cosmopolitan tradition, transmitted through César Franck and carried on by his pupils, especially Vincent d’Indy; (2) the specifically French tradition, transmitted through Camille Saint-Saëns and continued by his pupils, especially Gabriel Fauré; and (3) a later tradition, rooted in the French one, led by Debussy in directions that could hardly have been predicted.¹⁹⁷

Peter Brown notes the emergence of a dichotomy in the 1890s when there became a distinction “between two kinds of French symphonies—those of a “classical” bent, exemplified by Saint-Saëns’s Third, and those with more “romantic” affinities, which took Franck’s Symphony in D minor as their

¹⁹⁶ Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, vol. 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 895.

¹⁹⁷ Donald Jay Grout and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music* (New York: Norton, 2001), 661.

model.”¹⁹⁸ The latter type includes both the d’Indy Symphony No. 2 and the Chausson Symphony in B-flat described in this chapter. He further elaborates that confusing adherence to classicism by Saint-Saëns:

Saint-Saëns may have employed procedures associated with “romantic” works but, according to the analysts, he did so in order to create a satisfying work of “pure music” and not for any programmatic or didactic end.¹⁹⁹

Three major factors characterize the Franck model of the French Symphony in the fin-de-siècle: cyclicity, mysticism, and the extensive use of Wagnerian harmony and color. All three of these factors also have much in common with Art Nouveau. Franck’s cyclicity intersects with the Art Nouveau not only in the abstract through the representation of the totality of life experience within art, but physically through the use of architectural arch-form and repeated motivic ideas throughout those forms. Likewise, the appearance of mysticism in both Art Nouveau and music became an increasing signifier of the times, intersecting at the work of Franck and his acolytes via the Rosicrucian movement that had begun to appear in the Salon as well as the Art Nouveau. It was there that “in certain contexts Art Nouveau artists, like the Symbolists, consciously recalled mystical folk traditions” and that “provided a stage for many Symbolist artists to exhibit their work in Paris.”²⁰⁰ Finally, it was the influence of Wagnerian harmony, in particular that of *Tristan und Isolde*, that appeared throughout the music of Franck and his disciples and was also immortalized in Art Nouveau.

Strongly influenced not only by his mentor Franck but by Austro-German romanticism in general, Chausson was also a close friend of Debussy and—as illustrated in the previous chapter—a fixture in artistic circles during the fin-de-siècle. Chausson dedicated his Symphony No. 2 (1890) to the painter Henry Lerolle (1848–1929). Rarely performed and recorded today, it is characterized by its melancholic vocal quality throughout, both in passages directed to be performed as *très chanté* and through the prominent English horn solo in the second movement.²⁰¹ More importantly, the work deftly

¹⁹⁸ A. Peter Brown, *The European Symphony from ca.1800 to ca.1930: Great Britain, Russia, and France* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), 582.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 583.

²⁰⁰ Escritt, 104.

²⁰¹ Ernest Chausson, *Symphony in B Flat Major, op. 20* (New York: International Music Company, 1947).

illustrates his diverse influences: a blending of Wagnerian harmony with flowing Art Nouveau melody and interior ornament, adorned with (sometimes wide) chromatic leaps. Nevertheless, a clear formal structure based on organicism and cyclicity inherited from Franck supports the work.

Franck's serious view of the role of art music has been described as a "double allegiance" to both classical Viennese tradition and Wagner, contributing to "stylistic confusion."²⁰² Thus, it is bitterly ironic that such an important and nationalist style in the fin-de-siècle French Symphony had its roots outside of the country. Although Franck was eventually naturalized, he was born a Belgian citizen in Liège, a city midway between Brussels and Cologne, an area that in many ways was responsible for the birth of the Art Nouveau movement.

Like Hector Guimard, Henry Van de Velde and other artists associated with the Art Nouveau, the new French symphony aimed to break away from the rigidity of classical forms, aiming instead for a disguise in naturalism. Yet in the case of both the art and the music, this breakaway was not done through the overt discarding of form, but rather through a deepening of thought and development that extended those forms without distortion, sometimes with even the opposite effect. This extension can be viewed through the Art Nouveau idea of dynamic architecture, which has direct application to the famous Art Nouveau whiplash line:

Dynamic architecture sought as a solution, not as an expression or interpretation, is the sole architecture that truly moves; it exists as a result of mobile tensions and forms. The curves and tear-shaped profiles of the airplane do not express movement: they create it.²⁰³

Ernest Chausson was born in Paris the same year of the first *Exposition Universelle* of Paris, an exhibition that featured the *Palais de l'Industrie*, a forerunner of the beaux-arts *Grand Palais* that later replaced it for the Art Nouveau exhibition of 1900. The ascendancy of Chausson from affluence and comfort, in contrast to many of the artists surrounding him, would haunt him for much of his life. His

²⁰² John Trevitt and Joël-Marie Fauquet, "Franck, César," in Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/10121>> (accessed December 9, 2011).

²⁰³ Karel Teige, *Modern Architecture in Czechoslovakia and Other Writings* (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Research Institute, 2000), 145.

tireless work was not reflected in his results, which are scattered in quality and appearance. Yet his frequent struggles in composition reflected his desire to be viewed as worthy of his inherited social status:

In spite of all I have told you about the perception of a work of art and the discouragement I feel at never being able to create one, I labor as if I thought completely differently at that moment. But once that warm feeling has passed, I erupt with rage at seeing how what I can do is so far from what I would like to do, from what I seem to hear in my head. And the next day I go back to work all the same.²⁰⁴

Nevertheless, he was unable to rid himself of these associations, and continues to be viewed as a musical amateur through the work of contemporary scholars. Interestingly, it was during his youth that Chausson was first exposed to reading, drawing, exhibitions and performances through a private tutor. His introduction to the salons began not long after, at the youthful age of sixteen, when he first appeared at the home of Mademoiselle Jobert and later Mademoiselle Saint-Cyr de Rayssac, the latter of whom convinced Chausson to pursue music.²⁰⁵ At these gatherings, Chausson ran into artists such as Paul Chenavard (1808–1895), Henri Fantin-Latour (1836–1904), Odilon Redon (1840–1916), as well as Vincent d'Indy.

His family, however, continued to encourage a practical existence that would also support their stature. His mother Stéphanie Levrault (1820–1888) and father, Prosper Chausson (1804–1894), a public works contractor for the Haussmann project, both lived in the French capital. And both of them, despite the interest, skill and early exposure to the arts evidenced by their son, encouraged Chausson to study law. In appeasement of his family, Chausson complied, earning his degree on April 24, 1876.

Nevertheless, Chausson continued to pursue musical studies as well as experiment with writing and drawing. Although there is some early glimmer of his compositional skill evidenced in the song *Lilacs* (1877), it was not until two years later when the twenty-four year old Chausson began formal studies as an orchestration student of Jules Massenet (1842–1912) at the *Paris Conservatoire*. Massenet's style would play a role in Chausson's music; reminiscent of the Pre-Raphaelites, the fluidity and rich, bright colors typified

²⁰⁴ Brown, *The European Symphony from ca.1800 to ca.1930: Great Britain, Russia, and France*, 611.

²⁰⁵ Jean Gallois, "Chausson, Ernest," in Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05490>> (accessed December 11, 2011).

his highly melodic style. Following an unsuccessful attempt at the *Prix de Rome* (1881), Chausson rescinded his official tuition.

It did not take long for Chausson, similar to most of his French counterparts and Massenet himself, to come under the spell of Wagner. Chausson made several trips to Bayreuth. On his first trip (1882), he attended together with friend d'Indy. On his second trip (1883), he attended with his new wife Jeanne Escudier, as part of their honeymoon; her sister, Madeline was married to the art collector Henri Lerolle (1848–1929). In addition to the Symphony, he dedicated his symphonic poem *Viviane*, op. 5 (1882) to her, a work based on Arthurian legend, a theme that would appear throughout his later in many of his later works.

The marriage of Chausson to Escudier (1883) afforded the composer significant connections within the Art Nouveau circuit. Combined with his pre-existing socio-economic status, the connections of the élite Chausson far eclipsed those of any of his contemporaries within the Salon circuit, including Debussy. In fact, following his marriage, with his wife and the support of Lerolle—who hosted a number of salons at his home on 20 Avenue Duquesne—Chausson began his own salon series at his residence near the *Parc Monceau*: 22 Boulevard de Courcelles. There, his many guests included the composer Henri Duparc (1848–1933), Gabriel Fauré (1845–1924), Claude Debussy, Isaac Albéniz (1860–1909), the symbolist poet Stéphane Mallarmé (1842–1898) and author Ivan Turgenev (1818–1883), and the artist Claude Monet (1840–1926). His home also included an unprecedented collection of art:

“Later in the century a concert of Debussy’s music was performed in a Brussels gallery hung with paintings by Gauguin and Renoir. Redon and Chausson played Beethoven and Schumann in the more private setting of Chausson’s home, filled with his collection of contemporary French art.”²⁰⁶

That Brussels gallery was *Les Vingts*; under the eventual musical direction of d'Indy, Chausson had a number of works performed there, such as his *Concert* at the 1892 exhibition and the *Poème de l’amour et la mer* (1882–92) at the exhibition of 1893. For the performance of the latter, he played the reduction at the

²⁰⁶ Marsha L. Morton, “From the Other Side,” 14.

piano with the acclaimed tenor Désiré Demest (1864–1932). Chausson was supportive of his colleagues Debussy and Albéniz, offering them frequent material assistance.

In spite of his gifts, and in part because of his early death, his output was small. Yet he enjoyed a relatively quiet life with his wife and five children, and made many trips both within France and abroad. He died in Limay (1899) at the youthful age of forty-four. Riding his bike on a downhill slope, Chausson lost control and headed directly into a brick wall:

Chausson seemed to be on the verge of creating a highly individual style when he was killed in a bicycling accident at the age of forty-four.²⁰⁷

He is buried in the *Père Lachaise*; he is honored with a park in the seventeenth *arrondissement* named in his honor.

²⁰⁷ Rey M. Longyear, *Nineteenth-Century Romanticism in Music* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969), 275.

Chausson: Style, Aesthetic, and Art Nouveau

The work of Chausson is divided into three stylistic periods. The first, from 1878–1886, includes his early work under the influence of Massenet, who called Chausson “an exceptional person and true artist.”²⁰⁸ This early period is characterized by an abundance of trills and ornaments that evolved from his instruction with the great opera melodist. Their repetitive appearances can be likened with the trends in Art Nouveau of the time. This period also included two visits to Bayreuth, during which he saw *Tristan and Parsifal*. He had also traveled to Munich in order to see a performance of the *Der Ring des Nibelungen* and *Der fliegende Holländer* (1879). The most distinctive aspects of Chausson’s own compositional style during this period are his endearing attention to an almost sung, fluidly elegant melodic line.

His second compositional period is demarcated beginning with his appointment as secretary to the *Société Nationale de Musique* (1886). Chausson was involved in the *Société* from 1886 to 1899, where he served as secretary following the ouster of d’Indy (1886). Just as his upbringing and marriage had secured his position in the upper classes, this high-profile appointment further secured his position as the grand élite of the Parisian intellectual and musical circuit. His music from this time exhibits greater seriousness and is more dramatic in character, perhaps representing his increasingly important contacts within the élite Parisian artistic circles. The *Symphony in B-flat* (1890) dates from this period.

As is also true in the case of d’Indy, Chausson falls into the “cosmopolitan tradition” described by Grout as a devoted disciple of Franck. The idea of a “cosmopolitan tradition” integrates with a unified conception of Art Nouveau, as well as with the belief of Franck about the “serious social mission of the artist.”²⁰⁹ Interestingly, the rigidity of the teaching of Franck could be seen as a forerunner of functionalist modernism. His musical ideas were developed in a rigid and logical manner that avoided any type of expressionistic extremism. Yet despite this, he communicated something altogether different to his students:

²⁰⁸ Gallois, “Chausson, Ernest.”

²⁰⁹ Donald Jay Grout and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music* (New York: Norton, 2001), 660.

To his pupils, Franck communicated both the Beethovenian idealism inherent in the cultivation of the strict genres of symphony, quartet and sonata and the harmonic innovations of late Romanticism. This double allegiance to the Viennese tradition on the one hand, and to Liszt and Wagner on the other, was undoubtedly responsible for the self-indulgent massiveness which characterizes many Franckist works and which sometimes proved to be a source of stylistic confusion, as Cooper (1951) has observed about the Piano Trio by Lekeu. The finest products of the movement, however, such as the chamber music and the Symphony of Chausson, in whose Piano Trio may be observed the most direct workings of Franck's influence, align this monumentality with a sweeping lyricism.²¹⁰

The alignment of Chausson and d'Indy with the ideas of their mentor did not necessarily position them against the modernist ideas of Debussy. This is particularly true in the case of Chausson, who provided financial assistance to the young composer until his misuse of funds complicated their relationship that ended speaking terms around 1895.²¹¹ In the case of d'Indy, any resentment toward Debussy had much more to do with *Debussyism* than the actual techniques used by the composer, many of which were employed in his own work. In the case of Chausson, the Rosicrucian music of Satie was also "important both to the salon and to his own development as a composer."²¹²

The third period of Chausson was marked by his father's death (1894), and his music of this time represents a more obvious turn to symbolist poets and authors, including Ivan Turgenev (1818–1883), Fyodor Dostoevsky (1821–1881), and Lev Tolstoy (1828–1910). Owing to the development of his late taste for chamber music, including his String Quartet (1899), it is likely that Chausson might have continued in the direction of music for smaller forces had he continued to live.

With an aesthetic that at times rested between Massenet and Brahms, Chausson was nevertheless one of the most visible members of the Franck circle. Yet it was from Wagner that Chausson grew his own technique of harmony and orchestration; these ideas are particularly apparent in the symphony. He adopted other characteristic elements of Wagner later, including the use of *leitmotif* technique in the opera *Le roi Arthur* (1886–1895). Although critics condemned this and other music as blatantly Wagnerian, he eventually eschewed this style, writing to the lawyer and art critic Paul Poujaud citing that necessity of

²¹⁰ Trevitt and Fauquet, "Franck, César."

²¹¹ Debussy, Lesure, and Langham Smith, 128.

²¹² Richard Langham Smith and Caroline Potter, *French Music Since Berlioz* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2006), 95.

“de-Wagnerization.”²¹³ Jean Gallois describes two further ideas unique to Chausson’s style. The first relates as a unique harmonic language with echoes of *Tristan*:

One soon encounters numerous well-constructed three- and four-note chords, remote but effective modulations that turn easily about the 5th degree either chromatically or enharmonically, grace notes, appoggiaturas, anticipations, even certain rhythms (crotchet + triplet) and 7th chords that became the composer’s hallmark, as well as the 11th chords that blossom in the final string quartet.²¹⁴

The second aspect related by Gallois is the revival of old French tempo and movement indications, an idea that was also central to the music of d’Indy, although in his case the interest was more *religioso* in quality and stretched further back into the Renaissance. Of Chausson, he says:

... his general outlook [was] to old French masters, especially Couperin and Rameau, even reviving the old French tempo and movement indications (*décidé*, *grave*, *très animé*) and the old forms themselves – he called his piece for piano, violin and string quartet a ‘concert’, as in the 18th century, not a sextet.²¹⁵

Mysticism, though traditionally aligned with the symbolist movement in music, also had connotations for the music of Chausson, and importantly Art Nouveau. As Eugene Weber notes, “Mysticism offered a means of being religious while being original—a Christian Decadence—and the opportunity to reconcile private obsessions with public ones.”²¹⁶ He continues:

This was in 1887, the year an annual literary survey noted the progress of mysticism as a mark of the *fin de siècle*. Within a few years it would be hailed as “the last word in neurosis.” Max Nordau’s *Degeneration* devoted a chapter to it, and respectable folk took exception to “pornographers, who with their eyes to heaven, preach the Holy Word.” Faith, or rather vague religiosities that kept well away from established religion, was chic. *Le Mondain* welcomed the Rosicrucian painting exhibition at the Galerie Durand-Ruel as “a fashionable *fin de siècle* event in its mysticism.” Ladies wore dresses “à la neophyte,” gowns “martyre,” and “fantom” skirts cut in Liberty silk. The Théâtre de l’Art put on Jules Bois’s *Les Noces de Satahn*, the Chat Noir cabaret offered mystical songs, Sarah Bernhardt recited the mystery of the Passion at the Cirque d’Hiver, the Salon bulged with Christian paintings, Anatole France recognized “A New Scripture: Jesus in Paris.”²¹⁷

The most pertinent relationship to explore in terms of Chausson’s relations with artists of the Art Nouveau appears to be that of Maurice Denis (1870–1943), who anticipated the new movement in art

²¹³ Gallois, “Chausson, Ernest.”

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*

²¹⁶ Weber, 32.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 34.

through his revelations on interior design, created wallpaper, tapestries and ceramics in addition to decorative paintings. As Gerard Vaughan writes, Denis had great influence to the Art Nouveau:

Many of his large scale decorative projects depicted images of music-making activities. In 1895, as a commission from Bing for the opening exhibition of L'Art Nouveau, Denis painted a decorative frieze based on a Schumann song cycle, *The Life and Loves of a Woman*.²¹⁸

Denis conceived of painting as being able to express musical qualities, and his early work utilizes arabesque techniques.²¹⁹ Introduced by Henry Lerolle,²²⁰ Denis and Chausson soon became close friends. “Although Denis knew Debussy and collaborated with him, his aesthetic (and moral) ideas were closest to Chausson, d’Indy and their supporters.”²²¹ Denis decorated the interior of Chausson’s home in Fiesole, near Florence, Tuscany:²²²

Denis was a friend of the composer of Ernest Chausson. He decorated his house at Fiesole and in all likelihood introduced him to Maeterlinck whose *Serres Chaudes* he was to set to music. Denis also knew the Sâr Péladan as of course did Satie who had been his Maître de chapelle.²²³

²¹⁸ Gerard Vaughan, “Maurice Denis and the Sense of Music” in *Oxford Art Journal* 7, no. 1 (1984): 44.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 44.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 44.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, 44.

²²² Maxwell Steer, *Music and Mysticism* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1996), 83.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 83.

Chausson: Symphony in B-flat Major (1889–90)

Although the Symphony in B-flat (1889–90) of Chausson has often been deemed a clone of the Franck, its “sweeping lyricism” differentiates it from the work of his mentor.²²⁴ In parallel with architecture, the work has often been called “architectonic”²²⁵ on account of its tight formal integration. There are other parallels, though; the most notable of these being the key structure. An inverted relationship between the keys of the movements frames the two works; D minor to major, B-flat minor to major, and D major in the movements of the Franck, B-flat minor to major, D minor to major, and B-flat major in the movements of the Chausson. These movements also bear similar tempo markings. The first movements of each are marked “Lento–Allegro non troppo” and “Lent–Allegro vivo” and the third movements “Allegro non troppo” and “Animé” for the Franck and Chausson respectively. Only in the third is there significant difference, with the Franck marked “Allegretto” and Chausson marked “Très lent.” Chausson’s emphasis of line is apparent in the rejection of the inclusion of a scherzo, which for a time he had considered inserting between the second and third movements. He describes his decision making process: “I would not want a classical Scherzo. It has to go well with the rest of the symphony, and that would be difficult with the rhythm of a scherzo.”²²⁶

Dedicated to Henry Lerolle, the première of the Second Symphony took place on April 18, 1891, at the Société Nationale de Musique under Chausson’s own direction. The performance was overshadowed by the death of Franck just months earlier, as the work was being orchestrated. The conductor Charles Lamoreaux (1834–1899) had backed out of the première in the last moment, just as he had with the première of Franck’s Symphony in D minor in 1888. Nevertheless, a good review resulted owing to the large attendance of supporters from the *Société*. In terms of orchestration, the English horn, pervasive in composers of the time after Wagner’s utilization in *Tristan*, is also employed here. The symphony,

²²⁴ Trevitt and Fauquet, “Franck, César.”

²²⁵ Gallois, “Chausson, Ernest.”

²²⁶ Brown, *The European Symphony from ca.1800 to ca.1930: Great Britain, Russia, and France*, 618.

Wagnerian in its orchestration, is scored for 3 flutes, piccolo, 2 oboes, English horn, 2 clarinets, bass clarinet, 3 bassoons, 4 horns, 4 trumpets, 3 trombones, tuba, timpani, 2 harps and strings. Although though not utilized here, the colorful, Art Nouveau sounds of the celesta made its way into the orchestra, introduced by Chausson just two years prior, in his incidental music to Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (1888).²²⁷ Those sounds would appear again in Paris in the later works of Dukas, and in Vienna by Mahler in the *Symphony No. 6* (1903–04).

The composition of the symphony was fraught with obstacles, chiefly that of Chausson's own insecurity. Toward the final stages of its composition, Chausson plunged into Mozart's *The Magic Flute* during several moments of creative crisis in order to rid his mind of it.²²⁸ Yet Lerolle continued to advocate and encourage his development of the piece. Upon completion, Franck gave the piece his blessing, although he suggested a revision of the middle-part of the third movement.²²⁹ Its flexibility and nuance is one characteristic difference from its formal model, notes Ralph P. Locke:

...it is quite un-Franckian in its welcome flexibility of phrase structure. The themes throughout are clear cut and memorable, being mostly pentatonic or modal (e.g., Dorian in movt. 3 at rehearsal letter D).²³⁰

These longer phrase structures mirror Art Nouveau whiplash line as well and the type of “structural” and “individual” units explored by Klee. Like the branches of the *Tree of Life* by Klimt (ca. 1905), sub-phrases (“individual” units) are repeated to reproduce large phrasal concepts (“structural” units), in contrast to the use of more antecedent-consequent musical sentences. This is also a feature within the examples of d'Indy, Zemlinsky, and Mahler. Furthermore, there are quick, wide intervallic leaps that mimic the upward shooting motion of a growing plant tendril.

Chausson also creates a transparent and varied orchestration, writing many passages for solo instruments; only the final coda resembles the organ-like registrations and then by design, in order to

²²⁷ James Blades and James Holland, “Celesta,” in Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05251>> (accessed December 18, 2011).

²²⁸ Brown, *The European Symphony from ca.1800 to ca.1930: Great Britain, Russia, and France*, 612.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 612.

²³⁰ Kern D. Holoman, *The Nineteenth-Century Symphony* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1997), 178.

reinforce the closing chorale.²³¹ There are elements of thematic transformation similar to Franck in the last movement, particularly in the main “dancing” melody of the strings, and the transformation of the “motto” theme into a brass chorale at the end of the piece.

During the same time that he was struggling to finish the Symphony, Chausson was also working on *Le Roi Arthus* (1886–1895). The libretto of this opera was the composers own; in a way that is reminiscent of Wagner, the opera solidified many of Chausson’s Arthurian aesthetics. The story of this opera provides some enlightenment on his mindset during the composition of the Symphony:

After the fashion of the old king, he perceives life as ‘fixing on all things a gaze free from anger’, ‘believes in the power of effort and the energy of the will’, and is supported in his struggle by faith in a pure and lofty ideal.²³²

In *Le roi Arthus*, a near perfect transposition of the *Tristan* chord also occurs in Act I (“*ta voix chante dans mon âme*”):²³³

... almost all found the instruction at the Paris Conservatoire to be musically stultifying since it centered around operatic composition and the acquisition of mere technical skills in performance; this did not change until Fauré became director in 1905.²³⁴

²³¹ Brown, *The European Symphony from ca.1800 to ca.1930: Great Britain, Russia, and France*, 614.

²³² Gallois, “Chausson, Ernest.”

²³³ Longyear, 173.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 269.

Vincent d'Indy, the Symphony No. 2 in B-flat, and Art Nouveau

Like Chausson, Vincent d'Indy (1851–1931) had a friendly though not familial relationship with Henry Lerolle. And as already discussed, like Chausson d'Indy was also a student of Franck. Yet d'Indy was far more of a polarizing force than Chausson, both in music and politics. In particular, his anti-Semitic convictions have at least partially contributed to the widespread neglect of his work in present scholarship, though a bit of a revival is currently underway.

D'Indy was born in Paris, but his roots lay in the Ardèche region of France, and he spent many summers there. Born to a “military aristocratic family,” which likely fueled his vigorous ambition, he was brought up by his wealthy grandmother, Thérèse (née de Chorier). The young d'Indy, whose boyhood hero was Napoleon Bonaparte, was at the time more captivated by potential military operations than music education; later, he would not hesitate to volunteer for service with the French National Guard during the siege of Paris (1870–1). His early lessons were from Louis Diémer (1843–1919) in piano and Albert Lavignac (1846–1916) in theory. But following his first trip abroad to Italy at age 18, he became more conscious of his own developing musical future. He began to read the works of Dante Alighieri (1265–1321), who would eventually become his favorite author. Just as with Chausson, despite his father's insistence on a career in law, the death of his grandmother meant that he had the possibility to pursue music.

It was on the recommendation of the composer Henri Duparc (1848–1933)—who would eventually become the dedicatee of the Franck Symphony in D minor—that d'Indy was able to attend the organ class of Franck at the *Paris Conservatoire*. D'Indy later traveled to Germany to take part in classes by Liszt in Weimar (1873). Around this time, d'Indy began a symphonic trilogy based on the story of *Wallenstein* by Friedrich Schiller (1773–81). Not long after his graduation from the *Conservatoire* (1875),

d'Indy made his first trip to Bayreuth, where he was “emotionally overwhelmed by *Die Walküre* and *Götterdämmerung*.”²³⁵ His relationship with the artist Henri Fantin-Latour may have also begun there:

Fantin noted to Maître that he was one of the few Frenchmen at Bayreuth in 1876. D'Indy also had a personal relationship with Fantin; he was known to visit Fantin's home to play the piano for him.²³⁶ He is immortalized in his oil on canvas *Around the Piano* (1885). This heralded Fantin's “allegiance to Wagnerism” and was displayed at the Salon of 1885.²³⁷

Importantly, D'Indy served as an advisor (1888–1893) to *Les Vingt* in Brussels, an organization that as was already explored in the second chapter played a central role in the foundation and development of Art Nouveau. Their exhibitions included performances of d'Indy's *Poème des Montagnes* (1881) and *Symphony Cevenole* (1886).

Folk music, stemming from his upbringing in the Ardèche region of France, grounded much of d'Indy's compositional style. This is particularly evident in works such as the *Symphonie sur un chant montagnard français for piano and orchestra* (1886). An idea first put forth in Franck's *Variations symphoniques* has the “solo piano prominent yet subordinate to the orchestra and contains ingenious thematic transformation.”²³⁸ To a degree, D'Indy influenced Debussy with his use of the piano in *Symphonie sur un chant montagnard français* (1886) that Debussy later utilized in the *Fantasia* for piano and orchestra (1890).²³⁹

In 1885, d'Indy was awarded the *Grand Prix la Ville de Paris* with his cantata *Le chant de la cloche*, op. 18 (1885). In this cantata, he “overlaid Schiller's poem with a sturdy uncompromising Catholicism and the artistic ideas expressed by Wagner in *Die Meistersinger*.”²⁴⁰ Two years later, his *Symphonie sur un chant montagnard français* was premièred (1887).

D'Indy had a diverse career as a composer, musician, and teacher. Allied with Chabrier, Fauré and Chausson, d'Indy also admired and conducted the works of Debussy and Dukas. This was in spite of his

²³⁵ Andrew Thomson and Robert Orledge, “Indy, Vincent d',” in Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/13787>> (accessed December 11, 2011).

²³⁶ Peter L. Schmunk, “Van Gogh in Neunen and Paris: The Origins of a Musical Paradigm for Painting” in *The Arts Entwined: Music and Painting in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Marsha Morton and Peter L. Schmunk (New York: Garland, 2000), 170.

²³⁷ Lisa Norris, “Painting Around the Piano” in *The Arts Entwined: Music and Painting in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Marsha Morton and Peter L. Schmunk (New York: Garland, 2000), 144.

²³⁸ Longyear, 277.

²³⁹ Mark DeVoto, *Debussy and the Veil of Tonality: Essays on His Music* (Hillsdale, N.Y.: Pendragon Press, 2004), 6.

²⁴⁰ Longyear, 275.

disdain for the acolytes of the latter. D'Indy conducted *L'après-midi d'un faune* (1894) and *L'apprenti sorcier* (1897). Multi-talented, d'Indy would later play timpani in the Concerts Colonne (named after the founder Édouard Colonne) that took place at the *Théâtre du Châtelet*, and was for a time a salaried chorus master.

During the 1890s, d'Indy grew increasingly disillusioned with the teaching of the *Paris Conservatoire*, and channeling Franck for inspiration, he formed the *Schola Cantorum* (1894) with the help of composer Charles Bordes (1863–1909) and Alexander Guilmant (1837–1911). Although the quasi-religious agenda of the *Schola* was initially to “propagate reforms to the music of the Catholic liturgy, with special emphasis on Gregorian chant and Palestrinian polyphony,”²⁴¹ it eventually evolved into a full-fledged institution that competed with the *Paris Conservatoire*. He wrote *Istar* (1896), a set of symphonic variations based on an Assyrian legend in which the theme appears only at the end. After the composition of the Second Symphony, d'Indy became increasingly involved in right-wing, conservative, and anti-Semitic politics motivated by the death of his wife Isabelle in 1905 and the intensification of the Dreyfus affair.

²⁴¹ Thomson and Orledge, “Indy, Vincent d’.”

D'Indy: Style, Aesthetic, and Art Nouveau

Despite the fact that d'Indy “vociferously opposed Debussyism,”²⁴² he incorporated certain aspects of the composer’s modernism within his own framework, successfully building a strict, classical foundation for the symphony in France with strong modernist elements on the surface. This is particularly true in the Second Symphony:

In the Second Symphony and other works, d'Indy practiced what we might call a conservative Impressionism, incorporating Debussyst passages but keeping them subordinate to classical bases.²⁴³

This was done through the tradition of “Beethoven, Wagner and Franck” as evidenced in his teaching; first as a professor at the *Schola Cantorum* and later at the *Paris Conservatoire*. The French symphony, pre-Franck and post-Berlioz, was grounded in de-facto neoclassicism, particularly evidenced in the Symphonies Nos. 1 (1855) and 2 (1856) by Charles Gounod (1818–1893), the Symphony in C major (1855) by Georges Bizet (1838–1875), and the two early symphonies (1853, 1859) of Saint-Saëns (1835–1921). These works can also be described through their outwardly simple, trademark design as having been “created by following textbook rules”, works that follow the pattern of the so-called “school symphony” (“*symphonies d'école*”).

Following in the footsteps of his own teacher, d'Indy’s scrupulous attention to detail in his teaching has afforded a rich legacy of printed materials. Brian Hart paraphrases some of the basic ideas put forth by the composer in his *Cours de composition musicale*:

Nineteenth-century German symphonists ignored Beethoven’s central innovation of cyclic unity, and those few, such as Schumann, who did attempt the procedure managed it badly. These composers paid for their failure to take their place on the chain by losing the ability to build sound symphonic structures, turning instead to programmatic descriptiveness and Wagnerian dramatic procedures in a desperate attempt to mask their technical deficiencies.²⁴⁴

²⁴² Brian Hart, “Vincent d'Indy and the Development of the French Symphony” in *Music and Letters* 87, No. 2(2006): 252.

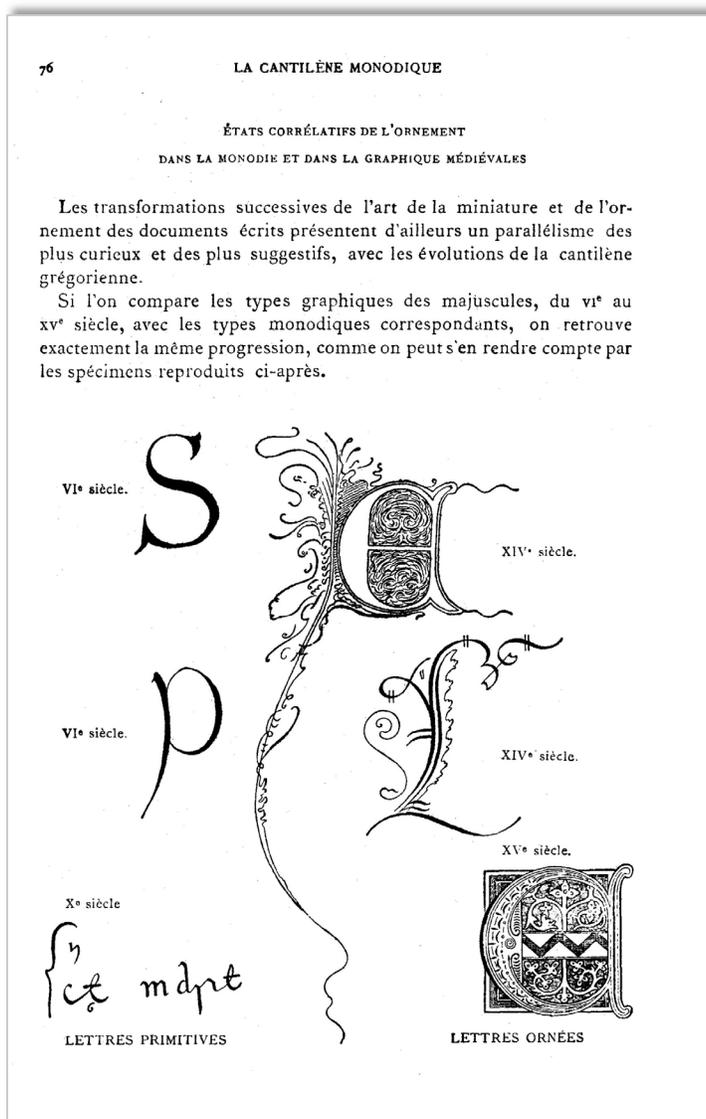
²⁴³ Brown, *The European Symphony from ca.1800 to ca.1930: Great Britain, Russia, and France*, 661.

²⁴⁴ Brian Hart, “Symphony and National Identity” in Barbara L. Kelly, *French Music, Culture, and National Identity, 1870-1939* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2008), 133.

In his *Cours de composition musicale*, d'Indy often quotes from Ruskin about architecture. He says: "One of man's first needs was to protect himself from inclement weather. He needed to build dwelling places for himself. From this need *Architecture* was born, the first tangible manifestation in of the human mind in the field of Art."²⁴⁵ He describes music at the opposite end of the spectrum, as based on "popular

entertainment."²⁴⁶ He continues: "*Timbre* in Music is like *color* in Painting: if the richness of color contributes to the expressive power of a painting, it is likewise through a powerful effect, underscoring the outline and augmenting the clarity and perspective of the sketch."²⁴⁷

In his *Cours de composition musicale*, d'Indy defines and discusses the elements of music, which he says consist of three elements: "*Rhythm*, which results from the inequality of beats, is expressed in numbers and depends on *arithmetic* laws. *Melody*, which finds its origin in accent, derives from linguistics. *Harmony*, finally, which is based on the resonance of bodies, obeys the laws of *vibration*."²⁴⁸ Of these three, he goes on to say that the recent concept of harmony



6. Vincent d'Indy, *Cours de Composition Musicale*. Paris: Durand, 1912.

²⁴⁵ Vincent d'Indy, Gail Hilson Woldu, and Merle Montgomery, *Course in Musical Composition* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010), 40.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 42.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 157.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 50.

makes it accessible to only the élite, and describes rhythm as “universal; it appears in the movement of the stars, in the periodicity of the seasons, in the regular alternation of the days and nights. It is found in the life of plants, in the cry of animals, and even in man’s posture and speech.”²⁴⁹

Perhaps most striking, though, is d’Indy’s chapter on the “monadic cantilena”, when in a section described as “Correlative states of the Ornament in Monody and in Medieval Graphics,” against a graphic stunningly similar to an ornamental Art Nouveau depiction. On that page in particular, he says:

Moreover, the successive transformations of the art of the miniature and of the ornamentation of written documents present a most curious and intriguing parallel to the evolutions of Gregorian song. If we compare the graphic types of capital letters from the sixth to the fifteenth centuries with the corresponding monadic types, we find exactly the same progression, as we can see by looking at the examples reproduced below.²⁵⁰

D’Indy also draws a connection with form as ornament:

Are these rich capital letters of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries not strikingly similar to our ornamental antiphons, our tracts, and finally, our *alleluias*, with their long jubilatory vocalizes, seen particularly in the enormous branch that winds underneath this capital E, which is covered with ornaments?²⁵¹

In his biography of César Franck (1906), d’Indy describes the early attempts of his teacher at cyclicity: “From this moment cyclical form, the basis of modern symphonic art, was created and consecrated.”²⁵² Similarly, Andrew Thompson comments that d’Indy “established [Franck as] the persuasive myth of a medieval saint-like figure; the Franckian cyclic symphony he interpreted, in Ruskinian terms, as structurally analogous to a Gothic cathedral.”²⁵³

The primary evidence of Art Nouveau in the aesthetic of d’Indy is within his own writings, the adherence to cyclical form and orchestration. D’Indy also appeared in the book *Beaumignon* (1886) by Frantz Jourdain, an Art Nouveau critic.²⁵⁴ While d’Indy did not object to Debussy’s ornamentation, he believed that they should subordinate to “solid structure, contrapuntal texture, and tonal coherence.”²⁵⁵ D’Indy frequently employed elements derived from Debussy in his composition, including overt and

²⁴⁹ Ibid., 51.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., 106.

²⁵¹ Ibid., 107.

²⁵² Vincent d’Indy, *César Franck* (London: J. Lane, 1910), 171.

²⁵³ Thomson and Orledge, “Indy, Vincent d’.”

²⁵⁴ Meredith L. Clausen, *Frantz Jourdain, “The Samaritaine”: Art Nouveau Theory and Criticism* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987), 19.

²⁵⁵ Hart, “Vincent d’Indy and the Development of the French Symphony,” 252.

embellished use of the whole-tone scale and pentatonicism. He praised Debussy's *La Damoiselle élue*, first performed on April 8, 1893, d'Indy offered Debussy praise, which he recapitulated in a letter to Chausson:

I had a letter from Vincent d'Indy, very friendly, with praises that would bring a blush to the lilies that sleep between the fingers of the *Damoiselle élue*.²⁵⁶ Thomson surmises that “undoubtedly, it was the Pre-Raphaelite aesthetic of this setting in translation of Dante Gabriel Rossetti's *The Blessed Damozel*, exquisitely matched with arabesque-laden music, which so appealed to the gentle, feminine side of d'Indy's nature, as did Debussy's *L'Après-midi d'un faune* the following year.²⁵⁶

In the *Symphonie sur un chant montagnard français* (“*Symphony on a French Mountain Air*”), d'Indy retained the piano as a precursor of the old idea of Fantasy, illustrating his desire for the use of old forms, dating far beyond the classical to the baroque and renaissance. His use of *timbales chromatiques* was also of interest. Percussionist James Blades recalls d'Indy's early use of the dulcitone:

Vincent D'Indy... employed a chromatic run on the timpani as early as 1905 (*Jour d'été à la montagne*, 2nd movement). D'Indy specifies *timbales chromatiques*, and the passage is of added interest inasmuch as it is solo. No glissando is indicated; there is a clear cut change on each semitone, suggesting that D'Indy may have had in mind A. Sax's *timbales chromatiques*...²⁵⁷

These timpani, sometimes referred to as “pedal timpani,” were patented in 1857, but were short-lived due to their technical inadequacies. They are characterized by their “open frames [that] replace the shells... [and] were tuned to the diatonic scale.”²⁵⁸ Innovations in the mechanization of instruments ties in closely with similar ideas in Art Nouveau. For instance, Jean-Auguste Dampt (1854–1945), a founding member of *Les Cinq*, a group that applied new mechanical methods to furniture design,²⁵⁹ Debora Silverman describes how “the stages of life Dampt depicted on the bed frame paralleled Denis's cycle of the ages of woman in the Maison Bing model bedroom.”²⁶⁰ This *Gesamtkunstwerk* encompassed not only the world, but the totality of life in its depiction of birth and death. Yet “cyclism” was a means to different

²⁵⁶ Andrew Thomson, *Vincent D'Indy and His World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 97.

²⁵⁷ James Blades, *Percussion Instruments and Their History* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1970), 325.

²⁵⁸ Thomson and Orledge, “Indy, Vincent d'.”

²⁵⁹ Sébastien Allard, Henri Loyrette, Laurence Des Cars, and David Radzinowicz, *Nineteenth Century French Art: From Romanticism to Impressionism, Post-Impressionism and Art Nouveau* (Paris: Flammarion, 2007), 422.

²⁶⁰ Debora Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-De-Siècle France: Politics, Psychology, and Style* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 277.

ends; it can be viewed as the “umbrella category that encompasses a whole array of strikingly diverse and distinct formal procedures.”²⁶¹

As already illustrated, the pervasive trend in the fin-de-siècle French symphony was cyclicity, as evidenced by the works of Franck and his disciples, and taken to a new, regimented extreme by d'Indy. The idea of motivic cyclicity in music dates well before the existence of the symphonic genre, in the *L'homme armé* masses which used the popular folk tune as its cantus firmus (ca. 1450–1510), for instance. The idea of cyclicity in music is also elucidated in the naturalistic depictions of Klee, whose “own early nature imagery had derived from the German equivalent of Art Nouveau”:²⁶²

Klee's *Germinating* may serve to introduce us to a whole group of his last works which concern themselves with this general theme. Indeed, it is impossible to contemplate this phase of Klee's career without calling to mind his many depictions of birth, growth – and often overgrowth – among the plants.²⁶³

It was d'Indy's dogmatic insistence of the rigid use of a cyclical framework with rigid motivic integration that ties it to the Franck school. As in the symphony, the depiction of cycles in works from the Art Nouveau was also common. The Symphony in D minor invokes the “spiritual domain”²⁶⁴ of Beethoven's legacy, not only through the key of his idol's final symphony, but the motivic use of the theme from his String Quartet No. 16 in F major, op. 135 (1826), his final work in the genre and one of his last of substance before his death in 1827.²⁶⁵

The ambiguity in distinguishing between public and private, and the lack of a single accepted meaning of the term ‘salon’ is illustrated by the Salon des XX in Brussels. Lasting from 1884 until 1893, and continuing as the Salon de la libre esthétique until the First World War, it was founded by two Belgian lawyers and Wagner enthusiasts, Octave Maus and Edmond Picard.²⁶⁶

²⁶¹ Andrew Deruchie, “The French Symphony at the Fin De Siècle: Style, Culture, and the Symphonic Tradition,” Ph.D. Thesis, McGill University, 2008.

²⁶² Verdi, 217.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 112.

²⁶⁴ Taruskin, 858.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 858.

²⁶⁶ Langham Smith and Potter, 94.

As organizer of the music of *Les Vingt*, “the salon also included two concerts organized by d’Indy; the first was in memory of Franck while the second promoted the latter’s pupils. There was also a bizarre juxtaposition of Beethoven’s two last string quartets with a *Marche antique pour la Rose†Croix* written by ‘Bihn Grallon’, probably a pseudonym for Satie.”²⁶⁷ This connects with the main motif of the Franck D Minor Symphony.

When Maus replaced the Salon des XX with the Libre Esthétique in 1894, one of its first Parisian visitors was the eccentric novelist and occultist Joséphin Péladan. In 1892, Péladan had created the first ‘Salon de la Rose†Croix catholique’, inspired by hearing *Parsifal* at Bayreuth in 1888. Its ostensible aim was to renew art through mysticism, seeking ‘to destroy realism and to bring art closer to Catholic ideas, mysticism, legend, myth, allegory and dreams’.²⁶⁸

Not limited to solely the curation of music, d’Indy, with Maus, also arranged for pictures to be loaned for the exhibition in 1889.²⁶⁹ Debora Silverman identifies the main themes of Art Nouveau during this time: “Nature, women, aristocratic tradition, and psychological transformation had all been identified, by both artists and critics, before the 1895 experiment. These very themes and images were displayed within the center of French official culture, and affirmed by critics of official standing such as Louis de Fourcaud and Roger Marx.”²⁷⁰

²⁶⁷ Ibid., 95.

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ Thomson, 74.

²⁷⁰ Debora Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-De-Siècle France: Politics, Psychology, and Style* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 277.

D'Indy: Symphony No. 2 (1902–3)

The Symphony No. 2 in B-flat of d'Indy bears no quality of key, owing to the open-ended nature of its tonality. Its many similarities to the Symphony in B-flat of Chausson have encouraged some, including Peter Brown, to draw parallels:

D'Indy's symphony also has affinities with Chausson's, especially in the first movement, and some analysts have speculated that d'Indy conceived this work as a memorial to his friend. They cite these similarities: the key (B-flat); a dark introduction dispelled by a cheery *P* in the horn; and a jaunty, pentatonic *T* emphasizing woodwinds in fast staccato motion. In both symphonies the finale culminates in a chorale based upon the cyclic motive. At the same time, important structural differences remain, as d'Indy's symphony is in four movements and uses the cyclic process much more rigorously and systematically; moreover, if d'Indy composed the Second Symphony in Chausson's memory, he wrote it as a tribute rather than a lament, for nowhere can one detect an air of mourning.²⁷¹

D'Indy never explicitly discussed the program of the work, but as Brian Hart has described, there is inherent in it a battle against tradition and modernism.²⁷² This has calling some to label him as “a propagandist genius.”²⁷³ In her chapter called “Creative and Professional Responses to the Politicization of Music”, Jane Fulcher describes the Symphony No. 2 as a political manifesto of the Dreyfus affair. Like Brian Hart, she describes the symphony as comprised of two motto themes pitted against one another: the first, spanning a tri-tone (“the devil in music”) represents modernity, the second more romantic theme tradition. While initially somewhat vague, the commentary of d'Indy's close friend Rene de Castera's is published in the self-professed “anti-Dreyfusard” journal *L'Occident*:

The first ..., outlining the interval of the tritone (the devil in music) by a series of thirds alternatively minor and major, has a somber and menacing character that in the thought of the author vaguely symbolizes the bad influence of the modern element. The second ..., is the traditional element, the good influence.²⁷⁴

Wagner, like d'Indy and Nadia Boulanger (1887–1979) later, encouraged students to write personally and nationalistically rather than to follow a path of blind adherence to formal tradition. In

²⁷¹ Brown, *The European Symphony from ca.1800 to ca.1930: Great Britain, Russia, and France*, 661.

²⁷² Hart, “Vincent d'Indy and the Development of the French Symphony,” 252.

²⁷³ Katharine Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past: Early Music in Nineteenth-Century France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

²⁷⁴ Jane F. Fulcher, *French Cultural Politics & Music: From the Dreyfus Affair to the First World War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 36.

accordance with this advice, and rather than sole naturalistic depiction, the Symphony No. 2 of d'Indy reflected the social and artistic conflicts of the time. In particular, the Symphony represents the Dreyfus affair that had completely polarized France:

The Schola and Conservatoire were now fully engaged in a 'war', as the participants described it. The government, run by a coalition of Dreyfus's supporters, subsidized the Conservatoire, while opposition forces on the Right and in the Catholic Church supported the Schola.²⁷⁵

D'Indy, who had turned down an invitation to teach at the *Paris Conservatoire* (1892), eventually taught there beginning in (1905) following Fauré's appointment and the subsequent adoption of the reforms in aesthetic education that he had advocated. He continued teaching his regimented, disciplined but artistic style at the Paris Conservatoire until his death in 1931.

All evidence of a program aside, the Symphony was universally praised at its première on February 28, 1904. In the words of Paul Dukas (1865–1935), a lifelong friend, whose own Symphony in C major (1896) utilized characteristics of Franck's design:

a great masterpiece of *musique pure*, certainly the most representative work of its kind in French music of the last quarter-century, and the most complete image of the great musician who conceived it.²⁷⁶

The Symphony No. 2 of Vincent d'Indy employs many similar devices as Franck and Chausson, including cyclical, the most impressive part of its symphonic construction:²⁷⁷

It is no surprise that d'Indy was among those who, in their compositions, consciously manipulated the meanings that he himself helped develop and diffuse at the Schola. For d'Indy, ideology could unequivocally be communicated through music by means of styles and techniques that carried meanings within the context, or, in the language of semiotics, the "interpretant." We see this not only in his professed "anti-Dreyfusard opera," begun in these years, but also in his symphonic music, particularly his Symphony No. 2.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁵ Hart, "Vincent d'Indy and the Development of the French Symphony," 249.

²⁷⁶ Hart, "Vincent d'Indy and the Development of the French Symphony," 252.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 250.

²⁷⁸ Fulcher, 65.

Within the Symphony No. 2 are a number of obvious relations to the Art Nouveau movement. These include four primary elements: the organic cyclicity of form, inherited and developed from the music of César Franck, superlative lyricism that includes score indications such as “soutenu,” “bien soutenu,” and “très soutenu,” a focus on sonority, and the use of folk music as a theme for developing variation. In particular, the folk music element highlights the use of folk music as a musical “object” to which ornament is applied, particularly in the case of these variations.

The first movement is full of strong influences from Wagner: for instance, the opening bars until it is interrupted by a folk melody in B-flat (“Très vif”). The jarring interruptions at figure 6 are fueled by Debussy and foreshadow Stravinsky (the first tableau of *Pétrouchka*), as does the horn arabesque that begins 3 measures before figure 8 and eventually meanders into the violins, recalling the writing of *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune*. Of this section, in a manner characteristic of Art Nouveau, Thompson says: “like the roots of an exotic tree growing within the foundations of an imposing classical building, these tonally and structurally disintegrative forces pose a threat to the order and authority of the symphonic ideal.”²⁷⁹

Elements of interest include long lines and transitional sections rife with sonority. At figure 19, an arabesque is found in the two harp parts, strikingly juxtaposed against the long trumpet and trombone line that surrounds it. Around figure 30, surrounded by an excess of ornamentation and noodling, a wide, dramatic leap at figure 33 grows in the violins. The dark color of the orchestral sonority 6 measures before figure 19 through the combination of the bass clarinet and low strings hints at mysticism.

The second movement, heavily influenced by Wagner, contains a number of references to *Tristan* and a Wagnerian treatment of dissonances as evidenced in their lack of preparation. Yet the overarching feature of the movement is its singular focus on sonority. In general, the most striking effects in terms of orchestration occur in this movement. One particular point of interest is 9 measures after figure 34, where curvilinear figurations in the winds are underscored by a broken supporting line in the violins. Another is

²⁷⁹ Thomson, 150.

1 measure before figure 36, where d'Indy creates a soundscape that references a delicate music box. There is a great deal of ornament underneath this melody, though, and later d'Indy uses the whole-tone scale to wrap up the section 1 measure before figure 39. More orchestral color follows with a section as indicated to be performed on the low G-string of the violins, while dotted rhythmic patterns clearly allude to folk-song. Yet even with the Wagnerian harmonic palette, much of this music is strongly evocative of Debussy. While no one would ever mislabel d'Indy an impressionist in a manner befitting of Debussy, their aesthetic at certain points is quite similar. Whereas the Symphony of Chausson is grounded in Franck with the influence of Debussy on the surface, d'Indy's creation is far more intricate, controlled, and original.

The third movement of the Symphony is blatant in its use of folk music and in the way that it elongates formal constraints. A “hybrid of scherzo and trio, rondo, and variations,”²⁸⁰ the movement opens with a viola solo, highlighted by the hint of Phrygian mode owing to the lowered scale degree two that occurs in the third and fourth measures of each repetition. This folk theme first appears as an initial object and is later transformed via the ornamental horn writing at figure 50. D'Indy continues to apply different materials and orchestrations to this object in the measures that follow. Later, the dotted folk theme returns from the second movement. Ties over the bar-lines and syncopated rhythms create a sense of timelessness. Like his Viennese contemporary Gustav Mahler, d'Indy was a great lover of nature, incorporating the sounds of his surroundings into his symphonic works and collected folk music throughout his life.

The final movement solidifies the organic nature of the entire piece. Prior to an outstanding moment of orchestral color at figure 72, the chord at figure 63 casts a stunning impression, followed by a fugue. The trumpet line before figure 66 is another texture that stands out brashly from the harmonic

²⁸⁰ Hart, “Vincent d'Indy and the Development of the French Symphony,” 251.

context and relates to the idea of *Figur und Grund*, a concept explored in the following chapter as it relates to the compositional and orchestrational style of Alexander Zemlinsky.

CHAPTER 4: THE FIN-DE-SIÈCLE VIENNESE SYMPHONY AND ART NOUVEAU

The Viennese symphony in the fin-de-siècle exhibited four primary characteristics: the “monumental style”²⁸¹ and the primacy of sonority as identified and defined by Dahlhaus,²⁸² the quotation of both absolute and “faux” folk music, and naturalism, manifested either through symbolism or organic structure. Just as with the Parisian symphony, these characteristics all correlate to developments within the Art Nouveau. In these terms, the “monumental style” reflects the scope of the Art Nouveau ideal as well as the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, the primacy of sonority relates with the idea of the decorative,²⁸³ folk music with the concept explored in the second chapter, and musical naturalism as a direct symbolic link with the Art Nouveau movement.

The work of Alexander Zemlinsky (1871–1942) has been largely shrouded in obscurity in the time since his death; even today, his work struggles for the same recognition afforded to that of his contemporaries. During his life, his compositions and his frequent appearances as a conductor were well-known, both inside and outside of the Austro-Hungarian capital. His work is best characterized by the use of imaginative subject matter that includes symbolist literature, mysticism, and eroticism. His early works were grounded in the same classical historicism as the *Ringstraße*, but changed dramatically following the outcome of his relationship with Alma Schindler (1879–1964), after which she married the composer Gustav Mahler. Following the aftermath of this crisis, the emotional intensity of his works increased exponentially, flooding their rigid classical forms with sumptuous lyricism. His opera and collections of songs are widely considered to be his masterpieces. Despite the relatively scarcity of his performances today, Zemlinsky was a prolific composer of operas numbering eight with the inclusion of the unfinished orchestration of *Der König Kandaules* (1935). His copious output also included three completed

²⁸¹ Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 274.

²⁸² *Ibid.*, 274.

²⁸³ Anger and Klee, 45.

symphonies, a symphonic poem, a ballet, and a great deal of choral and chamber music. In many respects, he fathered the Second Viennese School through his teaching of counterpoint to the young Arnold Schoenberg (1874–1951) and later to his disciples Anton von Webern (1883–1945) and Alban Berg (1885–1935).

Similar to Mahler, Zemlinsky was raised among diverse cultural influences. His father Adolf (1845–1900) was a Roman Catholic born in Zilinia, Hungary, now part of Slovakia. His mother, Clara Semo (1848–1912) was born in Sarajevo to a Sephardic Jewish father and a Bosnian Muslim mother. Adolf converted to Judaism in order to secure the marriage, and thus as a result Zemlinsky was born and raised Jewish. The noble “von” was spuriously added to his last name by his father, who also added it to his own, despite any official ennoblement.²⁸⁴

Alexander Zemlinsky quickly grew adept at the piano, and eventually would become his synagogue organist. In 1884, he gained entrance to the Vienna Conservatory, where he studied with early music specialist Anton Door (1833–1919), a student of composer and pianist Carl Czerny (1791–1857)²⁸⁵ and Simon Sechter (1788–1867). In 1890, Zemlinsky was named the winner of the Vienna Conservatory Piano Prize. He studied theory with Robert Fuchs (1847–1927) and composition with Johann Nepomuk Fuchs (1842–1899), who taught him composition and orchestration. These studies predated his later work with the composer and organist Anton Bruckner (1824–1896).

Through the formation of an amateur orchestra called *Polyhymnia* (1895), Zemlinsky first came into contact with the composer Arnold Schoenberg, a member of the cello section. Schoenberg eventually became his first student; for Schoenberg, these lessons in counterpoint were the only formal training he ever had in music. Unknown to both of them at the time, the two men eventually became brothers-in-law, as Schoenberg married his sister, Mathilde (1901).

²⁸⁴ Marc Moskowitz, *Alexander Zemlinsky: A Lyric Symphony* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2010), 13.

²⁸⁵ Lorraine Gorrell, *Discordant Melody: Alexander Zemlinsky, His Songs, and the Second Viennese School* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 2002), 20.

Through his early years, Zemlinsky focused in the areas of chamber music and song. Following a hearing of his conservatory examination piece, the Symphony in D minor (1892), Johannes Brahms (1833–1897) took an interest in the young composer. He later recommended the publication of his *Clarinet Trio* (1896) after a performance by the *Hellmesberger Quartet* to his own publisher, Simrock. The effect of this support by Brahms seems to evidence itself in his works of the time:

Those works which Brahms recommended to Simrock (opp. 3, 4 and 6) are, understandably, the most Brahmsian, while the Wagnerian echoes of *Sarema* and *Es war einmal* ... approach the opposite extreme.²⁸⁶

As his father had fallen into ill health and died (1900), Zemlinsky was forced to search for new ways of subsistence in Vienna. Principally, this was done through an increased load of teaching and conducting. He was appointed as the Kapellmeister of the *Carltheater* (1899), primarily a venue for operetta. The popular culture equivalent to the presence of Broadway in New York City, operetta made an impact not just on Zemlinsky, but on Schoenberg and Mahler as well. Zemlinsky would go on to work at other operetta houses to earn his way. He also orchestrated a number of works for piano four hands by Universal Edition. Anthony Beaumont reflects:

Day after day Zemlinsky carved his way through these flimsy pieces. It was the very treadmill depicted in the first movement of Mahler's Fourth Symphony, 'the world as eternal present-time', fruitless, frivolous, soul-destroying. 'Everything on earth would be wonderful', he confided to his mother, 'if there were no operetta!'²⁸⁷

This fragmented existence contributed to the unpleasant countenance that had the capability to repel even those closest to him. This culminated with the rejection of Alma Schindler (1900), a life event that caused an intense disturbance to Zemlinsky's persona, while at the same time providing fervent inspiration to his symphonic poem *Die Seejungfrau (The Mermaid)* (1902–3). Taken together, the Zemlinsky society identifies two other life events that gave Zemlinsky's life shape:

²⁸⁶ Antony Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000), 35.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 121.

Besides his separation from Alma Schindler and the encounter with Schoenberg, three events made a decisive impact on Zemlinsky's private life: in 1899 he converted to Protestantism; in 1907 he married Ida Guttmann (born in 1880), the sister of the flame of his youth Melanie, and in 1908 his daughter Johanna was born.²⁸⁸

Like Zemlinsky, Alma Schindler (1879–1964) was born in Vienna. But while Zemlinsky came from a distorted family of differentiated cultural backgrounds, Alma was born in a comparatively elevated social class, to the painter Emil Jakob Schindler (1842–1892) and his wife Anna von Bergen (1857–1938). Following Emil Schindler's death, Anna von Bergen inspired the later escapades of her daughter with her second marriage (1892) to Carl Moll (1861–1945), a pupil of her late husband and the object of a long-term affair. Moll would go on to found the Viennese Secession with Gustav Klimt. A Nazi sympathizer, he committed suicide following the fall of the Nazi party. "After Alma had shown him some of her songs, he regularly frequented the house of Alma's stepfather Carl Moll as her teacher of composition."²⁸⁹

Alma, a composition student of Zemlinsky, initially reciprocated the advances of her professor, but was later pressured by family and friends to end the relationship. To her aristocratic family, the lower social standing of Zemlinsky, combined with his lack of an international reputation and strange appearance, was enough to cause agitation. Instead, Alma married Gustav Mahler (1902). Yet, despite the complexity of their relationship owing to this marriage, the two men would support one another. It was a wise decision given the tightness of the social circles in which both men were traveling. It was not merely a façade, however; Mahler premièred his opera *Es war einmal* at the *Hofoper* (1900) upon his return to Vienna, a position that Mahler obtained through the support of Brahms. A few years later, Mahler would support the founding of the *Vereinigung Schaffender Tonkünstler* (1904) with Schoenberg to promote new music in Vienna, serving as its honorary president.

The *Schwarzwaldschul*, a school for young women dedicated to giving equal access to an élite education, was organized by the highly decorated philanthropist Eugenie Schwarzwald (1872–1940). The

²⁸⁸ Alexander Zemlinsky Fonds bei der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien, "On Route to the Capital City of Music; Vienna 1895 - 1911," <<http://www.zemlinsky.at/en/index.php>> (accessed December 11, 2011).

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

conservatory portion was open to men as well, and it was through his teaching appointment there (1903) that Zemlinsky taught Erwin Stein (1885–1958), Alban Berg, and Anton von Webern, all three of whom would become affiliated with Schoenberg later, particularly Berg and Webern in their foundation of the Second Viennese School.

Zemlinsky continued to conduct, despite his many fears shared with Mahler on their somewhat similar journeys as composer and conductor:

Discouraged by personal attacks from court circles, his interest gradually shifted to a conducting career in the concert hall and abroad. He was concerned, above all, to concentrate his energy on composition...²⁹⁰

Zemlinsky was appointed as the first Kapellmeister of the *Wiener Volksoper* (1906), where he gave the Viennese première of *Salome* the same year. He was also highly regarded for his Mozart and Wagner performances, particularly by the composer Igor Stravinsky, who described Zemlinsky's conducting of *The Marriage of Figaro* (1790) as one of the most satisfying he had ever seen.²⁹¹ In 1907, Zemlinsky joined Gustav Mahler at the *Hofoper*. Five years after Alma married Gustav, Zemlinsky married Ida Guttmann (1907). The marriage was unhappy, and following her death (1929), Zemlinsky remarried. Zemlinsky returned to the *Hofoper* (1908), where he gave the Vienna première of an opera by Paul Dukas. Later, he became the Kapellmeister at the *Neues Deutsches Theater* in Prague (1912), where over the course of a decade his assistants included Erich Kleiber (1890–1956), Anton von Webern, and Georg Szell (1897–1970), and Viktor Ullmann (1898–1944) as the chorus master. He also taught students Erich Korngold (1897–1957), Hans Krása (1899–1944), and Karl Weigl (1881–1949).

²⁹⁰ Beaumont, *Zemlinsky*, 156.

²⁹¹ Moskovitz, 130.

Zemlinsky: Style, Aesthetics, and Art Nouveau

If his early relationship with Alma provides a relatively discrete point of Art Nouveau intersection, Zemlinsky's mixed cultural upbringing and immersion in operetta provided another. Operetta fused popular and elevated musical styles, and his begrudging work in the field would have solidified that fact. Yet Zemlinsky's aesthetic charted a middle course between Brahms and Wagner, much as Chausson did between Brahms and Massenet. His function as a bridge composer is best illustrated through a demonstration of the composers own impartiality to either side:

Although the battle lines separating the camps of Wagner and Brahms were drawn decades prior to Zemlinsky's birth, these divisions remained acute during Zemlinsky's life... For now, Zemlinsky had no intention to limit himself to either camp. Rather, he looked to both Brahms and Wagner to provide whatever style or technique best suited his needs while his own personal language emerged. With time, these influences were replaced by others, from Richard Strauss to Kurt Weill, but the conflict that pitted tradition against progression would never be fully resolved in Zemlinsky's mind.²⁹²

No wonder, then, that his works have often been scrutinized under the magnifying glass for elements of Art Nouveau. Yet, as in the monograph *German Modernism* by Walter Frisch demonstrates, the attention is typically paid to the vocal works of Zemlinsky. Frisch in particular utilizes textual analysis to provide an in-between medium from which to explore the two otherwise abstract ideas of art and music.

Much of his life was spent with the search for operatic scenarios in mind, and his operatic and song works frame the rest of his output. Several of his later operas, *Eine florentinische Tragödie* (1915–16) and later *Der Zwerg* (The Dwarf) (1919–21) were set to librettos of Oscar Wilde (1854–1900), the playwright of *Salome* and the author of *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1890). Wilde, allied with the English aesthetic movement, was an Irish-born resident of Victorian London, who fueled a mistrust of Art Nouveau in the English capital through a series of trials that brought his promiscuous homosexuality to light.

Zemlinsky grew up surrounded by the evidence of Art Nouveau in Vienna. Just outside of the *Ringstraße*, several blocks southwest of the *Wiener Konzerthaus* and the *Großer Saal* of the *Wiener Musikverein*,

²⁹² Ibid., 38.

was the Secession building (1897) at *Friederichstraße* 12. This was some distance from his own home on *Odeongasse* in the second district, an area known as the *Leopoldstadt* that was effectively the “center of Jewish life in Vienna.”²⁹³ Though located far from the other side of town where the Secession building, it was not so far off his path to the Conservatory. Though it is unlikely that he would have walked past it on a regular basis, he was certainly aware of its standing, and indeed of the Secessionist movement. The *Jung Wien* (1890 – 97), a youthful generation of writers that often met at *Café Griensteidl* in Vienna, were far from alone in their support of the secessionist movement. Industrial magnate Karl Wittgenstein (1847–1913), the father of father of philosopher Ludwig and pianist Paul, was instrumental in his support of it. Through the salon of Hugo Conrat (d. ca. 1910), a businessman who served as the treasurer of the *Tonkünstlerverein*, Zemlinsky met Alma Schindler and other artists:

In artistic circles he played an unassuming but vital role: in their spacious apartment on the Wallfischgasse he and his wife Ida opened their salon to composers, painters, singers and writers. Chez Conrat, Zemlinsky came into contact with Karl Kraus, Ferdinand Knopff, the Secessionists and their famous artists; here he also first met Alma Schindler.²⁹⁴

Together, these forces brought about a change in Zemlinsky’s style. “Not until the turn of the century, encouraged by the rising influence of Jung-Wien and the Secessionists, did Zemlinsky entirely liberate himself from classicist influence.”²⁹⁵ In his letters, Zemlinsky was enthusiastic about the art of Klimt, and he made plans for a symphonic poem based upon the “Christ Pictures” of the artist. His ballet *Der Triumph der Zeit* (1901) demonstrates some Art Nouveau elements, but was rejected by Mahler for performance at the *Hofoper*. It was similarly rejected by Richard Strauss (1864–1949). Like Debussy, Dukas, Fauré and Chausson, Zemlinsky set texts by the symbolist poet Maurice Maeterlinck (1862–1949), whose works strongly unified these composers. In the case of Zemlinsky, this was through the *Sechs Gesänge*, Op. 13 (1910), widely considered to be masterpieces in the genre they represent.

²⁹³ Alexander Zemlinsky Fonds bei der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien, “Childhood in the Leopoldstadt; Vienna 1871 – 1882,” <http://www.zemlinsky.at/en/index.php> (accessed December 11, 2011).

²⁹⁴ Beaumont, *Zemlinsky*, 29.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 35.

Even through the grounding of their early classicism, Zemlinsky shows an original voice from early on. Intensely hyper-emotional (Berg found his opera *Der Zwerg* to be “so harrowingly tragic as to be hardly bearable”²⁹⁶), especially in his later works, Zemlinsky’s music “delighted in asymmetry.”²⁹⁷ He extended the developing variation after Brahms, under the influence of Fuchs, delighting in the use of polyphonic textures. His “Viennese espressivo” determined inflections to the melodic line. Although he taught Schoenberg counterpoint, his style was by comparison less innovative and demonstrated reluctance toward any incorporation of “the furthest extremes of dissonance.”²⁹⁸ When compared with the strict handling of dissonances by Brahms, the resolutions of Zemlinsky were quite free, and he drew extensively from the extended harmonies of Wagner. Mahler would also become an influence later. Yet, despite his close relationship with Schoenberg, Berg, and Webern, he would never write atonal music. As he remarked to Schoenberg in a letter (1902), Zemlinsky describes his views on the boundaries of his own musical aesthetics:

A great artist, who possesses everything needed to express the essentials, must respect the boundaries of beauty, even if he extends them far further than hitherto (letter to Schoenberg, 18 February 1902).²⁹⁹

Although they enjoyed a close relationship that endured many transformations and hardships, eventually Zemlinsky and Schoenberg drifted apart, culminating with the failure of Zemlinsky to convert back to Judaism after Schoenberg (1933). Like Schoenberg and Stravinsky, Zemlinsky would later integrate neoclassicism, *Neue Sachlichkeit*, and jazz into his music. At the end of his life, in 1949 Schoenberg said of Zemlinsky: “I have always thought and still believe that he was a great composer. Maybe his time will come earlier than we think.”³⁰⁰ Zemlinsky died in Larchmont, New York in 1942.

²⁹⁶ Moskovitz, 191.

²⁹⁷ Antony Beaumont, “Zemlinsky, Alexander,” Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/30919>> (accessed Dec 11, 2011).

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

³⁰⁰ Auner and Schoenberg, 12.

Only later would it become apparent that both Schoenberg and Zemlinsky were “attempting to end the long established dichotomy between ‘programmatic’ and ‘absolute’ music (continuing, therefore, a process Schoenberg had initiated with *Verklärte Nacht*). Though their symphonic poems would be narrative and illustrative, using the latest resources of post-Wagnerian harmony and orchestral colour, they were to be composed ‘in the spirit of Brahms,’ with the firmest possible purely musical architecture and the logical, organic development of themes.”³⁰¹

The idea of relating Art Nouveau concepts with orchestration plays an interesting role in the work of Zemlinsky. Through the idea of *Figur und Grund*, roughly translated as foreground and background, Horst Weber describes an interesting application to the instrumentation of Zemlinsky. Weber, who draws upon a doctoral dissertation by Egon Voss, *Instrumentation dient der Unterscheidung von Figur und Grund*, describes shifting foreground and background relationships in order to make an important case for the discussion of his instrumentation as it relates to Art Nouveau. The central idea is the view that during the Art Nouveau period, the ornamental aspect of Art Nouveau was brought from the background to foreground. The article, titled *Figur und Grund, the Secessionistic Instrumentation of Alexander Zemlinsky* by Horst Weber (1984), speaks best for itself:

As in Klimt's pictures, for example *Der Kuss* or the painting *Erfüllung* in the Stoclet-Villa, in Zemlinsky's set the relationship between *Figur und Grund* has changed in favour of ornamental elements as well in a formal aspect as in aspect of meaning, because ornament becomes allegory. In this sense we call, provocatively of course, Zemlinsky's instrumentation “secessionistic.” We do not suggest that Zemlinsky imitates Klimt though the transformation of a painting in a composition was not absent from his mind as it was shown by his remark to Max Klinger's picture *Christus im Olymp*. We are certain of not being misunderstood in this way, because we have never postulated analogies between music and painting but only between the relations of elements in the one and in the other art as its own; even the term ornament referring to music was drawn from the relation of *Figur* to the scheme of the bar and to the changing harmony. So it was intended by me to replace this kind of phenomenological contemplation with a structural one.³⁰²

³⁰¹ Malcolm MacDonald, *Schoenberg* (London: Dent, 1976), 45.

³⁰² Horst Weber, “*Figur und Grund – Secessionistic Instrumentation of Alexander Zemlinsky*” in *Art Nouveau and Jugendstil and the Music of the Early 20th Century*, ed. Andrew D. McCredie (Adelaide: University of Adelaide, 1984), 185.

Zemlinsky: Symphony No. 3 in B-flat Major (1897)

Despite its early characteristics aligned with classicism, Zemlinsky's *Symphony No. 3 in B-flat major* (1897) contains a number of Art Nouveau elements. Its numbering as the *Symphony No. 3* supersedes its earlier labeling as *Symphony No. 2* owing to the recent discovery of a student work, now known as *Symphony No. 1 in F minor* (1891–2) that predates the *Symphony No. 2 in D minor* (1892–3). For many years, like many of the works of Zemlinsky, the *Symphony No. 3* (1897) lay in the shadows of Mahler and Bruckner. Even upon the resurgence of Mahler in the 1960s,³⁰³ most of his works remained eclipsed by Mahler's or of his own of similar character, particularly *Die Seejungfrau* and *The Lyric Symphony* (1922). The score of the *Symphony No. 3* did not come to light until more than eight decades after its completion. It was printed by Universal Edition in 1977.³⁰⁴

Like Chausson, Zemlinsky was at work on an opera—in his case, *Es war einmal*—during the same period in which the *Symphony* was under development. The libretto was by Maximilian Singer, after a fairy-tale comedy by Holger Drachmann that combined “motifs from the *Turandot* fairy-tale and Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew*.”³⁰⁵

The study score bears an inscription from the Third Act, Second Scene of Wagner's *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*, when just three minutes into the scene Walther recounts to Sachs a dream, accompanied to similarly evocative music. “*Wer Preise erkennt und Preise stellt, der will am End auch, daß man ihm gefällt.*” (“*He who decides prizes and offers prizes expects also that people should please him.*”) The inscription could be a reference to the Beethoven prize, which he entered and won at the Vienna Conservatory with this piece, or perhaps some other type of extra-musical association. It is not known exactly the purpose of this inscription but its existence is certainly of interest. Zemlinsky finished the piece on September 9,

³⁰³ It is interesting to note that this period of heightened Mahler interest correlated with one of renewed interest and investigation of the relation of Art Nouveau and Jugendstil with music.

³⁰⁴ Alexander Zemlinsky and Antony Beaumont, *Symphonie in B-dur (1897)* (München: MPH, 2002), forward.

³⁰⁵ Alexander Zemlinsky, Fonds bei der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien, “The Opera Composer I; *Sarema, Es war einmal, Der Traumgöрге*,” <http://www.zemlinsky.at/en/index.php> (accessed December 11, 2011).

1897.³⁰⁶ It was successfully premièred in Vienna under the direction of the composer in 1899, together with a work of Robert Gound (1865–1927), co-winner of the Beethoven prize, organized by Brahms and the *Tonkünstlerverein*.³⁰⁷

The forty-minute *Symphony No. 3* is scored for a small orchestra for the time: 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets in b-flat, 2 bassoons, 4 horns, 3 trombones, tuba, timpani, and strings. The orchestration is quite classical, owing to the influence of Brahms. For instance, this is the precise scoring of the second symphony. The symphony was only finished with the help of Schoenberg:

“Schoenberg’s involvement with *Sarema* allowed Zemlinsky time to tend the completion of his Second Symphony, another competition piece with which he hoped to win the Tonkünstlerverein’s coveted Beethoven Prize.”³⁰⁸

Like the Mahler *Symphony No. 7*, this piece emphasizes the idea of darkness to light, but this is easily confused with Beethovenian influence, too; *Symphony No. 5* and *Symphony No. 9* both elicit a similar response:

The symphony, with its partly hidden, partly obvious references to Brahms, Dvorák, and also to Bruckner, forms the impressive conclusion of his early output and points, in an ambitious but unspectacular way, in the direction that things were to go. As Anthony Beaumont has explained, the work casts its net wide, and includes prophetic references to Webern’s “*Passacaglia*” to Schönberg’s *Opus 31*.³⁰⁹

The structure of the symphony is steeped in nineteenth century Viennese classicism: it is a four-movement structure that utilizes sonata form. Yet, despite its orchestration, the colors evoked through the careful use of materials by Zemlinsky alternate between the feelings of Brahms, Dvorák, and Wagner; of rigid classicism, of folk music, and of the romantic tradition.

The entire work displays a strong emphasis on thematic development; the initial three note horn call eventually becomes integral to the work. But it is the second section, the “*Sostenuto*” of the first movement where the evocation of Austrian countryside echoes the music of Bruckner. The secondary material is laced with Viennese nostalgia through a sprightly folk dance in the spirited manner of

³⁰⁶ Zemlinsky and Beaumont, forward.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁸ Moskovitz, 43.

³⁰⁹ Zemlinsky and Beaumont, forward.

Zemlinsky's Czech contemporary Antonín Dvořák (1841–1904). Of the third movement, Peter Brown also finds allusions to Art Nouveau in his analysis:

Such a posture is further underlined by tremolos, the *con fuoco* arabesques, *sforzandos*, the heaving dynamics, and the overall tonal instability. Special note should be made of the use of the pyramid as the sonorities are built up from the bottom of the orchestration and demolished by its inversion.³¹⁰

The fourth movement, marked Moderato, is directly influenced by the passacaglia finale of Brahms Symphony No. 4 (1884–85). In comparing the finale of Brahms with Zemlinsky, one can detect early hints of Art Nouveau in his music. Moskovitz describes the Passacaglia as follows:

Zemlinsky opens with a martial 8-bar progression, a *cantus firmus* that gives way to twenty-six variations that run the gamut from lush orchestral writing to skeletal fragmentation retaining but the merest hint of the original subject. As a crowning Brahmsian touch, a new fugato subject – fashioned from the movement's opening chords – does double duty as a counter-subject, over which themes from earlier movements return. The triumphant final bars bring to a close Zemlinsky's strict reliance on traditional models – it would be the last such work the devoted Brahmin would ever compose along such pure, classical lines.³¹¹

In particular, the *Symphony No. 3* in B-flat of Zemlinsky emphasizes formal unity, though not to the excessive degree as the French school examined in the previous chapter. Yet Peter Brown finds some similarities, particularly as they relate to this movement:

Some may find Brahms's solution a more satisfying organic structure, but Brahms had exploited thirds throughout his cycle. Zemlinsky was dealing with another problem: reusing the theme of the symphony's introduction as a recurring and ultimately climactic force. He does so to varying degrees in all the movements.³¹²

The idea of developing variation and the passacaglia demonstrate a central connection to the Art Nouveau in this piece. As Walter Frisch notes, the idea of the developing variation was defined descriptively in the 1950s in an essay titled “Bach” by Arnold Schoenberg:³¹³

Music of the homophonic-melodic style of composition, that is, music with a main theme, accompanied by and based on harmony, produces its material by, as I call it, *developing variation*. This means that variation of the features of a basic unit produces all the thematic formulations which provide for fluency, contrasts, variety, logic and unity on the one hand, and character, mood, expression, and every needed differentiation, on the other hand—thus elaborating the *idea* of the piece.³¹⁴

³¹⁰ Brown, *The Second Golden Age of the Viennese Symphony: Brahms, Bruckner, Dvořák, Mahler, and Selected Contemporaries*, 790.

³¹¹ Moskovitz, 43.

³¹² Brown, *The Second Golden Age of the Viennese Symphony: Brahms, Bruckner, Dvořák, Mahler, and Selected Contemporaries*, 790.

³¹³ Walter Frisch, *Brahms and the Principle of Developing Variation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 1.

³¹⁴ Arnold Schoenberg and Erwin Stein, *Arnold Schoenberg Letters* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1965), 240–42.

Others have also related the general form of the passacaglia with Art Nouveau. In a description of the Copland *Passacaglia* (1922), written under the influence of Nadia Boulanger, Neil Butterworth described it as a “step beyond César Franck,” and noted that it was published “appropriate enough” with an “art nouveau cover.”³¹⁵ This is especially evident in the use of the developing variation and the passacaglia.

Paul Klee’s *Variations* (1927) provide a useful frame of reference and is yet another example of the artist borrowing a title rooted in music. Although a sort of “ground-bass” is evident in Klee’s work that runs through the squares in order to provide unity, the content of each square is disjunctive with its neighbors. Rather than a seamless Art Nouveau line, their appearance is quite geometric. Yet a background glow of yellow gives another way of connecting this artwork abstractly, since in this case the lines do not do it for the viewer. Implicit within the idea of a variation is the prescription of structure; “individual” segments of recurring value, forming a complete architectural system.

The somewhat fragmented structure based on clear structural demarcations as well as the lush sonorities clearly influenced Webern’s stand-alone work of the same name (1908). The jarring opening feels rhythmically displaced owing to the strong anacrusis and the duple meter. This alone feels much more different than the passacaglia of Brahms in his Fourth Symphony; in addition, rather than use a Bach Chorale as the passacaglia theme, Zemlinsky uses a standardized but seemingly original cantus firmus. Yet the coloring is different, and the melodic lines meander, leap, and wind a sometimes exotic trail through their rich chromaticism.

The passacaglia is far looser both harmonically and melodically than Brahms. Yet the work gives a sense of being more compressed, with a tighter structure that includes flowing oriental lines and metric concealment (as in the opening bars) that obscures bar lines. Together with characteristic Bruckner inspired eighth note and triplet combination, a passage that would become typical of Zemlinsky’s later style marked “sehr warm,” an *appassionato* characteristic becomes apparent. In terms of intervals, his

³¹⁵ Howard Pollack, *Aaron Copland: The Life and Work of an Uncommon Man* (New York: Henry Holt, 1999), 78.

melodies are similar to Mahler, with lots of leaps and chromaticism. Hairpins indicative of the influence of Brahms also occur throughout.

Also typical of Webern is the *Klangfarbenmelodie*-like changes to instrumentation visible and audible just before figure K. Instrumental changes mirror the general changes of sonority throughout each variation; from Mendelssohn-influenced fairy-tale echoes after figure D to the pervasive use of polka and march-like characteristics, which are also prevalent as horn calls in the first movement. So, too, are the accompaniments reminiscent of operetta, as is the cliché ending of the work. The fugato at figure L and the antiphonal effects in the violins at figure O both are reminiscent of Brahms.

Otto Wagner became interested in Art Nouveau because he felt that present-day architecture had been immobilized in the borrowing of forms from the past.³¹⁶ Left here, one could say that the very study of the “symphony” itself can afford this same feeling. Yet just like the composers featured in this document, Otto Wagner – even in his most progressive works – continued to utilize old forms.

Wagner thought that Art Nouveau might be able to help people adapt to the new age and, as it was not identified with any of the existing traditional subcultures, it would help prepare people for the newly emerging modern cosmopolitan culture.³¹⁷

It is not beyond reason that these characteristic elements here were designed to curry favor as Zemlinsky was well aware of the presence of his mentor on the committee of the *Gesellschaft*. This would perhaps explain the quote from *Die Meistersinger* (1867). At any rate, it is bitter irony for Zemlinsky that the awarding of the Beethoven Prize for this work has seemingly guaranteed its total obscurity. Peter Brown notes that “without finding it necessary to use augmented musical forces says a great deal about the inherent technique, outright beauty, and musical character of the Symphony in B-flat major, which was perhaps the finest work to win the Beethoven Prize offered by the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*.”³¹⁸

³¹⁶ Roger Paden, *Mysticism and Architecture: Wittgenstein and the Meanings of the Palais Stenborough* (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2007), 59.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 60.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 790.

Mahler, the Symphony No. 7, and Art Nouveau

There are many points of intersection with the Art Nouveau movement and the music of Gustav Mahler. The most frequently cited correlation is his relationship with the man he appointed as his set designer at the *Hofoper*, the Secessionist artist Alfred Roller (1864–1935). While certainly important, there nevertheless exist many alternate points of contact, particularly within the musical world of the Seventh Symphony. It is perhaps in this piece that the most compelling case for an Art Nouveau aesthetic in the music of Gustav Mahler exists. While others have pointed to the Eastern-influenced (though *not* Japanese) aesthetic of *Das Lied von der Erde* (1908), it is the Seventh Symphony that, despite its absence of song and drama, relates the idea of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* through its rich harmonic language, the incorporation of folk elements, and ornamented phrase structure. In his striving to embody the breadth of the world in his symphonies, none come closer to an Art Nouveau ideal than the Seventh.

Throughout his life, the presence of diverse cultural influence underscores much of his compositional writing. His tendency for quotation is taken to extreme in the Seventh, the finale of which in particular is something of a patchwork quilt. Here, his pastiche-like style is taken to an extreme in the Seventh Symphony, a product of the surroundings in his upbringing, his intellectual curiosity, and his abundant and fastidious work as a conductor. If the Art Nouveau unified the fine and decorative arts, his work unified their absolute musical equivalent in the case of the Seventh, bringing together folk music, the music of the street band, and the Klezmer music rolled into a single architectural frame grounded in the Austro-German symphonic tradition. Put more simply, by utilizing the symphonic model of Beethoven combined with the scope and harmonic ideas of Wagner, Mahler's work encompassed the scope of human existence.

The childhood of Mahler is often portrayed with great torment and sadness. Yet, in fact his parents were members of the rising "petit-bourgeoisie." Just prior to Mahler's birth, the mobility decree by Emperor Franz Joseph (1860) spurred the family to move from Bohemia to Moravia. Gustav was eldest of

six children to survive infancy; another eight perished due to disease and poor conditions. The family eventually settled in Jihlava (or in German, *Iglau*), approximately midway between Prague and Brno. It was there that Mahler was born (1860). His families' 'petit-bourgeoisie' upbringing would haunt him later, when from her more elitist ranks his wife Alma would scathingly describe his childhood "not... of a poor home, merely from one of soul-destroying narrowness."³¹⁹ For Alma, these "petit-bourgeoisie" values also had much to do with her professed hatred of Pauline Strauss (1863–1950), the wife of Richard, as explored in Peter Franklin's monograph *The Life of Mahler*.³²⁰

Yet, despite this early resistance to the artistic tendencies of his son, often delivered through the force of his irascible temper, the elder Mahler would eventually change his attitude toward his sons chosen career path. They obtained a piano, and Mahler made himself known in town as a *Wunderkind* in relatively short order. His musical aptitude contrasted sharply with his performance in school, which was abysmal; he did not graduate from the Gymnasium in Iglau until his second attempt, finally passing in September of 1877. This graduation earned him the ability to attend courses at *Universität Wien*; he had already been accepted earlier as a student of pianist Julius Epstein (1832–1926) (beginning 1875–6).

All this set the stage well for the idea of *Gesamtkunstwerk* in his music:

The character of its busy musical life was variously derived from the folk traditions of the local Czech peasantry and itinerant Bohemian players, from German choral music (associated with the church of St Jakob), an amateur orchestra and a small professional theatre and opera house.³²¹

Although Mahler had successfully distinguished himself as a pianist, he eventually turned to composition. He studied harmony with Robert Fuchs (1847–1927), a soft-spoken composer who though not prone to the self-promotion of his own works nevertheless had a powerful effect given the scope of his students that included Zemlinsky, Franz Schmidt (1874–1939), Franz Schreker (1878–1934), Hugo Wolf (1860–1903), and Jean Sibelius (1865–1920, in Vienna 1890–1891). He also studied composition more

³¹⁹ Donald Mitchell, Paul Banks, and David Matthews, *Gustav Mahler: The Early Years* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 16.

³²⁰ Peter Franklin, *The Life of Mahler* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

³²¹ Peter Franklin, "Mahler, Gustav," in Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40696>> (accessed November 25, 2011).

formally with Franz Krenn (1816–1897) at the Vienna Conservatory. While he attended lectures of Bruckner at the Vienna Conservatory on an informal basis, he was never officially a student of the former organist at St. Florian. Nevertheless, his interest in Bruckner was wide ranging, and he published a piano-duet version of Bruckner's Symphony No. 3 (1880). Yet more than his teachers, it was his literary and philosophical interests during his early years that are worth noting. Speaking of the courses that he had enrolled in at the Vienna Conservatory following his matriculation from Gymnasium, Peter Franklin illustrates:

The closing years of his student life in Vienna brought him his earliest conducting engagements and found him earning money from piano teaching, frequenting philosophical coffee houses and fostering a fashionable form of artistic Weltschmerz that fuelled idealistic socialist beliefs.³²²

These coffee houses were rife with Nietzschean philosophical debate. Franklin continues:

Those for which he enrolled in 1877, 1878 and 1880 engaged him little, but genuine literary and philosophical interests drew him towards like-minded student members of the Academic Wagner Society (which he joined in 1877) and to the circle of the university-based 'Leseverein der deutschen Studenten Wiens', whose pan-Germanist members included the subsequently influential left-wing politicians Engelbert Pernerstorfer and Victor Adler (founder of the Austrian Social Democratic party); the young poet Siegfried Lipiner was a forceful proponent of the ideas of Nietzsche. Wagnerism, socialism, pan-Germanism and Nietzschean philosophy achieved an unlikely and intellectually explosive liaison in that circle, which Mahler and some of his friends from Iglau recreated in an enthusiastic discussion group of their own.³²³

But Mahler had also suffered setbacks during this time. He failed to secure the coveted Beethoven prize that Zemlinsky succeeded in obtaining not once, but twice. His second attempt, with the cantata *Das Klagende Lied (Song of Lamentation)* (1878–80), was based on a fairy tale of the Brothers Grimm. A massive work, this defeat cost him substantially, particularly in his own view:

If the Conservatory jury had given me the Beethoven Prize of 600 gulden, my whole life would have taken a different course. I would not have had to go to Laibach and perhaps would have thus been spared the whole vile operatic career.³²⁴

³²² Ibid.

³²³ Ibid.

³²⁴ Henry-Louis de La Grange, *Gustav Mahler* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995) vol. 1, 79.

That “vile operatic career” stretched from Kassel (1883–5), where the unhappy ending to a love affair hastened an exit to Prague (1885–6) and then to Leipzig (1886–8), where he took over performances of the *Ring* from his former boss Arthur Nikisch (1855–1922) in the home of the composer. It was also in Leipzig that Mahler first encountered Strauss (1887). Thus began a long-lasting relationship with the composer. In Leipzig, he also met the grandson of Carl Maria von Weber (1786–1826), and began a relationship with his wife, Marion. He resigned following an altercation with the Intendant Goldberg, with whom he had a tense relationship. These tense relationships characterized much of his work. Yet a new post at the Royal Hungarian Opera in Budapest (1888–91) provided the backdrop of what was otherwise a period of enormous stress for Mahler:

The intervening years were marked both by triumphs and by a series of personal and professional crises. Mahler's domestic circumstances and emotional life were profoundly affected in 1889 by family deaths. His father died in February; in the autumn the death of his married younger sister Leopoldine was followed by that of his long-ailing mother.³²⁵

His time in Hamburg (1891–97) was far more productive. While in Hamburg, Mahler first-established his trademark regimen of outdoor work in Attersee (beginning in 1893). Mahler returned to Vienna (1897–1907) as the director of the *Hofoper*, where despite religious intolerance even after his conversion to Roman Catholicism he achieved many positive reviews.

Mahler's sights had long been set on returning to Vienna and he judiciously mobilized influential friends there, as well as in Budapest (which he visited during a conducting tour in March 1897 which took him to Russia for the first time). The sophisticated campaign was aimed at securing him the directorship of the Vienna Hofoper: a leading European theatre, served by a no less significant orchestra (the Vienna Philharmonic). Having removed the official barrier to the appointment of a Jew by converting to Roman Catholicism on 23 February 1897, Mahler began work as a Kapellmeister in Vienna in April 1897; by 8 September he had been promoted to director.³²⁶

Ironically, the same year Mahler finished his Seventh Symphony was the year that he met the polemicist and architect Adolf Loos (1905). Together with Schoenberg, Loos (1870–1933), who were both

³²⁵ Peter Franklin, “Mahler, Gustav.”

³²⁶ *Ibid.*

teaching at the *Schwarzwaldschul* with Zemlinsky, would end ornamental excess in art and music, bringing to a close the effective end of Art Nouveau.

Mahler: Style, Aesthetic, and Art Nouveau

As already discussed, the work of Mahler that has received the most attention for its potential relationship with the characteristics of Art Nouveau is *Das Lied von der Erde* (Song of the Earth) (1907). The work is grounded in Orientalism, *en vogue* through the popularity of Siegfried Bing's *L'Art Nouveau* gallery in Paris and in Vienna and through the underpinnings of the *Sezessionstil*. The poems, based on Chinese texts, have sometimes been called rococo in style.³²⁷ Yet the appearance of this work (1908), which followed the *Eighth Symphony* (1906) by several years, was relatively late for Art Nouveau comparison. The text is by Hans Heilmann, and includes the poem *Chinesische Lyrik* (1907). Speaking of the movement titled *Von der Jugend*:

It is indeed 'Chinese rococo' in style, and comes closest to the function of a scherzo, as several reviewers of the première noted. And here, as well as in the following movement, some writers detect the influence of turn-of-the-century Jugendstil (art nouveau in France), with its emphasis upon stylization, delicate ornamentation, miniaturization, and flowing curves. All of this is in marked contrast to what has gone before.³²⁸

As with the other composers featured in this document, Mahler was certainly no exception in his involvement with the artistic circles of the day. In particular, Mahler moved within the same artistic circles as Secessionist artists such as Klimt and Roller. Yet attempts to pin down precise encounters are difficult, as Carl Schorske illustrates:

There is no evidence for any direct philosophic influence of Mahler on Klimt. The painter probably did not know Mahler well until 1902, when the latter married Alma Schindler, whom Klimt had known since her childhood. But from the time of Mahler's appointment as Director of the Opera in 1897, they traveled in overlapping social and intellectual circles, which were permeated with Wagnerian and Nietzschean thought. Both frequented the house of Professor Zuckerhandl, and both knew well his friend, the Nietzschean lawyer Max Burckhard, director of the Burgtheater and editor of *Ver Sacrum*. When Mahler finally left Vienna for America after his enforced retirement from the Court Opera, Klimt was at the railway station with other Mahler enthusiasts to bid the conductor farewell.³²⁹

By far, other than his connections through Alma's former, would-be and future lovers, the most direct connection that Gustav Mahler had with Art Nouveau was through his collaboration with the artist

³²⁷ Stephen E. Hefling, *Mahler, Das Lied Von Der Erde* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 68.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*

³²⁹ Schorske, 230.

and stage designer Alfred Roller (1864–1935). Mahler probably met Roller for the first time when he contributed a wind-band arrangement of the finale to Beethoven’s *Ninth Symphony* to the fourteenth exhibition of the Secession (1902). Following this encounter, he employed Roller as a designer at the *Hofoper* (ca. 1903).³³⁰ Roller, who was a founding member of the Viennese Secession, became its President in 1902 and separated from the movement in 1905. As the recent Mahler biographer Jens Malte Fischer describes, “Roller achieved on the stage of the Vienna Court Opera what Klimt had achieved in painting and Olbrich and Moser in the decorative arts.”³³¹ There are many mentions of Roller in the letters of Mahler to Alma, particularly during the years of 1904–06. In a letter to Alma from Salzburg (1906), Mahler writes:

I was met yesterday by Roller, Stoll and Hassinger, the last representing the Festival Committee (of maidens robed in white there was none). Took steps to get rid of all but Roller, who took me to the hotel and stayed on with me.³³²

Roller and Mahler generally worked well together, out of their shared aesthetic and values. Though there were occasional rifts, de La Grange surmises that “Mahler and Roller were in complete agreement on one essential point: the staging of a work can easily be based on the work itself, not on any pre-conceived theory.”³³³

Like Klimt, Roller succeeded in attracting a smaller but nonetheless interesting following. This included the young Adolf Hitler (1889–1945). On May 8, 1906, the young artist Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) attended a performance of *Tristan und Isolde*, and returned backstage in an attempt to secure a place as a student of Roller. He was rejected, but following the ascendancy of the dictator to power in 1934, Hitler summoned Roller to the Chancellory, recalling with great detail Roller’s set design, remembering details such as “in the second act, the tower to the left, with the pale light.”³³⁴ It was also in Vienna where, fueled

³³⁰ Peter Franklin, “Mahler, Gustav.”

³³¹ Jens Malte Fischer, *Gustav Mahler* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 419.

³³² Alma Mahler and Basil Creighton, *Gustav Mahler: Memories and Letters* (New York: Viking Press, 1946), 229.

³³³ Henry-Louis de La Grange, *Gustav Mahler* vol. 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 364.

³³⁴ Norman Lebrecht, *Why Mahler?: How One Man and Ten Symphonies Changed Our World* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2010), 127–8.

by the anti-Semitism in the capital, combined with his rejection from the Vienna University to study art (twice), that aspects of Hitler's own personality would later manifest themselves:

Once, as I was strolling through the Inner City, I suddenly encountered an apparition in a black caftan and black hair locks. Is this a Jew? was my first thought. For, to be sure, they had not looked like that in Linz. I observed the man furtively and cautiously, but the longer I stared at this foreign face, scrutinizing feature for feature, the more my first question assumed a new form: Is this a German?³³⁵

Around this time, Mahler was also spending time with Richard Strauss, whom he had met earlier in Leipzig. Mahler dined with the artist Koloman Moser (1868–1918) in 1907,³³⁶ a co-founder of the Secession whose predominant influence was as the designer of the “windows, friezes, and ornamentation”³³⁷ for the Secession Building (1897). In another letter to Alma (1907), Gustav again mentions Roller, hinting at some type of relationship between Alma and Alfred: “Perhaps Roller will come too, if you come.”³³⁸ Thus, in retrospect, the most important artistic connections to examine with regard to Mahler are those of his wife, Alma, and his relationship with Alfred Roller.

³³⁵ Adolf Hitler and Ralph Manheim, *Mein Kampf* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1943), 56.

³³⁶ Henry-Louis de La Grange, *Gustav Mahler* vol. 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 244.

³³⁷ Gabriele Ramsauer, “Moser, Kolo,” in Grove Art Online, Oxford Art Online, <<http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T059843>> (accessed December 12, 2011).

³³⁸ de La Grange, *Gustav Mahler* vol. 3, 245.

Mahler: Symphony No. 7 (1904–5)

While the Seventh Symphony can be called a pastiche, it has also been called “triviality by pop art.”³³⁹ Whether or not this label is applied correctly, it does underscore not only the elements of pastiche in the work, but its broad integration of the many Art Nouveau characteristics, elements and techniques that have been already discussed in this document. These include line, orchestral color and sonority, folk music, developing variation, organicism, and naturalism. The architectural and interior designs of Art Nouveau best represent the naturalistic impulse in art, and there is no better point of comparison than in Seventh Symphony by Gustav Mahler.

The symphony itself is scored for 4 flutes and piccolo, 4 oboes and English horn, 4 clarinets, including a bass clarinet and E-flat clarinet, 3 bassoons, contrabassoon, tenor horn, 4 horns, 3 trumpets, 3 trombones, tuba, timpani, percussion (bass drum, snare drum, cymbals, glockenspiel, cowbells, rute, triangle, tam-tam, tambourine, orchestral bells, glockenspiel), guitar, mandolin, 2 harps, and strings.³⁴⁰ The most prominent orchestral color, the tenor-horn, provides a melancholic opening solo that sets the tone for the entire work, even shading a spell of darkness over the over-exuberant finale. Sometimes known in England and France as the baritone, its development in the compositional search for specific sonority mirrors the development of the Wagner tuba discussed in the second chapter.

Long held as one of Mahler’s most enigmatic works, owing to its complicated structural and tonal framework, the Symphony No. 7 (1904–05) by Gustav Mahler (1860–1911) makes logical sense as a representative piece of the height of the Art Nouveau movement. Derided by critics and audience alike but loved by aficionados, including Arnold Schoenberg and his followers, its initial unpopularity stems from “melodic harshness” and “bold, almost aggressive dissonance.”³⁴¹ This influence is especially apparent in the two *Nachtmusik* movements, which were begun during the same summer that he was completing the Sixth Symphony at his summer composition hut in the countryside at Maiernigg on the

³³⁹ Ibid., 882.

³⁴⁰ Gustav Mahler, *Symphony No. 7: In Full Score* (New York: Dover, 1992).

³⁴¹ de La Grange, *Gustav Mahler* vol. 3, 848.

Wörthersee. The two *Nachtmusik* movements were written around the same time at the same time Mahler was completing the finale of the Sixth, the summer of 1904.³⁴² The first movement of the Seventh was likely the last to be composed. La Grange equates the composition of these two movements with a break from the highly charged writing of the Sixth Symphony:

...the writing of *Nachtmusiken* may have been a reaction, a sort of relaxation, after completing the Sixth Symphony, an exceptional occurrence in the creative life of the mature Mahler, for he had hardly ever before worked on two symphonies at once, nor started a new work by composing the middle movements first.³⁴³

His idyllic surroundings in Maiernigg must have also proved a naturalistic influence to the works creation:

Revers and Davison point out that both *Nachtmusiken* give prominence to man's relationship to Nature, symbolized in the first by cowbells, echoing horns, and 'bird voices' and in the second by the genre itself of the Serenade, which evokes the open air, fountains, and idyllic gardens. Mahler himself identified the presence of Nature in the tenorhorn theme at the beginning of the Seventh. He even suggested to Richard Specht a meaning for this theme: 'Hier röhrt die Natur.' Nature is, as always, "the crucial issue" of Mahler's art. He perceives man's relationship to Nature as 'volatile and ambivalent'...³⁴⁴

At a rehearsal in Munich, in order to highlight their eternal symbolism rather than their naturalistic character, Mahler eliminated the cowbells. The following anecdote provides some thought behind the use of the bells in his work, the symbolism of which are widely purported to represent eternity:

And curiously enough, when Mahler wished to 'vindicate' the cowbells at a rehearsal in Munich, he explained to the orchestra that they were not intended to depict anything pastoral, but rather to signify the last greeting from the earth that still reaches the wanderer on the loftiest heights.³⁴⁵

The Seventh Symphony is one of the few Mahler symphonies to lack a true program. Without extra-musical associations, this symphony is allowed the opportunity to let its natural musical sound world unfold. Although Mahler often fought against the application of programs to his work by third-parties, as with his other works there exist a number of associations that are widely thought to represent

³⁴² Ibid., 842.

³⁴³ Ibid., 842.

³⁴⁴ Ibid., 851.

³⁴⁵ Constantin Floros and Reinhard G. Pauly, *Gustav Mahler: The Symphonies* (Portland, Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1993), 109.

parts of this work. At a basic level is the overarching scheme of the work, a single entity that depicts dusk to dawn, perhaps an idea based in the work of his favorite philosopher, Gustav Theodor Fechner (1801–1887),³⁴⁶ who often wrote of the duality of nature. Yet a more widely adopted unofficial program does exist from the conductor Wilhelm Mengelberg (1871–1951), and there is no shortage of allegory and legend about its meaning. In Mengelberg's notes is the association of the painting *Nightwatch* (1642) by Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–1669) as introduced in the program notes for a performance in 1909. This story is refuted by Alphons Diepenbrock (1862–1921), a friend of the composer who claims that Mengelberg contrived the story for the audience in order to make the work more accessible:

It is not true that he [Mahler] had tried to depict the 'Night Watch'. He mentioned this picture only as a point of comparison. It is a night walk, and he says himself that he was thinking of a patrol (Scharwache). Besides, he says something different each time. What is certain is that it is a march in a fantastic kind of chiaroscuro, hence the analogy with Rembrandt. The fantastic colours are enough in themselves to carry the imagination back into the past, suggesting a tableau of soldiers and mercenaries.

He does make further hints about light-dark through the idea of the chiaroscuro, which in painting refers to “the distribution of light and dark tones with which the painter, engraver or draughtsman imitates light and shadow; by extension it refers to the variations in light and shade on sculpture and architecture resulting from illumination.”³⁴⁷ As Diepenbrock continues, he says:

What is certain is that it is a march in a fantastic kind of chiaroscuro, hence the analogy with Rembrandt. The fantastic colours are enough in themselves to carry the imagination back into the past, suggesting a tableau of soldiers and mercenaries.³⁴⁸

Constantin Floros describes the third movement, marked *schattenhaft* (shadowy) as “a mixture of an eerie scherzo and a fantastic dance scene.”³⁴⁹ Adorno criticized this folk-music influenced movement extensively in his writings, stating that “again is a development scherzo as in the Fifth, yet reduced by the

³⁴⁶ Stephen E. Hefling, “The Rückert Lieder” in Donald Mitchell and Andrew Nicholson, *The Mahler Companion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 331

³⁴⁷ Janis Callen Bell, “Chiaroscuro,” in Grove Art Online, Oxford Art Online, <<http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T016397>> (accessed December 12, 2011).

³⁴⁸ Hefling, 331.

³⁴⁹ Floros and Pauly, 109.

necessity to place a third piece of special character between the two Night Music movements.” Speaking of the entire work, Adorno says that “it translates the attainments of the preceding orchestral symphonies into the image-world of the early Mahler.” Of the last, in particular, he notes, “despite the most emphatic construction the movement is sensuously more colourful than anything previously written by Mahler; his late style goes back to it.”³⁵⁰

The fourth movement, one of the most interesting, contains not only orchestral innovation but a number of allusions, particularly with the music of Schoenberg and his earlier symbolist work, *Verklärte Nacht* (1899). Originally written for string sextet, this work was later orchestrated by the composer. Both the fourth movement and *Verklärte Nacht* share a key of D minor. Mahler was well acquainted with the work, and encouraged not only its first performance but its rescoring for string orchestra.³⁵¹ The descending minor sixth is important to both; as is the spirit (*Graziosissimo* in the Mahler, *immer leise* (always gentle, quiet)) in the Schoenberg. The youthful style of Schoenberg bears the stamp of many Art Nouveau hallmarks, and its inclusion is more than of passing importance:

It is this developing and mediating function in the fusion of Wagner's and Brahms' compositional techniques which generates the special quality of the musical line, the linkage of themes and motifs and their elaboration. Thus Schoenberg's *Verklärte Nacht* can be regarded as the starting point of a new shape of line in music.³⁵²

These quotations from the musical stream of consciousness only embellish those that also exist from within nature and folk music. Of his use of folk and popular musical materials, it is said:

Mahler's music, insofar as it was written with the contemporary Viennese audience in mind, was itself a critical reflection on the growing lure of the facile rhetorical conventions of popular song, operetta, and dance at the turn of the century. By using so-called folk and popular materials in a far less commercial manner, within the framework of classical symphonic form Wagnerian notions of musical drama.³⁵³

The orchestration alone of the work has broad implications for its relationship with Art Nouveau. Interestingly, it is the instruments that normally only accompany – such as the mandolin and

³⁵⁰ Theodor Adorno as quoted in de La Grange, *Gustav Mahler* vol. 3, 859.

³⁵¹ Brown, *The Second Golden Age of the Viennese Symphony: Brahms, Bruckner, Dvořák, Mahler, and Selected Contemporaries*, 18.

³⁵² Kropfinger, “The Shape of Line,” 143.

³⁵³ Nicholson, “Introduction,” 25.

the guitar in the *Nachtmusiken* – that here have a principal role in the formation of orchestral sonority. Outside of these, obviously one of the most striking elements is the use of the orchestra is the Tenor Horn, a B-flat instrument similar to a Baritone. Diepenbrock describes the *affekt* of color within the instrumentation in a letter to his friend Johanna Jongkindt (1909):

The first movement begins very gloomily with a tenor horn solo (Ein riesengroßer Schatten) [a gigantic shadow]... In the fourth movement, the serenade, a mandolin and a guitar, which unfortunately get a little drowned out by the other instruments, create a very pleasant effect, heightening the *amoroso* character.³⁵⁴

One interesting point of note in the score are the pencil marks in the draft score over measures 284–88 in the first movement (figure 42), where appears “the phrase *Steine pumpeln in’s Wasser* (stones plop into the water). This is probably Mahler’s attempt to define the special kind of sonority he was aiming for by indicating that the bass instruments were to play pizzicato and arco simultaneously.”³⁵⁵ In terms of publication:

Unfortunately, the correspondence between Mahler and this latter publisher seems for the time being to have disappeared, except for a letter concerning the title-page, which Mahler had asked Roller to design.³⁵⁶

The invocation of a pastoral landscape is difficult to shake in the second movement, regardless of Mahler’s intention of the use of cowbell. This atmosphere is also created in the fourth movement, where the mandolin and rute³⁵⁷ are used to give special timbre to the orchestral color. In particular, the appearance of the mandolin is striking, and bears some allusion to the Commendatore scene in Mozart’s opera *Don Giovanni* (1787):

During the first half of the 19th century, the mandolin disappeared almost completely from the concert halls and opera houses of Europe. Pietro Vimercati (1779–1850) was the only internationally acclaimed soloist during this period, and Berlioz noted sadly in 1843 that, even at the Paris Opéra, a pizzicato violin was used for the serenade in *Don Giovanni*, the mandolin having been reduced to a mere stage prop. However, the instrument was still widely played in the south of Italy, above all in Naples, where street musicians habitually used mandolins (generally played tremolo-style) and

³⁵⁴ Floros and Pauly, 191.

³⁵⁵ de La Grange, *Gustav Mahler* vol. 3, 844.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 845.

³⁵⁷ In its simplest form, a percussion technique of beating birch sticks on a bass drum for coloristic effect.

guitars to accompany their songs.³⁵⁸

The growing development of mandolins, particularly steel strings that improved reliability, also had an impact on the use of the instrument within the concert canon:

The performances of these mandolinists (and hundreds of their contemporaries) encouraged composers to use the instrument in orchestral, operatic and chamber works. Verdi's use of a group of mandolins in *Otello* (1887) was followed by Spinelli (*A basso porto*, 1894) and Massenet (*Chérubin*, 1905), while Mahler's use of the instrument in his Seventh (1904–5) and Eighth (1906–7) symphonies and in *Das Lied von der Erde* (1907–9) was followed by its inclusion in works by Schoenberg, Webern, Hindemith, Krenek and Weill. Schoenberg used the instrument several times, most notably in the *Serenade op.24* (1920–23) and the *Variations for Orchestra op.31* (1926–8). These composers used the mandolin primarily in the Italian manner, with melodic passages generally played tremolo-style.³⁵⁹

Owing to its formal complexity, the final movement, highly criticized by Adorno, is certainly the most difficult to comprehend. "It is obvious that nowhere else in Mahler are 'breaks' in the natural flow of the music, or contrasts of sonority and dynamics so brutal and paradoxical, changes in tone more sudden, sonorities more crude, or 'vulgarity' more apparent."³⁶⁰ Of the last movement, conductor Hans Swarowsky (1899–1975) suggests a refrain and verse variation analysis to give analytical clarity. Yet this does not fully explain the number of quotations and their significance, particularly that of the overt quote from the Overture of Wagner's *Die Meistersinger* in the final movement. In early performances, Mahler sometimes preceded performances of the Seventh Symphony with the *Meistersinger* Overture; thus, like two classical pillars, they give a meta-structure or architecture to the entire performance. Yet the *Meistersinger* and other quotations are only one of many elements of interest in the piece:

...in pompous overblown musical gesturing that cannot hide its hereditary link to *Die Meistersinger*, in the rhetorical eloquence of advanced procedures in orchestration, in the abundant spread of images and musical idioms, incorporating historical quotations and reminiscences from the realm of folk music, in the calculated brilliance of surprise musical effects, and finally in the superficial attempt at a cyclic raising of the stakes, the use, in other words, of a new Finale convention arising from completely different premises and whose intensifying effect can plainly not be done without.³⁶¹

³⁵⁸ James Tyler and Paul Sparks, "Mandolin," in *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/46239>> (accessed December 11, 2011).

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁰ de La Grange, *Gustav Mahler* vol. 3, 883.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 884.

The Seventh Symphony also contains a number of other quotations and some more subtle allusions, particularly in the finale. Most notably, these include the Waltz from the *Die lustige Witwe* (*The Merry Widow*) by Franz Léhar (1870–1948), which was given its première in 1905 and has been documented as a favorite of Gustav and Alma. Its appearance begins unsteadily at bar 53 in the finale. The diatonic broken-scale motif that follows (A', violins and horns: bar 23, Pesante) has been criticized as being reminiscent of the “Weiber Chanson’ from the Lehar merry widow.”³⁶² The Seventh Symphony also contains reference to the Siegfried Idyll (1876) of Richard Wagner, a work composed as a gift to his wife Cosima (1837–1930) and premièred on the staircase outside of her bedroom one morning. Mahler and Cosima had corresponded in the years following the death of her husband. The finale also contains an allusion to a rhythmically displaced Infernal Galop from Act II, Scene II of *Orphee aux enfers* (“*Orpheus in the Underworld*”) by Jacques Offenbach (1819–1880). From an architectural standpoint, the Seventh Symphony is a musical patchwork quilt, a kaleidoscopic pastiche of varied musical experience that requires great care in its execution. Allusions of folk music – bagpipes in particular – are also present in the softer sections of the finale. With a grand if uneven finish, the finale ends in brilliant C major, long symbolized as the most naturalistic of all keys.

The compressed form of the finale has attracted a great deal of attention. “In this respect, the Seventh is without doubt Mahler’s most ‘advanced’ work, with incessant dissonances and sudden modulations packed tightly together.”³⁶³ Within La Grange’s compendium, Serge Gut identifies several characteristics of the seventh that intersect with Art Nouveau ideas. These include the superimposition of “various layers, each one simple and with its own logic”, the “frequent independence of the harmony from the thematic process”, and the contrast between a “static vertical harmonic language, simple and

³⁶² Ibid., 878.

³⁶³ Ibid., 847.

conservative and a horizontal contrapuntal language which is essentially dynamic and audacious.”³⁶⁴ The Seventh has often been quoted as defying analysis, but as James Zychowicz courageously concludes: “If the Finale does not fit some of the analytical models with which it is compared, it may be that the method of analysis rather than the music is at fault.”³⁶⁵

One might compare the form of the finale of the seventh, with its many winding roads again to the *Tree of Life* (ca. 1905–9) by Klimt. There is a basic structure based around the tree, around which the many branches ornament, creating a



7. Gustav Klimt, *Tree of Life* (ca. 1905-09). Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna.

sense of timelessness. Again, the “structural” and “unique” units are clearly visible. Perhaps most similar to the *Tree of Life* is the enormous weight of the ornament attached to the trunk of the tree, which becomes so distorted and that it nearly collapses in upon itself. In the *Pedagogical Sketchbook* of Paul Klee, he describes a “world of physical reality” in which a “cosmic curve frees itself more and more from the earth in infinite motion, to fulfill itself freely in a circle or at least an ellipse.”³⁶⁶ This “cosmic curve” bears striking resemblance not only to the ornamental figurations that populate the tree of Klimt, but of the many curves within the finale of the Seventh Symphony.

As with the Zemlinsky, these “vulgarities” also suggest the disjunctive developing variations of Klee. The idea of the developing variation is an important one in the Seventh Symphony. Henry Louis de

³⁶⁴ Serge Gut, “Consonance et dissonance dans le premier mouvement de la septième symphonie de Gustav Mahler” in James L. Zychowicz, *The Seventh Symphony of Gustav Mahler: a symposium* (Cincinnati: The University of Cincinnati, College-Conservatory of Music 1990): 47 - 67 as cited in de La Grange, *Gustav Mahler* vol. 3, 848.

³⁶⁵ James L. Zychowicz, *The Seventh Symphony of Gustav Mahler: a symposium* (Cincinnati: University of Cincinnati, College-Conservatory of Music, 1990) as cited in Henry-Louis de La Grange, *Gustav Mahler* vol. 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 886.

³⁶⁶ Paul Klee, *Pedagogical Sketchbook* (New York: F.A. Praeger, 1953), 56.

la Grange describes its use in the fourth symphony: “Never before was Mahler closer to the ideal he formulated in 1905 in the presence of Anton Webern, that of constructing a whole movement (if not a symphony) from one or several melodic cells.”³⁶⁷ La Grange cites an analysis of Diether de la Motte that, as in the case of the Zemlinsky, calls the movement “a miracle of the art of developing variation.”³⁶⁸

In the year 1905, as the Secession crumbled with the withdrawal of Klimt and his followers, Mahler completed the Seventh Symphony and met Adolf Loos. There is a great deal of symbolism in the piece. For Mahler, bells symbolized eternity.³⁶⁹ *Don Giovanni* was quoted in Mahler’s Seventh; coincidentally it was also Paul Klee’s favorite opera. “Beginning in 1908, Klee had concentrated on purging his lines of superfluous ornamentation. In this process, as in his attempt to impose structural unity, the classical style served as an example.”³⁷⁰ Klee had been approached about designing sets for Dresden production in the 1920s.³⁷¹

It was through the secession that Mahler made the acquaintance of a young artist named Alfred Roller. As a painter he stood in the shadow of Klimt, Moser and Moll, but as a stage designer he developed a distinctive style. Together with Mahler he was responsible for productions of Mozart, Beethoven and Wagner that placed the Vienna Hofoper at the centre of developments in contemporary music-theatre.³⁷²

Unlike his French counterparts, and in-line with the more disjunctive, German style of Art Nouveau, Mahler does not seek cyclical unity in the work. “Here, in contrast to the preceding symphony where thematic references between the movements are subtle and innumerable, Mahler seems not to have wanted to unify the movements in the same way, except for the two outer movements.”³⁷³ Nevertheless, the work is unified as a product of its complex content and context of politics, culture, and art.

³⁶⁷ de La Grange, *Gustav Mahler* vol. 3, 883.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 870.

³⁶⁹ Floros and Pauly, 211.

³⁷⁰ K. Porter Aichele, “Paul Klee’s Operatic Themes and Variations”, *Art Bulletin* 68, no. 3 (1986): 455.

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*

³⁷² Gustav Mahler, Henry-Louis de La Grange, Günther Weiss, Knud Martner, and Antony Beaumont, *Gustav Mahler: letters to his wife* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), 104.

³⁷³ de La Grange, *Gustav Mahler* vol. 3, 847.

CONCLUSION

Six oppositional pairs of elements, in which Art Nouveau serves as a mediator, characterize the fin-de-siècle and its symphonic legacy. As demonstrated, these pairs include ornament versus function, tradition versus modernization, and industry versus naturalism. Where this document has sometimes avoided specific points of contact with individual works, its more generalist approach has suggested an archetypal congruence that aids in placing the four works examined throughout the previous two chapters in their proper context. Under-appreciated and under-performed, these works have been neglected precisely because of a lack of understanding and categorization.

In particular, this aesthetic labeling relies on Art Nouveau. As demonstrated, the fluid Art Nouveau of Paris contrasted sharply with the more geometric Jugendstil and Sezessionstil styles of Art Nouveau that emerged later in Vienna. Despite a number of competing independent factors, each of these styles had a demonstrable, reciprocal influence in the development of the fin-de-siècle symphony. Moreover, perhaps best illustrated by d'Indy through his usage and capitalization of the word "Art" in his *Cours de composition musicale*, the separation of these disciplines into discrete entities was one foreign to the café and salon culture of Paris and Vienna.

Through its roots in England and center in Belgium, Art Nouveau spread over time to France, Germany, Austria, Scandinavia, the Mediterranean, Russia, and even the United States. Like the symphony in these same locations, its defining qualities can be identified through specific characteristics. Yet because of their importance for musical activity, particularly in terms of the symphony, as two major centers of art and music, fin-de-siècle Paris and Vienna represented an obvious and important point of intersection. And, while their political and cultural situations were similar, their differences were enough to engender significant variation in their artistic legacies.

Through an analysis of the shared Art Nouveau characteristics of both locales, it was my intention to devise a new lens for understanding and contextualizing these works and their relatives. The

works of Zemlinsky and d'Indy have been largely forgotten, for somewhat different reasons. In the case of Zemlinsky, his works have simply been eclipsed by the popularity of Mahler in the concert hall. But in the case of d'Indy, the specter of religious zeal and anti-Semitic polemic, while not unique to him or his time, is something that his miniature output could not overcome (unlike Wagner). Of these four symphonies, only the Chausson and the Mahler are performed with any regularity within the international performance canon. Particularly in the case of the latter, its shifting scope, bipolar aesthetic and lack of a concrete program make it relatively unapproachable for audiences. The Seventh is Mahler's least-performed symphony, even after the monumental Eighth, a work that through its dependence on massive forces alone can destroy the budget of an orchestra in a single day. Yet given the opportunity to understand the context, culture, and aesthetics behind these works, even the most resistant audiences would find them compelling if for no other reason than their value as "living" historical artifacts. This is enhanced given the parallels between the fin-de-siècle and our own time today.

The exploration of the past offers us many opportunities to restructure and inform our own views of the present. The anxiety of the current economic environment, the disappearance of the middle class and cultural decadence in the face of a competitive global economy parallel with the battles of the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy, the specter of war, and the Industrial Revolution that shaped the fin-de-siècle. The integration that we struggle with today is not borne out of the rural and the metropolis type, but of the inequity of the distribution of wealth between countries and continents that threaten some and give hope to others. Psychologically, these issues must be processed; historically, this has been done through artistic means.

In the fin-de-siècle, the formation of complete alternate experiences through sensory overload achieved a virtual escape from unsympathetic realities. Through the grand combination of exterior architecture, interior decoration, and brilliant soundscapes, observers could transplant themselves into a type of living dream-world. This was shaped through the idea of Wagner's *Gesamtkunstwerk* and the Art Nouveau that used his ideas as a foundation. Although it could be argued that these four symphonies

cannot represent a true *Gesamtkunstwerk* as they are missing a dramatic element, from another perspective, their live performance encapsulates a totality of experience through the use of the live audience as part of the works totality. Transformed into the heroes and villains of a story completely in their own imagination, the audience itself becomes an abstract object: the dramatic action.

Yet these living dreams of the decorative, elaborate interiors and exteriors of Van de Velde and Otto Wagner also exist today. In the twenty-first century, they differ only through their mechanism of delivery. The technology that surrounds us functions as our new, virtual psychological shields. Our cell phones, laptops, and virtual communities have become more important to us than our own physical space. Technology and virtual realities have already transformed—and will continue to transform—the world as we know it.

In terms of cross-disciplinary methodology, a complete scientific method was laid out by which to examine art and music. Interestingly, this led to further possibilities visible through the layer of abstraction that occurs naturally when comparing any two disciplines containing unique sets of elements. While this has been hinted at by other authors exploring the relationship of Art Nouveau and music, it has never been fully elaborated. The idea of folk music as an object to which ornament was applied, the specific activities of *Les Vingt*, ideas of cyclicity and developing variation, and naturalism and symbolism have all been explored in this document. All of them relate in this layer of abstraction, rather than through direct relation. Despite the fact that some authors, notably Gérard Pesson, have described Art Nouveau and symbolism as mere signifiers of the time with little depth,³⁷⁴ this view ignores the human response to surroundings. They form an often unconscious socio-cultural foundational framework that we respond to through support or opposition.

The question of whether relating music and Art Nouveau is worthwhile has been raised by Dahlhaus as well as in the collection of papers from Adelaide in 1984. As noted in the literature review of

³⁷⁴ Gérard Pesson, "Mahler and Debussy: Transcendence and Emotion" in Donald Mitchell and Andrew Nicholson, *The Mahler Companion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 155.

the first chapter, the results have been decidedly mixed throughout the history of comparison. For those who must through hyper-analytical logic seek a discrete, systematic answer the results of this and other studies will no doubt fall short. There are by nature varied ways to paint the colors of the fin-de-siècle, and this document represents but one of them.

Take for example an artist who has been endowed with superhuman powers in both Michelangelo's hand and Mozart's ear. Would such an artist be able to write about the two disciplines accurately, as if they were one? The combination of Klee and Schoenberg together come close to represent such a totality through their complementary strengths and their shared interest in teaching. Though both wrote substantially, they must have realized that the literal translation of visual and audio data ultimately degrades the quality of that information. The optimal cross-disciplinary comparison is between the ear and the eye alone, which should work together, perhaps guided by but *without* the use of literature as an intermediary. In terms of providing a shared vocabulary and more concrete group of methods for relating music and art, their writings both fell short. In the case of Schoenberg, although words such as "ornament" are discussed more than once, they are rarely expounded upon. Similarly, in the case of Klee, elevated abstract thought did not always give way to a descriptive style or technique, at least not one that was applicable to music. Rather, it was through the end products of their work, particularly in the case of Klee, that proved more useful. To understand music is to use mind and ear to listen, and to understand art is to use mind and eye to see. In the same way that writing can clarify ideas, it can also be used to obfuscate them. Writing can only describe the existence of other disciplines, it can never prescribe them. Prescription comes from practice. In short: words are limited.

This idea highlights the single obstacle that clouds much of the available research of this period: the complete inconsistency of taxonomy and nomenclature as applied to artistic and musical styles and periods. The complexity of differing approaches during the fin-de-siècle shares a magnetic resistance against easy classification. Simple ideas like expressionism and impressionism differ dramatically depending on the author, creating a wide gamut of definitions, inclusions and exclusions. The many

groups at this time, and the overlapping of their various “-isms” make the distillation of their aesthetic all the more challenging. Frequently, the resultant gestalt seems to have more in common with the world of nomenclature itself than the reality of the characteristics in the works the words attempt to define.

Despite the challenges, I do believe that this research demonstrates that the four symphonies examined in this document relate to one another under the broad umbrella of Art Nouveau, if in quite different, even complementary ways. The first chapter laid the groundwork for the fin-de-siècle in Paris and Vienna, including an examination of the role and presentation of the arts and the development of Art Nouveau, critical to understanding the inseparability of music and art at this time. The second chapter, “the Symphony and Art Nouveau in Paris and Vienna,” related the development of Art Nouveau with the symphony as compared between the two cities between 1884 and 1910, with particular respect to the influence of Wagner and Debussy, both of whom exerted significant influence. A brief, more general survey of the symphonic landscape in Paris and Vienna during these sixteen years was also explored in order to distill the broad attributes of the genre. This chapter also explored the connection of folk music with the symphony and Art Nouveau, and the parallel development of instruments and materials that were integral to the development of the new sonorities and textures. It concluded with a discussion of methods for cross-disciplinary comparison and critical literature on the subject. The third and fourth chapters examined two musical examples in depth, relating them with the developments of Art Nouveau in each city.

Summation and Application

The two styles of Art Nouveau in Paris and Vienna, despite their unique features and different nomenclature, are inseparable from each other. They were indeed parts of the same coin. The geometry of the Viennese style and the fluidity of the Parisian style were influenced not only by pre-existing trends in the architecture of each city—adherence to classicism in Vienna, industrial modernism in Paris—but by

language. Although outside the scope of this document, it would be interesting to examine the influence of the sonic aesthetics of language with regard to the arts outside of purely textual considerations. ©

Yet the horizon in the gaze of both cities had the greatest impact on the ultimate destination of Art Nouveau. Following its destruction through World War I (1914 – 1918) and in the polemic of Adolf Loos (1870 -1933), ornament lived on in Art Deco that became popular in the 1920s, centered in the United States and Paris. In Vienna, however functionalist modernism, influenced by the geometry of the Secession and later the Bauhaus, proved to be a crossroads. Like Art Nouveau in Vienna, emphasis was placed on the exterior rather than the interior, in contrast with that of Paris, which emphasized interior decoration. This also bears relation to the music of both locales. The epic symphonies of Bruckner and Mahler elicit a charged external dramatic force in their scope alone; in contrast, despite their depth, the Parisian symphonies could only be called petite in contrast.

If labels must be used, they should not be dogmatic and ought to accurately describe the collection of works to which they have been applied. As such, the idea of musical Art Nouveau should be utilized when helpful. This seems a relatively short order, considering that the label of impressionism continues to be misapplied to many of the works of Debussy, failing to impart the totality of influences in his work, particularly symbolism. Periods such as the Baroque, Rococo, Classical, and Romantic were all modeled after their artistic influences. Yet while the musical equivalents of these periods were fashioned predominately after their artistic counterparts, during the fin-de-siècle this lag decreased dramatically, owing to a tight-knit association of the arts, to the point that the periods paralleled one another in close to real-time, perhaps closer than ever before. Yet while the labels attached to these styles allow the human mind to organize and give hierarchy to the character of these works, most cannot encompass the totality of any single or group of composers' work. Just as with any other style, the idea of Art Nouveau in music is far more descriptive than prescriptive. But more so than only constructing a bridge from impressionism to expressionism, Art Nouveau encapsulates the essence of all three ideas. This makes it hard for the author to understand why as a style period identifier it is not used more frequently.

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