Wagnerism in France from 1860 - 1902, with focus on Massesnet’s *Esclarmonde* and Debussy’s *Pelléas et Mélisande*

**The Rise of Wagnerism**

Considering the state of the relationship between France and Germany approaching the twentieth century, it is a wonder that Richard Wagner had any positive reception among the French culture. Wagner was frequently regarded as an icon for German nationalists, who caused controversy with his revolutionary music-dramas throughout Europe and did not help himself by publishing essays such as *German Art and German Politics* (1867), in which he used
France as an example to his country of what they should not become. ¹ Nevertheless, before the start of World War One, almost every major French composer had delved into some aspect of Wagner’s musical approach, dramatic structure or his philosophical beliefs. ² Unsurprisingly, his rise to acceptance and eventual success was not straightforward and even within individuals, such as Massenet and Debussy, opinions were often susceptible to change.

Initial attempts to break into Parisian theatre faltered when an infamous production of Tannhäuser (1861) was cancelled after three performances because of the adverse reaction it received. This, in combination with other events, created mass debate among the artistic intellects of the Second French Empire. Discussions about Wagner had started surfacing in France as early as 1852 in prominent journals such as the Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris.³ Despite critics such as Fétis and Scudo who wrote negative essays about his work, with charges of formlessness and a musical system that crushed spontaneity, there were also those who already championed Wagner. These included Realist art critic Champfleury and Baudelaire, whose essay Richard Wagner et Tannhäuser à Paris had a profound influence later on in 1861.⁴

The Franco-Prussian war of 1870 – 1871 only worsened general attitudes towards the German composer, as critics arguments were heightened by their position in a country that was now reinforcing a nationalistic vibe and was wary of any sort of Germanic intrusion on their culture. Particularly in music, this was even more of a concern, as ever since the Académie Royale de Musique was founded in 1669, opera in Pairs was deemed to be a reflection of the

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⁴ Huebner, 1999, Pp. 11
national image and the city itself was arguably the centre of European opera. Hence, the challenges which Wagner aroused within opera and his proposed changes to the system, established him as even more of a threat from French perspectives.

It was the Symbolists who really admired Wagner’s aesthetics and propelled him into the status of a worshipped composer in France. By the 1870s, Symbolism had become a key artistic movement developed initially by the poets Baudelaire, Mallarmé and Verlaine. Alongside Impressionism, its values spread across literature, music, philosophy and painting. Jean Moréas summarised how Symbolists were struck by the ‘excessive ceremoniousness, unfamiliar metaphors [and] a new vocabulary in which harmonies are combined with colours’.

The status of music was elevated and other literary strands began to use it as a model for their creative work. In their bid to express the inexpressible, Symbolists believed music was the most capable way of achieving this, linking to Schopenhauer’s declarations that music alone could directly express to the affective life of the soul. This in turn links to Wagner’s aesthetics, greatly admired by the majority of Symbolists.

Among them were well-known names such as Schuré, Chamberlain and Théodore de Wyzewa. Prior to Wagner’s Eine Kapitulation, which made a mockery of Paris, Mèndes was also included in this group. He pleaded a case to the Nationalists for Wagner’s music stating that ‘Music-drama in France would produce works whose inspiration,
although profoundly French in essence, would be developed according to the principles laid down in the Wagnerian system’. Jarocinski identified the main attractions for Symbolists which lay mostly in Wagner’s ‘union of words and sounds, the symbolism of the musical Leitmotifs, and especially the element of mysticism which particularly appealed to their imagination’. Additionally, his concept of a ‘Gesamtkunstwerk’, meaning ‘total artwork’ appealed to them, because the amalgamation of language, poetry, drama and music consequentially led to a breakdown of the barriers set between word and music and allowing them to complement each other.

The Symbolist’s increasing popularity spread Wagner’s influence across the nation, so that by 1885, there were twenty-five concerts in Paris which featured Wagner’s music, as opposed to the four in 1876. This growth in popularity was also partly linked to the composer’s death, which allowed many people to detach from the dilemma that Wagner’s politics had presented and now focus solely on the innovative developments he had contributed to music and drama. Books and journals about him became available in abundance due to the huge proportion of theoretical work he produced, the most notable journal being the Revue Wagnérienne which was founded by Dujardin and published from 1885 until 1888. The original intention of the journal was to proliferate the successes of Wagner and contributions came from many distinguished musicians and writers, including Mallarmé, Verlaine, Mèndes, Liszt, Saint-Saëns, d’Indy, Bruneau and Fauré, to name a few. It soon became as much a publication for Symbolists as Wagnerians, as Leblanc observed ‘the symbolist aesthetic is the issue of Wagnerism… the symbolist poet found, in the Revue Wagnérienne, a veritable manifesto of their movement’. The fact that Wagner always remained a connecting feature of the articles proves just how integral to the movement he was.

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9 Jarocinski, 1976, Pp. 72


11 Myers, 1971, Pp. 69

12 Quenoy, 2011, Pp. 81
Another change which occurred was in the role of the Société Nationale de Musique. After the Franco-Prussian war, the society aimed to propagate French music, through methods such as placing reputed musicians within institutions, such as Massenet, Saint-Saëns and Gounod. However, the younger generation were uninspired by what were now old methods of composition. Instead, they turned to the example of Franck, who respected Wagner and joined him in the continual search for perfect forms of artistic expression. His favour towards Germanic music transmitted into his ardent followers, who included Bordes, d’Indy, Durpac and Chausson. This German neo-romantic style broke down their previous nationalist conceptions of music and contributed to less resistance from other anti-Wagnerians. Subsequently, their distaste for anyone who did not share their artistic principles left the Société in a weakened position and struggling to defend themselves, to the point that in 1886 Saint-Saëns, Bussine and many other members resigned from the organisation.\(^{13}\)

Throughout this time another controversy had sparked, over desires for a full stage production of one of Wagner’s music-dramas. Efforts were concentrated on Lohengrin, perhaps because of its affinities to a generic model of French grand opera.\(^{14}\). At this time, the French opera scene was based around two Parisian houses, the Académie nationale de musique (the Opéra) and the Théâtre national de l’Opéra-Comique. Both houses saw that this was a lucrative opportunity, but the government, who subsidised both houses, were wary to permit the production as they predicted trouble from Déroulède, leader of the Ligue des Patriotes who formed after the Franco-Prussian war with an aim for vengeance. Hesitantly, they allowed Carvalho from the Opéra-Comique to take up the challenge, but by 1885 the controversy had caused so much trouble that he discarded plans. Lamoureux then organised ten performances for 1887 and as predicted, Déroulède stirred trouble. Lamoureux was hastily forced to cancel the


\(^{14}\) Huebner, 1999, Pp. 16
remainder of the programme, much to the disappointment of Wagner’s admirers who maintained it was wrong to deny their country of what was ‘good music, of expressive poetry, of real drama... of true and sincere art’.  

The repercussions of such a debacle led to many successful productions of operas that reflected the Wagnerian approach. Many composers from the pre-1850 generation, such as Saint-Saëns and Reyer, endeavoured to find a synthesis between the old ‘French’ compositional style and modern, Wagnerian practices. This was achieved through integrating Wagner’s method of orchestration, motivic organisation and chromatic harmony. Furthermore, some composers acknowledged Wagner’s assertions that the traditionally historic subject matter of opera was distracting to audiences and proceeded to follow his example of using medieval legends as inspiration for plots, which according to Wagner were more able to present eternal truths. Lalo took into account the pervading aura of French nationalism and compromised by using a French medieval legend to form the basis of his opera Le Roi d’Ys, which was received remarkably well at its premiere in 1888 and went on to be performed 100 times at the Opéra-Comique.

15 Quenoy, 2011, Pp. 85


17 Fauser, 2008, Pp. 224
Massenet

That year, Massenet completed his work on *Esclarmonde* which had been quickly composed since the end of the previous year,\(^1\) and also demonstrates a collision between the two styles. Its premiere on 15 May 1889 was part of the Exposition Universelle as an example of French ‘modern’ achievement, and coincided with the inauguration of the Eiffel Tower.\(^2\)

Throughout the Exposition, its performances at the Opéra-Comique could be listened to via telephone from pavilions close to the Eiffel Tower, which attracted large audiences and an atmosphere which may have contributed to its successful reaction, whilst being avidly discussed by the press in a Wagnerian context.\(^3\)

Massenet’s infatuation with Wagner began early, when he played the timpani for some of his music in a Parisian concert in the early 1860s. Later, he attended performances of Wagner’s music-dramas such as an 1883 performance of *Das Rheingold*, which he described in a letter as ‘a spectacle of magic!’ He also denounced his own opera’s, *Hérodiate*, *Manon* and *Montalte* as ‘fake Gods’.\(^4\) Massenet also saw *Parsifal* in 1886, during which Wyzewa sat next to him and remarked on how ‘he trembled feverishly, grew short of breath, and his large sombre eyes flashed in the dark’ and after the performance he declared to be ‘anxious to get back to Paris and burn my *Werther*’.\(^5\)


\(^2\) Fauser, 2008, Pp. 62

\(^3\) Fauser, 2008, Pp. 40 - 45


\(^5\) Quenoy, 2011, Pp. 87
At this point Massenet appears to be a prime example of the composers who were harmfully affected by the influence of Wagner and sacrificed their own attributes to produce sterile imitations of Wagner. Yet, in more rational moments, Massenet seems to have a clear comprehension of this issue, as he announced that ‘the power of Wagner is such that upon leaving a performance of one of his own works, one vows to give up composition... but then one forgets and begins again’. A similar sense of understanding comes across in an interview for Le Figaro from 1884, where his opinions seem toned down since teaching students who were even more Wagnerian than himself. He perceived it necessary to keep the students ‘bridled’ until they had a better understanding of taste and tact (French characteristics) and were ready to ‘venture without risk into those new worlds, full of real seductions, but also of deceiving mirages’. Massenet himself sought to find a happy medium, between the Italian’s preoccupation with the voice and Wagner’s reliance on the orchestra.

However it was not his earlier operas that most resembled Wagner’s renowned style, but Esclarmonde. Librettists Blois and Blau based the story on the medieval French romance Partenopeus de Blois, meaning it has been examined in comparison to Wagner’s own use of medieval literature. It is often compared to Lohengrin because the plot is essentially the same but with a reversal of gender roles, as it is the Byzantine princess Esclarmonde who, hidden by a veil, conceals her identity from the knight Roland and warns him they can only pursue their romance if he does not question her. Telamund and Ortund’s roles are also imitated and expose Esclarmonde’s identity to Roland, so that she believes Roland has broken the promise, causing her to vanish. Unlike Lohengrin, this plot sees the knight find his princess and win her back through a trial of strength.

The name Esclarmonde derives from a thirteenth century ‘chanson de geste’, The Adventures of Huon de Bordeaux. Huon and Esclarmonde escape together and find themselves shipwrecked on an island. In fear of death, Huon

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23 Huebner, 1993, Pp. 223
24 Huebner, 1993, Pp. 226
26 Quenoy, 2011, Pp. 87
beseeches ‘Let us lie together for a more tender death, just as Tristan died for the beautiful Isolde, so too shall we in the name of God’. \(^{27}\) This reference sparks an obvious link between the two nineteenth century operas. Beyond the surface level of character and plot, there are also many suggestive musical elements which draw attention to Wagnerian echoes. Raymond de Rigné, a friend of the composer, illustrated how Massenet used to make clever allusions to other peoples work, which he called ‘petites malices’. \(^{28}\) For example, when Roland and Esclarmonde similarly find themselves stuck on an Island, they sing a love duet, of which a large section is in A flat major. Wagner’s Act II duet in Tristan and Isolde also centres on this key, and the passage ends with both characters falling into a bed of flowers as the audience hears the Tristan chord (Fig. 1a). As Esclarmonde and Roland do the same, Massenet concludes the final cadence with matching sonorities, albeit with different voice leading (Fig. 1b).

\(^{27}\) Huebner, 1993, Pp. 90

\(^{28}\) Huebner, 1993, Pp. 89
Wagner’s infamous Tristan chord also appears in Act I, when Esclarmonde laments that her beloved is far away and her sisters response, ‘But you are thinking of him!’ falls on the chord, hinting at Esclarmonde to use her powers (Fig. 2). The harmonic suggestion could be interpreted as a musical signification of Esclarmonde’s unrequited desire, or intimation to the magic motif which sounds in the next bar. Alternatively, it could be read as a playful caution or a pun reminiscent of how Wagner himself quoted the chord in the last act of Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg. Therefore Massenet’s similar use of quotation could be homage to the composer.29

Fig. 2

_Esclarmonde_ is also reminiscent of _Die Meistersinger_ through the openings, which both begin on organs in C major. Later in Act I, Énéas is introduced by a similar motif to the one heard when Pogner introduced Walther to the Mastersingers, highlighting the connection that they are both knights.30 In the following act there are also references to _Die Walküre_ as Esclarmonde’s promise ‘je suis belle et désirable’ is sung to a melody which reminisces the leitmotif that marks Siegmund’s attraction to Sieglinde. The moment where Esclarmonde presents Roland with the magic sword is also pertinent, as it mirrors the gift which Lohengrin presents to Gottfried. Furthermore, she identifies the sword as once having been used by St George, the dragon slayer. This legend is also connotated in _The Ring_ cycle by the Nothung sword which belongs to the heroic Siegfried. The first bar of this music freely plays on the

29 Fauser, 2008, Pp. 224
30 Huebner, 1999, Pp. 90 - 93
sword motif from *The Ring* in the same key of C major and on a chord that spans a tenth (Fig. 3a). Roland then sings about the sword in a melody that leads with the same scale degrees and rhythmic formation of the grail motif in *Parsifal* (Fig. 3b).

These connections to Wagner’s mature works are made more detectable through Massenet’s employment of medieval subject along with an extensive use of leitmotifs. Charles Malherbe wrote *Notice sur Esclarmonde* (1890), where he counted the number of leitmotivic occurrences in *Esclarmonde* to prove the extent to which Massenet had taken on Wagnerian methods. He found just six distinct leitmotifs, a relatively small amount, but the magic motif for example, is recorded to appear 111 times. Massenet used leitmotifs to a much lesser degree in some of his earlier operas, but he maintains his own style in *Esclarmonde* and rarely combines them contrapuntally or develops them in tonally open ended passages.\(^{31}\)

The structure is also worth examining. Tonally, throughout the opera the interplay between E flat and C major could be viewed as a representation of Esclarmonde and Roland’s relationship, made particularly prominent by their focus in the Act II love duet. The four acts are framed by the prologue and the epilogue, where the dramatic enigma is prepared and resolved respectively and both take place in the same basilica, marked by significant choral passages.

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\(^{31}\) Huebner, 1999, Pp. 95"
The passages start in C major and progress through D flat to reach D major, at which point the music in the prologue ends. However, the epilogue continues to modulate to E major, concluding both the overall tonal structure and the happy ending of the opera’s tale. The technique of something both musical and dramatic being left unfinished at the start, therefore leaving its mark on the rest of the opera until it is resolved at the end, can also be found in *Tristan and Isolde*.

Massenet maintained throughout his life that *Esclarmonde* was his favourite work, but critics produced varied responses, particularly in comparing it to Wagner. Some claimed it was too Wagnerian, whilst others argued it was not Wagnerian enough. Céard believed Massenet had only made a half way effort to Bayreuth, by avoiding a true development of motifs. Servières simply believed that Massenet was incapable of embracing the implications of Wagner’s theories and rudely dismissed *Esclarmonde* as being ‘wagnérisme éffeminée’. Malherbe’s defence was that in accordance with the aims he had laid out in his 1884 interview, Massenet took influence from the ‘système wagnerién’ and combined it with ‘the simplicity and clarity that are, and that must remain, in spite of foreign importations, a property of French genius’, to create his own masterpiece.

With the success of Wagnerian operas such as *Esclarmonde* around this time, the opposing side seemed to have lost the battle. During that year, the government dissolved the *Ligue des Patriotes* and Déroulède was eventually banished from the country. By 1891, four productions of *Lohengrin* finally transpired, not without some controversy,


33 Quenoy, 2011, Pp. 88

34 Huebner, 1999, Pp. 97
but with enough success that premieres were occurring all over France. In 1895 Wagner appeared on 35 Parisian concert programmes and these kinds of figures remained constant for years.\textsuperscript{35}

**Debussy**

Such massive popularity meant that eventually appreciation for Wagner, in some cases, became clichéd. However he continued to be genuinely considered as an inspiration to more serious artists and often one they could not escape from. Fauré notoriously tried to distance himself from Wagner, but in 1900 even he admitted ‘everything I have done seems ugly and outrageously imitative of Wagner’.\textsuperscript{36} Composers such as Chabrier, Chausson and d’Indy attempted to keep their individual voices as the main force of their music, but Wagner’s shadow seemed to crop up everywhere.\textsuperscript{37} For instance, Charpentier tried to do this with *Louise* (1900) but found he had inadvertently achieved the ‘Wagnerisation of characters from lower social classes’.\textsuperscript{38}

Debussy made it perfectly clear that he also intended to break free from Wagner’s trap. Once an admirer, he developed a more ambivalent attitude just as Mallarmé did, so that by the time he wrote ‘Pourquoi j’ai écrit Pelléas’ his opinion of Wagner was that he was a ‘great gatherer of formulae’ who seemed unique through his difficulty to understand.\textsuperscript{39} Prior to the conception of *Pelléas et Mélisande*, Debussy told his teacher, Guiraud, that he intended to write an opera ‘in which music begins where words become powerless in expression’, with no desire of imitating Wagner.\textsuperscript{40}

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\textsuperscript{35} Quenoy, 2011, Pp. 88 – 96  
\textsuperscript{36} Quenoy, 2011, Pp. 104  
\textsuperscript{37} Fauser, 2008, Pp. 224  
\textsuperscript{38} Quenoy, 2011, Pp. 104  
\textsuperscript{39} Huebner, 1999, Pp. 469  
\textsuperscript{40} Huebner, 1999, Pp. 470
Through *Pelléas* he also aimed to simplify music by undermining syntax and tuning it towards nature, in the style of the Symbolists, whilst retaining originality.\(^{41}\)

It is not that Debussy did not continue to appreciate the work Wagner had done, as he admitted his reason for doubting Wagner was that he believed the formulae ‘could only serve the particular case of Wagner’s genius’, hence his reasoning to take a different direction, for which he began to set out his intentions clearly in reviews from 1901.\(^{42}\) The premiere in 1902 was generally received well, but inevitably not by Wagnerian critics such as Mèndes who did not appreciate this diversion in style. But it has been questioned whether Debussy’s attempt was entirely successful as a full departure from Wagner, and it is well documented that it was a task with which he struggled. In a letter to Chausson from 1893, he complained ‘I was premature in crying ‘success!’ over *Pelléas et Mélisande*... It was like the duet by M. So-and-so, or nobody in particular, and worst of all the ghost of old Klingsor, alias R. Wagner, kept appearing in the corner of a bar, so I’ve torn the whole thing up.’\(^{43}\) Despite a new start in search for music that would be ‘after Wagner, not derived from Wagner’\(^{44}\), critics have still sourced many links between Wagnerian techniques and the *Pelléas* that audiences know today.

For starters, after Wagner French composers were no longer satisfied with librettos written in a formal language and started to want more unusual qualities, found in playwrights such as Maeterlinck. Debussy was attracted to Maeterlinck’s play by the ‘evocative language whose sensibility might find its counterpart in the music and orchestral décor’.\(^{45}\) Through the dramatic content, Debussy wished to use music to reveal the character’s deep thoughts and symbolise the forces of human destiny, rather than follow Wagner’s aim to make the musical development

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\(^{42}\) Kelly, 2008, Pp. 59


\(^{44}\) Jarocinski,1976, Pp. 101

\(^{45}\) Jarocinski, 1976, Pp. 129
responsible for the action. To clarify, Abbate identifies how Pelléas uses text spoken over an orchestral continuum, where as Wagner’s music-drama’s such as Tristan and Isolde allow the vocal line to determine the overall structure.

In terms of plot, there are two scenes which Holloway and Abbate have both noticed a parallel between; Debussy’s ‘Tryst scene’ (Act IV scene four) and Act II of Tristan. Both follow the same sequence of events, beginning with the lyric rhapsodies from the waiting Isolde and Pélleas, then a love duet interrupted by the warning of impending danger and finally a murderous attack upon the hero.⁴⁶ There are no other obvious links in the plot to other Wagnerian works though, and Huebner has also noted the clear contrast between light and dark imagery in Maeterlinck’s play as opposed to Wagner’s use of day and night in Tristan, as the characters respond to them in such different ways.⁴⁷

Debussy also denounced Wagner’s use of leitmotifs quite openly, stating that ‘I hate the Leitmotif even when... it is used with taste and discretion. Can you imagine that in a composition the same emotion can be expressed twice’?⁴⁸ Although Debussy’s aesthetic preferences were influenced greatly by the Symbolists, his aversion to Wagner’s leitmotif was based on how transparently he used them as a means of symbolism. Many scholars have identified an abundance of motifs within the opera and there have been debates over what they signify and whether they are similar to Wagner’s. Others believe this is a misunderstanding and are more inclined towards defences from critics such as Laloy, who explained these were not like Wagner’s overly rational ‘tag-motifs’ which were used to indicate specific objects, as his themes apply ‘only to a feeling and only come[s] back when summoned by that feeling.’⁴⁹ He conveniently seems to ignore Debussy’s use of recurring motifs that also represent characters, which are left

⁴⁷ Huebner, 1999, Pp. 476 - 477
⁴⁸ Jarocinski, 1976, Pp. 98
⁴⁹ Kelly, 2008, Pp. 62
unexplained, but he does admit that he views Debussy’s work as an extension to Wagner rather than a rejection. However, a difference can be seen between the way Wagner uses leitmotifs to comment on the drama and how Debussy uses them more delicately to reflect and illuminate.

There are also an abundance of Wagnerian quotations that can be distinguished in the musical text, to the extent that when Strauss saw the opera he was able to point out every instance of imitation and at one passage, unimpressed, he exclaimed ‘But that is all in Parsifal’. Just as Massenet did, Debussy also quotes the Tristan chord, playing on the pun of the word ‘triste’ (sad) and ‘Tristan’. For example during the Tryst scene, Mélisande sings ‘je suis heureuse, mais, je suis triste’ (Fig. 4) which falls onto the recognisable pitches of F, B, D sharp and G sharp.50

Fig. 4 Pelléas et Mélisande, Act IV, Scene 4.

Frequently, quotations are found during the interludes which Debussy had to write quickly before the premiere, which suggests these are the areas where he had the least time to cover up any Wagnerian allusions. The interlude following Act II scene two is reflective of the prelude to Act III of Tristan, with similar orchestration and harmonic structure, just played a minor third above. Debussy reproduces the same pattern of using the ascending melodic motive 2-3, played over chord IV and followed by 4-5 over the tonic (Fig. 5). Holloway has made a notable

50 Abbate, 1981, Pp. 136
contribution to the study of quotations in *Pelléas*, but Abbate criticises his lack of distinction between pointed references and vague affinities which he claims have no meaning, which could be merely a coincidence of a common harmonic vocabulary. From Abbate’s turn of the argument, it is no longer necessary to regard the ‘pointless’ references as Wagnerian influence, which leaves only the purposeful quotations. The Tristan chord allusions, for example, are not of any musical significance, but Debussy has allowed details from the text to evoke this element without any long-term impact on the rest of the opera.

There are also tonal associations to be made between *Pelléas* and Wagner, which Abbate has outlined by examining the preliminary material for the opera. She noticed a fairly rigid scheme that Debussy later attempted to hide, once he had realised how close his work was to resembling Wagner’s. Yet it has been contended that the flexibility in Debussy’s score would represent a true departure to his contemporary French composers. Unlike Wagner, his tonal imagery does not depend on specific keys; his ‘light’ is represented by sharp keys and ‘dark’ is played on a range of

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flat keys. What remains Wagnerian about his tonal structure, is that the directional planning is cast over large portions of the drama in order to control its metaphorical function. This approach was used in a myriad of other operas around that time, including *Esclarmonde*, along with *Werther, Fervaal* and *Le Roi Arthus*.52

**Summary**

Even if Debussy did put his full efforts into removing himself from that Wagnerian genus and never did intend for these allusions and similarities to exist between his work and Wagner’s, this essay shows that they still exist. Massenet’s equal attempt to avoid falling into that trap in *Esclarmonde* demonstrates a similar struggle. Whether purposeful or not, both operas still embody various connections which allow the presence of Wagner to permeate through the works, even if only to a small degree. However, these cases are not unique and these observations are not meant in any detrimental manner to either the composers or their works, which both have brilliant qualities and are arguably none the worse for having Wagnerian overtones. Furthermore, it was not just France that Wagner’s theories and musical influence affected, as it was spread all across the Western world and did not just remain within the operatic genre. But it was French opera that produced the first wave of Wagnerism to such a grand scale53 and whether it was always welcomed or not by composers and other serious artists, it is obvious that Wagner’s affect remained a pervading feature in France throughout these years.

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52 Huebner, 1999, Pp. 474 - 476

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