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Ernest Guiraud: A Biography and Catalogue of Works.

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Weilbaecher, Daniel O., D.M.A.

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ERNEST GUIRAUD: A BIOGRAPHY AND CATALOGUE OF WORKS

A Monograph

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Musical Arts

in

The School of Music

by

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May 1990

PREFACE

By the time of his death in 1892, Ernest Guiraud had established himself as a distinguished member of the French musical community. A native of New Orleans, where he was born in 1837, Guiraud traveled to Paris to complete his musical training. After he won the Prix de Rome in 1859, Guiraud's compositions earned him the reputation as one of the brightest hopes of the Ecole française. He was appointed to the faculty of the Paris Conservatoire in 1876, named Chevalier of the Legion d'honneur in 1878, and elected to the Académie des Beaux-Arts of the Institut de France in 1891. Although Guiraud was widely recognized and highly regarded during his lifetime for his own works, his name is best remembered today for his contributions to Bizet's Carmen and Offenbach's Les contes d'Hoffmann, and as Claude Debussy's professor of composition at the Paris Conservatoire.

No comprehensive study of Guiraud's life has been published in either French or English. The most significant treatment of this subject is found in the manuscript of Branks Orlic's unfinished monograph "Ernest Guiraud et son oeuvre musicale," located at the Institut de Musicologie of the Université de Paris. Georges Favre devotes sixty pages to Guiraud in his 1983 publication Compositeurs français méconnus (Ernest Guiraud et ses amis: Emile Paladilhe et Théodore Dubois). Brief articles about Guiraud appear in many of the English-language encyclopedias and dictionaries of music.

In the absence of a significant body of personal correspondence, our understanding of Guiraud's character is limited to the observations of those who knew and wrote about him. In this regard, Orlic's work is especially

important, as he was able to interview Henri Busser (one of Guiraud's students) and Adèle Guiraud-Damart (Guiraud's daughter, who was only eight when Guiraud died). Fortunately, Guiraud's association with many of France's most celebrated musicians (Bizet, Debussy, Saint-Saëns, Massenet) offers documentation of many details of his life.

I am especially indebted to the grandchildren of Guiraud's step-sister, Jeanne Guiraud Pool, who currently reside in Louisiana and Mississippi--Mrs. Shirley Farrell Egge of Gulfport and Mrs. Audrey Farrell McCrary, Mrs. Adrienne Farrell Kepper, and Mr. Thomas C. Farrell, Jr of New Orleans. Not only did they share information and recollections about their family pertinent to my investigation, but they also extended me a generous grant in memory of their mother, Mildred Pool Farrell, and grandmother. This grant facilitated research in Paris at the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, and the Institut de Musicologie of the Université de Paris.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to Dr. Jan Herlinger, whose generosity, patience, and encouragement provided inspiration, and whose impressive literary skills and professional guidance offered invaluable assistance in shaping and structuring this monograph. I am also grateful to Drs. Daniel Sher, Jack Guerry, Wallace McKenzie, Richard Kaplan, and Richard Cox for their time spent in examining this monograph and for their helpful suggestions for improving it.

Many people have contributed to the completion of this project. I would like to express my appreciation to Jean-Pierre Marty for introducing me to the music of Ernest Guiraud; to Sr. Loyola Weilbaeher, O.S.U. for tutoring me in French and her assistance in translating; to Cecile Dalin-

Hagar and Dr. Harry Redman whose knowledge of the French language also proved helpful; to Pascale St. André and Philippe Bianconi for their research assistance in Paris; to Alfred Lemmon of the Historic New Orleans Collection; to Dr. William Loring of Scarecrow Press; to Catherine Masip of the Bibliothèque Nationale; to Dr. Robert Curtis of Tulane's Maxwell Music Library; to Robert Bledsoe of Tulane's Howard Tilton Library; to Drs. Peter Hansen and John Baron of the Tulane Music Department; and to Dr. David Beveridge of the University of New Orleans. For their general encouragement and assistance I would like to extend special thanks to Joan Landry, John Belsom, George Van Hoose, Raymond Gitz, Julianne Nice, Brian Eschette, Maurice Stouse, and Anne Simpson.

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ABSTRACT

Ernest Guiraud (1837-1892) was born in New Orleans, where he received his early musical training from his parents, both graduates of the Paris Conservatoire. His father, Jean-Baptiste Guiraud, had won the Prix de Rome in 1827. Ernest's first opera, David, was staged at the Théâtre d'Orléans in April 1853. Later that year Ernest entered the Paris Conservatoire; he studied piano with Marmontel, harmony with Barbereau, and composition with Halévy. He won the Prix de Rome in 1859.

During the three years (1860-1862) Guiraud spent in Italy as a Prix de Rome laureate, he composed a mass, an opera-buffa (Gli avventurieri), and an opéra-comique (Sylvie) that would be produced in Paris in 1864. Guiraud's En prison was staged at the Théâtre-Lyrique in 1869, Le kobold at the Opéra-Comique in 1870. His first orchestral suite premiered in January 1872; the fourth movement "Carnaval" firmly established his reputation as one of the best of France's new generation of composers. Madame Turlupin was presented at the Opéra-Comique in November 1872, his ballet Gretna-Green at the Opéra in May 1873, Piccolino (his most successful opera) at the Opéra-Comique in 1876, and Galante aventure at the Opéra-Comique in March 1882. Durand published Guiraud's second orchestral suite in 1886, his tone poem Chasse fantastique in 1887, and Traité pratique d'instrumentation (which served as a textbook for several generations of music students in France) in 1890. Frédégonde, unfinished at the time of Guiraud's death, was completed by Saint-Saëns and Dukas and presented at the Opéra in 1895.

Guiraud began teaching at the Paris Conservatoire in 1876; he was named Chevalier of the Legion d'honneur in 1878, and was elected to the Académie des Beaux-Arts of the Institut de France in 1891. Although Guiraud was widely recognized and highly regarded during his lifetime for his own works, his name is best remembered today for his contributions to Bizet's Carmen and Offenbach's Les contes d'Hoffmann, and as Claude Debussy's professor of composition at the Paris Conservatoire.

This monograph surveys Guiraud's biography and catalogues his works.

CHAPTER 1

EARLY YEARS IN NEW ORLEANS

When France transferred the Louisiana Territory to the United States in 1803, New Orleans was a city of some ten thousand inhabitants, fewer than one thousand of whom spoke English. The Creoles (descendants of the original French and Spanish settlers), already apprehensive at the transfer of the territory from Spain to France less than a month before, feared the imposition of English as the official language.¹

Despite its volatile political situation, New Orleans was already one of the New World's important cultural and commercial centers. Positioned near the mouth of the Mississippi River, New Orleans served as the gateway for trade between the communities along the Mississippi and Ohio River Valleys and the rest of the world. With the transfer of the Louisiana Territory came the elimination of restrictive trade barriers that both France and Spain had imposed on colonial New Orleans. This more open trade policy encouraged the migration of English-speaking Americans to the city, eager to exploit its obvious commercial potential. The appearance of the first steamboats in 1812 made upstream navigation a more commercially viable proposition and contributed

¹Works Progress Administration, New Orleans City Guide, 16.

significantly to the accelerated growth of New Orleans. By the 1840s the city rivalled New York as the premier port of the United States.²

The earliest documented performance of an opera in New Orleans was a production of Grétry's Silvain in 1796 at the Théâtre St. Pierre. During the first decades of the nineteenth century the Théâtre St. Pierre and its rivals, the Théâtre St. Philippe and Théâtre d'Orléans, provided the city with regular operatic seasons performed by the combined forces of local musicians and those recruited from Europe. The repertoire included works by Dalayrac, Méhul, and Grétry among others. The American premieres of many operas took place in New Orleans, including Il barbiere di Siviglia by Paisiello in 1805 and Cherubini's Les deux journées in 1811.³

The completion of the new Théâtre d'Orléans in 1819--the original theater was destroyed by fire in 1816, less than a year after it opened--saw the beginning of a period of gradual expansion and strengthening of operatic activity in the city to the point that New Orleans earned the reputation as being America's leading center of opera and having, arguably, the finest French opera company outside of Paris. The Théâtre d'Orléans would outlive its competition in the French section

²New Orleans City Guide, 19, 21, 47.

³Belsom, 1-2.

of the city; in 1859, following a dispute between Charles Boudousquie (the manager of the operatic troupes that performed there) and the management of the theater itself, Boudousquie decided to construct his own building, the French Opera House.⁴

The Théâtre d'Orléans found a healthy challenge in the new theaters constructed in the American section of the city. The Camp Street Theatre was opened in 1824, followed eleven years later by the opening of the St. Charles Theatre. During this period, New Orleans theaters continued to afford American audiences their first hearing of many operas including Boieldieu's La dame blanche (6 February 1827), Hérold's Zampa (February 1833), and Meyerbeer's Les Huguenots (29 April 1839).⁵

In the summer of 1827, the Théâtre d'Orléans troupe set out by boat for the major cities of the northeast. Each summer from 1827 to 1833 (with the exception of 1832, the year of the yellow fever and cholera epidemics in New Orleans) the company of the Théâtre d'Orléans presented repertoire from its preceding season to audiences in New York and Philadelphia, occasionally performing in Baltimore and Boston as well.⁶ More impressive than this troupe's average of more than forty

⁴Belsom, 4, 5, 7; Hitchcock, 93; Howard and Bellows, 82.

⁵Belsom, 5, 6.

⁶According to Hitchcock (93), "Northern cities--Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore--heard their first grand opera when the New Orleans company toured during the seven summers from 1827 to 1833." In fact the New Orleans troupe

performances of approximately ten different works during each summer's tour is that it introduced northern audiences to many of these operas for the first time.⁷

Some sources mistakenly credit northern cities as the sites of the American premieres of works presented there by the New Orleans company when, in fact, the company had produced them previously at the New Orleans house during the preceding season. Boieldieu's La dame blanche was premiered in New Orleans on 6 February 1827, not in New York on the 24th of August that same year as Alfred Loewenberg's Annals of Opera has it.⁸ Other operas whose premieres have been listed incorrectly include Rossini's La donna del lago (New York: 25 August 1829, New Orleans: 25 June 1829); Rossini's Le Comte Ory (New York: 22 August 1831, New Orleans: 16 December 1830); Rossini's L'Italiana in Algeri (New York: 5 November 1832, New Orleans: 24 April 1832);⁹ Auber's Fra Diavolo (New York: 17 October 1831, Philadelphia: 16 September 1831);¹⁰ Hérold's Zampa (New York: 12 August 1833, New Orleans: February 1833).

played in these cities only six summers since it did not tour during the summer of 1832.

⁷Belsom, 15-16.

⁸The conflicting dates are documented in Belsom and Loewenberg.

⁹The New York premiere of this opera was not presented by the Théâtre d'Orléans.

¹⁰According to Belsom (23-24) the scheduled performance of this work in New Orleans on the 28th of June, 1831 was cancelled. As a result, the premiere was given by the Théâtre d'Orléans company in Philadelphia.

Jean-Baptiste Guiraud, the father of the composer who is the subject of this study, was born in Bordeaux in 1803. As a student at the Paris Conservatoire, he studied counterpoint with Jean-François Lesueur and composition with Anton Reicha. In his first attempt to win the Prix de Rome in 1826, Jean-Baptiste had to settle for the Second Grand Prize.¹¹ The following year, when Berlioz was one of the competitors, Jean-Baptiste succeeded in winning the First Grand Prize with the cantata Orphée, his musical setting of the compulsory text by Berton.¹²

Many of the standard biographical references are vague, or even incorrect, when presenting information about significant events of Jean-Baptiste's life.¹³ None of them mentions the performance of Jean-

¹¹Favre (9, n. 1) cites Jean-Baptiste's two compositions written for the 1826 contest, a Fugue à trois sujets (W. 32.12) and the cantata Herminie (Ms. 7039). Both of these works are in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

¹²Jean-Baptiste's fellow students in both Lesueur's and Reicha's class included Hector Berlioz and Auguste Barbereau, both of whom would later play a part in Ernest Guiraud's life. According to Orlic (6), Barbereau was a friend of Jean-Baptiste as well as his classmate. Aside from his abilities as a composer (winner of the Prix de Rome in 1824), Barbereau was a conductor, professor of harmony and composition, and a musicologist. According to Hugh Macdonald (New Grove, s.v. "Berlioz, Hector," 2:581) the cantata submitted by Berlioz (La mort d'Orphée) for the 1827 Prix de Rome was considered unplayable by the judges. See the citation in Favre (10-12) of François-Joseph Fétis's account of the 6 October 1827 public meeting of the Académie Royale des Beaux-Arts at which Jean-Baptiste's winning cantata was performed (Revue musicale, 1827, 2:253-260).

¹³The standard encyclopedic biographical sources examined include Lionel de la Laurencie, ed., Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du Conservatoire, (1913-1931); François J. Fétis, Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique, (1866-1870); its Supplément et complément, ed. Arthur Pougin (1878-80); Emile Haraszti, "Guiraud, Jean-Baptiste/Ernest," Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, (1949-1967); Geoffrey Hindley, ed., Larousse Encyclopedia of Music, (1971), based on French edition (1965); Hugh MacDonald, "Guiraud, Ernest," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, (1980); François Michel, ed., Encyclopédie de la musique, (1958-1961); M. Prevost, Roman

Baptiste's one-act opera, Charles V et Duguesclin, in Paris at the Odéon on 3 November 1827. Most, in fact, state that Jean-Baptiste emigrated to New Orleans because he was discouraged by his inability to find a theater willing to stage his work.¹⁴

Among the passengers who arrived at the port of New Orleans aboard the vessel Louisville on 16 November 1832 were a Mr. and Mrs. Guiraud who both gave "artist" as their occupations on the passenger list of the U. S. Bureau of Customs.¹⁵ Le courrier de la Louisiane (a New Orleans newspaper with both French and English sections) of 15 December 1832 provides further evidence of Guiraud's presence in New Orleans and his marriage, and informs us of a professional association that probably best explains Jean-Baptiste's decision to emigrate. The paper's "Revue de la semaine" lauds a Madame Guiraud for her abilities

d'Amat, and H. de Morembert, eds., Dictionnaire de biographie française, (1986); Nicolas Slonimsky, ed., Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians, (1984), 7th ed.

As an example of misinformation found in several references, some sources mistakenly identify Ruggiero e Bradamante as the composition with which Jean-Baptiste won the Prix de Rome in 1827. In fact, the winning composition was the cantata Orphée, based on that year's compulsory libretto by Berton; Ruggiero e Bradamante is the Italian opera seria that Jean-Baptiste sent to the Académie des Beaux-Arts in Paris from the Villa Medici as one of the three envois required of Prix de Rome winners. The two other envois, both in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale, are a Duetto (Ms. 7354) and Messe (D. 5292). The Bibliothèque Nationale also has two of Jean-Baptiste's songs, "Allons aux champs" (Vm7 63113) and "Le Bal" (VM7 63115). All of these works are cited in Favre, 13.

¹⁴The reference to Jean-Baptiste's opera being performed at the Odéon is from Charles Parsons, 2:777; supporting evidence is found in Wild, 294.

¹⁵Information pertaining to the Guiraud's arrival in New Orleans, from the U. S. Bureau of Customs (Supplemental Index to Passenger Lists), is located at the New Orleans Public Library (M334-69). There is a discrepancy in the age given for Jean-Baptiste. The card reports that "Mr. Guiraud" is twenty-four, an age four or five years younger than would be expected of one born in 1803, the year agreed upon by most references.

as a pianist, as displayed in recent recitals, and refers to her as the wife of the assistant conductor of the Théâtre d'Orléans.¹⁶

Antoine Marmontel, who was to be Ernest Guiraud's piano teacher at the Paris Conservatoire, adds important information to our understanding of the reasoning behind the Guirauds' journey when he reports that Jean-Baptiste had accepted a one-year position as conductor at the Théâtre d'Orléans. No matter what their motivations might have been, when the couple arrived in New Orleans, the city was one of the largest French communities west of the Atlantic as well as one of the most important cultural and commercial centers of the New World.¹⁷

Although it can be assumed that Jean-Baptiste conducted during the 1832-33 regular season of the Théâtre d'Orléans, it is certain that he led the orchestra during its 1833 summer tour of northeastern cities that included performances in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Baltimore.¹⁸ Marmontel tells us that Jean-Baptiste's talent and personal

¹⁶Le courrier de la Louisiane (15 December 1832), 2. Unless indicated otherwise, all translations are my own.

¹⁷Marmontel, 110. Marmontel does not mention a specific year and refers to the Théâtre d'Orléans as the Théâtre-Français. His account of Jean-Baptiste's emigration should be reliable for, as well as being Ernest's teacher and the dedicatee of one of Ernest's first published works (*Sonate pour piano*, op. 1), Marmontel had known both of Ernest's parents as students at the Paris Conservatoire.

¹⁸Chevalley (64-65) confirms Jean-Baptiste's conducting position with the Théâtre d'Orléans for the 1833 tour. Chevalley states that Guiraud replaced "Milon" as conductor, i.e., Félix Miolan, concertmaster of the Théâtre d'Orléans and Gottschalk's violin teacher (Behrend, xv). Miolan was the brother of the famous French soprano Caroline Carvalho-Miolan who married Léon Carvalho, the renowned director of several Parisian opera houses.

attributes were well appreciated in New Orleans and that "le courageux artiste" was able to attract a number of students in a short period of time after his arrival there.¹⁹

Sometime after his 1833 tour, Jean-Baptiste Guiraud returned to France. Marmontel attributes Guiraud's decision either to an eagerness on his part to be united with his friends in his homeland or to the possibility that he was "secretly tormented" by a need to succeed as a composer.²⁰ Whatever his reason, as the assistant conductor of America's most important opera company, Jean-Baptiste Guiraud was in a position to profit from his association with the Théâtre d'Orléans. To have held such a key position in an organization acclaimed in many of America's major cities speaks well for his ability as a performing musician, an ability not mentioned in biographical sketches. On the other hand, his decision to return to France may have been due to nothing more than the fact that his contract with the Théâtre d'Orléans had come to an end at the conclusion of the summer tour of 1833.

There is another possible explanation for Jean-Baptiste's decision to return to France--the death of his wife. As I have been unable to determine the maiden name of the M^{me} Guiraud who arrived in New

¹⁹Marmontel's choice of the word "courageux" is interesting. Did he use this adjective in a casual fashion or was he implying a certain bravery on Jean-Baptiste's part for either emigrating across the Atlantic, for arriving in New Orleans during the yellow fever outbreak, or both? According to the New Orleans City Guide (27), ten thousand people lost their lives during the 1832-33 epidemic.

²⁰Marmontel, 110.

Orleans with Jean-Baptiste in 1832, it is impossible to say with any certainty that she, in fact, was Ernest's mother. The standard biographical references indicate that a marriage took place in Paris in 1836, shortly before Jean-Baptiste returned to New Orleans and the year before Ernest's birth in that city. They mention nothing about an earlier marriage. Marmontel writes, "If he did not have the satisfaction of finding a libretto with a chance of being played, he did have the good fortune to marry M^{lle} Croizilles [sic], an excellent musician, a skilled virtuoso, and a very charming woman, in 1836."²¹

About the couple's arrival in Louisiana, Marmontel writes that the people of New Orleans, already admirers of Jean-Baptiste's musical knowledge and accomplishments, joyfully greeted "the arrival of his charming wife." Adèle quickly acquired a class of students from the better families of the city's Franco-American society, students who were attracted by her "graceful and delicate talent and by her correct and brilliant execution."²²

²¹Marmontel, 110. Adèle Croisilles, was an outstanding musician in her own right; she was born in Paris on 11 November 1813 and, as a student at the Paris Conservatoire, she received many awards including the second prize in solfège in 1823 and the first prize in 1825. In 1826, when she was only thirteen years old, she won first prize in piano at the Conservatoire; she also won second and then first prizes in harmony and accompaniment in 1827 and 1828. Jean-Baptiste, ten years her senior, was a student at the Conservatoire at the same time (Le Conservatoire National, 728). Marmontel (111) refers to Adèle as "one of the brilliant students of L. Adam." Louis Adam (1758-1848), professor of piano at the Paris Conservatoire from 1792-1842, was the father of Adolphe-Charles Adam, composer of such works as the ballet Giselle (1841) and the popular Christmas carol "O Holy Night."

²²Marmontel, 110-111.

Ernest Guiraud was born on June 23, 1837.²³ Signs of Ernest's musical interest and talent revealed themselves early on. He spent his entire boyhood in New Orleans in a rich musical atmosphere. He studied composition with his father, who had won the Prix de Rome, had conducted the orchestra of America's finest opera company, and who now had several years of teaching experience behind him. Ernest studied piano with his mother, who had won the Paris Conservatoire's

²³This date has been questioned by John Belsom in his Master's thesis "Reception of Major Operatic Premières in New Orleans during the Nineteenth Century," 165. Belsom discovered the Baptismal record of an Ernest Guiraud in the St. Louis Cathedral Archives in New Orleans (Baptisms Book 19, Act 817, 112) that shows a birth date of 10 April 1841; the baptism took place on 3 September 1843. According to information provided by Mrs. Shirley Egge, Ernest Guiraud's great-niece (taped conversation in Gulfport, Mississippi on 2 July 1987), Jean-Baptiste and Adèle had two more sons after the birth of Ernest in 1837, Maxime born in 1839 and E. Robert Paul born on 10 April 1841. Family records show that E. Robert Paul died on 5 September 1843. Records on file at the offices of St. Louis Cemetery support this evidence. Undoubtedly the record found by Mr. Belsom is a certification of the baptism of E. Robert Paul Guiraud that took place two days prior to the child's death. Why the name Ernest appears on the document is unclear. Belsom, on the basis of Edward Larocque-Tinker's Les écrits de langue française en Louisiane au XIX siècle (261), suggests that the eldest child was actually named Eugène, that Ernest was the name of a younger brother who died at an early age, and that the name "Ernest" was later added to the name of the older brother. A listing of winners of the Prix de Rome in the 1902 edition of the Grove's Dictionary gives the name of the 1859 first prize winner as Eugène Guiraud. In the manuscript to the piano piece "Rosine-Valse" (Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. 6099) Guiraud gives the name "Eugène Guiraud" beneath the title, but signs the manuscript "E. Guiraud." Understanding the make-up of the family headed by Jean-Baptiste Guiraud is further complicated by the entry found in the 1840 Census. According to this document the family consisted of two males under 5, one under 10, one between 30 and 40, one female between 20 and 30, and two female slaves (one between 10 and 24 and the other between 24 and 36). The male aged between 30 and 40 must have been Jean-Baptiste. The two males below the age of 5 are, no doubt, Ernest and his brother Maxime. The listing of a male under the age of 10 (but older than 5) implies a child born between 1830 and 1835. If one assumes that the listings are of immediate family members, then it is possible that this child was the offspring of an earlier marriage; but it is also possible that this boy aged between 5 and 10 might have been a more distant relative or no relation at all, perhaps the child of a friend entrusted to the care of the Guiraud family. No source (including the records and recollections of Guiraud's relatives living in the New Orleans area today) has ever mentioned a child born to Jean-Baptiste and Adèle prior to Ernest's birth in 1837.

highest honor in piano performance, who had been acclaimed as a brilliant pianist, and who also had developed a reputation as a fine teacher of the instrument.

In the absence of evidence documenting the degree of Jean-Baptiste's continued affiliation with the Théâtre d'Orléans after Ernest's birth, it seems safe to assume that even if he were no longer directly involved with the company's productions, he and his family would certainly have the opportunity to attend performances, and perhaps rehearsals as well, at the Théâtre d'Orléans.

During the first twelve years of Ernest Guiraud's life, the Théâtre d'Orléans presented the U.S. premières of many operas including Adolphe Adam's Le postillon de Longjumeau (1838); Daniel François Auber's Le domino noir (1839); Meyerbeer's Les Huguenots (1839); Donizetti's Anne de Boulen (1839); Donizetti's Lucia di Lammermoor (1841); Bellini's Beatrice di Tenda (1842); Donizetti's Marino Faliero, Il furioso nell' Isola di San Domingo, and Belisario (1842); Donizetti's La favorite and La fille du régiment, (1843); Bellini's I puritani (1843); Jacques François Halévy's La juive (1844); Donizetti's Don Pasquale (1845); Halévy's La reine de Chypre (1845); Donizetti's Les martyrs (1846); Halévy's Charles VI (1847).²⁴

²⁴Belsom, 48-122.

The musical environment of Ernest Guiraud's youth afforded him the opportunity to learn composition and piano from acknowledged experts in these fields, to hear opera by America's finest company on a regular basis, to observe the mechanics of opera production, and to hone his compositional skills by experiencing first-hand the special capabilities and requirements of the human voice in concert with the instruments of the orchestra.

About Ernest's early years and training, Marmontel writes that the child's parents nurtured his intellectual, moral, and artistic development with loving care. Marmontel refers to Jean-Baptiste and Adèle as "noble souls passionate about art" and as "lovers of beauty and goodness." The boy learned to play the piano from his mother, and harmony, composition, and basic musicianship from his father. Ernest was "keenly attentive to the theater orchestra" and "filled from the time he was barely adolescent with the beauties of the dramatic art."²⁵

His youth, however, would not be without its share of tragedy. On 5 September 1843, fewer than three months after Ernest's sixth birthday, he suffered the loss of his youngest brother, E. Robert Paul.

²⁵Marmontel, 111.

Then on 20 May 1848, less than one month before his eleventh birthday, his mother died.²⁶

The following year Jean-Baptiste took Ernest to visit Paris for the first time. Details of this trip are sketchy at best, but from most accounts Jean-Baptiste and Ernest remained in France for about two years. Several questions arise. Since the journey took place so soon after Adèle's death, was it Jean-Baptiste's intention to settle permanently in his native land and raise his children there? Did Maxime, Ernest's younger brother, accompany his family to France? When did the Guirauds return to New Orleans? Fétis claims that Jean-Baptiste's intention was not to make arrangements for Ernest to remain in Paris but rather to broaden his horizons and to pave the way for the boy's future.²⁷ Besides availing themselves of the opportunity to hear the concerts and latest operas that Paris had to offer, no doubt Jean-Baptiste introduced Ernest to a wide circle of professional contacts in addition to the Guiraud and Croisilles families.

²⁶Le courrier (20 May 1848) reported: "Deceased this morning, at 8 o'clock, Madame Adèle Guiraut (sic), née Croisilles. Her friends and acquaintances, and those of her husband, are invited to attend the funeral, which will take place tomorrow at 10:30. The body may be viewed on St. Peter St., between Royal and Bourbon." Four days later, the same newspaper printed this second announcement of Adèle's death: "Deceased 20 May 1848, Madame Crosisse (sic) Guiraut (sic). Her exquisite taste, her gracious manners, the elegance of her spirit, endeared her to all those who knew her. She was admired for her enormous talent which she bore with modesty and simplicity. She gave of herself equally to her friends as she did to her students. She passed like the shadow of a dream; but her memory remains a source of tears and of adoration."

²⁷Fétis, 436.

The Guirauds arrived in Paris the same year that Louis Moreau Gottschalk, a fellow New Orleanian, made his public debut there. The possibility that Gottschalk might have introduced Ernest into his glamorous circle of famous acquaintances is an intriguing one indeed. Whether or not such introductions were ever made, Ernest would later find his name linked with a good number of the artists with whom Gottschalk associated, including Victor Hugo, Alexander Dumas, Alphonse de Lamartine, Hector Berlioz, Jacques Offenbach, Georges Bizet, and Camille Saint-Saëns.²⁸

In all likelihood the Guirauds returned to New Orleans in 1852. A listing for J. B. Guiraud reappears in the New Orleans City Directory of 1853 following a hiatus going back at least as far as 1849. Chances that the family waited as long as the beginning of 1853 before returning seem remote since Ernest's first recorded public success as a composer took place on 14 April of that year when his one-act opera David was presented in New Orleans.

When he returned to New Orleans, Ernest carried with him a libretto by Alexandre Soumet and Félicien Mallefille. This libretto had already been set to music by Auguste Mermet; Mermet's opera, Roi David, had been produced at the Opéra in Paris in 1846.²⁹ The 14 April

²⁸Behrend, xv, xxi.

²⁹Orlic, 3; Favre, 13.

1853 edition of L'abeille de la Nouvelle-Orléans announced that evening's performance at the Théâtre d'Orléans: Victor Massé's Galathée and the one-act opera David by Ernest Guirot [sic]. In addition to Massé's work and "the opera by the young Ernest Guiraud that everyone will want to hear," the program also included some songs sung by a M. Feitlinger (who had been appearing on a series of concerts given by Gottschalk in New Orleans during this time) and a dance by M^{me} Ducy Barré. The writer continues, "Is it possible to offer a spectacle more fascinating and with more variety?" Elaborating on the variety, the article gives us an indication that the people of New Orleans considered Ernest American rather than French: "Serious music and light music, a work by a French composer and one by one of our young compatriots on his way to a beautiful artistic future, who could ask for anything more?" The announcement assures us that performers of the first rank will be interpreting both operas.³⁰

From all accounts, David was quite a success. The review in L'abeille de la Nouvelle-Orléans claimed, "Although still very young, M. Guiraud set out in his debut to win an honorable place in Louisiana art, and we are certain that he will one day become one of its glories. The triumph given this artist last night has fulfilled his obligations; all indications are that he will acquit himself nobly." The review tells of the

³⁰L'abeille de la Nouvelle-Orléans (14 April 1853), 1. Interestingly, Guiraud's work shared the bill with a work by Massé, the man whom Ernest would one day succeed as professor of composition at the Paris Conservatoire.

rousing reception given the young boy. "The audience received M. Guiraud's work enthusiastically and called back to the stage with loud cries the author who, for the first time in his life, had come to bow to bravos and flowers." The reviewer comments on Ernest's well developed melodic sense and his uncommon feel for sonority and instrumentation. In closing, the article states, "The path that has opened itself before M. Guiraud is well marked; may he follow it with a bold step. There is in this young man the stuff of an artist--his first work indicates it, his second should prove it."³¹

Even the New Orleans Bee (the English-language section of that paper, which did not even carry advertisements for the Théâtre d'Orléans) exclaimed, "This production won immediate and unqualified favor. It exhibited talent of extraordinary scope and decided character. It abounded in musical inspirations, fresh, warm, original and captivating, while the harmonic structure of the score, the orchestral movements, and the concerted pieces developed a familiarity with the difficulties of composition that is perfectly amazing." Near the conclusion of the article we find, in addition to further praise for Ernest's abilities, an interesting insight into how the community must have perceived Jean-Baptiste: "He (Ernest) has a brilliant future before him, and from the training he has received by the instructions of his father, who is one of the ablest composers of the day, we may anticipate the

³¹L'abeille de la Nouvelle-Orléans (15 April 1853), 1.

most splendid results in riper years."³² Not long after Ernest's successful presentation of his first opera, the decision was made to send the boy to Paris to pursue his musical education.

³²The New Orleans Bee (16 April 1853), 1. The manuscript of David has not been located. Marmontel's comments on the opera lead one to believe that he was familiar with the work, suggesting that Ernest had carried the manuscript with him when, by the end of the year, he had returned to Paris. On the other hand, Marmontel might have based his views on the reports of someone who had heard David in New Orleans. Marmontel observed (111) that this "juvenile score" revealed "a promising musician with sincere melodic ideas in which, bordering on naïveté, one senses the pouring forth of exuberant outbursts and affected emphases."

CHAPTER 2

STUDENT YEARS IN PARIS

The next we hear of Ernest is his enrollment in Antoine-François Marmontel's class at the Paris Conservatoire on 26 December 1853. Whether the sixteen-year-old boy had undertaken the voyage by himself or in the company of his father (there is conflicting evidence), arrangements had been made for him to stay with his uncle, Louis Croisilles, who assumed the responsibilities of overseeing Ernest's artistic development as well as providing food and shelter. Louis proved to be a loving guardian who treated his nephew as though he were his own son.¹

Like his older sister Adèle, Louis Croisilles was an accomplished musician and prize-winning graduate of the Paris Conservatoire. Born in Paris in 1816, Louis won the Conservatoire's Premier Prix in violin in 1836. By 1853, when Jean-Baptiste entrusted Ernest to his care, M. Croisilles held the position of solo violinist with the Opéra-Comique.² No doubt Ernest had met his uncle during his visit to France with Jean-Baptiste in 1849, not long after his mother's death in New Orleans.

Marmontel tells us that, when Ernest entered his class, the boy was already an accomplished pianist who had received excellent instruction from

¹Marmontel (111) suggests that Jean-Baptiste accompanied Ernest while the other sources say that he sent the boy there. On his residing with his uncle (in addition to the Marmontel reference), Pougin, 437; Orlic, 4.

²Le Conservatoire National, 728.

his mother. Ernest progressed rapidly, gaining a first accessit³ in 1855, second prize in 1857, and first prize in 1858.⁴ Gifted as he was as a pianist, his musical focus was firmly fixed on the composition of dramatic works. In commenting on Ernest's playing style, Marmontel shows a keen awareness of the youth's musical priorities when he writes, "Guiraud's execution was expressive and colorful but, more a musician than a soloist, he never lost sight of his first love, the theater."⁵

While public concerts were relatively rare in mid-century France, performances given in the salons of some of the finer Parisian homes began to increase in frequency and in popularity. The Revue et gazette musicale of 3 January 1858 reports:

If the number of formal concerts given in sumptuously illuminated homes are still few in number this year, these fine musical practices are spreading. A taste for intimate chamber music, for both the family and for society, as

³Prizes awarded in piano in the men's division were Premiers Prix, Seconds Prix, 1^{ers} Accessits, 2^{es} Accessits, and 3^{es} Accessits. It was not uncommon for two pianists to tie for any of these awards. In the 1855 competition Duvernoy and Fissot received Premiers Prix, Rembielinski the Second Prix, and Guiraud the 1^{er} Accessit. In 1857 Paladilhe won the Premier Prix and Guiraud the Second Prix. In 1858 Guiraud was the sole recipient of the Premier Prix (Le Conservatoire National, 587).

⁴Revue et gazette musicale (23 July 1858), 248. An announcement of Ernest's Premier Prix in the Revue et gazette musicale indicated that the decision had been a unanimous one. The article mentions that the Conservatoire's competition in piano was open to the public. With his success in winning the Premier Prix, Ernest had duplicated his mother's feat of 1826.

⁵On dates of acceptance into Marmontel's class and of awards, Orlic, 4-6 and Le Conservatoire National, 587; on Ernest's preparation by his mother and the quote about his playing, Marmontel, 111. During the nineteenth century, classes at the Paris Conservatoire were segregated by gender. The required pieces for the men's Piano Competition during the three years in which Ernest placed were the Moscheles Concerto No. 3 in g (1855), the Chopin Concerto No. 1 in e (1857), and the Allegro movement of Chopin's Sonata in b, op. 58 (1858). The required pieces for the women contestants during the same three years were the Chopin Concerto No. 1 in e, the Concerto No. 5 of H. Herz, and part of the first movement of the Hummel Concerto in b (Le Conservatoire National, 586, 589).

has been cultivated in Germany for at least a century, is making progress in France, especially in Paris, but with a bit more touch of glamor.⁶

It was Marmontel's custom to arrange for his students to perform at such recitals. The same issue of Revue et gazette musicale quoted above describes a performance of a sonata for piano and violin by M^{me} Farrenc performed by a M. Chaîne and "Monsieur Guiraud, the young and brilliant pianist." Both performers "distinguished themselves with an elegant and pure style of execution."⁷ Amateur and professional musicians took part in these soirées, often events of considerable prestige, which frequently offered composers the opportunity to present their compositions for a first hearing.⁸

The 13 February 1859 edition of the Revue et gazette musicale offers favorable mention of an appearance by M. Guiraud, who performed one of his own compositions at a soirée given by a M^{lle} Horst de Passardi, a student of Henselt. The review does not mention which composition Guiraud performed; Orlic speculates that he played selections from his first dramatic work written in France, En prison. But since a singer performed on the program (the review states that Guiraud's performance took place after several "morceaux de chant") but is not mentioned as collaborating with Guiraud, it is more likely that he played one of his piano works, two of which had already been published--Sonate pour piano, op. 1 and "Aragonaise," op. 2.⁹

⁶Revue et gazette musicale (3 January 1858), 5.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Orlic, 6-7.

⁹Revue et gazette musicale (13 February 1859), 54. Henri Vieuxtemps, the composer, also performed on this program as a member of an ensemble that performed a quintet

At the Conservatoire, Guiraud studied harmony with Auguste Barbereau and composition with Jacques-François Halévy. In 1824, Auguste Barbereau (1799-1879) had won the Prix de Rome with his musical setting of the text Agnès Sorel by Vieillard. Three years later his friend and fellow classmate in Reicha's composition class, Jean-Baptiste Guiraud, would also win the Prix de Rome. Recognized as a composer, professor of harmony, and conductor, Barbereau became professor of music history at the Conservatoire in 1872. Marmontel describes Barbereau as "le très érudit théoricien" and says that "le jeune artiste" Guiraud followed Barbereau's outstanding instruction "avec passion." Having completed his study of harmony with Barbereau, Ernest entered the composition class of Halévy on 19 March 1856. Jacques-François-Frumental-Élie Halévy (1799-1862), winner of the 1819 Prix de Rome, had been a professor at the Conservatoire since 1827 when he taught classes in harmony and accompaniment. In 1833 Halévy became professor of counterpoint and fugue, and began teaching classes in advanced composition in 1840. Halévy's reputation was founded most solidly on the success of his most widely acclaimed opera La juive (1835).¹⁰

The focal point of symphonic activity during the middle third of the nineteenth century in Paris was the Société des Concerts du Conservatoire,

by Hummel. En prison, which the Théâtre-Lyrique had accepted prior to Guiraud's departure for Rome in 1860, would not be produced there until 5 March 1869. Guiraud's Sonate pour piano, op. 1 was published by Heugel in 1857. The dedication of the sonata reads "à son cher et excellent professeur Monsieur Marmontel Professeur au Conservatoire de Paris." The "Aragonaise," op. 2 (subtitled "Morceau de Salon pour piano") was published by Leduc in 1858. It bears the less effusive dedication "à mon cher Maître Monsieur A. Barbereau." Nearly thirty years after its publication, Marmontel (112) describes Guiraud's sonata as "having an excellent structure and all the feverish excitement of Weber."

¹⁰Orlic, 6; Marmontel, 111-112; on Halévy, Macdonald (New Grove, s.v. "Halévy, Jacques,"), 8:43.

which had begun presenting symphonic music in 1828. It was these concerts that introduced the Beethoven symphonies to Parisian audiences; Wagner, indeed, is said to have heard the Ninth Symphony for the first time at one of these performances. The Société des Concerts du Conservatoire also programmed chamber music, religious music, oratorios, and operatic selections. However, it was opera that dominated the musical life of nineteenth-century France: enthusiasm among French composers for orchestral writing remained dormant until the establishment of the Société Nationale de Musique in 1871. Grand opera was represented by the works of Meyerbeer and Halévy; Italian opera by Bellini, Rossini, and Donizetti; and opéra-comique by Auber and Adam.¹¹

While Ernest was refining his compositional skills as a student at the Conservatoire, he was involved in various performance activities, including service as timpanist with the Opéra-Comique; no doubt these activities taught him much, even as they helped him support himself. The date that he assumed his orchestral duties with the Opéra-Comique is not certain, but he held this position at least up to the time he entered the competition for

¹¹Orlic, 4-5. Orlic speaks of the high caliber of these performances which were conducted by Habeneck and then by Girard. According to two works cited by Orlic (Elwart's L'histoire de la Société des concerts du Conservatoire and La musique à Paris by de Lasalle and Thoinan [Paris:1863]), the following breakdown of works presented between the years 1828 and 1859 is given:

Symphonies: 408 times (Beethoven, 280; Haydn, 58; Mozart, 37; etc.)
 Overtures: 178 times (Weber, 64; Beethoven, 33; Mendelssohn, 19; Rossini, 15; Méhul, 11; Mozart, 9; etc.)
 Chamber Music: 73 times (Beethoven, 41; Haydn, 27; etc.)
 Religious Music: 221 times (Cherubini, 62; Mozart, 40; Marcello, 15; etc.)
 Oratorios: 104 times (Handel, 38; Haydn, 24; Beethoven, 23; etc.)
 Operatic Selections: 313 times (Weber, 60; Gluck, 42; Mozart, 16; Cherubini, 16; Gretry, 15; Spontini, 13; etc.)

the Prix de Rome in 1859. Certainly Ernest's guardian, solo violinist with the Opéra-Comique, must have helped place the boy in this post.¹²

Emile Paladilhe, Ernest's lifelong friend, tells us that Ernest needed to work in order to make ends meet and that his meager means prevented him from attending the operatic performances he was so eager to see. The position with the orchestra of the Opéra-Comique was obviously the solution to both of these problems. As Paladilhe pointed out, it allowed Guiraud to hear a broad selection of works, both old and new. By becoming familiar with these operas, which he performed on a regular basis, he was able to analyze them, to take note of the effect that the music had on the public, and to develop his theatrical instincts.¹³

Besides his work at the Opéra-Comique, Ernest found other ways to utilize his skills as pianist and conductor. In 1855 Hector Berlioz wrote a letter to a friend in New Orleans in which he mentions how helpful "Jean-Baptiste's son" had been to him in two performances of L'enfance du Christ, accompanying the chorus in rehearsals and even conducting it during the finale of the first part. Berlioz found Ernest "a charming boy who is becoming a man."¹⁴

¹²Orlic, 7.

¹³Paladilhe, 3-4. Paladilhe suggests that Ernest was following the example of Berlioz, who had been a member of the chorus of the Théâtre-Italien early on in his career.

¹⁴Bernard, 222. Berlioz's letter to Tajan-Rogé was written from Paris on 2 March 1855; Guiraud conducted the chorus in performance at the point that, because of their placement, they were unable to see the conductor. Berlioz asks Tajan-Rogé to offer Jean-Baptiste "mes plus cordiales amitiés." Curtiss (146) says that Guiraud alternated with Bizet as rehearsal pianist for the soloists in L'enfance du Christ.

By 1859, Ernest was ready to try for the Prix de Rome. This prestigious award, administered by the Académie des Beaux-Arts, was offered each year in the fields of painting, sculpture, architecture, engraving, and music.¹⁵ The winner of the Grand Prix de Rome from each category received a pension from the French government for four years, at least two of which were to be spent at the Villa Medici in Rome, home of the Académie de France. Musicians were expected to spend one year in Germany, although this regulation could be waived to let the pensioner remain in Rome for an additional year or return to Paris.¹⁶

The contest for the Prix de Rome in music consisted of two parts--the concours d'essai (preliminary competition) and the concours définitif. The concours d'essai required the competitors to write a fugue and a work for chorus and orchestra. On Saturday morning, 7 May 1859, members of the music section of the Académie des Beaux-Arts assembled at the Institut de France to select a fugue subject and a text for the choral work. When the selections had been made, the eight contestants took dictation of the fugue subject and the choral text, and then went to their individual loges (studios) at the Institute where they would spend the next six days working on their compositions, forbidden any form of communication with the other entrants and denied access to any musical documents that could assist them in their work. On 14 May 1859 the same members of the music section met again to

¹⁵The Académie des Beaux-Arts was but one division of the Institut de France. The other divisions were the Académie Française (founded in 1635 by Richelieu), the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (1663), the Académie des Sciences (1666), and the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques (1795). Each of the Académies had forty members with the exception of the Académie des Sciences which had sixty-six. The Académie des Beaux-Arts, created by Mazarin and Colbert, was united into one body in 1795. The musical section of the Académie des Beaux-Arts was made up of six French composers, six foreign composers, and "membres correspondants." La Grande Encyclopedie, 54.

¹⁶Le Conservatoire National, 278.

examine the compositions submitted by the eight contestants and voted to send Dubois, Paladilhe, Pillevesse, Guiraud, and Deslandres on to the concours définitif.¹⁷

On 20 May the committee met again to review over forty-one poems that had been submitted for consideration as possible texts for the cantata. The next morning, they selected Bajazet et le joueur de flûte by Edouard Monnais. The five candidates, after taking the dictation of the poem, entered their loges once again, this time for a period of twenty-five days in seclusion.

On 1 July members of the Académie's section de musique gathered at the Ecole Impériale des Beaux-Arts to hear the performances of the five cantatas. At the conclusion of the final entry, the committee members retired to deliberate this jugement préparatoire. The first vote of the committee resulted in a unanimous decision in favor of granting the Premier Grand Prix de Rome to Guiraud. After two more ballots, the committee voted Dubois the winner of the Second Grand Prix, and Paladilhe an Honorable Mention.

At noon the next day, members of all sections of the Académie assembled for the jugement définitif. After each of the cantatas had been

¹⁷Information about the specifics of the 1859 competition are from the "Registre des Concours" located at the Archives de l'Institut (Côte: 1h); general information about the Prix de Rome competition is from Le Conservatoire National, 275-278. The Bibliothèque Nationale houses Guiraud's fugue (Ms 16 614) and choral work (Ms 16 615). After each of the attending members had submitted a subject for the fugue, they voted to use Reber's. The group then chose a text taken from the opera Abencerages by a M. de Jouy for the choral composition. The candidates drew lots for the loges, some of which were located in the dome of the Institut. At the end of the allotted time, each of the candidates submitted his finished score (bearing a designated number in lieu of a name) to the secretary of the Conservatoire.

performed, the candidates were ushered from the hall while the members of the general assembly voted. Once again Guiraud received a unanimous decision granting him the Premier Prix de Rome. The Second Grand Prix went to Théodore Dubois (student of Thomas and Bazin); Emile Paladilhe (student of Halévy) and Adolphe Deslandres (student of Leborne) received Honorable Mentions.¹⁸

As was customary, the winning cantata was performed at the annual public meeting of the Académie des Beaux-Arts. On 1 October 1859, the meeting began with a performance of selections from a symphony by the 1855 winner of the Prix de Rome, a M. Conte; this performance was followed by a report of the work done during the year by the current pensioners at the Villa Medici; the distribution of the prizes in painting, sculpture, architecture, and music; a tribute to Adolphe Adam who had died in 1856; and the performance of Guiraud's cantata, Bajazet et le joueur de flûte. Ernest could take great pride in his achievement. Not only had he won the Grand Prix de Rome on his first attempt, but in so doing he had duplicated his father's triumph of 1827.¹⁹

The Revue et gazette musicale of 9 October 1859 reported that, in the unanimous opinion of the artists, Guiraud's Bajazet et le joueur de flûte was the finest cantata heard in some time. Guiraud received credit for having all

¹⁸Guiraud's manuscript of the cantata is located at the Bibliothèque Nationale (Ms. 9324). Marmontel (112) attributes Guiraud's success on his first try for the Prix de Rome to his superior practical experience (acquired during his childhood in New Orleans), compared to the other composition students. Paladilhe won the grand prize in 1860 and Dubois won the following year. The three would be together in Rome during Guiraud's last year there.

¹⁹This was the only instance of a father and son both winning the Grand Prix de Rome.

the necessary qualities of the dramatic composer: an understanding of ensemble, an attention to details, intelligence, taste, and scholarship.²⁰

In the last weeks of 1859, Bajazet et le joueur de flûte received two more hearings, at a private salon on the Left Bank, and a few days later (11 December) on a program given in conjunction with the annual meeting of the Société Philanthropique Savoisienne in the Saint-Jean room of the Hôtel de Ville. Three days after this performance Guiraud departed for Rome along with that year's other laureates.²¹

²⁰Revue et gazette musicale (9 October 1859), 333.

²¹Revue et gazette musicale (18 December 1859), 421.

CHAPTER 3

PRIX DE ROME

In 1803, when proprietorship of the Villa Medici in Rome fell to France, the Académie de France à Rome had been established there. The villa, which commands a panoramic view of the city from its perch atop the Pincio hill and could boast of its magnificent gardens and a facade designed by Michelangelo, became the home of the Prix de Rome laureates during their stay in Rome. It was customary for the winners in all branches of the Prix de Rome to travel together from Paris to Rome, each with a 600-franc advance and each carrying a passport in the name of Napoleon III.¹ An article in the 18 December 1859 Revue et gazette musicale states that Guiraud departed with the other laureates on Wednesday 14 December.²

The laureates lived together at the Villa Medici, sharing meals and lodging with prize winners of the preceding year or two, not only in their own disciplines, but with those of the others as well. Such an atmosphere was, no doubt, a fertile one, conducive to the exchange of ideas as well as to the sharing of reflections on the Italian experience.

¹Orlic, 9. In that same year (1803) the Académie des Beaux-Arts inaugurated the Prix de Rome for music. Orlic describes the modifications of the regulations governing the laureates' itinerary that took place over the years. The stay in Germany was eventually eliminated and the time spent in Italy was shortened as it was felt that France had more to offer musicians than Rome. By the 1950s, the sojourn in Italy was considered more a time of rest and relaxation for the musicians after their years of study. The long history of the Concours du Prix de Rome came to an end in 1968 with the decision to abolish the competition itself. Though the Prix de Rome is still awarded, worthy recipients are chosen by committee rather than through a competitive process.

²Revue et gazette musicale (18 December 1859), 421.

Guiraud must have looked forward in particular to spending time with his friend Georges Bizet, who had won the Prix de Rome in 1857. Bizet certainly looked forward to seeing Guiraud; exempted from having to spend his third year as a pensioner in Germany, he remained in Italy and was able to introduce its many splendors to his friend. He wrote to Marmontel, "I am delighted about Guiraud's prize, he is a true musician." Evidently, Bizet did not get on well with the other musician pensioners at the Villa Medici; in the same letter he mentioned the antipathy existing between "ce pauvre X. et moi," and continued, "Truly, I haven't any luck with musical friends." In another letter to Marmontel in January 1860 Bizet wrote that he awaited Guiraud's arrival "day by day" and that he looked forward to having an "intelligent musician to talk with."³

Bizet and Guiraud had known each other as piano students in the class of Antoine Marmontel, who tells us that it was then that the "bonds of friendship united Guiraud and Georges Bizet"; the two classmates, indeed, "loved each other as brothers." Marmontel continues:

Bizet was an accomplished virtuoso and a fearless reader ("intrépide lecteur"). He wanted his friend, whose rich musical temperament he appreciated, to benefit from the experience he had already acquired. From that time on, my two young artists devoted themselves to a mutual affection which the years spent in Rome at the Villa Medici further deepened. This deep-rooted

³Bizet's letter to Marmontel of 17 January 1860 is found in Marmontel's "Les compositeurs virtuoses," *Le ménestrel*, 25 July 1880 and is quoted by Orlic (10); Curtiss (96-97) says about Guiraud's arrival in Rome, "Fortunately for his equilibrium, Bizet found during his last six months in Rome the friend he had longed for, a man who would remain devoted to him throughout his life and even after his death." Curtiss describes Bizet's disillusionment with Colin and David (the other music pensioners) and tells of the delight with which Bizet received his more congenial friend. Shortly after Guiraud's arrival, the two enjoyed playing duets. Regarding Guiraud's effect on Bizet, Curtiss states, "His phlegmatic, good-humored indolence complemented Bizet's quick temper and abundant nervous energy; his naturally generous, warm nature and his real intelligence made him a delightful companion."

friendship, strengthened through the years by the conformity of their perceptions, was not diminished by a single day, nor was it broken by Bizet's death in June 1875. Difficulties and disappointments always found these two valiant hearts fraternally united, mutually devoted, and sympathizing with all the emotions inseparable from the life of an artist.⁴

Hugues Imbert gives further evidence of the special relationship between Bizet and Guiraud. Writing about Bizet, Imbert says that "friendship" was not just an idle word.

If La Boëtie was Montaigne's passion, one could rightly say that Guiraud was Bizet's. It is this brotherhood by which one can judge the deeply loving spirit of the composer of Carmen. He did nothing without consulting "ce frère," his senior by only one year and several months. Constantly, there are notes--notes inviting him to dinner, notes reminding him of meetings, seeking his advice, giving news of his health that was often bad, recommending this or that artist to him. He never addressed him without using "cher" or "vieux."⁵

Imbert also quotes a letter that Bizet wrote to his mother describing Guiraud's arrival at the Villa Medici:

Guiraud has arrived; he is kind, modest, frank, and loyal; we share the same ideas about music. He played his cantata for me, which is very good; it is infinitely superior to mine; it is better written, more heartfelt; it is more the work of a man.

Imbert claims that the most striking thing about Bizet's effusiveness about Guiraud is the respect and admiration with which he regards him, beyond mere affection.⁶

⁴Marmontel, 112. Although Guiraud was slightly more than a year older than Bizet, the latter had been a student of the Conservatoire for at least five years prior to Ernest's enrollment there near the end of 1853, Bizet having entered the Conservatoire in 1848 when he was only nine years old. By 1852, more than a year before Guiraud was to enroll in Marmontel's class, Bizet had already won first prize in piano.

⁵Imbert, Médaillons, 28-29.

⁶Ibid., 29.

Bizet's letters tell us that Rome's charms captivated Guiraud immediately. A knowledgeable guide, Bizet introduced Guiraud and others to many points of interest both on and off the beaten path, often leading them on excursions through the Roman countryside for ten miles or more, a distance the energetic Bizet thought nothing of but for which the more lethargic Guiraud needed considerable encouragement to stay the course. "Guiraud has taken quite well to Italian life," Bizet wrote, "but perhaps a bit too much to its unproductive idling. He sleeps too much; I stimulate him often, perhaps too much so."⁷

In another letter, Bizet assesses his friend's talent and demeanor in more detail. "It is said that he plays coldly. There is some truth to this; but he is so nice, such a good friend, and so congenial that I overlook these slight flaws. Unfortunately, the public is less forgiving and Guiraud in his life, in his bearing, in his playing, and in his music is a little listless, a little apathetic. I attempt to warm him up a bit."⁸

Nonetheless, Guiraud was able to adhere fairly well to the schedule for submitting his envois to the Académie. His first composition sent to Paris, the Messe solennelle of 1861, was received favorably. Minutes of a meeting held at the Institut on 5 October 1861 read:

M. Guiraud, for his first year's envoi, has composed a messe solennelle. The work satisfies the hopes that we had been led to expect of the young laureate. The Kyrie is of a good style; although one finds in the Gloria some passages of a character more

⁷Orlic, 11; Bizet's letter to his mother of 17 August 1860, from Lettres de Georges Bizet, is quoted by Orlic, 12.

⁸Letter to his mother of 12 March 1860, from Lettres de Georges Bizet, is quoted by Orlic, 12.

sorrowful than austere ("plutôt triste que sévère"), this piece distinguishes itself with its large variety of forms and a gratias agimus tibi (for solo voices) well written and beautifully expressive. Let us also cite the Credo, the et incarnatus est, and a sweetly unctuous Benedictus "en trio" that provides a happy contrast to the grandeur and majesty of the Sanctus.⁹

Sometime during May 1860, only five months after arriving in Rome, Guiraud was concerned that he might have to return to Paris to direct rehearsals of his one act opera En prison at the Théâtre-Lyrique, which had accepted his score before he left for Rome. Bizet persuaded Guiraud not to return to France by offering to stage the work himself. As Bizet wrote to his mother, "I've offered to stage his work, if he would wait until January to start rehearsals. He accepted. Together, we share a degree of intimacy that allows all kinds of confidence." It is unclear why Bizet insisted on the eight-month delay; at any rate, Guiraud would wait nearly ten years to see En prison staged at the Théâtre-Lyrique.¹⁰

Towards the beginning of August, Guiraud and Bizet set out on a long-awaited tour of northern Italy. As Bizet intended to return directly to Paris at the conclusion of the excursion, he bid what is described as a tearful farewell to his many friends at the Villa Medici and to a lifestyle to which he had become very attached. Bizet's sadness at leaving Rome was tempered by the fact that he looked forward to what was planned as a four-month expedition through various Italian cities including Venice, Verona, Padua, Milan, Florence, and Genoa in the company of his closest friend. Details of

⁹"Registre des proces-verbaux," Archives de l'Institut (Côte: 2E). Halévy read a similar report at the annual public meeting of the Académie des Beaux-Arts.

¹⁰Orlic, 13; letter from Bizet to his mother of 12 May 1860, from Lettres de Georges Bizet is quoted by Orlic. According to Orlic (13, n. 3), Louis Ganderax, who published the Lettres de Georges Bizet, claims (250, n. 1) that he thought the opera in fact was Sylvie rather than En prison. Orlic contends that the work was most certainly En prison since Sylvie was not composed until 1862 and was performed at the Opéra-Comique in 1864.

their excursion can be gleaned from Bizet's letters to his mother as well as from a journal Bizet kept during the trip entitled Notes de voyage.¹¹

The entry of 27 July 1860 mentions their departure from a station in Rome for Palo and includes a reference to Bizet's swimming at the beach and their efforts to lunch with some fishermen. Bizet's enthusiasm for swimming was not shared by Guiraud, a fact which Bizet would later describe in a letter from Rimini. As for the attempted lunch with the fishermen, Bizet remarks only ". . . impossible. It was too awful." The two companions traveled on foot to Cerveteri that same day.¹²

On the train the next day from Palo to Civita Vecchia, they met "two sweeties," one of whom Bizet refrained from pursuing further because he was still "thinking of her," the girl he left behind in Rome. After another swim for Bizet at Civita Vecchia, they left by coach for Viterbo, having persuaded the coachman to take them for 10 francs after he had initially asked for 50.

By 3 August, they had arrived in Orvieto. The following day the two played the organ at the chapel of the Madonna di San Brizio, a refurbished instrument with 32 pedals and 42 ranks. The day's entry concludes, "We returned to the hotel, drank a good deal, and now we long to go to bed with

¹¹Orlic, 13-14. Notes de voyage is an unpublished journal in the personal collection of Mina Curtiss. Most of the 15-page diary consists of a description of architectural details of various buildings encountered along the way, but it also contains interesting vignettes of a more personal nature. The description of this journey through northern Italy is based on that found in Curtiss (97-103) and uses her translations, with minor changes of punctuation and the addition of appropriate diacritical marks.

¹²Bizet, who at this period of his life seemed prone to a nervous and moody disposition, often referred to his unhappy state of mind in his Notes. This condition was exacerbated by the fact of his having taken leave not only of the Villa Medici, but also his Roman mistress, a girl known only as "Zeph."

the fat padrona but the family has just come in. Zut! Tomorrow will do." The next day we find Bizet and Guiraud in Città della Pieve where they ate, drank ("two carafes"), glanced "covetously" at the daughter of the proprietress, and managed to nap—all before noon. They arrived in Perugia on 8 August (after a night journey by stagecoach with a man who "would tolerate neither tobacco nor fresh air") where they stayed for three days.

At Rimini, an Adriatic port on Italy's northeastern coast, Bizet was again able to enjoy a swim and attempted in vain to interest Guiraud in the sport. The contrasting dispositions of the two musicians seemed ideally balanced; whenever Bizet's short temper began to flare, Guiraud appeared adept at defusing the situation, an ability that would soon be put to the real test in Venice, but one that is hinted at in the following incident, related by Bizet in a letter to his mother:

I have fussed a good deal the last few days because the servitors of the Pope are intolerable. . . . I would have been delighted . . . to beat up one of these wretches, but the poor devils are terribly frightened of the French. . . . Guiraud laughs when I scream at them, which only makes me scream the louder.

On the whole, we are having a delightful journey. We sing Mozart all day long. I am very happy to have such a charming traveling companion; his excellent disposition is more and more sympathetic to me.

From Rimini they went to Ravenna (where Guiraud suffered a throat infection), Bologna, and Padua, and arrived in Venice on 5 September. It was here that Bizet's nervous temperament erupted, leading him into a brawl with a gondolier. When they arrived in Venice, Bizet and Guiraud checked the post to see if any mail awaited them from home. When Bizet noticed that the first letter he opened, of the two he received from his mother, was written from a hospital, he was overcome with emotion. Bizet

describes what happened then, in a letter written to his mother several hours later.¹³

It was terribly rash of you to date your letter from a hospital. That letter was the first one the post office employee gave me. I opened it and saw those two lines. The blood rushed to my head and to my heart. I could no longer read the rest of the letter or throw off this terrible state of mind. Then, after a quarter of an hour of rage, I managed to find sufficient provocation to quarrel with the gondolier; I hurled myself at him with the firm intention of strangling him. My kind Guiraud snatched him out of my hands. Two minutes later I arrived at St. Mark's. The sight of this enchanted splendor brought me to my senses, and I decided to leave at once for Paris. Again Guiraud was helpful. "Read the letter preceding that one," he said. And in the earlier letter I found some small comfort. I read the others, compared the handwriting, and could see no change.

Bizet would write twice more about this incident in his journal. The final entry in his diary is on 6 September; the next day, Bizet decided to cut short the remainder of his planned travels with Guiraud and to begin his journey home, leaving Guiraud to finish the trip by himself.

When Guiraud returned to Rome, he must have found some comfort in dealing with Bizet's absence in the knowledge that another friend would soon arrive. Emile Paladilhe, who (like Guiraud) had also studied with Halévy and Marmontel, had won the Prix de Rome in 1860 at the age of sixteen.¹⁴

Alcide Paladilhe, a physician and amateur flutist, encouraged his son's natural talents and had gone so far as to move his entire family from

¹³Orlic (14) gives 5 September as the arrival date in Venice.

¹⁴Curtiss (101) quotes a comment of Bizet's: "When I think that this is my last summer here, my heart aches a little. . . . I sympathize sincerely with those who have not won the prize or who have received it before they are mature enough like Paladilhe. The kid is, I think, too ignorant, musically speaking, to profit now by a stay in Rome."

Montpellier to Paris in 1853 when Emile was accepted as a student at the Conservatoire. Alcide walked his nine-year old son to the Conservatoire every day, attended Emile's classes (taking many notes), and supervised his practice. Emile won the First Prize in piano in 1857. When Emile received the Grand Prix de Rome in 1860, it was hardly surprising that his father accompanied the boy to Rome, arriving on 23 January 1861 and remaining there until 22 May.¹⁵

On 23 May 1861, the day after Alcide Paladilhe left Rome, Emile set out with Guiraud, and the architects Joyeau and Boitte for an extended tour of Naples and southern Italy. In letters to his parents, Paladilhe described the group's travels through such cities as Palestrina, Terracine, Naples, and Pompeii. Much of the trip seems to have been undertaken on foot unless the day's journey was longer than twelve miles or if the terrain was mountainous, in which case they would resort to riding mules. Paladilhe tells of an encounter with robbers and of anxious moments when the group, on muleback, tried to negotiate a narrow path at the same time as a herd of bulls going the opposite direction.¹⁶

¹⁵On the Paladilhe family move to Paris and Alcide's accompanying Emile to the Conservatoire, Favre, 61-62; on the dates of the Prizes, Trevitt (New Grove, s.v. "Paladile, Emile), 14:112-113; on Alcide's arrival and departure dates from Rome, Orlic, 16-17.

Alcide Paladilhe kept a journal (unpublished) from the time of Emile's birth in 1844 until his own death in 1872. Orlic examined this journal and prepared an annotated list of letters extracted from it that he appended to his monograph. Orlic's monograph "Ernest Guiraud et son oeuvre musicale" is in the collection of the Institut de Musicologie at the Université de Paris. It is catalogued as T.33(A), the extracted letters from the Paladile journal are catalogued as T.33(B). These letters present an important source of information concerning Guiraud's days as a pensioner at the Villa Medici.

¹⁶The Paladilhe letters from Naples (13 June 1861) and Terracine (4 June 1861) are cited in Orlic, 17; Terracine is the town in which Auber's Fra Diavolo (1830) is set. The full name of Auber's most famous opéra-comique is Fra Diavolo, ou l'hôtellerie de Terracine.

In Naples, the four pensioners were so taken with the frescoes, paintings, and artifacts from Pompeii that they decided to leave Naples ahead of schedule to view the ancient city at the foot of Vesuvius for themselves. During the three weeks the group spent there, they lived on a farm in the company of the local peasants, surrounded by farm animals. According to Paladilhe's letters, Guiraud spent the days reading Homer, he himself Horace; these readings were all the more enjoyable since they took place in the ruins of ancient Pompeii. Paladilhe writes that the evenings were spent smoking pipes and learning songs and dances (especially the tarantella), taught by three "excessively pretty" farm girls.¹⁷

Having decided to attempt the ascent of Vesuvius, they departed one day at half past midnight. After a three-hour trek on horseback, they faced a difficult ascent due to the unsteady footing provided by the ashen cinders. Arriving at the summit, the tired climbers were rewarded by the spectacular view of the crater and all of its colors.¹⁸

While in Pompeii, Guiraud and Paladilhe learned that that year's Prix de Rome had been awarded to their friend and classmate Théodore Dubois. Guiraud, on July 19 1861, sent Dubois a congratulatory letter. This letter, the earliest of the eleven letters of Guiraud in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale, provides a glimpse into the warmth of Guiraud's personality and also gives an idea of how much he enjoyed his Italian sojourn:

¹⁷Letter of Emile Paladilhe to his parents of 27 June 1861, quoted in Orlic, 18.

¹⁸Orlic, 19.

Bravo, my dear Dubois, bravissimo!

I was very happy to hear of your success, which I never doubted, and I look forward to spending several months with you in Italy. I should have responded to your last letter a long time ago; my natural laziness and the trip to Naples this year are partial explanations for the delay; I had intended to write when I arrived in Naples, but I waited impatiently for the results of the contest so that I could rejoice with you over such a happy outcome for both of us. M. Paladilhe had written his son about the news from Paris that your illness had forced you to withdraw from the contest; several days later, Paladilhe and I received a letter from M. Marmontel who told us of the extension that had been granted you.

Write as soon as you can, dear friend, not like me; give me the details of your health, the competition, your success, etc. Will your [cantata] be performed at the Opéra as our friend Paladilhe's was last year?

I strongly urge you to travel to Rome with the other laureates, overland through Nice, Genoa, Florence, etc.; it is the only way to come to Rome. That way, you would have a delightful once-in-a-lifetime trip, and you would be making a big mistake if you didn't take advantage of such an opportunity. The arrival at the Académie is then a much more memorable experience if all of you arrive there at the same time. I will write more on this subject and give you more details; I only want to let you know today the best way to make the trip. The few who have come to Rome individually or by sea have regretted it the entire time of their stay in Italy.

You still have no idea how lucky you are, my dear Dubois; prepare to enjoy here all the pleasures of existence; your two years in Italy will pass as so many days. It seems to me that I have only just arrived. My pension, you know, runs out at the end of the year; it is you, you rascal, who are kicking me out so that you can have my place; but I am counting on staying at the Académie until June or thereabouts; from there I'll make a little excursion to Germany, and then I return to that dreadful Paris, to get back to the daily grind. What a happy mortal you are! You are facing three superb years. In the meantime, I am not so bad off at the moment, since I am spending my summer in and around Naples. I have been in Pompeii for a month and plan to return to Naples in a few days; I am not planning on returning to the Académie before October. Paladilhe is my traveling companion along with Boitte and Joyeau, both architects. Paladilhe has laid claim to the last page, so I end this fragmented letter, looking forward with pleasure to sharing good times next January.

Addio dunque, caro amico.

Il tuo devotissimo

E. Guiraud

Pompeii, 19 July 1861¹⁹

¹⁹Guiraud's letter is located in the Département de la musique of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Lettres autographes, no. 11). Paladilhe added a few words of his own at the end of Guiraud's letter. Théodore Dubois took second place to Guiraud in the 1859 Rome competition and received no mention in the following year's contest. In 1861 Dubois was taken ill during the course of his month-long "confinement" at the Institut. His fellow competitors petitioned the members of the Académie des Beaux-Arts for an

Guiraud, Paladilhe, Joyeau, and Boitte returned to Naples at the beginning of August and remained there for another month; they were joined by three others, Barthélémy, Didier, and Paul Dubois. Guiraud and Paladilhe, the only musicians of the group, rented a piano and studied scores of works that had been presented in Naples at the Teatro San Carlo. They sight-read works by Paisiello and Donizetti among others, enjoying in particular Donizetti's Don Pasquale; they explored the catacombs, took walks along the coast at Posilippo as far as the place where Virgil had lived, and attended the Teatro San Carlo. The other pensioners, several of whom were architects, worked at sketching, painting, and studying the buildings of Naples.²⁰

Guiraud, Paladilhe, and Joyeau departed Naples on 6 September for Ischia. The three laureates took pleasure in the natural beauty of the land and seascape--the boulders jutting from the water, the orange and olive trees, the women wearing native headdress. An old priest (almost eighty), whom the trio grew quite fond of, took them in as lodgers at his rectory at Casa Micciola. After Ischia, they visited Sorrento, Capri, Amalfi, Salerno, and Paestum. They arrived back in Rome at the beginning of October.²¹

Upon their return to the Villa Medici, it was time for them to get back to work and prepare their envois to submit to the Académie des Beaux-Arts. Guiraud was preparing an Italian opera buffa, Gli avventurieri. Letters to

extension of time to write the required cantata. Dubois was given an extra twenty days to finish his entry (Favre, 103-104).

²⁰Orlic, 19. Don Pasquale received its U.S. premiere in New Orleans in January of 1845. Could Guiraud have heard this work as an 8-year-old in his native city?

²¹Ibid., 20.

his parents from Paladilhe indicate that he must have worked closely with Guiraud. For his first envoi, Emile Paladilhe went to work on a messe solennelle, a composition that he had difficulty starting, as he had "the music of Guiraud" in his head. When Paladilhe finished the Kyrie, he showed it to Guiraud who, in complimenting his friend on his work, embraced Paladilhe with such enthusiasm that a domestic who was cleaning Guiraud's room at the time asked if Guiraud were getting ready to return to France.²²

It was the custom of M. Schnetz, the director of the French Academy, to entertain guests, including local as well as visiting dignitaries, at a weekly meal given at his residence. To these dinners he would also invite two pensioners chosen to complement the other invited guests. On 18 January 1862, Paladilhe wrote his parents about the great excitement in Rome over the visit of Franz Liszt to that city. Liszt accepted an invitation to dine at M. Schnetz's, who in turn invited Guiraud and Paladilhe. Paladilhe described the event, writing that Liszt held himself "as stiff as a post." After the meal, they smoked and chatted with Liszt who, according to Paladilhe, was a "spirited conversationalist." Several days later, Guiraud and Paladilhe delivered their calling-cards to Liszt, who subsequently visited Paladilhe and listened to his Kyrie and Credo. Liszt was, in general, complimentary to Paladilhe and offered a few suggestions, including an idea for an accompaniment figure to the text Et incarnatus est. Lacking any documentary evidence, it is a matter of speculation whether or not Liszt helped Guiraud in like manner. On 25 January 1862, Marmontel wrote a letter to Alcide Paladilhe saying that he had heard from Emile about Liszt's visit to the Academy. Marmontel said that he had sent letters to both

²²Orlic, 20; letter from Emile Paladilhe to his parents of 26 October 1861, quoted by Orlic, 20-21.

Paladilhe and "son bon camarade Guiraud"; he looked forward to hearing their impressions of Liszt's recital at the Academy.²³

In the early part of 1862, Guiraud was again concerned with the possibility of having to return to Paris for the rehearsal of his one-act opera En prison at the Théâtre Lyrique; Paladilhe, according to Orlic, mentions this fact in a letter to his family. Once again, Guiraud seems to have made the decision to delay his return to Paris, a decision Orlic credits as much to Guiraud's indolence as to his attachment to Rome. Guiraud was also burdened with the imminent prospect of his departure, then scheduled for May, from the Villa Medici to spend his third year as a Rome Prize pensioner in Germany. No doubt he felt little joy at the thought of cutting his time in Rome that much shorter by having to return to Paris for rehearsals.

The reasoning behind the regulation of the Académie des Beaux-Arts requiring the Prix de Rome laureates to spend a year in Germany had much to do with the state of affairs of Italian music and theater. The Italian School, a dominant force throughout Europe during the Romantic period, found itself in a rather pathetic state within its own borders, where the important names had been neglected or forgotten in order to appeal to the easier demands of public taste. Religious music, which had reached its apex with the music of Palestrina, continued its long decline. While the architects and sculptors found endless stimulation within their own particular areas of interest, the Roman environment at this time provided less musical interest to the pensioner than would a year in Germany. Such, at least, was the

²³Emile Paladilhe's letter to his family (18 January 1862) and Marmontel's letter to Alcide Paladilhe, quoted in Orlic, 20-21.

rationale behind the requirement that the musicians spend their third year in Germany.²⁴

According to Orlic, Guiraud spent what time remained to him at the Villa Medici working on his envoi, day-dreaming, idling about, and traveling frequently. On 3 March 1862, Lundi Gras, Guiraud left the Roman carnival celebration behind and headed for Etruria with his friends Paladilhe, Boitte, and Girard; they planned to spend eight days there. Shortly after their return to Rome, word reached them of the death of Halévy on 17 March at Nice.²⁵

On 22 March, Guiraud once again set out from Rome, this time for a journey of fifteen days with his friend, Théodore Dubois, who had recently arrived with the Prix de Rome class of 1861. When they returned to the Villa Medici, they found the Académie in a state of excitement over the visit of Charles Gounod. The composer was still basking in the glow of success that greeted Faust when it premiered at the Théâtre-Lyrique on 19 March 1859. Gounod, who had won the Grand Prix de Rome in 1839, was revisiting the place where he had spent his days as a pensioner and where he had first read Goethe's Faust. During his visit to Rome, Gounod spent time with Paladilhe and Guiraud and listened to their masses.²⁶

Guiraud was scheduled to set out for Germany on 12 May; having little enthusiasm for the thought of leaving Rome, he was able to postpone his

²⁴Orlic, 13.

²⁵Ibid., 22; Orlic (23, n. 1) cites a letter from Paladilhe to his parents of 15 March 1862 in which he describes various Etruscan sights encountered during their sojourn there.

²⁶Ibid., 25; on Gounod's introduction to Goethe's novel, Brody, 276.

departure until 8 October. Shortly before he was to take leave of the Villa Medici, Guiraud received word from Paris that he should return there immediately for discussions with the director of the Théâtre-Lyrique, who had given his word that En prison would be staged that winter. Guiraud used this call for his return to Paris as the basis for a successful appeal for the waiver of the regulation requiring him to spend his third year as a pensioner in Germany.²⁷ Of Guiraud's departure on 5 October, Paladilhe wrote that no one "loved Rome more passionately than Guiraud" and that he left with "an inexpressible heartache and eyes filled with tears."²⁸

²⁷Orlic, 26. Orlic quotes a letter in which Paladilhe writes his parents (10 October 1862) that Guiraud had left Rome on 5 October and was in fact already in Paris by the 10th. As things turned out, En prison was not staged that winter. It would not be until March 1869 that the Théâtre-Lyrique would stage the work. Regarding the decision freeing Guiraud from the obligatory German tenure, Bizet had sought and received the same waiver several years earlier.

²⁸Paladilhe, 5.

CHAPTER 4

EARLY SUCCESSES

When he returned to Paris, Guiraud continued to receive financial support from the French government during the remaining years of his pension; but the time was quickly approaching when he would have to provide for himself. Soon, in fact, Guiraud began giving lessons.¹ Shortly after his return, the report on Guiraud's second envoi from Rome, the opera Gli avventurieri, was delivered at the annual public meeting of the Académie des Beaux-Arts in October 1862:

The one act opéra bouffe that M. Guiraud has composed entitled Gli avventurieri is distinguished by its straightforward manner, and by its light and easy touch. The author could easily do away with some repetition that we draw his attention to in the aria (No. 2) and in the quintette (No. 5), then nothing will spoil the beauty of a score that is very satisfying, of a pleasing style, full of fresh ideas, and one that exhibits a skillful and sober writing for the orchestra.²

During the early months of 1863, Guiraud continued to confront the impending realities of the awkward transition from student to professional composer. Faced with the prospect that his government pension would soon run out, Guiraud found it necessary to begin promoting himself and his compositions. In a letter to Alcide Paladilhe, Marmontel wrote, "Our dear

¹Orlic, 26.

²"Rapport de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts sur les travaux des pensionnaires de l'Académie de France de Rome pendant l'année 1861," in the annals of the Académie des Beaux-Arts covering the transactions of the annual public meeting of 1862.

Guiraud has begun his apprenticeship as a petitioner ("solliciteur"). I hope that his experience in the theater will prove useful to him."³

Guiraud took a small apartment near Bizet's, whose counsel he doubtless cherished. Edmond Galabert, a student of Bizet's, tells us that Bizet and "son ami intime" not only consulted each other on their compositions but that they often worked together at the same table. The two musicians could once again discuss and debate the particular merits or problems of their work in progress, as well as encourage each other to continue seeking a company willing to produce their works.⁴

It was during this time that Guiraud began work on his third and final envoi required by the Académie, which would consist of two separate works, an overture and a one act opéra-comique. The Académie's report on these compositions was delivered on 3 October 1863 as part of the transactions of its annual public meeting:

In addition to an overture for full orchestra, of a good symphonic style in which one can mention some distinguished melodies, M. Guiraud has composed an opéra-comique in one act, entitled Sylvie. The work is well conceived. One can single out some attractive romances, an excellent trio from a theatrical point of view, some funny couplets of a very candid nature, and finally an elegant duet that is joyfully interrupted by a colorfully picturesque chorus of villagers.⁵

³Orlic, 27; Marmontel's letter, quoted by Orlic, is not dated but Orlic suggests 2 January 1863.

⁴Ibid., 27; Galabert information found in his introduction (9) to Lettres à un ami (1865-1872). The painter Delaunay, a mutual friend of both musicians, also lived in the same neighborhood.

⁵"Rapport de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts sur les travaux des pensionnaires de l'Académie de France de Rome pendant l'année 1862," in the annals of the Académie des Beaux-Arts covering the transactions of the annual public meeting of 1863.

In fact, the first item of business at this meeting was a performance of Guiraud's overture. The critic who reviewed the piece in the 8 October 1863 edition of L'art musical felt less kindly towards the piece than did the members of the Académie. While allowing that the overture was a good student work, the critic felt Guiraud's ideas lacked spontaneity.⁶ It would not be long before the public had the opportunity to hear the other work submitted as part of Guiraud's final envoi.

Guiraud's first Parisian success came on 11 May 1864, when the Opéra-Comique presented his one-act opera Sylvie. Based on a libretto by Jules Adenis and Jules Rostaing, Sylvie consists of an overture and eight numbers, and requires only three singers and chorus. For a composer to have one of his works produced in Paris so soon after returning from the Villa Medici was the exception rather than the rule. Speaking of Guiraud's early success, La France musicale of 15 May 1864 said, "For him, the waiting had not been long. It's hard to say if, after his return from the Eternal City, he had time to shake the dust from his feet."⁷ Léon Durocher, writing in the 15 May 1864 Revue et gazette musicale, also comments on Guiraud's good fortune in having one of his works presented so soon after winning the Prix de Rome. "The music is the debut of a young composer who obtained the Grand Prix de Rome at the 1859 competition. He has waited only five years for the solemn moment that places him before the public."⁸

⁶L'art musical (8 October 1863) review cited by Orlic, 27.

⁷La France musicale article quoted by Favre, 20.

⁸Revue et gazette musicale (15 May 1864), 157-158. Adolphe de Leuven was the director of the Opéra-Comique when Sylvie was produced there. A decree appended to the organization's charter in 1832 states, "The first prize winners in musical composition at the Conservatoire will be given preferential treatment, at the conclusion of their time as pensioners, for the representation of one of their compositions at the royal theater of the Opéra-Comique." This decree seems to have carried little weight, if any, since Bizet waited fifteen years for the Opéra-Comique to stage his Djamileh (1872) and

The farcical plot centers around a pair of eyeglasses given the elderly G  rome by his adopted godchild, Sylvie. The glasses become central to Sylvie's plan to prevent her godfather from going through with his intentions to marry her himself and to gain his blessing for her marriage to her lover, Germain.⁹ Durocher calls Sylvie a "pretty little piece, written with spirit and without pretention, where the subject is clearly exposed, where the incidents are skillfully prepared, where the action (sufficiently tied in knots) is ingeniously unraveled, where all is simple, natural, and true." Durocher comments on the score's "facile style and nimble allure" and Guiraud's "affection for lively rhythms."¹⁰ The review in La France musicale finds the opera's melodic ideas "charming, fresh, and light as the loves they celebrate."¹¹ Sylvie appeared on a triple bill between Donizetti's La fille du r  giment (1840) and Niccol   Isouard's Les rendez-vous bourgeois (1807) when it premiered at the Op  ra-Comique. Although it is uncertain how many other performances Sylvie might have received, it was staged in Brussels at La Monnaie on 4 November 1864.¹²

Massenet's debut took place nine years after his 1863 Prix de Rome with the presentation of his Don C  sar de Bazan (Wild, 330-331).

⁹For synopsis and comment see Cl  ment and Larousse's Dictionnaire des op  ras, 2:1059-1060. This article mentions the abundant supply of short operas by previous Prix de Rome winners most of which were based on redressed versions of the same old plots. For the first performance, M^{lle} Caroline Girard sang the title role; M. Charles Sainte-Foy played G  rome; and the role of Germain was sung by M. Louis Antoine Ponchard.

¹⁰Revue et gazette musicale (15 May 1864), 157-158.

¹¹La France musicale (15 May 1864) article quoted in Favre, 21.

¹²The position of Sylvie on the program is mentioned in the "Bulletin des Th   tres et des Concerts" of the issue of Le moniteur universel of 11 May 1864, 659; Brussels performance of Sylvie mentioned in Arthur De Gers's Th   tre Royal de la Monnaie (19) is cited by Preston, 10. Curtiss (147) reports that Sylvie premiered before an audience that "liked the little piece, encored two of the songs, and agreed that its composer showed wit, restraint and taste."

The importance of this success to Guiraud's career was considerable. Not only had he managed to break through the barriers of the Parisian opera stage with a work favorably received by the press, but he was also about to reap financial rewards as well; Henry Lemoine offered him 3500 francs for the rights to publish Sylvie.¹³

Whatever hopes Guiraud might have had for further performance opportunities engendered by the early success of Sylvie, they were not quickly realized. It would be five years before another of his dramatic compositions appeared in Paris, and that performance would take place against his wishes. In the meantime, Guiraud busied himself with preparations for two competitions (discussed below) and saw the publication of two of his mélodies by Choudens, "Mignonne" (1866) and "Sérénade de Ruy-Blas" (1869).¹⁴

In 1867, both Guiraud and Bizet entered a competition held in conjunction with the forthcoming Exposition Universelle. The Committee for

¹³Orlic, 28.

¹⁴"Mignonne," dedicated to M^{me} Carvalho, was set to a poem by Ronsard. M^{me} Carvalho (Caroline-Marie-Felix Carvalho-Miolan, singer at the Théâtre-Lyrique who created the soprano roles in Gounod's Faust and Roméo et Juliette) was the wife of Léon Carvalho, director of the Théâtre-Lyrique during this time, and later director of the Opéra-Comique. Carvalho had presented Bizet's Les pêcheurs de perles at the Théâtre-Lyrique on 30 September 1863. According to a letter from Paladilhe to his parents (11 October 1863) quoted by Orlic (27), Carvalho, whose Théâtre-Lyrique was under contract with the French government to present works by winners of the Prix de Rome, was so impressed with the new generation of laureate-composers that he told Paladilhe, in confidence, that he wanted to put the works of earlier Prix de Rome winners aside in favor of producing the work of Guiraud and Paladilhe. "Sérénade de Ruy-Blas" is set to Victor Hugo's text and is dedicated to M^{me} Ange Chabrier. "Mignonne" was not the first of Guiraud's songs to be published. In 1855, while he was still a student at the Conservatoire, Cachau à Pau published a piece for voice and piano entitled "L'espérance." Printed beneath the title are the words "Harmonie Religieuse, Mars 1855, Hommage au berceau d'Henri IV." The dedication at the top of the first page of music reads, "Romance dédiée à M^{lle} Larriu, Béarnaise." The words are by M^{me} Lamadon. The music is credited to "E. Guiraud, du Conservatoire."

Musical Composition of the Exposition announced a 10,000-franc award for the prize-winning hymn (to be performed at international functions) and another award of 5000 francs for each performance of the first-place cantata set to Romain Cornut's libretto "Les noces de Prométhée." Guiraud and Bizet, who concentrated their compositional efforts during the month of May in order to meet the early June deadline, entered the contest under assumed names—Guiraud as Tésern and Bizet as Gaston de Betsi. While both composers gave their finest efforts to the composition of the cantata, neither took the hymn very seriously and, in fact, took delight in making their entries as banal as possible. Edmond Galabert, Bizet's student, abetted his teacher's deception by allowing Bizet to use his Montauban address, by copying Bizet's hymn so that his manuscript would not be recognized, and by delivering Bizet's submissions to the Imperial Commission himself on the afternoon of the deadline. The jury for the hymn, having received more than eight hundred entries, canceled that competition claiming they were unprepared to deal with the judgment of so many works. Of over one hundred cantatas entered, Saint-Saëns's work received the first prize; Guiraud, Massenet, and Weckerlin were the first three runners-up; Bizet's cantata was judged among the top fifteen. Guiraud's cantata (written for orchestra, chorus, and soloists) has not been found.¹⁵

The Opéra announced the winner of its libretto competition in April 1868—"La coupe du roi du Thulé" by Louis Gallet and Edouard Blau. The Opéra then held another competition for the best musical setting of this

¹⁵Curtiss, 194-198; on the cancellation of the hymn competition, Dean, 66. Dean states that Saint-Saëns received no money for his cantata because it was never performed; the authorities decided to use one by Rossini in its stead.

three-act libretto, which both Guiraud and Bizet entered.¹⁶ By October 1868 Bizet had finished the first two acts and wrote Galabert that they were far superior to anything he had written up to that time. Bizet seemed especially pleased with his efforts in the second act. He also reported, "Guiraud has also been successful in this act from a musical point of view, but to my thinking it lacks color."¹⁷

By 1 September 1869, the last date for the competitors to submit their works, forty-two composers had entered. On 21 November the Opéra announced that the jury had decided to award the first prize to Eugène Diaz, an amateur. Massenet and Guiraud found themselves in second and third place while Bizet had to settle for sixth or seventh. Guiraud and Massenet were so outraged over the decision that they refused to have their names published in connection with the Opéra's competition. Nothing of Guiraud's score seems to have survived. The fragments that remain of Bizet's efforts indicate, in the opinion of Winton Dean, a score of considerable significance "second only to Carmen."¹⁸

While Guiraud's protest with the Opéra took place quietly and behind the scenes, he was soon embroiled in a highly public dispute with the director of the Théâtre-Lyrique. Immediately following the debut performance of Guiraud's one-act operette, En prison, at the Théâtre-Lyrique

¹⁶Dean, 74. The title is taken from the song that Marguerite hums in Goethe's Faust, a song that Gounod and Barbier would later set as a ballade in their operatic version of Goethe's novel (Clément, 271).

¹⁷Lettres à un ami, 161-162.

¹⁸Dean, 78-79. Massé, member of the jury and Eugène Diaz's teacher, faulted Massenet's score as being too "Wagnerian"; Dean suspects that Massé's criticism applied to Bizet's work as well since Bizet made greater use of leitmotifs in La coupe du roi du Thulé than in any of his other operas.

on 5 March 1869, an extraordinary disavowal took place from the stage. Paul Bernard, critic for the Revue et gazette musicale, recounts the scene. One of the singers who had just taken part in the performance of En prison, a M. Legrand, announced to the "rather cold, if not hostile" audience that the Théâtre-Lyrique had held the rights to the score for ten years or more. He continued:

If, on one hand, the prettiness of the music might have led you to hope for a success, on the other hand, the feebleness of the poem should have led you to fear a deadly fall. This explains, Messieurs, the long sleep of this score . . . a sleep that would have continued if Prince Charming, in the guise of our director, M. Padeloup, had not come along to rouse it from its torpor, a torpor with which none of the three authors found objection.¹⁹

Legrand informed the audience that Guiraud, not wanting to risk his reputation by allowing the performance of this youthful work, refused his consent while Padeloup, under pressure to stage new works, insisted that En prison be staged in spite of the objections raised by almost everyone. The "poorly constructed" libretto "of questionable taste" (tooth extraction is central to the plot) by Chaigneau and Boverat gave Guiraud reason for concern about risking his reputation with a work whose success was highly in doubt.²⁰

Padeloup, who directed the Théâtre-Lyrique from August 1868 to January 1870, was in trouble with his board by the summer of 1869 for his concentration on the presentation of the "grand répertoire" to the relative neglect of the production of new works as called for in his contract. After

¹⁹Revue et gazette musicale (7 March 1863), 79.

²⁰*Ibid.*

all, the staging of works by young composers had been high among the reasons for the establishment of the Théâtre-Lyrique in 1851.²¹

Legrand attempted to explain the reasons for Padeloup's "unshakeable" resolve. "Having presented nothing but revivals, he felt it necessary to stage a new work. To this end, he unearthed from his dusty closet the piece, Messieurs, that we have had the honor of performing for you, and upon which, in spite of the opinion of everyone including the interested parties, he has placed high hopes." At any rate, the audience signaled its sympathetic reaction to Guiraud's plight when it greeted Legrand's announcement of the librettists' names with hisses and catcalls while greeting his with prolonged applause.²²

Addressing the merits of Guiraud's score, Bernard found "grace, a sober and tasteful orchestration, a feel for the stage, a sustained melodic interest, everything, in a word, that goes into the making of a dramatic composer and bodes well for his success." Bernard was particularly pleased with the overture, which he pronounced "worthy of serving as a preface to a work of more importance."²³ Ernest Reyer wrote, "Guiraud's talent has finesse and distinction, rare qualities that M. Padeloup ought to give this young composer the chance to develop by offering him a good poem. That would be the best way for the director of the Théâtre-Lyrique to atone for a miscarriage."²⁴

²¹Wild, 237, 239.

²²Revue et gazette musicale (7 March 1863), 79.

²³Ibid., 80.

²⁴Journal des débats (16 March 1869), quoted in Favre, 22-23. Favre (23) quotes the 20 August 1870 edition of the same journal in which Reyer (in a review of Le kobold that

Thinking back to the early years of the decade, one wonders how differently Guiraud's career might have unfolded had he ignored Bizet's pleas to remain in Rome rather than returning to Paris to pursue the possibility of staging En prison. As fate would have it, Sylvie provided Guiraud with a more auspicious introduction to the Parisian public, a solid foundation upon which to build his reputation. It seems certain that En prison would have been as much a fiasco in 1860 as it was in 1869, but with graver consequences. Would the public have been as forgiving of Guiraud's involvement were it not for the solid success he had established with Sylvie? Would the young composer have been able to recover from the disastrous debut that En prison would have represented?

Besides his work on Les noces de Prométhée and La coupe du roi de Thulé during this period, Guiraud was working on two other stage works, as he reported in a letter of 1870 written in response to an enquiry about what works he might have available for performance. Guiraud replied that although his list of works was not a long one it would become so in time. Describing his current portfolio, Guiraud wrote, "It consists of an opéra-comique in two acts, entitled Stella, and of a one-act work in two scenes provisionally called Eubarin." Guiraud informed the unknown addressee that Adolphe de Leuven, director of the Opéra-Comique, had chosen him to write the latter, personally delivering the poem some three years earlier with "superbes promesses et paroles d'honneur."²⁵

began with a summation of Guiraud's accomplishments to that point) declared, "En prison will hardly survive except as an insignificant detail in Guiraud's biography."

²⁵Bibliothèque Nationale, lettres autographes #4. Considering the condition of this letter and the nature of Guiraud's handwriting, the titles of the works represent as accurate a determination as I was able to make. Favre (25) includes only the mention of Tabarin [sic] in his citation of Guiraud's letter.

On 3 June 1869, Bizet married Geneviève Halévy. Following their marriage the couple moved to a house at 22 rue de Douai, which they shared with Geneviève's cousin Ludovic and his family. Guiraud lived nearby (39 rue de Douai), as did Gounod and Degas. Geneviève maintained what can best be described as a musical guest book, an album in which visiting musicians could contribute a musical offering. Guiraud's entry, dated February 1870 (the first addition to the album following the wedding), was a two-page "Allegretto" for piano. The piece ends with the inscription "à Madame Geneviève Bizet, Hommage bien affectueux, E. Guiraud." Other contributors to this collection include Gounod, Massé, Reyer, Auber, Massenet, and Paladilhe.²⁶

The events surrounding the debut of Guiraud's Le kobold on 26 July 1870 at the Opéra-Comique provided anything but the stable conditions he might have hoped for following the En prison debacle of the preceding year. Several years earlier, Saint-Saëns had begun work on the opera Timbre d'argent, an unusual work in that the principal role was for a dancer. As Timbre d'argent was scheduled for presentation at the Opéra-Comique in 1870, the famous Italian dancer M^{lle} Trevisani (whose name changed to Trévisan for her appearances in France) was hired for the part. When, for a variety of reasons, Saint-Saëns was unable to finish the score on time, it was

²⁶Bibliothèque Nationale (M. 7757) "Album d'autographes de Esther Halévy et Geneviève Bizet," 3-4; on others living in the neighborhood, Curtiss, 254. Geneviève Halévy was the daughter of Jacques-Fromenthal Halévy (composer and professor of composition to both Bizet and Guiraud who had died in 1862) and cousin to Ludovic Halévy (the librettist who would provide Bizet with the libretto of Carmen). Esther Halévy, Geneviève's sister, was engaged to Ludovic at the time of her sudden death in 1864 (Dent, 82).

Guiraud's "Allegretto" is the second piece in this album and appears following a vocal extract from Faust in Gounod's hand. Gounod's entry dates from 1859 when Esther was still alive. Guiraud's contribution was made several months after Geneviève's marriage to Bizet and six years after Esther's death.

decided that another work had to be found quickly that would feature Mlle Trevisani, who had already been contracted.²⁷

De Leuven, at that time the director of the Opéra-Comique, asked Guiraud and the librettists Nuitter and Gallet to create a work in one act about a kobold (a domestic ghost of Germanic legend who assumes the form of an elf). The title role would be that of the dancer. Guiraud and the librettists worked feverishly and, with rehearsals proceeding during the composition of the work, were able to finish the work in 10 days, completing a scene a day. Bizet, who had been staying with his wife in Barbizon, returned to Paris to attend the premiere of Le kobold.²⁸

The timing of the premiere of Le kobold was unfortunate in coming exactly a week after France had declared war on Prussia. The attention of the audience, and indeed the attention of all France, was on the war. Le kobold, presented together with Boieldieu's La dame blanche (1825), was interrupted by shouts of "à Berlin!" coming from the audience as well as from the streets; between acts, singers led the audience in singing patriotic songs. Galli-Marié, the soprano who would introduce the role of Carmen to the world five years later, began the practice at the Opéra-Comique of coming to the footlights and, draped in the tricolor, leading the audience in singing "La marseillaise." This custom was carried out by different singers from night to night and continued until the political turmoil forced the closure of the Opéra-Comique on 3 September.²⁹

²⁷Orlic, 31.

²⁸On the composition of Kobold, Orlic, 31-33; on Bizet's attendance, Curtiss, 260.

²⁹Curtiss, 259-60. There is conflicting evidence as to whether Le kobold was ever staged again. Favre (24) tells us that a revival of the opera had been planned for the following year but, due to budget restrictions, never took place. Curtiss (260) suggests

After the war, the Assemblée Nationale cut its subsidy to the Opéra-Comique by 150,000 francs, forcing the company to eliminate its corps de ballet. Although a piano reduction of the work had been engraved and the proofs read by Guiraud, Hartmann never actually published the work.³⁰ In addition to the overture, some fragments of Le kobold (couplets and airs de danse) exist in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale (Ms. 6089-6093). A piano reduction of the overture was published in 1875 in La chronique musicale, a "Revue bimensuelle de l'art ancien et moderne."³¹

Mention of Le kobold in the press was all but lost in the turmoil as France prepared for war. Almost one month after the performance, Ernest Reyer found much to praise in Guiraud's work. "M. Guiraud," he writes, "is elegant not only in the shape of his melodies, but also in the way he accompanies them. He finds piquant harmonies and knows how to use the orchestra with as much delicacy as skill."³²

On 31 August 1870, the Prussians dealt a crushing blow to the Second Empire with the capture of Napoleon III on the front-line battlefield of Sedan. This decisive battle cost the French 20,000 lives, the Germans 6,000; 80,000 French prisoners were captured along with their emperor. The news

that Le kobold had more than one performance. The opera is set in Alsace and, according to Curtiss, de Leuven added a line to one of the tenor's arias when false rumors of French victories reached Paris. The line ("Le Rhin à traverser, ce n'est qu'un pas") was deleted when the fact of German rather than French victory became apparent.

³⁰Soubies, 162 (as reported in Orlic, 33). The score of Le kobold was reduced for piano by Soumis, accompanist for the Opéra-Comique. After the war, the overture of Le kobold was performed on a concert given by the Société Nationale.

³¹Favre, 24; La chronique musicale No. 37, 1 January 1875 (VII, 3rd Year), edited by Arthur Heulhard.

³²Journal de débats (20 August 1870), quoted by Favre, 24.

of the defeat reached Paris on September 3. The next day, Parisians flowed into the streets in a massive demonstration demanding that the Corps Législatif dissolve the Second Empire and establish a republic.³³

An order forcing the closure of all theaters went into effect on the 10th of September. By 18 September the first rounds of cannon fire reached Paris, and by 19 September the Prussians began a four-month siege of the city. During this time, the city's only means of contact with the outside world was by carrier pigeon or balloon. The enforced ban on musical performances not only made it difficult for those whose livelihood depended on performance, but also contributed to the besieged city's overall sense of doom. Despite the scarcity of musicians remaining in Paris and the lack of heat in the concert halls, the performance ban was lifted when it was realized that the resumption of concerts would raise the morale of the population, both civilian and military.³⁴

Although the Prix de Rome exempted Guiraud from serving in the military, he enlisted in a marching battalion and fought in the battles at Champigny, Montretout, and, on 19 January 1871, Buzenval, where his friend Henri Regnault, whom Saint-Saëns referred to as "the best musician of all the painters," lost his life. Nine days later, on 28 January, Paris surrendered--as much a victim of famine as of the Prussian army.³⁵

³³France in Modern Times, 149-150; on the number of casualties, Curtiss, 261-262.

³⁴Curtiss, 263, 267-268.

³⁵Orlic, 35.

CHAPTER 5

REPUTATION ESTABLISHED

Musical activity flourished after the war, most noticeably in the area of symphonic music, which French composers had, for all practical purposes, ignored in their zeal to write for the stage. French concert life had long been dependent on the Germanic repertoire. Prior to the Franco-Prussian War, France's two most important concert organizations were the Société des Concerts du Conservatoire and the Concerts Populaires of Padeloup. The programs of the Société des Concerts du Conservatoire featured Beethoven, Haydn, and Mozart with only an occasional piece by Berlioz, Gounod, or Auber. For young French composers, the difficulties in finding an organization willing to perform their music were considerable. Even Padeloup, whose Concerts Populaires had begun in 1861 and who would eventually become a champion of the Ecole française, was quoted as saying, "Compose symphonies as Beethoven did, and I will perform them!" And when a new French work did succeed in being performed, the press paid scant attention as evidenced by Padeloup's presentation of Bizet's Symphony in C (Roma) in 1869.¹

The Prussian defeat of the French marked the beginning of one of the most significant national turnarounds in the history of music. French music began its journey down the evolutionary road that would free it from the

¹Orlic, 36. Padeloup's remark (quoted by Orlic) is from an article ("La Société Nationale de Musique") by Saint-Saëns appearing in the Revue et gazette musicale (3 October 1880).

shackles of a century of German dominance with the establishment of the Société Nationale de Musique on 25 February 1871, less than a month after the war had officially ended with the signing of the armistice on 28 January.² Edward Hill credits the Franco-Prussian War with "focussing the vague aspirations toward musical independence and in bringing about a realization of the necessity for nationalistic affirmation. . . . French musicians arose to their feet with unanimous determination." When Camille Saint-Saëns and Romain Bussine, a teacher of singing at the Paris Conservatoire, founded the Société Nationale de Musique, the motto *Ars Gallica* was chosen for the new organization.³ The board consisted of Camille Saint-Saëns (president), Alexis de Castillon (secretary), J. Garcin (under-secretary), and Charles Lenepveu (treasurer). Founding members included Ernest Guiraud, Georges Bizet, Jules Massenet, César Franck, Théodore Dubois, Charles-Marie Widor, Gabriel Fauré, and Edouard Lalo.⁴ All of the most important musicians in Paris rallied behind this new organization. Interrupted by the bloody events of the Commune (the socialistic government of Paris) from March 18 to May 27 1871, the meetings of the

²Brody, xii.

³Hill, 8-9; Hill gives the charter of the Société Nationale de Musique as found in Romain Rolland's Musiciens d'aujourd'hui, "Le Renouveau," 231: "The proposed purpose of the Society is to aid the production and popularization of all serious works, whether published or not, by French composers. To encourage and bring to light, as far as lies within its power, all musical attempts, whatever their form, on condition that they give evidence of lofty artistic aspirations on the part of their author. Fraternally, with entire forgetfulness of self, with the firm resolve to aid each other with all their capacity, the members will unite their efforts, each in his own sphere of action, to the study and performance of the works which they shall be called upon to select and interpret."

⁴Orlic, 37; Curtiss (348, n. 2) states that Saint-Saëns founded the Société Nationale de Musique with the "cooperation" of Bussine, Guiraud, Franck, Fauré, and Lalo. Bizet, Massenet, and Widor are not included in Orlic's list of founding members, but rather in the list given by Brody, 18.

society did not take place again until October of that year. The society presented its first concert on 17 November.⁵

The Société consisted of approximately 150 members. Meetings were held in the Salle Pleyel, where the composers presented their works to fellow members of the Society. Orchestral scores were often rendered as piano reductions, as it was difficult for the fledgling organization to assemble an orchestra on a regular basis. Composers performed their own compositions, sometimes assisting in the performance of works by other members. Such an arrangement was consistent with the fraternal spirit of the organization's charter, and lent an air of relative informality to these concerts compared to the performing pressures of the traditional professional concert situation. To this end we find Saint-Saëns and his student Gabriel Fauré performing the former's "Marche héroïque" and Rouet d'Omphale on two pianos and composers such as Massenet and Lalo accompanying their own mélodies as well as those by other members. Composers were eager to schedule auditions of their works, eager not only for the platform offered by the society but also for the chance to present their works to an audience of their peers.⁶

While on one hand the membership of the Société Nationale constituted what one imagines to be the toughest of audiences, the benefits of offering one's music before such a forum were considerable. To have a work well received by the Société was to increase the chances of having that

⁵Orlic (36-37) states that Saint-Saëns, Bussine, and Franck had conceived of the idea of the Société Nationale before the end of the war and waited for the hostilities to cease before taking action. Orlic writes that the music of Franck, Lalo, Castillon, and Garcin appeared on this first program. Brody (17) claims the first concert was given on 25 November.

⁶Brody, 18.

composition performed for the general public by one or more concert organizations. In a sense, the Société Nationale functioned as a clearing house for the latest products of the Ecole française. Even works less than well received by one's peers at least provided their composers the opportunity to learn from hearing how compositions actually sounded—especially on those occasions when the Société could assemble an orchestra.⁷

The formation of the Société Nationale had an immediate impact on Padeloup's Concerts Populaires, which began to include works by the young French composers on its programs, thus breaking an almost exclusive ten-year German monopoly. It was on one of these concerts (28 January 1872) that Guiraud's "brillante" Suite d'orchestre achieved "a resounding success."⁸

Another concert series, the Concert National, conducted by Edouard Colonne and co-founded by Colonne and the publisher Hartmann, was inaugurated in 1873 under the auspices of the Société Nationale; it would later become an independent organization. The focus of its programming was on new works by German as well as French musicians. Composers of the Ecole française, from Berlioz to Debussy, owe much to this concert series.⁹

⁷Orlic, 37.

⁸Tiersot, 20-21.

⁹Ibid., 21-22; Bernard (*New Grove*, s.v. "Colonne, Edouard"), 4:583-584; Orlic, 38. The first concerts of the Concert National were presented at the Odéon. Later, after having established itself as an independent organization, the series moved to the Châtelet and became known as Concerts du Châtelet. Eventually these concerts were called the Concerts Colonne.

Edouard Colonne (1838-1910) was a violinist as well as a conductor. A champion of contemporary French and German music, Colonne conducted in England, Portugal, Russia, and the United States. It is ironic that Colonne, who had done so much to promote German music of his day, would have his name removed from the concert series by the Nazis during the Occupation (1940-1945) because of his Jewish heritage

Even the conservative Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, which had never felt the need to include modern works on its programs, began to include new works by Gounod, Franck, Dubois, and Saint-Saëns during its 1871-1872 season. Guiraud, in a brief letter dated 5 August 1871, sought the position of chef du chant with the Société des Concerts du Conservatoire.¹⁰

Before the Franco-Prussian conflict, only the Théâtre-Lyrique exhibited any real enthusiasm for promoting the operas of contemporary Frenchmen. Receiving a smaller subsidy than the two "official" operatic theaters, the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique, the Théâtre-Lyrique offered the first part of Berlioz's Les troyens (1863), La prise de Troie; Gounod's Faust (1859), Philémon et Baucis (1860), Mireille (1864), and Roméo et Juliette (1867); Ernest Reyer's Maître Wolfram (1854) and La statue (1861); Bizet's Les pêcheurs de perles (1863) and La jolie fille de Perth (1866); Victorin de Joncière's Sardanapale (1867) and Le dernier jour de Pompéi (1869), and in 1869, Guiraud's En prison.¹¹

After the war and the appearance of the Société Nationale, only the Opéra maintained an aloofness from the changes prompted by the new movement, calling itself the "musée de la musique." The acquisitions in

(Brody, 298-299, n. 29). Georges Hartmann was a philanthropist as well as a publisher. His office on the Boulevard de la Madeleine served as a meeting place for the likes of Bizet, Franck, Saint-Saëns, Lalo, and Augusta Holmès. Beginning in 1894, Hartmann gave Debussy an annual stipend of 6,000 francs (Brody, 153).

Another series, the Concerts Lamoureux (known as Harmonie Sacrée from 1872 to 1875, when programs consisted almost exclusively of sacred music), has continued since 1882 in the same format as it had. Of lesser importance are the Concerts Danbé, which began its series at the Grand Hôtel in 1871, and the Concerts Cressonnois (Orlic, 38).

¹⁰Brody, 20; Orlic, 38; Bibliothèque Nationale, Lettres autographes #10.

¹¹Brody, 16.

which this "museum" took greatest pride were Donizetti's La favorite (1840), Halévy's La juive (1835), and Meyerbeer's Robert le diable (1831). These aged staples of the Opéra's repertoire were sung by "worn-out singers" surrounded by even more "worn-out sets."¹²

In 1872 Camille du Locle, director of the Opéra-Comique, found his theater in the midst of "graves difficultés administratives." In an effort to turn its fortunes around, he staged there, in a matter of a few weeks, three one-act operas: Bizet's Djamileh, Saint-Saëns's La princesse jaune, and Paladilhe's Le passant. The public, its level of discrimination limited by years of a steady diet of the tried and true, found these new works "avancées" and "wagnériennes." Of only three works by Prix de Rome laureates of the new generation staged between 1864 and 1870, two were by Guiraud: Sylvie (1864) and Le kobold (1870); the third was Massenet's La grand'tante (1867).¹³

The establishment of Guiraud's reputation as an important member of the Ecole française was to a large extent the result of his affiliation with the Société Nationale de Musique and to Jules Pasdeloup's interest in promoting promising young French composers by presenting their work on programs of his Concerts Populaires. When Guiraud was discharged from the military in 1871, he began work immediately on a symphonic work, the Suite d'orchestre. On 27 January 1872 the members of the Société Nationale gathered at the Salle Pleyel for a program that featured works by Dubois, Massenet, Bizet, Bourgault-Ducoudray, and Guiraud. Guiraud presented a piano transcription of his Suite d'orchestre. The very next day this same

¹²Tiersot, 19.

¹³Ibid., 19-20.

piece was performed by Padeloup's orchestra at the Cirque d'Hiver, where it received an enthusiastic response.¹⁴ The Suite (Guiraud's first major orchestral composition) consisted of four movements: "Prélude," "Intermezzo," "Andante," and "Carnaval." Its success assured Guiraud's position as one of the brightest figures of the Ecole française. The reviewer for Le ménestrel described the work:

Last Sunday, it was M. E. Guiraud's turn, a man regarded highly by the public. The orchestral suite that we heard is the work of a good musician, and it shows that this composer has been thoroughly trained in the procedures of the great masters. The "Prélude" is in an entirely classical style; the "Intermezzo," slightly labored, contains many delightful details; the "Andante" seems less well inspired; but everything is redeemed by the colorful and brilliant "Carnaval" which insures the work's success. There, M. Guiraud dares to shake his "schooling" and reveals his true personality; he displays fire, warmth, and spunk, in a word the qualities of youth pushed to the point of exuberance. The audience, overcome with enthusiasm, applauded stupendously in spite of some protests directed not to Guiraud's music but perhaps to the excessive, endless bravos.¹⁵

The "Carnaval," which Paladilhe described as "overflowing with fantasy, color, and sweeping passion," was particularly successful. It is this movement which can clearly take credit for making Guiraud an overnight sensation. Julien describes the success of Guiraud's Suite as a "beau miracle" that had the "proportions d'un triomphe." The Suite was so successful that it appeared again the very next week on the Concerts Populaires program of February 6. Padeloup performed the "Andante" and the "Carnaval" two months later, on April 14th; in May, Guiraud's work received another unequivocal success in Lyons on a program for the benefit of that orchestra's

¹⁴Orlic, 37; Favre, 26. Guiraud's name appears again on Société Nationale concerts in February and March, the Society's 7th and 9th concerts.

¹⁵Le ménestrel (4 February 1872), 79.

conductor E. Mangin. The Suite (or selected movements) would appear no fewer than five times on Padeloup's programs in the year 1872 alone.¹⁶

In April 1872 the French government granted Guiraud five hundred francs to support publication of the Suite, which Guiraud dedicated to Jules Padeloup. The fourth movement, "Carnaval," quickly gained a widespread popularity and firmly planted Guiraud's name in the public's consciousness. The Suite was eventually transcribed for piano solo, piano duet, two pianos eight hands, and for military band. "Carnaval" is perhaps Guiraud's most enduring musical legacy, other than the contributions he would soon make to the works of Bizet and Offenbach. As late as 1943, Paul Landormy observes that "the 'Carnaval' has been played often in concerts since then, detached from the rest of the work."¹⁷

A year after the publication of the Suite, a new opera of Guiraud's was presented at the Athénée, his first opera of more than a single act. The two acts of Madame Turlupin were based on a libretto by Cormon and Grandvallet. It is dedicated "à mon ami, Nephtali Mayrargues." Appearing as it did in the wake of the grand success of the Suite d'orchestre, the new work had been eagerly awaited. When the premiere took place on 23 November 1872, it played to a public filled with great anticipation and high expectations.¹⁸

¹⁶Orlic, 38; Paladilhe, 6; Julien, 292-293.

¹⁷Orlic, 38-39; Landormy, 141-142. Orlic lists other performances of the Suite, including a performance by Colonne (2 March 1873); a performance at the Concerts Cresonnois (10 February 1878); at the Elysée for Marshal MacMahon under the direction of Colonne (16 September 1878); Guiraud himself conducted the work at the Opéra (17 June 1879); at a special benefit concert for the retiring Padeloup (25 May 1880); on one of the Société des Concerts du Conservatoire programs (18 January 1891). The work was also performed by provincial as well as foreign orchestras.

¹⁸Orlic, 39. A reference to Nephtali Mayrargues appears in a note scrawled across the top of an inflammatory letter that Bizet had received from Victor Chéri regarding

"The enthusiasm afforded the Suite d'orchestre by the public at its first performance last winter at the Concerts Populaires is well known. Consequently, M. Guiraud is justifiably classed among those composers who bear watching." Thus begins Henri Lavoix's review of Madame Turlupin for the Revue et gazette musicale. After praising Guiraud's solid theatrical sense, his polished orchestration, and his "distinctive and spirited" rhythms, Lavoix predicts that, should Guiraud maintain his current course, "We will have in him a composer worthy of carrying on the best traditions of French opéra-comique."¹⁹

Lavoix singles out the ensemble numbers as being particularly well developed with a "real theatrical intelligence." He mentions specifically the "drinking chorus" at the opening curtain with its bold rhythm and interesting use of counterpoint. Describing the high spirits of Madame Turlupin's couplets, "Enfants de la balle," which are reprised as a quintet, Lavoix says that "it is always with pleasure that one comes across this [theme] again, scattered through the rest of the score." The Cavatina was beautifully rendered by Mlle Daram in the role of Maguelonne (Madame Turlupin) and received loud applause; the audience was quick to hail the "highly successful" score at the conclusion of the trio and chorus which end the first act. The finale of the first act brought "the highest honor" to the composer. A "classically styled" entr'acte opens the second act in a "highly distinguished" manner. Lavoix reports that the "Spring" scene ("Air de bouton d'or"), though a "conventional sort of pastiche" was sung with "great

Bizet's pro-Berlioz stand. Bizet's note stated that he had sent Nephtali Mayrarques and Ernest Guiraud as his "seconds" (Curtiss, 144).

¹⁹Revue et gazette musicale (1 December 1872), 379.

style" by Mlle Daram.²⁰ Despite some cavils,²¹ there can be no question but that Lavoix's overall impression of Madame Turlupin is highly positive.

"Madame Turlupin is, in my opinion, far superior to M. Guiraud's other works. The music is amusing, fine, stirring, and perfectly written." Lavoix speculates that Guiraud had learned from the "three recent and successive failures" of Bizet, Saint-Saëns, and Paladilhe at the Opéra-Comique. In Lavoix's opinion, Madame Turlupin deserves to succeed because of Guiraud's "theatrical sense, his rhythm, and his simple and straightforward melody, qualities which our long-standing musical traditions place above all others."²²

Several months after the premiere of Madame Turlupin, the Athénée presented Théodore Dubois's La guzla de l'emir. This interest on the part of the Athénée in presenting operas by the new generation French composers was, according to Julien Tiersot, its attempt "to take the place of the defunct Théâtre-Lyrique," traditionally the most progressive of the Parisian opera houses.²³

²⁰Revue et gazette musicale (1 December 1872), 379.

²¹Less favorably reviewed is the Overture which although "composed of some pretty pieces" is "unfortunately bound together by some rather bad ones." Nevertheless, the overall impression is pleasing. Lavoix finds the chorus "La recette" that follows the Entr'acte to be "long and boring." The trio between Maguelonne, Turlupin, and Coquillard (Maguelonne's former admirer) is, although well staged, "too short" and without sufficient variety. The finale of the opera "offers nothing of particular interest." Revue et gazette musicale (1 December 1872), 379.

²²Revue et gazette musicale (1 December 1872), 379; Bizet's Djamileh (May 22), Saint-Saëns's La princesse jaune (June 12), and Paladilhe's Le passant (April 24) had been staged earlier in 1872.

²³Tiersot, 20. Tiersot, less enchanted by Madame Turlupin than Lavoix, derogates both Guiraud's and Dubois' efforts at the Athénée. "Nothing yet constitutes the awaited masterpiece."

Adolphe Julien found Madame Turlupin a "less ambitious work in which the young composer . . . strove for a high-spirited work at the expense of a distinguished one." While recognizing Guiraud's talent, Julien wrote that Guiraud "gives in too often to his natural facility" appearing "preoccupied with the number rather than the quality" of his melodic ideas, ideas which he "throws on the paper as soon as they pop into his head."²⁴

Guiraud's standing as one of the brightest stars of the *Ecole française* is mentioned again by Clement and Larousse in the entry for Madame Turlupin in their Dictionnaire des opéras. "The score of Kobold had led me to expect that the composer would take his place among the ranks of the masters; because, in the eminent group of musicians who have won the Institute's prize, it was my opinion that he wrote the best." The overture of Madame Turlupin is described as "charming, sober, and elegant." Here again, the couplets "Enfants de la balle" and the chorus "La retraite" are singled out. The Entr'acte is "a little symphony, written with a delicacy and clarity which speaks of a work as intelligent as it is meticulous."²⁵

The success of the opera continued, and by 1873 Guiraud asked Lauzières to translate Madame Turlupin into Italian. In order to tailor the work to the formal requirements of an opera buffa, it was necessary to replace the spoken dialogue with recitatives and to add a few pieces to the tenor role. Although this Italian version was published by Léon Escudier in 1873, the project was ultimately abandoned. On 8 March 1874, Madame

²⁴Julien, 292-293. According to Julien, Guiraud's inclusion of too many banalities "geared toward provoking the bravos of the audience" came close at times to reducing Madame Turlupin to an opérette or musical comedy. He characterizes Guiraud's music as "facile and charming, but not very original, and not enhanced often enough with orchestral color."

²⁵Clément, 675.

Turlupin was presented at Berlin's Friedrich-Wilhelmstadt Theater, where, as the Revue et gazette musicale of the same day commented, the work had been less well received than it had been in Paris. The Berlin critics blamed its lack of success on the libretto, not on Guiraud's music. Selections from Madame Turlupin were frequently heard in concert performances, and in 1881 it was presented by the Ecole de Musique de Léon Duprez. The opera was scheduled to be revived at the Opéra-Comique in 1888.²⁶

On 7 July 1872 the Revue et gazette musicale announced, "A charming play by Alphonse Daudet, L'arlésienne, which the Vaudeville plans to present, will include a musical setting of considerable import: symphonic pieces, choruses, ballets, etc. The collaborator recommended to Alphonse Daudet by M. Carvalho is the composer of Sylvie and of the Suite d'orchestre applauded last winter at the Concerts Populaires, M. E. Guiraud."²⁷ For whatever reasons, two weeks later the Revue et gazette musicale reported that "the composer entrusted with the musical part of L'arlésienne . . . is definitely M. Georges Bizet," the adverb suggesting either a corrective reference to the mention of Guiraud's name earlier or a final decision in a more extensive internal debate to which the public was only partially privy.²⁸

²⁶Orlic, 39.

²⁷Revue et gazette musicale (7 July 1872), 214. It is curious that neither of Bizet's principal biographers mentions the fact that Carvalho first asked Guiraud to compose the music.

²⁸Revue et gazette musicale (21 July 1872), 230. For more about L'arlésienne see Curtiss, 331-341; Dean, 199-210; Cooper, 88-100 (for plot summary). Orlic (40) cites Charles Pigot's claim that Guiraud himself also wrote a L'arlésienne Suite, though no such work has yet been discovered (Pigot, 181n).

When Léon Carvalho took over the directorship of the Théâtre du Vaudeville in 1872, two years after the bankruptcy of the Théâtre-Lyrique, his plans included the restoration of the mélodrame to its original conception, a play with incidental music. It was to this end that the first performance of Daudet's L'arlésienne took place on 1 October 1872. Bizet's contribution to the play consisted of some twenty-four pieces scored for twenty-six instruments, including a chorus singing from the wings and supported by a harmonium played, depending on the evening, by either Bizet himself, Guiraud, or Anthony de Choudens, the publisher's son.²⁹

Although the play was not a major success, Bizet's music was. He reorchestrated four selections from the score for full orchestra. This L'arlésienne Suite enjoyed a rousing success when Padeloup programmed it on 10 November; it was performed again at the Châtelet on 9 November 1873, on two different concerts on 18 January 1874, and also on the 21 February 1875 program of the prestigious Concerts du Conservatoire.³⁰

After Bizet's death, Guiraud arranged some of the music from L'arlésienne as a second suite consisting of four movements, "Pastoral," "Intermezzo," "Minuet," and "Farandole." The "Intermezzo" was based on Bizet's E-flat Entr'acte, with the addition of twelve newly composed measures by Guiraud. Music from the third act of Bizet's La jolie fille de Perth provided the basis of the "Minuet." The "Farandole" is a synthesis of material from Nos. 22-24 of the incidental music. Guiraud uses the

²⁹Orlic, 40; Reyer, 285 (cited by Curtiss, 339-340).

³⁰Dean, 104.

same orchestration as Bizet's rescoring but adds some percussion to the "Farandole."³¹ Lockspeiser, in fact, claims that Guiraud is virtually the composer of the "Farandole," noting that it is four times longer than the sixty-eight measures found in Bizet's score, thus making this movement "an original work of Guiraud on Bizet's themes," and that the "Pastorale" and the "Minuet" are also largely the work of Guiraud.³² But a precise answer to the question how much did Guiraud compose will have to await the anticipated publication of a new edition of the second suite currently under preparation by Lesley A. Wright of the University of Hawaii at Manoa.

On 5 May 1873, Guiraud saw his first work produced at the Opéra, the one-act ballet Gretna-Green. The ballet, originally announced as Le forgeron de Gretna-Green and based on the scenario by Charles Nuitter, was choreographed by Louis Mérante. The leading role of the ballet was to have been danced by M^{lle} Sangalli, a Milanese already known in Italy, England, and America. This role was to have been her Parisian debut, but due to delays in preparation of the ballet, Sangalli made her debut in Delibes's La source instead.³³

Adolphe Julien commends the youthful quality and melodic wealth which Gretna-Green shares with Guiraud's earlier works, but once again suggests that the composer's melodic facility would be better served were it to be tempered by a more carefully discerning selective process. He praises Pretty's entrance and mazurka, the mournful oboe melody ("le triste chant

³¹Dean, 209-210.

³²Lockspeiser, 1:56-57.

³³Orlic, 40.

du hautbois") when Pretty mourns the death of the lark, the violin motif used during the entrance music of Jenny and Jackson (which had first appeared in the overture), the musical contrast between the cello and bassoon recitative during Toby's "graves interrogations" and the chordal accompaniment to the responses of the fiancés, and especially the waltz of the "Blindman's-buff" scene ("M. Mérante has had an ingenious and comic idea, and the musician knew how to express it with finesse"). Julien found the "divertissement" in honor of the Duke the least satisfying section of the score (noting that Guiraud had settled for a collection of waltzes, polkas, and galops rather than attempting to rise to the challenge of writing music to depict such a scene), and felt that the ballet's finale, a military tableau, should have been left out. "The military tableau," he writes, "is nothing more than a pretext to dress as Highlanders the entire corps de ballet, which maneuvers with questionable precision and simulates the horrors of combat under the direction of M^lles Montaubry, Stoïkoff, Piron, and Invernizzi, whom I should delight in calling the "femmes-hommes" of the Opéra, so often does one see them dressed as men."³⁴

Moreno's review in Le ménestrel lauds Guiraud for avoiding the common pitfalls in writing for the ballet, but reproaches him for a lack of inspired ideas. Where Madame Turlupin suffered, in Moreno's opinion, from an overabundance of melodies, the problems in Gretna-Green are their scarcity and their excessive detail. Moreno offers Delibes's Coppélia as a worthy model for Guiraud to emulate, while conceding that Delibes certainly had a more substantial scenario to work with. Like Julien, Moreno singles

³⁴Revue et gazette musicale (11 May 1873), 145-146.

out the "Blindman's buff" waltz as one of the ballet's best moments, calling it a "fragment symphonique d'une délicatesse exquise."³⁵

The reviewer for the Revue des deux mondes, F. de Lagenevais, finds the plot wanting ("Would it be possible to come up with something less unimaginative?") and joins Moreno in confronting Guiraud with the success of Delibes's Coppélia ("The music is . . . comfortable, current, and well written for the stage, but lacks the characteristic of a distinctive pen such as can be found in Adam's Giselle and again in Coppélia").³⁶

Gretna-Green was given ten more performances at the Opéra before a fire destroyed that house at the end of October 1873. It is Favre's belief that, had it not been for the fire, Gretna-Green would have capitalized on its solid reception in the press and found itself maintained in the repertoire of that organization for a more extended period. Gretna-Green was staged in Brussels at the Monnaie on 5 January 1874. Although the ballet itself was not long lived, the "Blindman's buff" waltz appeared occasionally on concert programs in various instrumental transcriptions.³⁷

Pierre Lalo, the son of Edouard, relates an amusing incident that took place at his home one evening during the period Gretna Green was in production at the Opéra. At the time, Pierre was a six year-old boy. He

³⁵H. Moreno in Le ménestrel (11 May 1873), 187-188.

³⁶Revue des deux mondes (1 June 1873), 728-729.

³⁷Orlic, 41. At the time of the fire in 1873, the Opéra was on rue Pelletier. Garnier's theatre was already under construction and would be inaugurated on 5 January 1875. The inaugural program included a scene from Delibes's La source with Sangalli in the role. Preston (15) mentions the 10 further performances of Gretna-Green and also lists a performance in New Orleans at the French Opera House on 22 January 1912 prior to a performance of Lucie de Lammermoor. Preston speculates that the ballet might have been a fairly staple work of the New Orleans's repertoire since the 22 January reference doesn't indicate the performance was a premiere.

describes a particular evening when his father had invited several friends over, including Saint-Saëns, Massenet, Reyer, Bizet, and Guiraud, who as usual was the last to arrive. Sometime after Guiraud's arrival Massenet, who was "always inclined towards flattery," approached Guiraud and began to praise Gretna-Green, "showering him with compliments and congratulations." Upon overhearing this conversation, Bizet, who had been laughing and playing with Pierre, took offense with what he interpreted as Massenet's sycophantic remarks. All of a sudden Bizet bolted from Pierre to Massenet's side, interrupting his conversation with Guiraud. "Shut up, shut up, you disgust me. Everyone here loves Guiraud just as much as you. As for me, Guiraud is my brother. But Gretna-Green is a failed work. All of us are sorry that Guiraud was not more successful. But we don't tell him that we admire Gretna-Green, because we don't. And you, who do not think any better of the work, go to him and speak of a masterwork! You are nothing more than a false friend. You make me sick." After this tirade, Massenet tried, in vain, to defend himself. In the meantime, "le bon Guiraud" weathered this torrential outburst with "the air of a dog under the garden hose."³⁸

Towards the beginning of the concert season 1873-1874, Padeloup commissioned Bizet, Massenet, and Guiraud to write overtures for successive concerts in his series at the Cirque d'Hiver. Bizet's Patrie was heard on 15 February 1874, Massenet's Phèdre on 22 February, and Guiraud's overture Artewelde on 1 March. The press received Artewelde with mixed reviews, in general praising Massenet's Phèdre as the best of the three overtures.³⁹

³⁸Lalo, 111-113. See Curtiss's citation (350) of this story found in Arthur Pougin's Massenet, 49. On the same page (107) that Dean describes this incident, he quotes a comment of Bizet's to Guiraud: "Your place is at the Opéra; I'm afraid of making a poor showing there, of not having the necessary fullness. I shall shine at the Opéra-Comique; I shall enlarge and transform the genre."

³⁹Orlic, 41. The title of Guiraud's overture is sometimes spelled Arteveld or Artevelde.

The Revue et gazette musicale of 8 March 1874 found Guiraud's overture less successful than his earlier orchestral works. "The facility, the naturalness, and the happy inspiration which distinguished his Suite are not found again in this overture, where one certainly senses the hand of a remarkable musician but where one misses clarity and cohesion."⁴⁰

A more positive assessment is found in A. L. Fitz-Gérald's article appearing in L'art musical of 5 March 1874:

Of all the new composers, M. Guiraud is perhaps the one who best combines a melodic gift, an understanding of how to develop musical ideas, and a knowledge of instrumentation. His concert overture is one of the most remarkable pieces. A brilliant allegro, an andante that includes a superb clarinet melody supported in a most unusual manner by harp arpeggios . . . a powerful conclusion . . . extremely clear and easy to comprehend . . . that the public greeted with the most enthusiastic applause.⁴¹

On 3 March 1875, an event of great significance in the history of French music took place, the premiere of Bizet's Carmen, the work with which Guiraud's name is most widely remembered today. For Bizet, who had placed great hope in the success of this opera, the indifference of the opening-night audience was difficult to accept. That same evening, Bizet and Guiraud walked the streets of Paris until dawn discussing the events of the evening. Guiraud, Bizet's unfailing ally, sought to restore Bizet's faith in the value of Carmen and in himself, a faith which had been shaken by the lukewarm reception of the public.⁴²

⁴⁰Revue et Gazette Musical (8 March 1873), 78.

⁴¹A. L. Fitz-Gérald review in L'art musical (5 March 1874), 75. This review is quoted in Favre, 32. In 1874 Durand, Schoenewerke & Cie published Guiraud's Ouverture de Concert, Op. 10, arranged for piano duet by Guiraud himself. The title page bears the dedication "à mon ami Georges Bizet," but the name "Artewelde" does not appear in this score.

⁴²Orlic, 42. Orlic, in a footnote, credits the source of this story to Charles Pigot in his book, Georges Bizet et son oeuvre. Carmen, during its early days, was not considered

Bizet died three months after the premiere of Carmen, on 3 June. The evening before Bizet left for Bougival (1 June), he and Guiraud met for the last time. Guiraud described this meeting to Bizet's biographer, Charles Pigot:

It was the eve of his departure for Bougival; I was going to see him that evening after dinner; he asked me to play for him bits of Piccolino which I had just begun to work on. I had scarcely begun to play the opening measures when, putting his hand on my shoulder, he said, "Wait, I'm hard of hearing in this ear; I'm going to sit on the other side of you." He spoke in a shrill voice with such a sad quality that it made me shudder. I turned around quickly; it was no longer Bizet, the friend full of youth and vigor that I had always known; at that instant, I was struck by his unhealthy, sickly bearing. I had a horrible vision, but one quick and fleeting as a flash. . . . Bizet changed his place; he was now seated on my left, near the piano; he was ready to listen. I had recovered my composure, and, without showing the sadness which had come over me, I began to play. I played everything that I had composed; he listened attentively, sharing his observations after each piece with that freeness of manner, that charming frankness, that admirable sincerity which endeared him to everyone. Then, having exhausted that subject, we spoke of other matters, of trifling matters as well as more serious concerns, and the hours passed quickly. . . . The clock struck midnight; I got up and shook his hand. He lit a candle and came to light the way for me, as the gas in the stairwell was out. I descended; but, when I arrived at the bottom of the stairs, I suddenly remembered something I had intended to speak to him about but had forgotten during the course of our conversation; I lifted my head and the conversation took place at some distance--he, remaining at the head of the stairs leaning towards me, the candle in his hand, wrapped in his dressing-gown in spite of the season; I, at the bottom of the stairs, my head stretched up in the air. We talked for nearly twenty minutes; then, after exchanging our final "bonssoirs," I left, not giving any more thought to the sudden chill which had come over me for that instant. . . . Three days later, I received a telegram . . . My poor Bizet had died!⁴³

Bizet's funeral took place on 5 June 1875 at the Eglise de la Trinité in Paris. Padeloup returned to Paris from a music festival in Caen to take

much of a success. The morality of the piece proved shocking to a large segment of the public and the merits of the work were sharply debated; the press failed to rally to the support of the new work.

⁴³Orlic, 42-43; Pigot, 245-246.

charge of the arrangements for the music at the funeral service. Mourners in attendance included the musicians of the Concerts Populaires orchestra, music critics, actors from the production of L'arlésienne, and the entire company of the Opéra-Comique. A throng of four thousand people attended the funeral. Guiraud's contribution to the musical program was a setting of the "Pie Jesu" text to the music of the duet from Les pêcheurs de perles.⁴⁴

Shortly before his death, Bizet had signed a contract with the director of the Imperial Opera of Vienna to produce Carmen there. Such a production would involve setting the spoken dialogue to music, the recitatives thus transforming the work from an opéra-comique to that of an opéra or grand opera, a form more suitable for the Imperial Opera. After Bizet's death, Guiraud was entrusted with the transformation. For the Viennese premiere on 23 October 1875, a last minute decision was made to present only certain scenes with Guiraud's recitatives, the remaining scenes given in their original form with spoken dialogue. Until recently, almost all productions outside the Opéra-Comique in Paris used Guiraud's setting.⁴⁵

⁴⁴Curtiss, 422.

⁴⁵Orlic, 45. Winton Dean (129) says that Bizet signed the contract for the production of Carmen in Vienna the day before his death. The director of the Viennese opera, Jauner, seemed to prefer a combination of Guiraud's recitatives and the original dialogue. Dean states that either Guiraud's version or Jauner's were the only ones used outside of France until 1928 when some of the German houses returned to the original spoken dialogue. Dean cites information contained in a letter from Massenet to Paul Lacombe suggesting that Bizet planned to write his own recitatives for Belgium and Germany. Dean claims that it is from the date of the Viennese premiere that the popularity of Carmen actually begins.

Rumors that Bizet had begun work on the oratorio Geneviève de Paris, based on the libretto by Louis Gallet, are vigorously denied by Gallet himself: "It is quite simply erroneous to have said that, at that time, the composer 'was working' on Geneviève de Paris. No such fragment exists in the musical files left by the master--and the legend that some pages of this work have been recovered and completed by Ernest Guiraud, utilizing new words, is not based on fact." Gallet, 102.

On 18 July 1861 the premiere of Piccolino, one of Victorien Sardou's earliest comedies, took place at the Gymnase.⁴⁶ Several years later, M^{me} Marie Grandval (a student of Saint-Saëns) would set this play to music. It was 5 January 1869 that Grandval's Piccolino, in Italian, appeared at the Théâtre-Italien. It received scant press attention.⁴⁷

The task of setting Piccolino as a French opéra-comique fell to Guiraud. We know that he had been working on the composition as early as the first half of 1875, as he mentions playing through the work, still uncompleted, for Bizet a few days before his death. The press closely followed the preparation of this opera and had great expectations for its success. The premiere was delayed several times due to operational difficulties at the Opéra-Comique, which, at the time, underwent a change of directorship from Camille du Locle⁴⁸ (to whom Guiraud dedicated Piccolino) to Perrin in 1876. Perrin's addition of Boieldieu's La dame blanche, an extremely popular work which received its 1,360th performance in March of 1876, alleviated the Comique's financial difficulties to the point that rehearsals of Piccolino could continue. The premiere was further delayed because of the stage director Sardou's ill health.⁴⁹

⁴⁶Victorien Sardou (1831-1908) was also the author of the play upon which Puccini's Tosca (1900) was based (Loewenberg, 1222).

⁴⁷Orlic, 46. Sardou's Piccolino also served as the basis of Johann Strauss's Der karneval in Rom (1873). Loewenberg, 1028.

⁴⁸Camille du Locle (1832-1903) was a collaborator with Antonio Ghislanzoni (1824-1893) and Giuseppe Verdi (1813-1901) on the latter's Aida. The December 1871 premiere of this work in Cairo was delayed while waiting for the scenery and costumes to arrive from Paris which was under seige by the Prussians and cut off from the rest of the world for some time. Du Locle and François-Joseph Méry (1798-1865) had provided the libretto for Verdi's Don Carlos which premiered in Paris on 11 March 1867. Porter, (New Grove, s.v. "Verdi, Giuseppe"), 19:654-655.

⁴⁹Orlic, 46.

For Guiraud, much was riding on the success of Piccolino. He was already recognized by the press and his fellow musicians as one of the most promising composers of the new Ecole française, and expectations that Piccolino would establish new standards were high. Journalists were unanimous in anticipating that Piccolino would firmly place Guiraud's name among those of the most important dramatic composers of the time.⁵⁰

Piccolino opened on 11 April 1876. M^{me} Galli-Marié, the original Carmen, performed brilliantly in the double role of Martha and Piccolino, a trouser role in which Martha disguises herself as a boy (Piccolino) in order to land a position as an assistant to her long lost love, the painter Frédéric. Paul Bernard, at the outset of his review of Piccolino in the 16 April 1876 Revue et gazette musicale, wonders who among the younger generation of composers will step forward to continue the tradition of yesteryear's lyric masters Meyerbeer, Rossini, Hérold, Halévy, and Auber. Piccolino, Bernard observes, was the most important test yet of Guiraud's talents. Guiraud, a composer who had already established his credentials as a master in the art of musical composition, was better endowed than other composers in his melodic gifts, his ability to immerse himself in the "sentiment scénique," and his ease with formal clarity. Guiraud, he continues, did not rely exclusively on his obvious knowledge of instrumentation as did so many of his contemporaries. There is no question that "the theater, which demands above all else lucidity and an intimate knowledge of human feelings, has become the natural direction of this charming and discerning composer." Whatever the ultimate success of Piccolino, "it is clear that the theater can already count on M. Guiraud as one of its best composers."⁵¹

⁵⁰Orlic, 46.

⁵¹Revue et gazette musicale (16 April 1876), 121.

But Bernard questions Piccolino's success as opéra-comique. Though allowing the libretto "is spirited, amusing in its details, witty, and at times ingenious," he wonders whether its overall character exhibits the simplicity of style, cohesiveness, and unity so fundamental to every good opéra-comique. Bernard notes that the three acts of Piccolino lack interconnection, and that several interesting characters from the first act never reappear. The "dramatic thread" winds its way through an unusual series of situations and events including the menage of the artist's studio, carnival celebrations, American tourists, and a babbling Italian inn-keeper.⁵²

As for the music itself, Bernard describes the score as "strongly meritorious" and says that Guiraud demonstrates a "trained hand" and "melodic temperament" from the first notes of the overture. The overture contains a fughetta in the style of a tarentella which Bernard finds of particular interest. Except for a short phrase which "creeps slyly" into the overture's final allegro sounding like something that "escaped from the Bouffes-Parisiens," the overture provides "an elegant and enjoyable portico to pass through." Bernard compares the overture to swimming in a "wide-open stream, pure and healthy" where one need not fear bumping into any unexpected boulders nor becoming entangled in any hidden weeds. "Nevertheless," Bernard continues, "and this is my only reproach, there is

⁵²Revue et gazette musicale (16 April 1876), 121. Bernard refers to "English tourists" while the libretto calls for American tourists (piano vocal score, 83-84). The stage directions printed in Maurice Grau's French Opera Company libretto of Piccolino (25-27) read, "An American family . . . comes down the road, their guide books under their arms and their parasols over their heads. . . . The beggars, mumbling and begging, stretch out their hands to the Americans. . . . The tourists come in silently while the chorus is singing. The guide drives back the beggars, while the travellers at the front of the stage face the public and turn their backs to all that the guide is describing to them and only lift their eyes from their guide books to turn the leaves of same." The only lines the Americans interject during the guide's descriptions are an occasional "Ah! oh, yes. Beautiful!" The stage directions continue, "The guide continues on his way, all the tourists follow . . . without having looked at anything."

perhaps something missing, something rousing and invigorating. The general shading is satisfying; yet one would like to encounter more often that impulse that jumps across the footlights and strikes the listener squarely in the breast and lifts him, dazzled to the height of enthusiasm. This work is pleasing, but leaves one a bit cold."⁵³

Other critics agreed with Bernard. L'art musical of Piccolino: "a work of real value." H. Marcello, La chronique musicale, of Piccolino's "Sorrente, Sorrente": "a real find, a pure ray of poetry and feeling. One is always certain to thrill the public by recreating, through the artifices of the art, the singular rhythm and the exotic coloring of popular Italian songs"; and of Guiraud's style: "a well developed dramatic instinct, an exacting sense of proportion and a considerable skill at his craft, that suggests a future master of the stage." Ernest Reyer, Journal des débats, of Guiraud: "He is an excellent harmonist and handles the orchestra with great skill."⁵⁴

Piccolino was presented a total of 49 times in 1876. When it was revived at the Opéra-Comique on 30 September, the enthusiasm with which it was received equalled that of its April premiere. Near the end of October, Guiraud traveled to Brussels where he had been invited to oversee rehearsals of Piccolino at the Monnaie. The opera was presented there on 12 November 1876, at the Hague in December 1876, in Marseilles on 4 March 1877, and in Geneva on 24 April 1883. Piccolino was translated into Hungarian (premiere, Budapest 1878), English (Dublin, 4 January 1879; London, 29 January, 1, 7, and 12 February 1879; Edinburgh, 3 September

⁵³Revue et gazette musicale (16 April 1876), 122.

⁵⁴All citations in this paragraph are quoted in Favre, 32-34; L'art musical (20 April 1876), 122; La chronique musicale (1 May 1876); Journal des débats (16 April 1876).

1879), and Swedish (Stockholm, 1882).⁵⁵ A production of Piccolino by Grau's traveling French Troupe came to the Americas. These performances, in French, were staged in Buenos Aires (20 November 1881), New Orleans (23 December 1881), and Mexico City (28 January 1882). The part of Martha-Piccolino was played by Paolo-Marié, Galli-Marié's sister. The "Amusement" column of the 24 December 1881 Daily Picayune gives this assessment of the New Orleans performance:

The Grau French Opera Company gave for the first time in New Orleans, at the Grand Opera House last night, the comic opera of Piccolino. The music of this opera, which includes several pretty airs, is by Mr. E. Guiraud, a native of this city. The book is by Sardou and Mittier [sic], and as a comedy is quite funny. The satire on a party of American tourists who are seeing the sights by looking at guide books . . . is enjoyable. The opera had a long run in Paris, but is of a nature not likely to become popular on this side. Les noces d'Olivette will be sung at the matinee today. This evening the troupe will give its farewell performance, when Paul et Virginie will be produced with Paola Marié as Meala.⁵⁶

An amusing comment found in the "Musical Medley" column of the 24 December 1881 Weekly Picayune, reads, "Grau's ear-rending orchestra must be the cause of our trouble with South America."⁵⁷

In August 1876, Guiraud traveled to Bayreuth to attend the inauguration of the Festspielhaus where Wagner conducted the first complete performance of Der Ring des Nibelungen. Guiraud's countrymen in

⁵⁵Number of performances found in Preston's citation (16) of Noël & Stoullig's "Annales du Théâtre et de la Musique" of 1876; Orlic, 47; Loewenberg, 1052-1053; The date of the Brussels performance is given as 4 November in Loewenberg; for further information about the English performances see the review in the 30 January 1879 Times (8) and a letter from the opera's translator appearing in the 3 February 1879 Times (8).

⁵⁶Loewenberg, 1052; Daily Picayune (24 December 1881), 2. Paul et Virgine (1876) was composed by Victor Massé. How coincidental that Guiraud's second opera to be staged in his native city would also share the bill with a work by Massé, the man he would one day succeed as professor of composition at the Paris Conservatoire. Guiraud's David was presented along with Massé's Galathée on 14 April 1853 at the Théâtre d'Orléans.

⁵⁷Weekly Picayune quote cited in Preston's notes, 22.

attendance at this performance included Vincent d'Indy, Camille Saint-Saëns, Charles-Marie Widor, Augusta Holmès, and Camille Benoit. Guiraud shared his impressions of the event in a letter to the publisher Heugel:

Mon cher Monsieur Heugel,

Widor has asked me to give you some information on the last two works of Wagner's tetralogy. Siegfried was less appreciated than the two operas which preceded it. The first act is long, and in my opinion contains only one outstanding moment, namely Siegfried's aria as he forges his sword. The second act is even less interesting. The third ends with a superb love duet, albeit too long. As for Götterdämmerung, the first two acts are dreadfully boring. There are some beautiful things in the third act: the death of Siegfried and the funeral march that follows. The act begins with a pretty trio of nymphs on the Rhine. Without this third act, Götterdämmerung would have been a disaster. M^{me} Materna (Brunehilde) is superb. Mr. Schlosser, in an episodic role, showed much talent. The tenor who played the role of Siegfried in the two operas is wretched. Wagner appeared after Götterdämmerung and, addressing the public, said, "We have shown you what we can do, and if you support us, we will finally have an art!"

I would be very obliged to you for not printing these accounts which I have given you, and I beg you, dear Monsieur Heugel, to accept my sincere best wishes.

E. Guiraud⁵⁸

Guiraud returned to Bayreuth in July 1882 for the premiere of Parsifal. He wrote from Bayreuth a letter (addressee unknown, dated 31 July 1882) filled with personal observations, many of a much less formal nature than found in his 1876 letter to Heugel.

Chère Madame,

In the midst of fanatics, dilettantes and minor talents ("musicastres et musicules") from all countries who are here, surrounded by all these people wearing felt hats, big round glasses, and dirty fingernails, I feel the need to take refuge by chatting with you as reasonably as I can having escaped from these hallucinating masses. So I heard Parsifal yesterday. Before sharing my impressions with you, I must put them together, thus profiting from this free moment in which I no longer have the wagnériens at my heels. If you only knew how terrible these people are! Here, one would be taken away if one were imprudent enough to voice the least criticism. Enthusiasm itself is forbidden;

⁵⁸Bibliothèque Nationale, Lettre no. 5.

or at least one is not permitted to show anything less during the performance: ecstasy alone is tolerated. I must confess to you who are not a wagnérienne, that I was somewhat ecstatic over the beautiful passages of the first order in this work which reveal the great musician. In the first act, a mystic scene of the Knights of the Grail; in the second, a scene of women, adorably pretty, engrossingly charming. After this absolutely remarkable scene, there is a "grand duo d'amour" which seemed long and rambling to me, but which entranced the people with the big round glasses and dirty fingernails. I have too little confidence in the feelings these people are capable of . . . to make too big a deal of their opinion, which, unless proven otherwise, I believe to be perfectly incompetent. The third act, without containing features as striking as in the first two acts, seems to me however more sustained and complete on the whole.

I was in the middle of my letter when someone came and disturbed me. I wasn't able to take it up again, and the second performance is about to begin. These days, my dear Madame, I have only the time to send my best wishes to all of you.

Ernest Guiraud⁵⁹

On 11 November 1876, Guiraud was honored with the distinction of being named Professor of Harmony and Accompaniment for the female students at the Paris Conservatoire, replacing the late Edouard Baptiste in that post. This appointment would mark a turning point in Guiraud's life: his focus would now shift from the composition of his own works to the instruction of others, including Claude Debussy and Paul Dukas.⁶⁰

⁵⁹Bibliothèque Nationale, Lettre no.12.

⁶⁰Orlic, 47.

CHAPTER 6

PROFESSOR OF HARMONY

On 9 November 1876 Antoine-Edouard Batiste, professor of harmony and accompaniment for women at the Paris Conservatoire, died. Two days later, Guiraud was appointed to succeed him in that position. The classes that he inherited were certainly not among the best trained at the Conservatoire. The "Recompenses des élèves de Ernest Guiraud au Conservatoire" lists no prize winners for 1876 but states, "The classes of harmony and accompaniment that he had taken over were so weak that no prize was given that year"; for 1877 we find simply "Idem 1876."¹

Guiraud's appointment to the faculty of the Paris Conservatoire serves as further confirmation of the growing esteem with which he was held by the Parisian musical establishment as well as the musical public. His popularity had been earned and established by a string of successes, most notably his Suite d'orchestre and most recently Piccolino. Such prominence in the musical community began to make larger demands on Guiraud's time, demands which increasingly placed his name before the public but which diminished the time available to him for composition.

¹Information regarding the date of Guiraud's appointment is from the "Etat Mensuel des Traitements" (Archives Nationales, 37aj/47. 37aj/48.). This document also informs us of the amount of Guiraud's salary from the Conservatoire. He received 100 francs a month for the first two months of his employment (December 1876-January 1877), and 125 francs monthly (1500 francs annually) from February 1877 to October 1878.

No doubt Bizet's death the preceding year weighed heavily on Guiraud, forcing him to undergo a difficult period of adjustment that affected both his personal and professional life. Guiraud, whose lethargic nature was widely acknowledged, must sorely have missed the encouragement he had come to rely upon from his constant companion of more than fifteen years. Immediately after Bizet's death in June 1875, Guiraud was able to immerse himself in the preparation of the recitatives for the Viennese production of Carmen, a labor of love and devotion. The following spring the Opéra-Comique produced Piccolino, his most successful opera and the last work that he had been able to play for and discuss with Bizet. It would be nearly six years before Guiraud would see his next complete opera presented to the Parisian public.²

Besides his teaching responsibilities, Guiraud received a growing number of requests to assist in the adjudication of numerous competitions, to serve on various committees, and to make personal appearances as the conductor of his own works. Guiraud's name appeared on the juries of the Conservatoire's Concours d'harmonie (1873) and its Concours d'harmonie et accompagnement (1874), the competition at the Gaîté (1875), the Académie's Prix de Rome competition (1876, 1877), the second Concours Cressent (1876), and the Conservatoire's piano competition (1877).³

²For further insight into the friendship between Guiraud and Bizet see the exchange of letters between Charles Pigot and Guiraud in the preface (v-ix) to Pigot's Georges Bizet et son oeuvre (1886), letters in which Pigot offers the dedication of the book to Guiraud.

³Guiraud's fellow jurists were a distinguished lot indeed. From the 13 July 1873 Revue et gazette musicale (222) we learn that Ambroise Thomas, Barbereau, Delibes, and Duvernoy served with Guiraud on the panel for the Conservatoire's Concours d'harmonie; the 4 August 1874 Le ménestrel announced A. Thomas, Benoist, Bazille, C. Colin, Deldevez, T. Dubois, and H. Potier as Guiraud's fellow jurors; the 27 June 1875 Revue et gazette musicale (206) lists Thomas, de Vaucorbeil, Massé, Reyer, Delibes, Gautier, Joncières, Guiraud, and Semet as jurists for the opéra-comique competition of the Théâtre de la Gaîté; we learn from the 12 March 1876 Revue et gazette musicale (86)

The revival of interest in instrumental music by living French composers that began after the Franco-Prussian War continued unabated. Even the conservative Société des Concerts du Conservatoire began to present works by contemporary Frenchmen; programs during 1876 included Reyer's Sigurd, and Saint-Saëns's Le rouet d'Omphale. But it was the newer organizations led by Padeloup, Colonne, and others that really made room on their programs for the French musicians.⁴

The prominent role given music at the 1878 Exposition Universelle further nurtured this flowering of musical activity by native French composers. The Commissioner General of the Exposition, J. B. Krantz, proposed that musical functions be allocated a sum of 250,000 francs during the Exposition and that a committee be formed to plan them. As a member of that committee, Guiraud helped select new works for organ and for chamber groups.⁵ The city of Paris established the Concours Municipale de

that besides Guiraud, the Académie des Beaux-Arts elected Massenet, Delibes, and Gautier as adjunct members of the Prix de Rome jury; the 9 July 1876 Revue et gazette musicale (222) informs us that the jury for the second Cressent competition consisted of Dubois, Massenet, Guiraud, Lenepveu, Gautier, Delibes, de Leuven, Cormon, and de Lapommeraye; the jury for the preliminary round of the 1877 Prix de Rome competition (Thomas, Bazin, Reber, Gounod, Reyer, Semet, Guiraud, and Dubois) is announced in 20 May 1877 Revue et gazette musicale (158); the first page of the 29 July 1877 Revue et gazette musicale lists Thomas, Delieux, Dubois, Duvernoy, Fissot, Guiraud, Jaëll, Lacombe, and Pfeiffer as jurists of the Conservatoire's piano competition. (Marmontel's student, Claude Debussy, tied for second prize.)

⁴Orlic, 48-49.

⁵Revue et gazette musicale of 19 August 1877 (259-261) and of 11 November 1877 (358); Orlic, 49. No doubt the French Exposition Universelle of 1867 was inspired by London's 1851 Crystal Palace Exhibition, the world's first effort on such a large scale. The French began to mount these universal exhibits every 11 years. The Exposition Universelle of 1878 (set to open May 1 at the Champ de Mars) was, in part, a means for France to prove to the rest of the world that it had indeed survived and managed to put behind the national tragedies of the defeat by the Prussians and the Commune. The next Exposition Universelle in 1889 coincided with the centenary of the French Revolution. See Brody, Chapter 4.

l'Exposition, offering a prize of 10,000 francs to the best symphonic choral work by a French composer. In addition, the first prize included the performance of the winning composition on the Exposition's inaugural program at the newly constructed Trocadero concert hall. The jury for this competition included among its twenty members Guiraud, Gounod, Massenet, Colonne, Delibes, Franck, and Saint-Saëns.⁶ The Opéra held several "soirées de gala," designed to honor important personages in Paris at the time. The Opéra-Comique enjoyed its greatest successes during this period with productions of Meyerbeer's L'étoile du nord and Reyer's La statue. From 15 to 20 May, some of the world's most famous conductors took turns conducting an eighty-piece orchestra in the garden of the Tuileries. In addition, important French and foreign conductors participated in programs at the Trocadero. This outpouring of musical activity during the 1878 Exposition Universelle had lasting effects on the musical life of Paris and France. Symphonic music reached a larger public and resulted in a sustained interest in hearing instrumental music which, in turn, provided continuing opportunities for French musicians to have their work heard.⁷

During the summer of the Exposition Universelle, Guiraud was himself the recipient of a distinguished award. The following notice appears in the 23 June 1878 edition of Revue et gazette musicale:

⁶Revue et gazette musicale (17 February 1878), 52; Orlic, 49-50. After five ballots none of the twenty-five compositions being considered received the simple majority needed to win first prize. On the next ballot a tie was declared between Théodore Dubois's Paradis perdu and Benjamin Godard's Tasse. Three important features of the Parisian landscape were inaugurated as part of the 1878 Exposition: the Champ de Mars, l'Avenue de l'Opéra, and the Trocadero. The 4500-seat concert hall of the Trocadero, inspired by London's Albert Hall, opened on June 3 to favorable press reaction. The Viennese critic Hanslick attended the Exposition as did Franz Liszt who was named honorary president of the jury for music.

⁷Orlic, 51.

The prize of 3000 francs founded by M. Monbinne for the author of the best "oeuvre lyrique" presented during the past two years was awarded for the first time by the Académie des Beaux-Arts. The winner is M. Ernest Guiraud, author of Piccolino. MM. Guiraud and Saint-Saëns were nominated for the prize; the outcome of the vote was as follows: 18 for M. Guiraud, 10 for M. Saint-Saëns.⁸

According to the minutes of the Académie des Beaux-Arts, which administered the award, the work that Piccolino bested was Saint-Saëns's Timbre d'argent.⁹

On 6 August 1878, several weeks after the Prix Monbinne, Guiraud received yet another honor during the distribution of prizes at the Paris Conservatoire. Toward the end of his address before the assemblage that included the entire faculty and student body of the Conservatoire plus several governmental ministers and other dignitaries, M. Bardoux, Ministre de l'Instruction Publique des Cultes et des Beaux-Arts announced,

I would like to have been able to affirm the homage public opinion pays to the professors of this great school by decorating several of them. If it hasn't been possible yet for me to realize that ambition, at least I bring (in the meantime) to a former student of the Conservatoire, to a winner of the Grand Prix de Rome, to a young master of the modern school, and one who is among your ranks as well, a token of the interest that the Government of the Republic

⁸Revue et gazette musicale (23 June 1878), 199.

⁹The "Extraits des comptes-rendu de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts" reports that on 19 July 1876, Eugène Lecomte and Léon Delaville-Le-Roulx pledged the sum of 1500 francs annually to establish a prize in the name of M. Théodore-Nicolas-Marie Monbinne, who had died on 21 March 1875. This prize was to be given every other year to the composer of the opéra-comique judged the best to have premiered during the preceding two years. In the absence of an "opéra-comique remarquable," the prize could then be awarded to the composer of an instrumental work (with or without voice), with preference given to a religious work. There was no age limit. The only criterion for consideration was that the contestant be French. In the event that the members of the Académie found that the libretto itself had contributed significantly to the success of the work, then at least one-third of the prize money should be awarded to its author (or, for a text other than that of an opéra-comique, at least one-fourth of the money). These minutes appear at the end of the 1878 annual report of the Académie des Beaux-Arts. Favre states incorrectly that the Prix Monbinne was given for the best symphonic work. The monetary significance of the award can be better appreciated when one realizes that 3000 francs was a sum twice Guiraud's annual salary from the Conservatoire at the time of the award.

bears for the musical art, when it is respected and placed high. We have named Chevalier of the Legion of Honor the author of Piccolino, M. Guiraud. And it has been our intention to honor the Conservatoire by proclaiming his name in this very hall.¹⁰

Guiraud's teaching responsibilities, his commitment to serving on various boards and juries, and the opportunities which he took to conduct his own compositions seem to have robbed him of the time he might otherwise have spent composing. At any rate, the frequency of his output began to decline in 1876, the date of his appointment to the faculty of the Conservatoire. The remainder of this chapter deals with the few works composed between 1876 and 1882.

In 1877, Choudens published the mélodie, "Rose." The song, dedicated to Monsieur Simon-Max, is a musical setting of a poem by Paul de Choudens, the publisher's son. On a program on 6 January 1878 by the Concert Cressonnois at Porte Saint Martin we find Guiraud's orchestration of Schumann's "C'est l'heure du mystère."¹¹

On 17 May 1878 the members of Cercle Artistique, a club to which Guiraud belonged, presented an opéra-comique in 2 acts, Nina Zombi, a collaborative effort of the organization's members. Based on the libretto by the Cercle's president, Paul Tillier, the musical setting was the result of contributions made by Guiraud, Ch. de Bériot, Coedès, d'Estribaud, A. Duvernoy, Ducoing, Ferrand, V. Joncières, Mansour, and Saint-Saëns.

¹⁰Revue et gazette musicale (11 August 1878), 249-250.

¹¹Orlic, 53; "C'est l'heure du mystère" is the French translation of the first words of Schumann's "Mondnacht," the fifth song of his Liederkreis, op. 39.

Guiraud's contribution was a mélodie that appeared in the second act, "J'ai su lire dans votre âme"; it was published in Le journal de musique.¹²

After Piccolino, Guiraud's next serious effort at writing for the stage was the opera Le feu, based on a text by Edmond Gondinet. It was neither published nor presented in its entirety, and only performances of selections from the work have been documented. In all probability, Le feu was never completed; of this score only the ballet music, "Danse persane," remains.¹³

On 11 February 1879, Guiraud conducted fragments of Le feu on a program that was part of a highly successful series of "concert-promenades" at the Hippodrome, a series organized by the conductor Vizentini. In addition to the selections from Guiraud's Le feu, the program included Bizet's overture Patrie, Fauré's chorus "Djinns," and Saint-Saëns's performance of his Le deluge and Danse macabre. Vizentini conducted the Bizet overture as well as several selections by Wagner. About Le feu, the reviewer for the Revue et gazette musicale wrote,

There were some nice touches in the selections from Feu, M. Guiraud's unpublished opera (no doubt one will find a more suitable title for this work: Les Parsis, for example); a song of war sung by Mlle Stucklé, a pretty intermezzo, and a grand scene of invocation give a good idea of the score. M. Guiraud was acclaimed and called back after the performance of these pieces.¹⁴

¹²Orlic, 53; Le journal de musique, 1878 (No. 104).

¹³Favre, 43. This is the only source to mention a librettist. Favre implies that it was the death of Gondinet in 1888 that prevented the opera from being completed. According to Loewenberg, Gondinet wrote the libretti for Delibes's Le roi l'a dit (1873), Jean de Nivelle (1880 in conjunction with P. Gille), and Lakmé (1883, also in conjunction with Gille). Durand published "Danse persane" in 1880.

¹⁴Revue et gazette musicale (16 February 1879), 53-54.

Fragments of Le feu appeared again on programs of the Concerts du Châtelet (9 March 1879), the Cercle de la rue Saint-Arnaud (23 December 1879), and the Concerts Populaires de Lille (11 January 1880). A review in the 25 January 1880 Revue et gazette musicale reports that some of the same extracts presented at the Hippodrome were heard again under Padeloup's direction—an orchestral introduction, a recitative and aria, and a chorus during which the sultan Valmika exhorts his soldiers before taking up arms against the Parsis. While the critic appreciated the energy of the orchestration and the chorale, he found the aria "not lacking a certain vulgarity."¹⁵

Guiraud never finished this opera. The Le ménestrel of 24 December 1882 mentions a list of works by various composers, including Le feu, that exist in a more or less finished state. The 10 May 1885 issue of this same journal reports the presentation of selections from Le feu at the Concert de l'Union Artistique on 5 May 1885: "Parts of Feu, Guiraud's opera long overdue for publication, have impressed us by the magisterial spaciousness ("l'ampleur magistrale") of the arias and the beautiful sonorities of the choruses."¹⁶

At the last of the Concerts Populaires on 11 April 1880, Padeloup invited seven composers to conduct their own works. The Revue et gazette musicale (18 April 1880) found Guiraud's "Danse persane" the most interesting work on the concert, which included Vincent d'Indy's "Mort de Wallenstein," Gounod's Larghetto from his Symphony in E-flat and the "Marche funèbre d'une marionnette," and selections from Delibes's Sylvia:

¹⁵Revue et gazette musicale (16 February 1879), 53-54.

¹⁶Orlic, 54; Le ménestrel article quoted by Orlic.

Special mention needs to be made of Guiraud's "Danse persane" which is, without contradiction, the most remarkable work heard on this concert, and which the composer directed very well; a little less long, it certainly would have been repeated.¹⁷

This same work was mentioned favorably in Le ménestrel of 9 June 1880, which attributed to the piece "an exotic character" and found it "at times delicate, at times brilliant." The "Danse persane" began, in fact, to rival "Carnaval" as Guiraud's most popular instrumental work. It appeared again on programs conducted by Colonne at the Châtelet (7 November), by Padeloup (1881, 1883), and at the Salle des Fêtes du Trocadéro under the auspices of the Association Artistique (6 June 1889). Like "Carnaval," it was transcribed for several instrumental combinations including military band and piano duet.¹⁸

Guiraud's name today is best recognized for his contributions to well-known operas after their composers' deaths--first Bizet's Carmen, and then Offenbach's Les contes d'Hoffmann. Whereas Guiraud's work with Carmen consisted primarily of setting spoken dialogue to music, his connection with Hoffmann was the completion of the score as well as its orchestration.

¹⁷Orlic, 52; Revue et gazette musicale (18 April 1880), 125.

¹⁸Orlic, 53; 9 June 1880 Le ménestrel article quoted by Orlic. There is some confusion as to exactly when "Danse persane" premiered. As Orlic sees it, the performance of "Danse persane" on 2 May 1880 at the Concert Besselièvre was advertised as a premiere of the work, but the piece had been programmed several weeks earlier, on 11 April, on Padeloup's last Concerts Populaires of the season. Since the only work announced as a premiere at this April performance was "La pastorale" of Boisedeffre, an even earlier presentation of "Danse persane" is implied. In fact, there is some confusion whether "Danse persane" was not the same piece as the "Air de Ballet" that had been performed six years earlier, on 6 December 1874, on a program in the Concert du Châtelet series. The 6 December 1874 article in Le ménestrel is cited by Orlic, 53. Whatever the date of its debut, Favre (43) suggests that performances of "Danse persane" continued into the twentieth century. He writes, "Only some instrumental music, known under the title "Danse persane" and "Air de ballet" and often played on concerts since its publication by Durand in 1880, remains of this unfinished score."

Jacques Offenbach died on 5 October 1880, leaving several works unfinished including Les contes d'Hoffmann, an opéra-comique with which he hoped to establish his reputation as a composer capable of writing music more substantial than the operettas for which he was so well known. Two years earlier, while composition of the work was still in progress, the opera's cast had been decided upon and vocal scores distributed. When the Théâtre de la Gaité-Lyrique (the intended site of the work's premiere) declared bankruptcy in 1878, Offenbach was forced to find a new house for Hoffmann. Perhaps it was just this purpose that led him to invite the rival producers Jauner (of Vienna's Ringtheater) and Carvalho (of the Opéra-Comique) to a private concert on 18 May 1879 at which he presented excerpts from the opera and discussed the formal structure of the work. Soloists and chorus were accompanied by piano and harmonium and were conducted by "the bankrupt theater director" Vinzentini.¹⁹ Both Jauner and Carvalho offered to produce the work, but Offenbach (who had long been anxious to achieve a solid success at the Opéra-Comique) quickly accepted Carvalho's bid.²⁰

Carvalho's acceptance of the work for production at the Opéra-Comique necessitated such accommodations as resetting the role of Hoffmann for a tenor rather than a baritone and the role of Niklaus for soprano rather than a mezzo, and replacing the recitatives with spoken dialogue. In addition, the roles of the four women (Olympia, Antonia, Giulietta, and Stella) originally written for a "soprano lirico spinto" needed to be tailored to the particular talents of the coloratura soprano engaged by the

¹⁹Oeser, x; Faris, 190.

²⁰Faris, 190.

Opéra-Comique, Adèle Issac, who had come to Offenbach's attention through her recent success as Juliette in Gounod's Roméo et Juliette.²¹

Offenbach, extremely ill and crippled with gout, wrote to his daughter in August 1880 of his heavy work schedule for the coming weeks. He had to compose the third act of La belle lurette as well as tend to the orchestration for the entire operetta; in addition he was faced with the need to compose the finale of Hoffmann's fourth act, the entire fifth act, and the orchestration of the entire work. By the time of his death on 5 October, Offenbach had managed to complete La belle lurette, but not the work on Hoffmann.²²

Two weeks later, misleading press reports suggested that the score was very close to completion and that little remained to be done in order to finish the work. The press had been led to believe, and thus reported, that the premiere of Hoffmann was delayed by difficulties in the workshop rather than the need to complete Offenbach's unfinished score.²³ An article in the 19 October 1880 Le ménestrel stated incorrectly, "Happily, the complete rehearsal score exists at the Opéra-Comique. A friendly hand will complete some of the unfinished orchestration."²⁴ André Martinet, Offenbach's first biographer, helped perpetuate the erroneous belief that the composer had completed the vocal score "to the last chord."²⁵

²¹Oeser, x-xi. Offenbach permitted Jules Barbier, who collaborated on the libretto with Michel Carré, to reset the recitatives as spoken dialogue. Oeser writes, "That way he (Offenbach) also saved himself the trouble of composing the recitatives which were as yet unfinished."

²²Ibid., xi.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Le ménestrel (19 October 1880) article quoted in Orlic, 55.

²⁵Oeser, xi.

In fact, when Offenbach died, substantial portions of the opera were left unfinished. Saint-Saëns touched on the extent of Guiraud's contribution when he wrote, "If Les contes d'Hoffmann manifests a trained hand, it is that of Guiraud who, charged with completing the unfinished score, was occupied in many places with remedying the author's mistakes."²⁶ In his critical edition of Hoffmann, Fritz Oeser states that Offenbach had yet to finish the finale of the fourth act and a duet between Hoffmann and Stella in the last act when he died.²⁷ In his recent biography of Offenbach, Alexander Faris informs us that Guiraud finished the last two acts of Hoffmann and orchestrated almost all of the work (Offenbach having only "made a start" on the orchestration). Faris also claims that, although Offenbach had abandoned his plans for composing recitatives when production was shifted to the Opéra-Comique, Guiraud completed and restored them at a later date.²⁸

Offenbach's family, influenced by the considered opinions of Carvalho and Auguste-Jacques Offenbach (recognized as an authority on his father's music), made the decision to ask Guiraud to complete the composition of the unfinished score. Guiraud was reluctant to accept the family's offer at first but, after Auguste's personal intervention, acquiesced on the condition that he be given only the score of Hoffmann--not any of Offenbach's other manuscripts pertinent to the opera. Guiraud wished to be spared the fate of Fromental Halévy and Adolphe Adam who, having had access to Louis-Joseph-Ferdinand Hérold's papers while orchestrating that late composer's

²⁶Saint-Saëns, 302 (quoted in Orlic, 55).

²⁷Oeser, xi.

²⁸Faris, 195, 203, 207.

Ludović, were rumored to have stolen ideas from the unpublished material of the deceased musician.²⁹

Guiraud, as he worked on bringing about a musical realization of what he perceived to be Offenbach's intentions, found himself in the position of having to accommodate Carvalho's structural concepts of Hoffmann as well. After the general rehearsal, Carvalho decided to delete the entire fourth act (the Venice act) against Barbier's vigorous objections, necessitating, among other changes, the transfer of the famous "Barcarolle" to the third act.³⁰ Despite the alterations and additions by various hands, Les contes d'Hoffmann nevertheless achieved a resounding success at the Opéra-Comique where, in 1881 alone, it was staged more than a hundred times.³¹

1882 saw the presentation of Guiraud's new opéra-comique in three acts, Galante aventure. The production of this work was, in a way, the result of a promise made to Guiraud by the Opéra-Comique in 1878, a promise that for various reasons was never kept—to restage Piccolino with the original cast of Galli-Marié, Petel, and Barnolt. In 1880, Guiraud had agreed to the delay of Piccolino's revival in order that Delibes's Jean de Nivelle might be presented. By the time the next opportunity for the revival of Piccolino presented itself, Guiraud was busy at work finishing the score of Les contes d'Hoffmann. The revival of Piccolino had been postponed so long that, by

²⁹Faris, 195.

³⁰Oeser, xii. The "Barcarolle" had appeared as "Song of the Goblins" in Offenbach's Rheinnixen (1864), an opera-ballet, where it also proved to be one of the work's most popular pieces.

³¹Loewenberg, 1088. For more detail on the evolution of Hoffmann see Fritz Oeser's critical edition of The Tales of Hoffmann and its companion study A Report; another valuable source of information is Alexander Faris's Jacques Offenbach (188-221).

1882, Guiraud must have been more interested in the staging of his newest dramatic work.³²

Adolphe Julien touches on the long delay of Galante aventure:

It has been almost two years, if not longer, that we have talked about Galante aventure and since the appearance of this opéra-comique was announced as being imminent. Has it been the crowded repertoire or the prolonged success of some of the new works that has prevented M. Carvalho from fulfilling his promise any sooner? . . . For having waited, the work has gained a better cast and a more appreciative public. . . . This is M. Guiraud's only compensation for the heroic sacrifice he made when asked, last year, to yield his turn to Offenbach's posthumous score, and then to orchestrate Les contes d'Hoffmann himself and help tailor it to their needs, thus delaying his own opera. How few musicians would have done the same!³³

Galante aventure (a high-spirited amorous intrigue) is set to a libretto by Louis Davyl and Armand Sylvestre. It was revised several times during rehearsals as, in its original form, it seemed too free and risqué for the stage of the Opéra-Comique. Julien scoffs at the librettists for not taking another look at the libretto during the series of delays in order, at least, to find a title that would be less shocking and more appropriate to a presentation of the Opéra-Comique. Jules Danbé conducted Galante aventure when it opened on 23 March 1882. In spite of the production's fine cast and the quality of its overall design, the opera received only fifteen performances.³⁴

³²Orlic, 56.

³³Julien, 303-304.

³⁴Orlic, 56; Julien, 304; information on Danbé from the piano/vocal score. This same score lists the cast as Talazac (Bois-Baudry), M^{me} Bilbaut-Vauchelet (Armande de Narsay), M^{me} Chevalier (Gilberte), and M^{me} Dupuis (Isabeau).

The premiere of Galante aventure had been eagerly anticipated by the public.³⁵ H. Moreno, critic for Le ménestrel, writes that these high expectations were well justified as the score was "greeted with unanimous bravos" for the composer and the interpreters. Moreno finds Galante aventure an "elegant score" that, with few exceptions, avoids the need to sound "modern."³⁶ Claiming that Guiraud intended to write an "opéra-comique" rather than a "drame lyrique," Moreno compliments the style of Galante aventure for its resemblance to that of Auber in Diamants de la couronne (1840) and Domino noir (1837), works composed more than forty years earlier.³⁷

Adolphe Julien agrees with such a comparison, but interprets the similarity differently. After describing Guiraud as "an artist as distinguished as he is modest" and giving him credit for having an admirable grasp of his craft and a solidly founded knowledge in all the resources of his art, Julien opines that Guiraud lacks originality in his melodic invention and accuses him of stealing ideas from "all over the place":

He vacillates from right to left, sometimes writing a graceful piece in the style of an Auber opéra-comique, sometimes a grand finale in the Italian style, at other times romances and love duets based on

³⁵H. Moreno's review (Le ménestrel of 26 March 1882, 131) begins, "Galante aventure had been the topic of conversation for some days, and the latest reports making their way from backstage to the street spoke most favorably of both the libretto and the score."

³⁶Although Moreno takes satisfaction in Guiraud's avoidance of modernisms, he cautions his readers not to interpret this observation as meaning that Guiraud is not a modern musician. As evidence that Guiraud is a composer of the new school, he cites the score's colorful harmonies and orchestral sonorities, although he finds them overblown at times. Moreno's main exceptions to the score's successful avoidance of the need to sound modern are the finale of the second act and the duet of the third between M^{me} Narsay and Bois-Baudry.

³⁷Le ménestrel (26 March 1882), 131-132.

a Gounodesque formula, or certain couplets that are not unlike Lecocq.³⁸

Both Julien and Moreno praise the first act's introduction and chorus, the women's trio "Je pars, adieu," Isabeau's couplets "Ah! mon mari," and the poet Vigile's serenade "Toi la plus chère." From the second act, Julien cites the songs and dances of the soldiers' camp and Vigile's aria "Mentir! c'est le seul bien" in honor of deceit; Moreno states that the finale of this act was greeted with such acclamation that it had to be repeated. Both reviewers commend the third act's entr'acte (Moreno wished that it too had been repeated); Moreno also cites Bois-Baudry's "jolie et mélodieuse" cavatina and the "grand duo passionné" between M^{me} Narsay and Bois-Baudry.³⁹

Moreno must have enjoyed the opera enough to hear it again within a week of the opening performance. He reports in the next issue of the Le ménestrel:

At the Opéra-Comique, the score of Galante aventure improves with each new hearing. The first receipts would indicate a series of lucrative evenings. The interpreters of M. Ernest Guiraud are now in full possession of their roles, and all indications are that the author of Piccolino is on his way to a new success at the Salle Favart. His friends, and he has many of them, are celebrating with him.⁴⁰

It is ironic that Guiraud's last opera, a work that enjoyed both critical and popular success, held the stage for only fifteen performances.

³⁸Julien, 307-308.

³⁹Ibid., 308-309; Le ménestrel (26 March 1882), 131-132.

⁴⁰Le ménestrel (2 April 1882), 139.

CHAPTER 7

PROFESSOR OF COMPOSITION

The ten-year period following the production of Galante aventure was a time during which Guiraud's output as a composer slackened even further. Whereas Guiraud could, between 1872 and 1882, take pride in the composition of three operas (Madame Turlupin [1872], Piccolino [1876], and Galante aventure [1882]) and his contributions to the completion of two of France's most enduringly popular works (Carmen [1875] and Contes d'Hoffmann [1881]), he would not finish another opera by the time of his death in 1892. In fairness to Guiraud, he did not abandon his efforts in writing for the stage, for his name appears in association with no fewer than four librettos during this time. He seemed always to be at work on one opera or another but could never quite see any of them through to production and publication. He did publish several instrumental works, the most important of which was a second orchestral suite; but in stark contrast to the enthusiastic reception that greeted his 1872 suite and catapulted his name into the galaxy of France's most revered composers, this second suite received scant press notice.

Again, it seems to have been Guiraud's professorial activities that contributed significantly to the further slowing of his compositional pace. Indeed, with his appointment to the position of professor of composition

in 1880, Guiraud's academic responsibilities and thus the demands on his time increased considerably.¹

During the last weeks of 1883, an event took place that would dramatically affect Guiraud's personal life: the birth, on 12 December, of his daughter Adèle, named after his mother who had died when he was twelve. There is no indication that Guiraud ever married, nor has anything been discovered about the identity of the child's mother. Adèle was raised as a boarder in Auteuil on rue Fontaine in the 16th arrondissement of Paris, where Guiraud visited her every Sunday. Guiraud and Adèle spent their vacations together at the home of a M^{me} Ulmann, Adèle's godmother and the widow of the painter Benjamin Ulmann (1829-1884)--a friend of Guiraud's since their time together at the Villa Medici (Ulmann won the Prix de Rome in painting in 1859, the same year that Guiraud received his).²

¹In the search for other possible explanations for Guiraud's failure to complete any operatic works after Galante aventure, another factor worth considering is the evolution during this period of the genre with which Guiraud felt most comfortable, the opéra-comique. The enormous influence of Wagner during the latter half of the nineteenth century was difficult if not impossible to escape, even by his would-be detractors. The movement away from the lighter librettos and "numbers" of the opéra-comique toward works presenting more serious plots and a less segmented unfolding of the music might have proved difficult adjustments for Guiraud to make. The seriousness of Carmen's plot was, in part, responsible for the eight-year delay in its acceptance by Parisian audiences (when it was revived there in April 1883). Of the influence of Wagner, Grout (497) writes that Wagner reached his peak of popularity in Paris during the 1880s: "It is sometimes difficult to decide what is to be called imitation of Wagner and what was simply acceptance of new ideas, such as the abolition of formal separate arias and recitatives." Grout cites Chabrier, Chausson, and D'Indy as the three French composers most strongly influenced by Wagner from both a literary and musical standpoint. See Brody, 22.

²Orlic, 1h (handwritten pages from Orlic's unfinished monograph are indicated by the suffix "h"). Orlic is the only source that mentions the birth of Adèle. It is assumed that information concerning this personal side of Guiraud's life was gleaned by Orlic from conversations he had with Henri Busser, a student of Guiraud's, and from Adèle herself. When Orlic's monograph was in progress, around 1950, Busser was a professor at the Paris Conservatoire and also a member of the

As Guiraud's fame grew, so did the number of invitations he received to serve on the boards of various organizations. In 1879 he was named to a commission that oversaw the instruction of vocal music in the primary schools of Paris; on 21 February 1880 he became vice-president of the Comité de la Société des Compositeurs dramatiques;³ in January 1881 he served as a member of the Comité Artistique of the Folies Bergères; in February 1881 he was elected vice-president of the Société des Compositeurs;⁴ on 23 April he was appointed commissaire of the Société des Auteurs et Compositeurs dramatiques;⁵ in 1881 he served on a board that was established to examine the possibilities of starting a new Opéra Populaire;⁶ in February 1883 he was named a juré supplémentaire for the Prix de Rome competition; the following month he was elected to the vice-presidency of the Société des Compositeurs de musique;⁷ in 1884 he was appointed to a commission to oversee the quality of musical instruction at various provincial conservatoires;⁸ Guiraud served as vice-

Institut. Adèle Guiraud-Damart was living in Paris at this time. She had three daughters of her own and several grandchildren (Orlic, 1h, n.1).

³Orlic, 51. Léo Delibes presided over this committee as president.

⁴Ibid., 55-56. Guiraud joined Gounod, Massenet, Delibes, Saint-Saëns, and Joncières on the Folies Bergères committee; Le ménestrel of 27 February 1881 announced the following officers of the Société des Compositeurs: Joncières, president; Guiraud, Membrée, Delibes, and Guilmant as co-vice-presidents.

⁵Ibid. Le ménestrel of 24 April 1881 listed four new literary "commissaires" and Guiraud as the only newly elected musician.

⁶Ibid. This commission consisted of the members of the Conseil Municipal of the city of Paris, Guiraud, Joncières, and Membrée.

⁷Ibid., 57. Paladilhe and Benjamin Godard were also named supplementary jurists for the Prix de Rome competition.

⁸Ibid., 4h. The minister of Beaux-Arts established a committee of six in charge of overseeing the musical instruction at the provincial conservatoires in Lyon, Toulouse, Avignon, le Havre, Nancy, Aix, Donai, Roubaix, St. Etienne, and

president of the Société des Compositeurs de Musique from 1885-1889;⁹ from 1887-1888 he was a member of the jury of a composition contest sponsored by the city council of Paris.¹⁰

His reputation firmly established, Guiraud began to avail himself of an increasing number of opportunities to perform his own compositions. He conducted the Entr'acte from Piccolino and the ever-popular "Carnaval" at Angers on 4 November 1877;¹¹ he was invited back the following November to conduct his Suite d'orchestre;¹² in Paris, on 7 June 1879, he conducted yet another performance of the ubiquitous "Carnaval" on a concert given at the Opéra as a benefit for the flood victims of Szegedin, Hungary.¹³

Valenciennes. The other members of the committee (under the authority of Ernest Reyer who had been appointed Inspecteur Général) were Dubois, Lenepveu, Joncières, H. Maréchal, and Canoby. Orlic quotes an article from Le ménestrel of 8 June 1884 that suggests Guiraud's lethargy must certainly have been the stuff of legend. The quote, speaking of the newly appointed inspectors, reads: "One is a little astonished to see Guiraud, whose indolence is proverbial, take part in such a manner as well as pursuing his official duties. How will he be able to tear himself away from a passionate discussion about the theater . . . to attend a meeting of the committee?"

⁹Orlic, 9h. Victorien Joncières served as president of the Société des Compositeurs de Musique from 1885-1886. Saint-Saëns was president from 1887-1889.

¹⁰Ibid., 19h, n. 1. This competition was for a work using vocal soloists, chorus, and orchestra.

¹¹Ibid., 51. This concert was presented under the auspices of the Association Artistique d'Angers, a concert series established by Jules Bordier in 1875. On the same program Massenet conducted his "Les Erinnyes" and Joncières performed his Symphonie romantique.

¹²Ibid., 52. This program included performances by Dubois ("Scènes symphoniques"), Joncières (overture to Dimitri and the march from Dernier jour de Pompeï), and Godard (Symphonie gothique).

¹³Ibid.

The people of Angers must have been quite taken with Guiraud and his music, for they organized a festival honoring him and Victorin de Joncières. The ceremonies and concert took place on 1 February 1880; they were repeated the next day in Nantes. In addition to selections from Le feu, Guiraud conducted the "Andante" and "Carnaval" from his suite and the "Valse" from Gretna-Green; the "Valse" was repeated by popular demand. On 28 April 1881, Guiraud accompanied the harpist Alphonse Hasselmans at a concert at the Salle Gaveau. On June 16, he joined other composers (Saint-Saëns, Joncières, Duvernoy, and Salvayre) in conducting their own compositions at a highly successful concert at the Grand-Hôtel.¹⁴

Guiraud's activities as a performer would continue throughout the decade. On 31 May 1884, he took part in the "farewell" concert for the retiring Padeloup. Many of France's most prominent musicians

¹⁴Orlic, 51-52; source of the Salle Gaveau and Grand-Hôtel concerts, Orlic, 56. Alphonse Hasselmans (1845-1912) was born in Belgium where he became harpist for the Théâtre de la Monnaie. Following a series of successful concerts in Paris in 1877, he performed with the orchestras of the Paris Conservatoire, the Opéra, and the Opéra-Comique. He joined the faculty of the Paris Conservatoire in 1884. Hasselmans's son Louis served on the Louisiana State University music faculty 1936-1948. Best known as a conductor, Louis Hasselman was also a fine cellist (he had studied composition with Massenet and cello with Delsart at the Paris Conservatoire); he toured with the Capet Quartet from 1893-1909. Prior to his position in Baton Rouge, he held conducting posts with the Lamoureux Concerts, Opéra-Comique in Paris, Montreal Opera, Marseilles Concerts Classiques, Chicago Opera, and the Metropolitan Opera in New York. Aber (New Grove, s.v. "Hasselmans, Alphonse/Louis"), 8:294.

Obviously, Guiraud's music also appeared on programs in which he did not participate as a performer himself. A number of concerts that were important in establishing Guiraud's reputation as a leading member of the Ecole française should be mentioned. In March 1878, his name appears on a program presented by the Association Artistique at Rouen. Directed by Colonne, this particular concert was intended to present, for the first time there, works by composers of the nouvelle école; pieces by Guiraud, Berlioz, Saint-Saëns, Bizet, Delibes, and Massenet appeared on the program (Orlic, 52).

During the first week of February 1882, Albert Vizentini conducted a concert, half of which was dedicated to music of the Russian composers Tchaikovsky and Glinka, while the other half consisted of works of the Ecole française—including a work by Guiraud. Albert Vizentini, at this time, was presenting more than six performances a week at the Théâtre-Italien, including new operas as well as symphonic concerts (Orlic, 57).

participated in this celebration in honor of the man who had played such an important role in setting the course of French music during the second half of the nineteenth century and who had played a large part in placing Guiraud's name before the public. This concert at the Trocadero was an enormous success, raising some 125,000 francs for Padeloup's retirement. Le ménestrel of 25 May 1884 announced the participation at the concert of Padeloup himself, Colonne, Gounod, Massenet, Reyer, Saint-Saëns, Delibes, Guiraud, and Joncières. The composers each conducted their own works.¹⁵

In January 1885, the director of Geneva's Nouveau Théâtre, a M. Gravière, organized a festival in Guiraud's honor. On 14 January 1885, Guiraud was warmly received by the Swiss audience when he conducted his Suite d'orchestre, along with selections from his operas Le feu, Piccolino, and Galante aventure.¹⁶

With a growing number of successful conducting engagements behind him, Guiraud decided to try for the conductor's position with the Société des Concerts du Conservatoire upon the retirement in 1885 of Edouard-Marie-Ernest Deldevez. The three other candidates were Jules Danbé, Jules Garcin, and Benjamin Godard. Danbé had been the conductor of the Opéra-Comique since 1877; Garcin, who had been a professor of violin at the Conservatoire since 1875, was already affiliated with the Société des Concerts as that orchestra's solo violinist, and was also the solo violinist in the Opéra's orchestra, where he had become an assistant

¹⁵Orlic, 1h-3h.

¹⁶Ibid., 8h.

conductor in 1871. On the fourth ballot Garcin was elected, receiving 59 votes to Guiraud's 39. Danbé, having withdrawn his name in favor of Garcin, was given the post of assistant conductor.¹⁷

Whatever damage Guiraud's ego might have suffered due to his failure to secure the conductor's position with the Société des Concerts, it must have been ameliorated by the offers he began to receive from the Opéra to conduct for that organization. It seems strange that, having expressed an interest in finding a more permanent conducting position, he did not accept a position with this prestigious institution. Perhaps it was nothing more than a manifestation of Guiraud's natural indecisiveness or a reluctance on his part to become involved in a political situation with which he felt uncomfortable. But, whatever the reason, he avoided committing himself until the beginning of 1887, when he decided to refuse the position in order to be able to dedicate himself entirely to composing and teaching.¹⁸

On 27 January 1888, former students of Antoine-François Marmontel gave a banquet in his honor.¹⁹ Marmontel, then 72, had retired from the Conservatoire in 1887 after almost 40 years as a professor of piano there. He was honored again at a special concert given

¹⁷Orlic, 8h-9h. Jules Auguste Garcin (1830-1896) was also named chief conductor of the Opéra in 1885. Charlton (*New Grove*, s.v. "Garcin, Jules"), 7:158.

Jules Danbé (1840-1905) served as the second director of the Conservatoire concerts until 1892. He would remain conductor at the Opéra-Comique until 1898; he also conducted at the Théâtre Lyrique 1899-1905 (*Baker's*).

¹⁸Orlic, 18h-19h.

¹⁹Among the students attending were Guiraud, Planté, Cohen, Paladilhe, and Dubois (Orlic, 20h).

on the 11 May at the Salle Pleyel. On this program, a piece written especially for the occasion by J. Cohen for 4 pianos and 8 pianists, was performed by Cohen, Duvernoy, Fissot, Diémer, Paladilhe, Guiraud, C. Bellaique, and G. Pierre.²⁰

On 25 May 1891, a M. Koszul—director of the conservatoire at Roubaix, presented a Festival Guiraud in that city. Included among the works that Guiraud conducted were his first Suite d'orchestre, Gretna-Green, "Danse persane," the romance from Madame Turlupin, the serenade from Galante aventure, the mélodie "Berceuse" for soprano, selections from Piccolino, and his famous "Carnaval." The performance was a great success.²¹

On 25 April 1892, Guiraud conducted a concert of the Société des Concerts Populaires de Valenciennes. This program, dedicated entirely to his own compositions, included the overture "Arteweld," "Danse persane," first Suite d'orchestre, selections from Piccolino, and the two "Romances

²⁰Orlic, 20h-21h; Charlton (New Grove, s.v. "Marmontel, Antoine François"), 11:693-694. Marmontel joined the faculty at the Conservatoire in 1837 as an instructor of solfeggio. It was not until 1848 that he succeeded his former piano teacher, Zimmermann, as a member of the piano faculty there. Orlic (20n) reminds us that Marmontel had known Ernest's father, Jean-Baptiste Guiraud. According to Orlic, Ernest was one of Marmontel's best loved pupils. Marmontel's warm tribute to Guiraud in the form of a biographical essay, written in 1888, affirms this fact. It was Marmontel who recommended Debussy to Madame von Meck, Tchaikovsky's patroness, who was looking for a pianist during the summers who would be expected to teach and perform.

²¹Orlic, 30h-31h. According to Orlic, these works were performed "successivement" which leads one to wonder whether the "Carnaval" that ended the program was an encore or the program's last scheduled work. No doubt the "Carnaval" was performed as the fourth movement of the suite with which the concert began; its reappearance at the conclusion of the program might have been as one of the selections from Piccolino, where it is used for the ballet in the opera's third act.

sans paroles" for cello and piano. Guiraud was well pleased with the orchestra's ability, calling it "one of the best of the provinces."²²

In addition to the many committee appointments and performance opportunities that made considerable demands on Guiraud's time during this period, he was devoting much of his attention to his teaching responsibilities at the Paris Conservatoire. In October 1878, after two years as professor of harmony and accompaniment at the Conservatoire, Guiraud's professorial duties had been streamlined when his course was divided into two separate classes; Guiraud focused on the teaching of harmony, while Auguste-Ernest Bazille was placed in charge of the class in practical accompaniment. Then in November 1880 the Conservatoire lost the services of two of its three professors of composition, Napoléon-Henri Reber through death and the ailing Victor Massé through resignation. Guiraud was appointed to join the remaining professor of composition, Massenet, on 1 December; Delibes was named to fill the other vacancy in January 1881.²³

On 24 December 1880, Claude Debussy enrolled in Guiraud's composition class.²⁴ Debussy, a student at the Conservatoire for the preceding eight years, had studied piano with Antoine Marmontel (1872-

²²Orlic, 31h.

²³"Etat mensuel des traitements." As noted above, Guiraud replaced Massé, whose opera *Galathée* shared the bill with Guiraud's *David* at the Théâtre d'Orléans on 14 April 1853. As Professor of Composition, Guiraud's salary rose to 3000 francs annually.

²⁴Two months earlier, Debussy had returned to Paris following the end of his second summer's employ in the services of Madame von Meck (Lockspeiser, 1:56).

1877);²⁵ theory with Albert Lavignac (1873-1876);²⁶ harmony with Emile Durand (1877-1880);²⁷ and practical accompaniment with Auguste-Ernest Bazille (1879-1880).²⁸

Debussy's classmates in Guiraud's class (inherited just weeks earlier from Massé) were not exceptional. Why, it might well be asked, would Debussy choose to join such "undistinguished" students in the class of a professor whose skills in teaching composition were untested?²⁹

Certainly, Guiraud's reputation as a successful composer were well established by this time. He had also been teaching at the Conservatoire

²⁵Lockspeiser, 1:25. Debussy's rebellious nature was apparent early on; he often quarreled with the exacting and meticulous dictates of Marmontel's methodology. When Debussy left Marmontel's class in 1877, he was awarded only a "second prix de piano," granted more for his musicianship than for his virtuosity. Marmontel said about Debussy, "He doesn't like the piano very much, but he most certainly loves music" (Emmanuel, 14-15). Emmanuel (14) describes Guiraud as the man who would later "hatch" or "bring out" ("faire éclore le musicien") the musician.

²⁶Lockspeiser, 1:31-32. It was Lavignac who introduced Debussy to the music of Wagner. Debussy's studies with Lavignac laid a solid foundation, enabling him to win the first prize in solfège. Lavignac's course was still in use at the Conservatoire at the time Lockspeiser published his work on Debussy in 1962. Lavignac was the editor of Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du Conservatoire from 1913 until his death in 1916, a work which Lockspeiser describes as "the finest of the French musical works of reference."

²⁷Ibid., 33. Emmanuel described Durand as "the most feeble of pedagogues" and as a man who liked "neither music, teaching, nor his students." Pedantic to a fault, insisting on endless drills of standard progressions and modulatory procedures, Durand inspired Debussy only "to rack his brains" finding ways to side-step the same old routines. Needless to say, Durand soon came to think of Debussy as a rebel (Emmanuel, 17-18).

²⁸Emmanuel, 18-20; Lockspeiser, 1:33. Bazille's course stressed the integration of multiple skills. Students were expected to provide a four-part realization of a figured bass at sight; to improvise an accompaniment (including modulation) to a given vocal line after only a few minutes study; to sight-read a piece, in manuscript, of moderate difficulty; to transpose such a piece at sight; and to sight-read an orchestral score at the piano. Debussy won the Premier Prix in 1880.

²⁹Lockspeiser, 1:56-57;

since 1876 and was known for the skills he brought to that discipline by the members of the Conservatoire community. Emmanuel describes Guiraud as "a charming man, at once a discerning artist and informed judge, but whose incurable indolence promised his students an unlimited freedom at the same time it eroded his own capacity for production, one that remained almost untapped." It was Guiraud's relaxed and flexible attitude, perhaps more than any other factor, that attracted Debussy to his class rather than to Massenet's. Although Massenet was widely regarded as the Conservatoire's most respected professor of composition, he was also known to exact a rigorous discipline from his students.³⁰

Guiraud, in his first official report as professor of composition, described his four students (Mélanie Bonis, Eugène Piffaretti, Paul Jeannin, and Debussy) as "a sorry lot." He found Debussy intelligent but noted his "strange character" and observed that he "needs to be kept in check." Two years later Guiraud continued to regard Debussy's talent with more suspicion than enthusiasm, commenting that Debussy "writes music clumsily."³¹ Debussy entered the Prix de Rome competition three times before he succeeded in winning the Grand Prix in 1884 with his cantata L'enfant prodigue. In 1882, he had failed even to gain admittance to the competition; the following year he won second prize for his cantata Le gladiateur. In all likelihood, his success in 1884 was due in part to

³⁰Emmanuel, 20-21.

³¹Lockspeiser, 1:57.

Guiraud's efforts to persuade him to adopt a course of greater moderation as he set about the task of composing L'enfant prodigue.³²

By the end of Debussy's time as a pensioner at the Villa Medici in Rome, a warm friendship had developed between Guiraud and his former student. Lockspeiser writes, "Like Bizet, Debussy became greatly attached to this unpractical but warm-hearted musician. They frequently dined out or enjoyed a game of billiards together, and before long Debussy found in him an eager listener to the novel theories with which he was beginning to wrestle on harmony, rhythm, and the function of the music drama."³³

In October 1889 Maurice Emmanuel, another student of Guiraud, sat in on a conversation between Debussy and Guiraud, and took notes of the

³²Orlic, 6h-7h. Indeed, in the 1884 admission examination Debussy had fared no better than fourth after Leroux, René, and Kaiser; he placed ahead only of Massenet's student Missa. After the initial vote by the music section of the Académie des Beaux-Arts, Debussy could count only Saint-Saëns, Reyer, and Guiraud in his favor. The other musicians found Debussy's cantata on the flowery side and its formal structure too free. The next day when all sections of the Beaux-Arts met, the sculptors and architects were immediately taken with Debussy's style. In the end it was Gounod who shifted the balance in Debussy's favor after Guiraud's convincing arguments in Debussy's defense. Leroux, Kaiser, and Missa were students of Massenet's; René studied with Delibes. Debussy was the accompanist for the choral society Concordia of which Gounod was president.

³³Lockspeiser, 1:57-58. To gain a better perspective on the shifting cultural currents that surrounded Debussy when he was formulating his new theories, it is helpful to note that when the Opéra celebrated the 500th performance of Gounod's Faust in 1887, Debussy was in Rome composing Le printemps and La damoiselle élue. Revolutionary ideas were sweeping through all art forms. More than ten years earlier Monet had introduced the style of painting that came to be dubbed "Impressionism." The Symbolists were in full bloom, scorning the materialism of their epoch and searching for ways to convey the inexpressible in their poetry. The Symbolist movement owed much to the music of Wagner. The young generation, looking for a new means of expression, rallied around Wagner's focus on the use of symbol in his music, to Tristan (1863) and Parsifal (1882) in particular (Orlic, 9h-11h).

discussion.³⁴ This was, no doubt, an extremely stimulating period in Debussy's life for, during the summer of 1889, he had heard Parsifal, Meistersinger, and Tristan in Bayreuth and attended the Exposition Universelle in Paris where he was exposed to the Javanese gamelan, Chinese theater, and other Oriental arts that would prove such an important influence on him.³⁵ While these conversations provide a fascinating insight into Debussy's musical thinking in its formative stages, they also provide insight into Guiraud's personality and teaching style.

Debussy was, during this period, an ardent champion of Wagner's music; Guiraud, on the other hand, was known to have many reservations about Wagner's style. It was about this same time that Guiraud began work on Louis Gallet's libretto, Frédégonde (a fact that Paul Dukas claims Guiraud had kept from his students) which would contain Guiraud's most substantial incorporation of many of Wagner's stylistic traits. When, in the course of their conversation, Guiraud challenges Debussy to defend his belief in the virtue of various Wagnerian tenets, his questions can be seen as those of a devil's advocate rather than an opponent of the Wagnerian style.

³⁴Though officially a student of Delibes, Maurice Emmanuel (1862-1938) began to work with Guiraud surreptitiously. Delibes, who did not share his student's interest in using the ancient modes, refused Emmanuel permission to enter the Prix de Rome. Emmanuel became professor of music history at the Conservatoire. Orledge (New Grove, s.v. "Emmanuel, Maurice"), 6:154; Hoérée, 140-141.

³⁵Lockspeiser, 1:115. While a pensioner at the Villa Medici, Debussy had the opportunity to hear Liszt perform. Lockspeiser speculates that Debussy might have heard Liszt's harmonically advanced pieces such as "Nuages gris," "Bagatelle sans tonalité," or "La lugubre gondola" (Lockspeiser, 1:83).

As Emmanuel recalls it, Guiraud was astonished not so much by Debussy's love for Wagner's music as by the fact that Debussy viewed Wagner's innovations as being solidly rooted in classical tradition. As Debussy defends his position, it becomes apparent that his aesthetic ideals that, years later, would lead to the composition of Pelléas et Mélisande were already well into their formative stages. Lockspeiser refers to Debussy's ideas, expressed in these conversations, as his "manifesto on harmony" that is "probably the first conscious renunciation of tonality in favor of an harmonic ambivalence, though Liszt's "Bagatelle sans tonalité" dates from four years earlier."³⁶

With Debussy's success in winning the Prix de Rome in 1884, Guiraud's class began to attract the Conservatoire's more rebellious and innovative students. Although Debussy would become Guiraud's most celebrated student, several other members of Guiraud's class went on to make significant contributions of their own to the profession.

André Gédalge (1856-1926) became an important theorist, composer, and pedagogue. His Traité de la fugue, published in 1901, became the definitive text on that subject. Gédalge, who was an assistant to both Guiraud and Massenet, became professor of counterpoint and

³⁶Lockspeiser, 60-61. Lockspeiser (1:204-208) provides an English translation of Emmanuel's notes; he also gives (1:60-61) an excellent summation of the points discussed in the more technical of the two conversations recorded by Emmanuel. Hoérée (L'avant scène, 140-145) provides a literal transcription (with commentary) of Emmanuel's notes. See Maurice Emmanuel's recollection of the conversation in his Pelléas et Mélisande, 30-36. On one hand, Emmanuel's account of the conversations fills in many details only sketched in his notebook. On the other, it should be remembered that his recollection of the talks took place more than thirty years after the fact and is presented in the context of a work whose primary intent is to demonstrate Debussy's evolution towards the composition of Pelléas.

fugue at the Paris Conservatoire in 1905 where his students included Ravel, Enesco, Milhaud, and Honneger.³⁷

Paul Dukas (1865-1935) studied composition with Guiraud and received a First Prize in Counterpoint and Fugue in 1886 and a Second Prix de Rome in 1888. Dukas, who taught orchestration (1910-1913) and composition (from 1928) at the Conservatoire, is perhaps best remembered for his symphonic poem L'apprenti sorcier (1897), the ballet La péri (1912), and the opera Ariane et Barbe-bleu (1907).³⁸

According to Henri Busser,³⁹ Eric Satie attended some of Guiraud's classes after having been introduced (with high recommendations) to Guiraud by Debussy. Lockspeiser suspects that Satie's "Trois morceaux en forme de poire" (besides "pear," poire can be translated as either "sucker" or "dupe") might have been written as a disrespectfully mischievous response to some words of advice Guiraud had offered Satie pertaining to form.⁴⁰

³⁷Louvier (New Grove, s.v. "Gédalge, André"), 7:213.

³⁸Hopkins (New Grove, s.v. "Dukas, Paul"), 5:690-692. See Lockspeiser (1:57-58) for an anecdote by Dukas about Guiraud. It is Dukas whom Saint-Saëns asked to orchestrate the first three acts of Frédégonde, the opera Guiraud was working on at the time of his death.

³⁹Henri-Paul Busser (1872-1973), a student of Guiraud at the Conservatoire, won the Grand Prix de Rome in 1893. He conducted at the Opéra-Comique (from 1902) and the Opéra (from 1905 until his resignation in 1937; he would resume his duties there in 1947). He was a professor of composition at the Paris Conservatoire from 1931-1948. In 1947 he became president of the Académie des Beaux-Arts. It was Busser who supervised the 1933 revision of Guiraud's Traité pratique d'instrumentation. Busser shared his reminiscences about Guiraud with Branks Orlic during the latter's preparation of his work on Guiraud. Hoérée (New Grove, s.v. "Busser, Henri"), 3:512.

⁴⁰Lockspeiser, 1:146-147. In his work on Satie, Alan Gillmor states that Satie's attendance in Guiraud's class cannot be positively substantiated, 12; Gillmor refutes

The American composer Charles Martin Loeffler (1861-1935) studied with Guiraud and the violinist Massart, and was a member of Padeloup's orchestra. When he moved to the United States in 1881, he played under Damrosch and joined the Boston Symphony Orchestra, remaining a member of that organization until 1903 when he resigned in order to devote himself to teaching and composition.⁴¹

Amid his committee appointments, his conducting, and his teaching of these years, what was Guiraud's activity as a composer? At the very least, he seems to have maintained his connections with the directors of the Opéra-Comique and the Opéra, for in 1882 the Opéra-Comique asked him to compose Chevalier d'Harmental (based on the novel by Alexandre Dumas) and in 1883 the Opéra offered him the libretto Montalte by MM. Dennery and Gallet, a grand opera in five acts. Neither work was ever completed, and in the absence of any manuscripts, we cannot be certain how much if any music was ever composed of these works.⁴²

Questions about when the Opéra planned to schedule Montalte appeared in the article announcing the commission. In Le ménestrel of 9

the theory that "Trois morceaux en forme de poire" was intended as a slight to Guiraud, 126.

⁴¹Smith (New Grove, s.v. "Loeffler, Charles Martin"), 11:123. Among Guiraud's other students were Alberto Williams and Sylvio Lazzari. In addition, the "Récompenses des Elèves de Ernest Guiraud au Conservatoire" lists the following female students: Cotta, Sorbier, Theroine, Burton, Chretien, Lefrançois, Lange, Vernaut, Baudeau, d'Obigny, Gonthier, Prestat, Jaeger, and Depecker; the same source gives the following male students: André Bloch (Grand Prix de Rome, 1893), Radeglia, Bachelet, Jemain, Gonthier, Andres, Lutz, Maurel, and Roux.

⁴²Orlic, 19h, 57. On 14 April 1883, Carvalho invited Guiraud to sit in on the dress rehearsal of Delibes's Lakmé at the Opéra-Comique.

December 1883 we read, "It is to M. Ernest Guiraud . . . that M. Vaucorbeil has entrusted the care of writing the score for Montalte, the new grand opera in five acts of MM. Dennerly and Gallet. But then for which period! No doubt after M. Salvayre's L'egmont and M. Massenet's Le cid."⁴³

As for Chevalier d'Harmental, Favre cites a letter from Guiraud to Alexandre Dumas fils about problems he was having with the librettist Armand D'Artois. More than six years after the Opéra-Comique had entrusted the composition of the score to him, Guiraud wrote from Paris on 10 October 1888:

Mon Cher Maître, I can offer you no more of the news about our dear Chevalier that I had promised. D'Artois has been away from Paris and I hadn't seen him . . . until yesterday evening when we had a long talk. He did not seem inclined to seek out a collaborator. He asked for my thoughts; I spared him nothing, stressing that the character of his verse was not musical enough, that he was inexperienced when it came to the form of the pieces, and [complaining] about the general execution.⁴⁴

D'Artois assured Guiraud that he would be able to finish the libretto in a satisfactory manner and said that he would go to Barbier for help should he feel it necessary. Guiraud held out little hope for D'Artois's success and anxiously awaited his new setting of the first scene. Almost one year later the 15 September 1889 edition of Le ménestrel reported Guiraud's intention to abandon his work on Chevalier d'Harmental, supposedly in order to devote his efforts to the completion of Montalte.

⁴³Article quoted in Orlic, 19h. In a footnote Orlic tells us that Egmont was presented at the Opéra-Comique in 1886 and Le cid was given at the Opéra in 1885.

⁴⁴Letter (Bibl. Nat., n.a.fr. 24638, fol 163) quoted in Favre, 44-45.

Orlic suggests that there had even been a third work "in progress," a work under way since 1879 entitled Etienne Marcel.⁴⁵

But the coup de grâce to Guiraud's involvement with Chevalier d'Harmental may well have been the disastrous fire at the Opéra-Comique on 25 May 1887, which destroyed the second Salle Favart (home of the Opéra-Comique), killing more than one hundred people, including many of the musicians.⁴⁶

Although Guiraud had difficulties during this period in bringing any large scale vocal compositions to completion and production, he did manage a few contributions of a more modest scope. As with his earlier work in Nina Zombi, he participated in two more collaborative efforts, the operettes Le Baron Frick,⁴⁷ to which he contributed a single scene (along with eight other composers), and Cent moins un,⁴⁸ in which no fewer than

⁴⁵Favre, 44-45; Orlic, 23h (including Le ménestrel quote).

⁴⁶Orlic, 17h-18h. The director, Carvalho, was quick to set up the company in temporary quarters at the Place du Châtelet in the hall formerly used by the Théâtre-Lyrique. Charged with negligence, Carvalho served time in prison until his acquittal in 1891. Carvalho then resumed his duties at the Opéra-Comique until his death in 1897. Rosenthal (New Grove, s.v. "Carvalho, Léon"), 3:842.

⁴⁷Le Baron Frick premiered 19 December 1885. Guiraud's contribution was the couplet "Romance de Phébus." The entry for Le Baron Frick (BN Vm⁵ 3024) in the card catalogue at the Bibliothèque Nationale lists the composers, in addition to Guiraud, as Duvernoy, Thomé, Wormser, Broutin, Joncières, Chaumet, Pfeiffer, de Bériot, and Ferrand. Orlic mentions in his catalogue of Guiraud's works (13) that Le Baron Frick is based on a libretto by Ernest Dépre and Charles Clairville, and informs us that the Cercle Artistique et Littéraire published the work in Paris in 1887.

⁴⁸Cent moins un was produced in March 1888. Orlic quotes the Le ménestrel (1 April 1888) review which calls this three-act operette "a work full of movement and spirit." Cent moins un achieved only a modest success at best. The other composers were Massenet, Delibes, Dubois, Joncières, Chabrier, d'Indy, Pierné, Lecocq, and Chausson (Orlic, 22h).

ten composers had a hand. He also published two mélodies, "Berceuse" and "La Pervenche" in 1884.⁴⁹

Durand published several instrumental compositions of Guiraud's during this period: "Caprice" for violin with either an orchestral or piano accompaniment (1884);⁵⁰ "Allegro de Concert" for piano (1885), a work composed specifically for that year's competition for female pianists at the Paris Conservatoire;⁵¹ *Seconde suite d'orchestre* (1886), consisting of four movements ("Petite marche," "Divertissement," "Rêverie," and "Finale");⁵²

⁴⁹Both songs were published by Durand, Schoenewerk & Cie. and both were dedicated "à Mademoiselle Elise Chabrier." The text of "Berceuse" was a poem by Jacques Normand. "La Pervenche" was set to a poem by A. de Lamartine.

⁵⁰Orlic, 4h-5h. The "Caprice" consists of two movements, an "Andante" in C Major and an "allegro appassionato" in A minor, and bears the dedication "à son ami P. Sarasate." Sarasate performed the "Caprice" at a concert on 7 March 1887. Orlic speculates that the "Andante" by Guiraud that Sarasate had performed at a mass at Notre Dame for the Association des Artistes Musiciens on 25 March 1884 was, in fact, the first movement of the "Caprice."

⁵¹Ibid., 9h. The "Allegro de Concert" was used again as the required composition in the women's contests in 1891 and 1897. Guiraud's "Allegro de Concert" found itself in excellent company as evidenced by the required contest works for other years. The years 1880-1900 provide an idea of the caliber of composition chosen for these concours. In 1880: Chopin's "Allegro de Concert," op. 46; 1881: Chopin's Ballade in G minor, op. 23; 1882: Schumann's Sonata in G minor; 1883: Saint-Saëns's Concerto in G minor; 1884: Chopin's Sonata in B minor; 1885: Guiraud's "Allegro de Concert"; 1886: Chopin's Concerto in F minor; 1887: Schubert's Fantasy in C, op. 15; 1888: Chopin's Concerto in E minor; 1889: Chopin's "Allegro de Concert," op. 46; 1890: Saint-Saëns's Concerto in G minor; 1891: Guiraud's "Allegro de Concert"; 1892: Chopin's Ballade in G minor, op. 23; 1893: Chopin's Concerto in F minor; 1894: Mendelssohn's "Variations sérieuses" in D minor; 1895: Chopin's "Allegro de Concert"; 1896: Schumann's "Carnaval," op. 9; 1897: Guiraud's "Allegro de Concert"; 1898: Bach's Fugue in G minor and Chopin's Ballade in F; 1899: Haydn's Variations in F minor and Liszt's Rhapsodie No. 13 in A minor; 1900: Bach's Prelude and Fugue in C# and Chopin's Concerto in F minor (Le Conservatoire National, 589).

⁵²Orlic, 16h. The publication of this suite went practically unnoticed in the press.

the symphonic poem Chasse fantastique (1887);⁵³ "Deux Romances sans paroles" for cello and piano (1887);⁵⁴ and Scherzo for piano (1890).⁵⁵

In 1889, Guiraud was putting the finishing touches on his Traité pratique d'instrumentation that Durand & Schoenewerk would publish the following year. This work (in the 1933 edition, revised by Guiraud's student Henri Busser) was still being used at the Paris Conservatoire as late as 1950. Orlic finds Guiraud's Traité pratique d'instrumentation a reflection of its author's qualities of logic and clarity and says that it was welcomed by both press and public as one of the best works of its kind. In his foreword, Guiraud states his intentions "to present the most important ideas of the art of orchestration and gradually to lead both students and amateurs alike, who are interested in perfecting their

⁵³Orlic, 16h-17h. Chasse fantastique was first performed on a program of the Concerts Lamoureux on 6 February 1887 and again on a program of the Concert du Cercle de l'Union Artistique. "Chasse fantastique" is reviewed favorably as a work that is "interesting, cleverly orchestrated, of a beautiful allure" (Le ménestrel, 13 February 1887) and "a grand and legitimate success . . . written by the hand of a master" (Le ménestrel, 10 April 1887). Both comments from Le ménestrel are quoted in Orlic. Chasse fantastique is one of the few works of Guiraud to have been recorded. Jorge Mester conducts the Louisville Orchestra (Louisville LS-743). This recording is reviewed by Oliver Daniel in the September 1975 issue of Stereo Review, 80-81. "If the music seems to be more than a little reminiscent of that of Dukas," Daniel writes, "the reason is quite simple: we are familiar with the music of Dukas because it has been lucky enough to find a place in the standard repertoire--but Guiraud was Dukas' teacher. His rip-snorting Hunt was based on a passage from Victor Hugo's 'The Legend of the Handsome Pécopin and the Beautiful Bauldour,' and the Louisville recording makes a very strong case for this neglected composer's rediscovery. . . ." Favre (51) describes the work as a "tableau descriptif vivant et coloré."

⁵⁴The pieces, entitled "Mélancolie" and "Scherzando," are dedicated "à mon ami Delsart." These works were virtually ignored by the press; they appear on a program dedicated exclusively to Guiraud's music at Valenciennes on 25 April 1892, conducted by Guiraud himself (Orlic, 17h).

⁵⁵Orlic, 27h. This short work is dedicated to M^{lle} Madeleine Jaeger who, according to the "Récompenses des élèves de Ernest Guiraud au Conservatoire," was awarded a Premier Accessit in Counterpoint and Fugue in 1890 and a Premier Prix in the same class the following year.

training, to get more out of their readings of the works of our eminent predecessors."⁵⁶ The work is a comprehensive treatment of the subject and closes with an anthology of ninety orchestral examples excerpted from Auber, Beethoven, Berlioz, Bizet, Brahms, Cherubini, Delibes, Gevaert, Gluck, Gounod, Halévy, Haydn, Hérold, Joncières, Lalo, Lully, Massenet, Méhul, Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer, Monteverdi, Mozart, Paladilhe, Rameau, Reyer, Rossini, Saint-Saëns, Schubert, A. Thomas, Verdi, Wagner, and Weber.

Guiraud's Traité pratique d'instrumentation was in fact the first French work on orchestration to discuss Wagner's music.⁵⁷ Not only did Guiraud cite examples from Die Walküre, Meistersinger, Lohengrin, Tannhäuser, and Tristan, but he honored Wagner's music by culminating the appendix, which presents a survey of three hundred years of orchestral writing, with the final scene from Götterdämmerung. For Guiraud to have given Wagner such a prominent position in his treatise represents a considerable shift in attitude from his less than enthusiastic reaction to the 1876 premiere of the Ring cycle at Bayreuth. In fact Wagner's influence on French musicians, at its peak in the 1880s, was to have an obvious impact on Guiraud himself, as reflected in his opera Frédégonde, which dealt with the legendary characters of Austrasia and Neustria, ruled respectively by the queens Brunhilda and Frédégonde. (Guiraud and Louis Gallet, the librettist, gave serious consideration to naming the work Brunhilde.) The use of continuous music, rather than sectional numbers, and the generous use of chromaticism in this five-act

⁵⁶Orlic, 22h-23h; Guiraud, "Avant-Propos" of his Traité pratique d'instrumentation.

⁵⁷Lockspeiser, 1:57.

opera represent an evolutionary departure for Guiraud. Begun in the last years of the decade, at the same time Guiraud was working on his Traité, Frédégonde bore strong Wagnerian associations in subject matter as well as in compositional techniques.

On 21 March 1891, Guiraud was honored with France's greatest honor, one that represented that country's ultimate gesture of professional recognition—election to membership in the Institute of France's Académie des Beaux-Arts. Membership in this exclusive organization was limited by charter to a fixed number. The Académie des Beaux-Arts, only one branch of the Institute, was made up of forty members, six of whom were musicians. New members were elected by the membership only upon the death of one of its members. Guiraud was elected to fill the seat that became vacant with the death of Delibes in January 1891.⁵⁸

As was customary, Guiraud paid tribute to the man he succeeded when he delivered his "Notice sur la vie et les oeuvres de Léo Delibes" to the members of the Institut de France on 2 April 1892. Delibes and Guiraud, indeed, had become good friends over the years, having shared as contemporaries the difficulties of establishing themselves and the

⁵⁸Orlic, 27h-28h. At a meeting of the Académie on 7 March, four candidates for Delibes's position emerged: Guiraud, Joncières, Paladilhe, and Emile Pessard. When the musician members of the Académie voted on the 14th of March, Guiraud was in first place followed by a tie between Joncières and Paladilhe. When the entire membership of the Académie met on 21 March, Guiraud was elected on the first ballot with a vote of 25 to Paladilhe's 8 and Joncière's 1.

Orlic (55, 7h-8h) informs us that Guiraud had attempted twice before to gain membership to the Académie, first in 1880 to fill the seat vacated as a result of Henri Reber's death on 24 November of that year (Guiraud and Delibes placed second to Saint-Saëns) and then in 1884 to fill the seat vacated by the death of Victor Massé on 5 July 1884 (Guiraud placed second to Delibes).

satisfaction of initial successes at about the same time, Delibes with Coppelia in 1870 and Guiraud with Suite d'orchestre and Madame Turlupin two years later. Guiraud had been one of the pallbearers at Delibes's funeral.⁵⁹

When he died, Delibes had left an unfinished opéra-comique, Kassya. The task of completing the orchestration was first entrusted to Guiraud, although it was Massenet who would eventually complete it. An article appearing in Le ménestrel suggested that because the work had to be completed quickly (Carvalho wanted it to open the season at the Opéra-Comique), Guiraud--then hard at work on Frédégonde--asked Massenet to take over work on the project.⁶⁰

Louis Gallet had first asked Saint-Saëns to take on the composition of his libretto Frédégonde. Saint-Saëns declined but recommended Guiraud to Gallet. Guiraud, who had been interested in the subject all along, was delighted with the offer.⁶¹ When he accepted, only the first act of the libretto was fully developed. Gallet had finished that act by 15 December 1889; he would not finish the fifth and last act until 22 January 1892. Guiraud began work immediately, and despite his well established

⁵⁹Orlic, 27h-28h.

⁶⁰Le ménestrel (6 December 1891) quoted by Orlic, 29h-30h.

⁶¹Orlic, 23h-24h. Orlic cites Louis Gallet's article "Frédégonde" from the 11 December 1895 issue of Le journal; Favre (45) says that Gallet's libretto was based on Augustin Thierry's 1840 publication Récits des temps mérovingiens. According to Orlic, the offer was made to Guiraud at some point between 8 October 1889, the date of Saint-Saëns' last letter to Gallet before leaving for the Canary Islands, and Guiraud's letter to Gallet of 20 December 1889. Orlic (24h, n. 3) cites a passage from Dandelot's La vie et l'oeuvre de Saint-Saëns (117) in which Saint-Saëns opera, Ascanio, is discussed. Ascanio was scheduled for the Opéra on 21 March 1890. During Saint-Saëns's absence, Guiraud assisted with the preparations.

reputation for lethargy, he seemed to be constantly pressuring Gallet for the next installment.⁶²

Guiraud, who had no new operas to his credit since Galante aventure in 1882, saw in Frédégonde the opportunity to establish a firmer reputation as a dramatic composer. Not only would Frédégonde be his first work on such a grand scale and subject, it would be his first opera to appear on the stage of the Opéra. For all of his enthusiasm in writing Frédégonde, this composer of lighter fare such as Piccolino and Madame Turlupin found considerable challenge in musically portraying the wild barbarians and savage themes of Frédégonde. Wagner's influence on Guiraud's style is apparent in the work's continuous musical flow and in a chromaticism that is more pervasive than can be found in any of Guiraud's earlier work.⁶³

During the period that Guiraud worked on Frédégonde, he purchased a small house—which he named "Brunhilda"—on the beach at Wimereaux (on the English Channel near Boulogne). There he devoted his summers to work on the opera, inspired by the sea and the proximity of his librettist,

⁶²Gallet's article on Frédégonde in La journal is quoted by Orlic, 24h-25h. A letter from Guiraud to Gallet, dated 22 December 1890, reads, "Cher ami, This Thursday, Christmas Day! I see that it is necessary for me to take charge of the work, business, and pleasure. Can one ask for anything more? . . . I have almost finished our second act." Speaking of the battle scene, Guiraud continues, "The battle lines have been drawn; all that remains is the assault. It is not going too badly."

⁶³Orlic (25h-26h) quotes an observation made by Gallet in his article on Frédégonde that provides a glimpse of Guiraud at work: "How many times at our Thursday sessions . . . did he play the first pages of the composition with great enthusiasm, then pulling himself together, focusing on certain passages, perpetually blaming himself and fearing that he had not done well enough, jumping up from the table during lunch and running to the piano, speaking a phrase out loud, harping on a certain effect, and even at the moment of his departure . . . insisting still, conscientious and apprehensive, 'Truthfully? Are you satisfied? Tell me if there is something that strikes you, that pleases you, all right?' "

who also owned property in the area.⁶⁴ During the academic year, however, he continued teaching at the Conservatoire. It was at the Conservatoire, on Friday afternoon, 6 May 1892, that he died suddenly just after finishing a class.⁶⁵

On Tuesday 10 May, a large crowd assembled at the Eglise de la Trinité for Guiraud's funeral service. (It was from this same church that Guiraud's friend, Georges Bizet, had been buried seventeen years earlier.) Guiraud's uncle Louis Croisilles, in his role as chief mourner, headed the funeral proceedings. The musical part of the service was prepared by Antonin Marmontel (friend of Guiraud's and son of Antoine) and Emile Bouichère, the maître de chapelle of the Trinité.⁶⁶

Jules Danbé, conductor of the Opéra-Comique, and other musicians who had been interpreters of Guiraud's work (including Sarasate,

⁶⁴Gallet article "Frédégonde" quoted in Orlic, 26h-27h. About Guiraud's life at Wimereaux, Gallet writes, "He worked there, and above all, he day-dreamed there, lying in the sand . . . contemplating for long stretches the changing sea." Nearing the completion of the third act, Guiraud wrote Gallet in December 1891, "I will see you tomorrow, Thursday. No? I will play for you the entrance and the paternal words of Pretextat, and I hope that you will not find the good bishop too unworthy of the respect that our Sainte Eglise holds for him."

⁶⁵Orlic, 32h. Guiraud had just finished a class and had gone to the office of the Secretary of the Conservatoire, Emile Réty, to discuss arrangements concerning his students' (Bloch and Busser) entrance into their loges for that year's Prix de Rome competition. During the course of their conversation, Réty noticed that Guiraud seemed to be suffocating and saw him go into a spasm which turned his head completely around. Réty hurried to Guiraud's side, but he was already dead. Orlic reports (27h) that when Guiraud's close friends went to his apartment on rue Pigalle, they found the manuscript of Frédégonde on his piano suggesting that Guiraud had been working on this score before he left for the Conservatoire on that, his last, day. Guiraud died with Frédégonde unfinished. In 1895 it was completed by Saint-Saëns (who wrote the last two acts) and Paul Dukas (who orchestrated the first three acts composed by Guiraud); it was staged at the Opéra on 18 December 1895.

⁶⁶Ibid., 33h-34h.

Alexandre Taskin, and Alexandre Guilmant) performed at the funeral. The service began with the "Petite marche" from the *Deuxième suite d'orchestre*. Alexandre Guilmant, organist at the Trinité, played the *Entr'acte* from *Piccolino*. After the *Kyrie*, Sarasate played Svendsen's "Andante." Alexandre Taskin, baritone, sang the words of the "Pie Jesu" set to the music of the pastor's arioso in *Piccolino*. Then, following the orchestra's performance of the "Andante" from the *Deuxième Suite*, the Trinité's soprano soloist (Denayer) sang the *Agnus Dei* set to the music of the aria "Il me disait" from *Piccolino*. Following Théodore Dubois's *Libera me*, in which the "Tremens" for baritone solo was sung by M. Caron of the Opéra, the service concluded with Chopin's "Marche funèbre." The funeral procession departed the Trinité at one-thirty for the march to Père-Lachaise cemetery. The pallbearers were H. Roujon (representing the government in his capacity as Director of Beaux-Arts), Massenet (representing the professors at the Conservatoire), Carvalho (Director of the Opéra-Comique), Paul Dubois (representing the members of the Académie), Joncières (representing the Société des auteurs et compositeurs dramatiques), Gédalge (representing Guiraud's students at the Conservatoire), and Marmontel. Massenet, Dubois, Joncières, Gédalge, and Roujon delivered eulogies at the graveside.⁶⁷

⁶⁷"Les Obèques d'Ernest Guiraud," *Le ménestrel* (15 May 1892):157-158; Orlic, 33h-34h. Massenet's eulogy appears in full in the edition of *Le ménestrel* mentioned above. Other tributes to Guiraud include those of Arthur Pougin, *Le ménestrel* (8 May 1892):148; Jules Ruelle, *L'art musical* (15 May 1892); Paul Dubois, "Funérailles de M. Guiraud," Institut de France publication (10 May 1892); and Emile Paladilhe, "Notice sur Ernest Guiraud," Institut de France publication (read to the members of the Institut at the meeting on 28 January 1893). Guiraud's obituary appeared in the *New York Times* (8 May 1892); in New Orleans, an article by Jacques St. Cere (Paris correspondent for the *New York Herald*) appears in the *Times Democrat* (10 May 1892):3.

Massenet spoke of Guiraud's skill as a symphonist and lyric composer, mentioning the qualities of "grâce" found in Piccolino, and "fantaisie" in Gretna-Green--qualities "so French" which Guiraud "constantly strove to communicate to his students." Touching on a more personal note, Massenet asked, "Indeed, has there ever been anyone on this earth as profoundly good as Guiraud, always devoted, always ready to lend a hand, even to his enemies--if he ever had any?"⁶⁸

In his tribute to Guiraud, Paul Dubois observed, "If death has prevented Guiraud from revealing the full measure of his talent, he leaves behind a sufficient number of beautiful works for us to appreciate the enormity of his loss." Dubois continues, "The works of the artist reflect the nature of the man. Guiraud personified both rectitude and devotion. His friends called him 'le bon Guiraud'; never was an epithet better deserved."⁶⁹

Although Guiraud is best remembered today as the man who provided the recitatives for Carmen, as the orchestrator of Les contes d'Hoffmann, and as Debussy's professor of composition at the Paris Conservatoire, his contemporaries knew him as the composer of Piccolino, Gretna-Green, and "Carnaval," as a professor at the Conservatoire, and as a member of the Académie des Beaux-Arts of the Institut de France. Indeed, by the time of his death in 1892, Guiraud had become one of France's most highly respected musical figures. He was renowned for his accomplishments both as composer and teacher, and his reputation as a

⁶⁸Le ménestrel (15 May 1892), 158.

⁶⁹Dubois, 3-4.

kind and good-hearted man was consistently mentioned by almost everyone who knew and wrote about him, including many of France's most celebrated musicians.⁷⁰

⁷⁰As the author of Traité pratique d'instrumentation (an orchestration textbook revised several times after its initial publication in 1890--most recently in 1933), Guiraud's name would remain familiar to several generations of music students in France.

CATALOGUE OF WORKS*

LIBRARIES

BN = Bibliothèque Nationale
BC = Bibliothèque de Conservatoire**
BO = Bibliothèque de l'Opéra

WORKS FOR THEATER***

1. David (Alexandre Soumet and Félicien Mallefille)
Opera (one act); Théâtre d'Orléans (14 April 1853).
lost: 1853
2. En prison (Chaigneau and Boverat)
Opéra-comique (one act); Théâtre-Lyrique (5 March 1869).
Composed prior to Guiraud's departure for Rome (January 1860).
lost: c.1859
3. Gli avventurieri (librettist unknown)
Italian opera-buffa (one act).
Guiraud's second envoi from Rome.
BN (Ms. 8291): 1862
4. Sylvie (Jules Adenis and Jules Rostaing)
Opéra-comique (one act); Opéra-Comique (11 May 1864).
Henry Lemoine: piano score (L. Soumis), 1864; orchestral parts, 1864; "morceaux détachés" (voice and piano), 1864.

*This catalogue represents a compilation of information gathered from libraries in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, Bibliothèque de Conservatoire, Bibliothèque de l'Opéra), Branks Orlic's unfinished monograph and catalogue (Bibliothèque de l'Institut de Musicologie, Université de Paris), The National Union Catalogue, and from an examination of many of the scores themselves.

**Many of the holdings of the Bibliothèque de Conservatoire are now housed at the Bibliothèque Nationale.

***Names of librettists and transcribers are parenthesized.

5. La coupe du roi de Thulé (Louis Gallet and Edouard Blau)
Opéra (three acts).
Submitted to competition sponsored by the Opéra.
lost: 1869
6. Stella (librettist unknown)
Opéra-comique (two acts).
Mentioned in Guiraud's letter of 11 January 1870.
lost: before 1870
7. Eubarin (librettist unknown)
Opéra-comique (one act).
Mentioned in Guiraud's letter of 11 January 1870.
lost: before 1870
8. Le kobold (Charles Nutter and Louis Gallet)
Opéra-comique (one act); Opéra-Comique (2 July 1870).
BC (Ms. 6089-6096): 1870
9. Madame Turlupin (Eugène Cormon and Charles Grandvallet)
Opéra-comique (two acts); Théâtre Athénée (23 November 1872).
Piano score (Léon Martin): Léon Escudier, 1872; Louis Gregh, 1888; in Italian (with recitatives): Escudier, 1873; "morceaux détachés" (voice and piano): Escudier, 1873; Gregh, 1888. Autographs: "Romance" and "Air de bouton d'or," -BC (MS 6779).
10. Gretna Green (Charles Nutter and Louis Mérante [choreographer])
Ballet (one act); Opéra (5 May 1873).
Durand et Schœnewerk: piano score (Guiraud), 1873; orchestral score, 1873; autograph (four-page fragment; music not in piano score), BO (Res. 111).
11. Piccolino (Victorien Sardou and Charles Nutter)
Opéra-comique (three acts); Opéra-Comique (11 April 1876).
Durand et Schœnewerk: piano score (Guiraud), 1876; "morceaux détachés," 1876; orchestral score and parts, 1877; arranged for piano solo, 1877.

12. Nina Zombi (Paul Tillier)

Opéra-comique (two acts); premiered 20 May 1878.

Collaborative effort by ten composers; Guiraud's mélodie "J'ai su lire dans votre âme" published in Le Journal de musique: 1878, No.104; other contributors were Charles de Bériot, Coedès, A. Duvernoy, Ducoing, d'Estribaud, Ferrand, V. Joncières, Mansour, and Saint-Saëns.

1878

13. Le feu

Unpublished fragments of Le Feu performed in 1879.

Only the instrumental "Danse Persane" (#22) remains of this work.

1879

14. Galante aventure (Louis Davyl and Armand Silvestre)

Opéra-comique (three acts); Opéra-Comique (23 March 1882).

Durand et Schœnewerk: piano score (Auguste Bazille), 1882;

"morceaux détachés" for voice and piano, 1882.

15. Le Baron Frick (Ernest Depré and Charles Clairville)

Operette (one act); premiered 19 December 1885.

Collaborative effort; Guiraud contributed fourth scene's "Romance de Phébus"; other composers were A. Duvernoy, Thomé, Wormser, Broutin, Joncières, Chaumet, Pfeiffer, de Bériot, and Ferrand.

Cercle Artistique et Littéraire: 1887

16. Cent moins un

Three-act review.

Collaborative effort by Guiraud, Massenet, Delibes, Dubois, Joncières, Chabrier, d'Indy, Pierné, Lecocq, Chausson.

March 1888

17. Frédégonde (Louis Gallet)

Opéra (five acts); Opéra (18 December 1895).

Guiraud died before finishing this work; Saint-Saëns wrote the last two acts and Paul Dukas orchestrated the first three.

Paul Dupont: piano score (Alfred Bachelet), 1895; "morceaux détachés" for voice and piano, 1896.

WORKS FOR ORCHESTRA

18. Ouverture
 lost: September 1863
 Part of Guiraud's third envoi from Rome.

19. Première suite d'orchestre
 1. Prélude
 2. Intermezzo
 3. Andante
 4. Carnaval
 Durand et Schœnewerk: orchestral parts, n.d.
 Dedicated to Jules Pasdeloup who premiered the suite on
 January 28 1872.

20. Ouverture de Concert, "Artevelde," op. 10
 Durand et Schœnewerk: orchestral score and parts, 1882.
 Dedicated to Bizet; first published in Guiraud's four hand
 arrangement for piano (1874).

21. Danse persane (air de ballet)
 Durand et Schœnewerk: orchestral score and parts, 1880;
 transcribed by Guiraud for piano four hands, 1880; autograph,
 BC (Ms 7320).
 Taken from the opera Le feu.

22. Deuxième suite d'orchestre
 1. Petite marche
 2. Divertissement
 3. Réverie
 4. Final
 Durand et Schœnewerk: orchestral score, 1886.

23. Chasse fantastique (poème symphonique)
 Durand et Schœnewerk: orchestral score, n.d.
 Premiered on February 6 1887; transcribed by Guiraud for
 piano four hands.

24. "Caprice" for violin and orchestra (or piano)
 Durand et Schœnewerk: orchestral score, 1884; piano
 accompaniment, 1884; Carl Fischer: piano accompaniment,
 1925.
 Dedicated to Sarasate.

WORKS FOR VOICE(S) AND ORCHESTRA

25. Que l'amitié, que l'hymen vous rassemble (M. de Jouy)
 Cantata for chorus and orchestra written for the preliminary round
 of Prix de Rome competition.
 BN (Ms. 16615): 1859
26. Bajazet et le joueur de flûte (Edouard Monnaïs)
 Cantata for orchestra, chorus, and soloists; the work with
 which Guiraud won the Prix de Rome.
 BN (Ms. 9324): 1859
27. Grande messe solennelle
 For orchestra and chorus submitted as Guiraud's first envoi
 from Rome.
 BC (Ms. 8094): 1860
28. Noces de Prométhée
 Cantata for orchestra, chorus, and soloists; submitted to
 1867 Exposition Universelle competition.
 lost: 1867

CHAMBER MUSIC

29. Fugue
 BN (Ms. 16614): 1859
 Four-voice fugue written for the preliminary round of
 Prix de Rome competition; bears no instrumental
 designation.

30. "Deux Romances sans paroles" (for cello and piano)

1. Mélancolie

2. Scherzando

Durand et Schœnewerk: 1887

Dedicated to Delsart.

KEYBOARD WORKS (for piano unless specified otherwise)

31. Première sonate pour piano, op. 1

Heugel: 1857

Four movements; dedicated to Antoine Marmontel.

32. "Aragonaise: Morceau de salon"

Leduc: 1858

Dedicated to Auguste Barbereau.

33. "Allegretto pour piano"

autograph: 1870

Contained in the Album d'autographes de Ester Halévy et Geneviève Bizet, BN (Res. Vma. ms. 858); signed "E. Guiraud" and dedicated "à Madame Geneviève Bizet, Hommage bien affectueux."

34. "Allegro de Concert"

Durand et Schœnewerk: 1885

Written for piano competition at the Conservatoire.

35. Scherzo

Durand et Schœnewerk: 1890

Dedicated to M^{lle} Madeleine Jaeger.

36. "Rosine—Valse"
BN (Ms. 6099): n.d.
Although signed "E. Guiraud," the words "par Eugène Guiraud" appear on title page.
37. "Méditation" (for harmonium)
Durand: 1911
Work appears in "L'organiste," (Cons. S.1).

SONGS WITH PIANO ACCOMPANIMENT

38. "L'espérance" (M^{me} Lamadon)
Cachau à Pau: 1855
Dedicated to M^{lle} Larriu.
39. "Mignonne" (Ronsard)
Choudens: 1866
Dedicated to M^{me} Carvalho.
40. "Sérénade de Ruy-Blas" (Victor Hugo)
Choudens: 1869
Dedicated to M^{me} Ange Chabrier.
41. "Trop tard" (Albert Delpit)
Le Journal de musique (No. 29): 1876
42. "Rose" (Paul de Choudens)
Choudens père et fils: 1877
Dedicated to M. Simon-Max.
43. "D'où venez-vous?" (Alphonse de Lamartine)
Durand et Schœnewerk: 1879; autograph, BC (MS 6779).
Dedicated to M^{lle} Elise Chabrier.
44. "Berceuse" (Jacques Normand)
Durand et Schœnewerk: 1884
Dedicated to M^{lle} Elise Chabrier.

45. "La pervenche" (Alphonse de Lamartine)
 Durand et Schœnewerk: 1884
 Dedicated to M^{lle} Elise Chabrier.

46. "Crépuscule" (Albert Mérat)
 Heugel: 1892; autograph, BC (MS 6097).

47. "Chanson à boire" (M^{me} Marie Barbier)
 J. Hetzel: 1893
 Mélodie found in Marie Barbier's Les contes blancs;
 dedicated "à Madame Marie Barbier, hommage de son tout
 dévoué E. Guiraud."

48. "La servante au grand coeur" (Charles Baudelaire)
 Paul Dupont: 1896
 Dedicated to M^{me} Yveling Rambaud.

49. "Adieu Suzon"
 Enoch: n.d., lost.
 Listed in the "Répertoire d'Ernest Guiraud" at the Société des
 Auteurs et Compositeurs.

50. "Sans amour" (Lucien Paté)
 Enoch: Found in Album du Gaulois, 1885 (Library of Congress,
 M1. A69G3).
 Listed in the "Répertoire d'Ernest Guiraud" at the Société des
 Auteurs et Compositeurs.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

51. Traité pratique d'instrumentation
 Durand et Schœnewerk: 1890, 1892, 1919, 1933.
 1933 edition revised by Henri Büsser and published by
 Durand & Cie.

52. Notice sur la vie et les oeuvres de Léo Delibes.

Firmin-Didot: 1889

Tribute read to the members of the Institut de France on 2 April 1892.

53. Three reviews for Le Moniteur of the first performance of Wagner's Ring at Bayreuth.

August 1876 (according to Brody, 47).

GUIRAUD'S ARRANGEMENTS OF HIS OWN WORKS

Chasse fantastique (poème symphonique)

Durand et Schœnewerk: piano four hands, 1887.

"Danse persane" (air de ballet)

Durand et Schœnewerk: piano four hands, 1880.

Deuxième suite d'orchestre

Durand et Schœnewerk: piano four hands, 1886.

Gretna-Green

"Valse du colin-maillard"

Durand et Schœnewerk: piano four hands, 1886, 1892.

Ouverture de Concert, "Artevelde," op. 10

Durand et Schœnewerk: piano four hands, 1874.

Piccolino

"Ouverture"

Durand et Schœnewerk: piano four hands, 1876, 1877.

Première suite d'orchestre

Durand et Schœnewerk: piano four hands, 1872; "Carnaval" for piano solo, 1877.

ARRANGEMENTS OF GUIRAUD'S WORKS BY OTHERS

DANSE PERSANE

Barnier, Théodore. Transcribed for military band. Evette et Scaefffer: 1891.

Lack, Théodore. Transcribed for piano. Durand et Schœnewerk: 1885.

Mouton, H. Transcribed for small orchestra. Durand: 1911.

DEUXIEME SUITE D'ORCHESTRE

Latz, Claude. Transcribed for band. Durand: 1938.

Mouton, H. Transcribed for small orchestra. Durand: 1912.

FREDEGONDE

Sandré, Gustave. Selections for piano, 1896.

GALANTE AVENTURE

Bazille, A. "Entr'acte" transcribed for piano. Durand et Schœnewerk: 1882.

"Le Capitaine Bois-Baudry" arranged for "choeur pour 2 voix égales," Durand: 1914.

De Honfort, B. "Polka" for piano. Durand et Schœnewerk: 1882.

De Vilbac, Renaud. four hand arrangement. Durand et Schœnewerk: 1882.

_____. "Entr'acte" transcribed for piano, four hands. Durand et Schœnewerk: 1882.

Marx, H. "Quadrille" for piano. Durand et Schœnewerk: 1882.

Mouton, H. Arranged for piano trio. Durand & Fils: 1920.

_____. "Fantaisie" arranged for orchestra. Durand: 1936.

Neustedt, Charles. Transcription for piano. Paris: 1882.

Waldteufel, Emile. "Suite de Valses" for piano. Durand et Schœnewerk: 1882.

GRETNA-GREEN

Chic, Léon. "Scène et Valse" for military band. Goumas: 1883.

De Bozi, Harold. Transcription of Gretna-Green for accordion. From Les Chefs-d'oeuvre de la musique transcrits pour accordéon. vol. 3, p. 10. Durand & Fils: 1946.

Derégnaucourt, O. "Polka-Mazurkas" for piano. Durand et Schœnewerk: 1873; orchestrated by E. Deransart, Paris: 1873

Mouton, H. "Scène et Valse" for small orchestra. Durand: 1910.

Neustedt, Charles. "Fantaisie brillante" for piano. Paris: 1873.

Waldteufel, E. "Valse" for piano. Durand et Schœnewerk: 1873.

MADAME TURLUPIN

- Arban, J. B. "Polka" for piano. Escudier: 1873
- _____. "Quadrille" for piano. Léon Escudier: 1873.
- Chapelier, F. "Entr'acte" arranged for orchestra. Rouert et Lerolle: 1917.
- Cramer. "Choisis de mélodies" for piano. Paris: 1873.
- De Lauzieres, A. Italian translation with recitatives. Léon Escudier: 1873.
- De Vilbac, Renaud. "Deux Suites" arranged for four hands. Louis Gregh: 1882
- Deransart, E. "Valse" for piano. Léon Escudier: 1873.
- Foare, Charles. "Ouverture" arranged for military band. Evette et Schaeffer, 1900.
- Magnus, D. "Fantaisie de salon" for piano. Paris: 1873, 1888.
- Martin, Léon. "Sept morceaux détachés." Escudier: 1873.
- _____. "Cinq morceaux détachés." Louis Gregh: 1888.
- _____. "Ouverture, Entr'acte, Romance and chœur de la retraite." Louis Gregh: 1888.
- _____. "Ouverture" for piano. Escudier: 1873.
- _____. "Entr'acte" transcribed for piano. Léon Escudier: 1873.
- _____. "Romance et chœur de la retraite" arranged for piano. Escudier: 1873.
- Marx, H. "Quadrille" for piano. Léon Escudier: 1873.
- _____. "Quadrille" for orchestra. Lafleur Aîmé: 1873.

Ourdine, Hans. "Ouverture" arranged for orchestra. Rouart et Lerolle: 1917.

Rummel, Joseph. "Madame Turlupin, mosaïques pour piano." Paris: 1873.

PICCOLINO

Arban. "Quadrille brillant" for piano. Durand et Schœnewerk: 1878.

_____. "Quadrille brillant" for piano four hands. Durand et Schœnewerk: 1876.

Battmann, J. S. "Sorrentine de Piccolino." Transcription ("facile") for piano. Paris: 1876.

Brèmond, F. "Cavatine" transcribed for horn or cello and piano. Durand & Fils: 1893.

Cramer. "Bouquet de mélodies" for piano. Paris: 1876.

De Vilbac, Renaud. Two suites for four hands. Durand et Schœnewerk: 1876.

Deransart, E. "Quadrille brillant" for piano four hands. Durand et Schœnewerk: 1876.

_____. "Quadrille brillant" for piano. Durand et Schœnewerk: 1876.

_____. "Suite de Valses" for piano. Durand et Schœnewerk: 1876.

Durand & Fils: n.p. "Mélodrame" for violin or mandoline solo.

_____. "Sorrentine" for solo voice.

Foare, Charles. "Ouverture" arranged for military band. Evette & Schaeffer: 1900.

- Gariboldi. "Airs choisis" transcribed for violin, flute, or cornet solo.
Durand et Schœnewerk: 1877.
- Herman, Adolphe. "Fantaisie" for violin and piano, op. 180. Durand et
Schœnewerk: 1876.
- Lafleurance, L. "Mélodrame" transcribed for flute and piano. Durand:
1895.
- Lamm, A. "Melodrame" for cello and piano. Durand & Fils: 1895.
- Lefort, A. "Melodrame" for violin and piano. Durand et Schœnewerk:
1888; Boston: O. Ditson Co., 1913.
- Lemaitre, Paul. "Sorrentine de Piccolino" transcribed for violin and
piano. Durand & Fils: 1900.
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Piccolino

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VITA

Daniel Weilbaecher was born in New Orleans in 1946. He studied piano with Edgar Davis at the University of Southwestern Louisiana, where he earned a B.M. in piano performance in 1969. After a year of graduate work with Sylvia Zaremba at Tulane University, Weilbaecher returned to the University of Southwestern Louisiana to study with Madelyn Tribble and was awarded an M.M. in 1972.

In 1972 Weilbaecher went to London for two years of work at the Royal Academy of Music, where he studied with the pianist Gordon Green. He received the Academy's Recital Diploma and the MacFarren Medal in 1974. While at the Royal Academy, Weilbaecher was the recipient of a Dalies Frantz Fellowship from the James Dick Foundation and a Leverhulme Studentship from the Royal Academy of Music.

Weilbaecher began doctoral studies in piano performance at Louisiana State University in 1980, where he studied with Dr. Daniel Sher. Currently on the faculty of Tulane University, Weilbaecher has also held teaching positions at Louisiana State University and Loyola University of New Orleans.

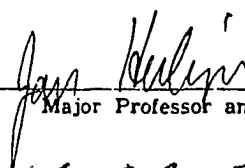
DOCTORAL EXAMINATION AND DISSERTATION REPORT

Candidate: Daniel Weilbaecher

Major Field: Music

Title of Dissertation: ERNEST GUIRAUD: A BIOGRAPHY AND CATALOGUE OF WORKS

Approved:



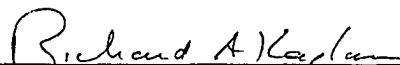
Major Professor and Chairman



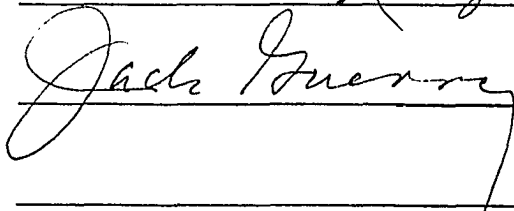
Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:









Date of Examination:

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