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Introduction

The works that stand for the time

On January 23, 1936, *le Tout-Paris* gathered for a concert at the count and countess de Beaumont's luxurious salon on the rue Duroc. Étienne and Édith de Beaumont were well-known figures on the Parisian artistic scene, famous for hosting spectacular masked balls that often featured newly commissioned music. This concert was, in contrast, a more serious affair. A charity event for the worker relief programs of the Archbishop of Paris, it was conceived as a celebration of Epiphany, the revelation of Christ the son.[1] The theme was the Nativity story, illustrated by *tableaux vivants* based on Byzantine, medieval and early modern religious art. The directors included the painter Marie Laurencin and the designer Christian Bérard; novelist Louise de Vilmorin provided original prose commentaries to gloss the biblical and liturgical citations announcing the scenes, which were acted by prominent figures of contemporary fashion, arts and letters (figure 0.1).[2]

While this kind of salon performance might be considered a largely irrelevant remnant of an earlier era – a nostalgic attempt to revive a world definitively destroyed by the Great War – it has long been recognized that in Parisian avant-garde musical circles, aristocratic patrons such as the Beaumonts were a major force throughout the interwar period. Private concerts could be part of a suite of activities that included organization or subvention of public concert series, commission of new works for public institutions, and other contributions to wider concert culture. In the Beaumonts' case, support for new music overlapped with a lively interest in new technology, particularly radio and recording. One of the most intriguing aspects of this Nativity charity is that it was not only an exclusive private event, reported in the press as a highlight of the social season

[1] Cardinal Jean Verdier's Chantiers du Cardinal, launched in 1931, was designed to create new churches and parish buildings in the rapidly expanding Parisian suburbs while providing employment for workers hit by the economic crisis. On the Beaumonts, see Mary E. Davis, *Classic Chic: Music, Fashion, and Modernism* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006), 226–34; Myriam Chimènes, *Mécènes et musiciens: Du salon au concert à Paris sous le IIIe République* (Paris: Fayard, 2004), 609–17; Roger Nichols, *The Harlequin Years: Music in Paris 1917–1929* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2002), 162–6.

[2] Program held at CNLB; the copy at *F-Pn* Rés. Vm dos. 195 lacks the insert listing the *tableaux vivants*.

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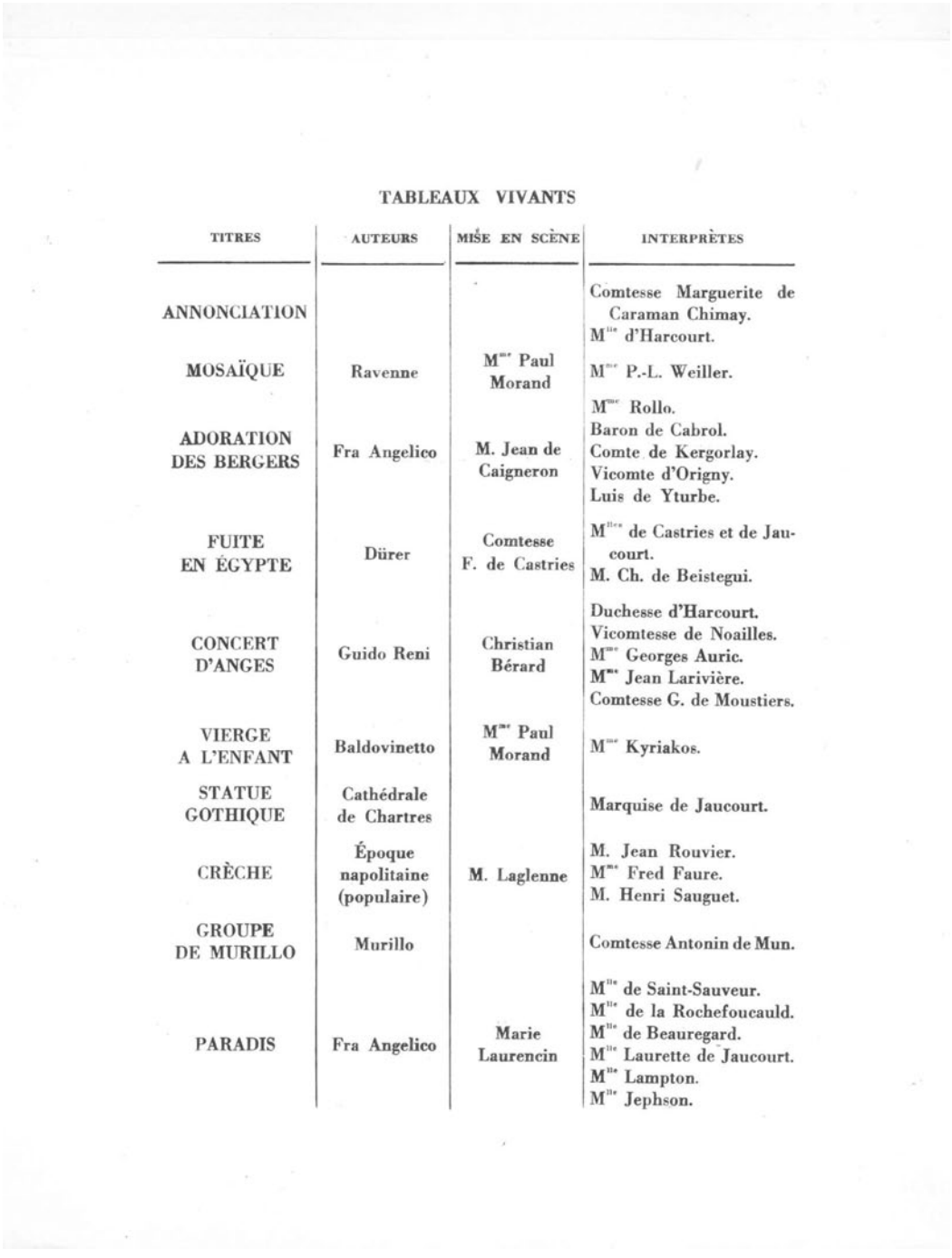

TABLEAUX VIVANTS

TITRES	AUTEURS	MISE EN SCÈNE	INTERPRÈTES
ANNONCIATION			Comtesse Marguerite de Caraman Chimay. M^lle d'Harcourt.
MOSAÏQUE	Ravenne	M^me Paul Morand	M^me P.-L. Weiller.
ADORATION DES BERGERS	Fra Angelico	M. Jean de Caigneron	M^me Rollo. Baron de Cabrol. Comte de Kergorlay. Vicomte d'Origny. Luis de Yturbe.
FUITE EN ÉGYPTE	Dürer	Comtesse F. de Castries	M^mes de Castries et de Jaucourt. M. Ch. de Beistegui.
CONCERT D'ANGES	Guido Reni	Christian Bérard	Duchesse d'Harcourt. Vicomtesse de Noailles. M^me Georges Auric. M^me Jean Larivière. Comtesse G. de Moustiers.
VIERGE A L'ENFANT	Baldovinetto	M^me Paul Morand	M^me Kyriakos.
STATUE GOTHIQUE	Cathédrale de Chartres		Marquise de Jaucourt.
CRÈCHE	Époque napolitaine (populaire)	M. Laglenne	M. Jean Rouvier. M^me Fred Faure. M. Henri Sauguet.
GROUPE DE MURILLO	Murillo		Comtesse Antonin de Mun.
PARADIS	Fra Angelico	Marie Laurencin	M^lle de Saint-Sauveur. M^lle de la Rochefoucauld. M^lle de Beauregard. M^lle Laurette de Jaucourt. M^lle Lampton. M^lle Jephson.

Figure 0.1. List of *tableaux* from the program, Epiphany concert at the salon of Étienne and Édith de Beaumont, January 23, 1936. Collection of the Centre Nadia et Lili Boulanger. Photo © Répertoire de Programmes de Concert en France.

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(figures 0.2–0.3),[3] it was also radio broadcast, so that at least some of the large number of ordinary French people who had enthusiastically integrated the new medium into their lives could listen in, even if they could not see the costumed actors or the minks and diamonds of the wealthy audience. In this somewhat unlikely yet quintessentially modern blend of old and new, elite and mass culture, fashion and faith, the Beaumonts' concert points toward the strong desire to reconcile tradition and innovation that so heavily marked interwar France.

This concern also affected the selection and performance of the music heard by the Beaumonts' guests. Nadia Boulanger directed vocal soloists, a choir and chamber orchestra in music she had chosen to speak to the


La Fête des Rois chez la comtesse Etienne de Beaumont

Cette fête, organisée hier soir sous le signe de la charité, a été particulièrement brillante. Un magnifique succès fut réservé aux tableaux vivants, tous inspirés des chefs-d'œuvre de l'histoire. Voici, à gauche : la « Crèche napolitaine », interprétée par Mme Fred Faure et M. Jean Rouvier ; à droite : la marquise de Jaucourt symbolisant une statue gothique.

Figure 0.2. "La Fête des Rois chez la Comtesse Étienne de Beaumont," *Le Figaro*, January 24, 1936, p. 5.

[3] Two reports appeared in *Comoedia* (January 25, 1936): one on the music, and a second in the column "Réceptions" that concentrated on the audience. On January 24, *Le Figaro* ran pictures of the *tableaux vivants* on the arts page and photographs of the attendees' gowns in the "Vie Mondaine" section, and *Vendémiare* printed a satirical article by "Snob" on society music-lovers, recommending that they seek musical training from "notre Nadia nationale" if they wished to be really chic.

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LA VIE MONDAINE EN FRANCE ET A L'ETRANGER

LES TENDANCES DE LA MODE

AU BAL DES ROIS, CHEZ LA COMTESSE ETIENNE DE BEAUMONT

1. Le style grec de cette robe à tunique, en mousseline de soie blanche plissée « soleil », convenait à ravir à Mrs Wilson. — 2. La vicomtesse de Rochechouart (à gauche) portait un fourreau de marocain noir dont le décolleté irrégulier se soulignait de renards argentés, et la comtesse de Lubersac (à droite), une robe en crêpe bleu lavande aux très larges manches entièrement travaillées de petits plis. — 3. Mlle d'Harcourt portait une robe aux lignes amples, aux manches « corolles » en satin brillant et souple, et Mlle de Caraman-Chimay une robe de style, au bord festonné, en un lourd satin cassant. — 4. Mlle Lampton qui figurait un des anges du « Paradis » de Fra Angelico.

(Phot. G.-L. Manuel.)

AUJOURD'HUI

Le deuil franco-britannique

Fêtes et réceptions décommandées

DANS LES AMBASSADES

FIANCAILLES

MARIAGES

Élégances

Pages d'histoire sacrée chez la comtesse de Beaumont

Sous les lambris dorés, les girandoles, les flammes des bougies amies des teints féminins, il nous fut donné, jeudi soir, dans un bal éminemment chrétien, de réapprendre, devant un des plus beaux décors de Paris, les principales scènes de l'Histoire sainte.

Empruntant à l'art pictural à travers les temps à la jeunesse en fleur et au goût précis d'aujourd'hui, ce qu'ils peuvent offrir de plus frais et de plus coloré, une fresque vivante ressuscita, pour quelques brefs instants, la première imagerie du monde.

Au son d'un chœur céleste, choisi et dirigé par Mme Nadia Boulanger, les mélodies ailées du chant grégorien accompagnèrent la suite des tableaux vivants, que la voix harmonieuse de la comtesse Jean de Beaumont détaillait à la nombreuse assistance.

Successivement, il nous fut loisible d'applaudir la ligne altière de Mlle d'Harcourt, ange d'une annonciation dont la comtesse de Caraman-Chimay était la vierge ; la silhouette hiératique de Mme P.-L. Weiller, madone vêtue par Jodelle de velours couleur de nuit, dressée sur son socle contre la mosaïque noire et blanche de Ravenne ; l'étonnante reconstitution blanche et noire d'une pointe sèche de Dürer : la fuite en Egypte ; le concert d'anges, de Guido Reni, revue et corrigé par Christian Bérard, et qu'incarnaient avec grâce la duchesse d'Harcourt, la vicomtesse de Noailles, la comtesse G. de Moustiers, Mme G. Auric et Mme J. Larivière. Puis apparurent à nos yeux éblouis, la Vierge et l'Enfant, de Baldovinetto, symphonie noire, rouge et bleue, magistralement interprétée par Jodelle, qui avait exécuté la robe de vierge en crêpe rouge laque, le manteau bleu et la draperie noire, qui mettaient en valeur le visage inspiré de Mme Kyriacos, agenouillée devant Jésus.

Ensuite, nous vîmes la marquise de Jaucourt, sous la fine et étroite silhouette blanche d'une statue gothique de la cathédrale de Chartres, puis la Crèche napolitaine, dont les coloris vifs et enfantins, le groupement et la candeur étaient exprimés avec art par Mme Fred Faure, bel ange au manteau pourpre, et MM. Rouvier et Sauguet ; puis la comtesse A. de Mun représenta une vierge de Murillo, couronnée d'étoiles et habillée d'un manteau azuré, et, enfin, bouquet final de cette succession d'images pieuses, le Paradis de Fra Angelico nous offrit la vision de six anges blonds aux ailes d'or, qui avaient emprunté les visages plus séraphiques que nature de Mlles de Saint-Sauveur, de La Rochefoucauld, de Beauregard, de Jaucourt, Lampton et Jephson.

L'assistance, qui se pressait en foule à ce spectacle de choix, était, comme il se doit, d'une haute élégance, et l'on pouvait constater, en considérant les innombrables robes de paillettes noires, de crêpe groseille, vert, marron ou violet qui habillaient la comtesse de Contades, la baronne R. de Rothschild, la princesse A. de Broglie, Mme Massigli, et tant d'autres, que les atours de notre siècle ne le cèdent en rien, en beauté, à ceux que l'art et la foi donnèrent comme parure aux archanges et aux vierges à travers le temps et l'espace.

Comtesse de S...

PETIT CARNET

Figure 0.3. "La Vie mondaine en France et à l'étranger / Les Tendances de la mode" and "Élégances," *Le Figaro*, January 25, 1936, p. 2.

paintings as each new *tableau* was revealed (figure 0.4). Framed by Bach and Buxtehude at the start and close, the program included music from the middle ages to the twentieth century, juxtaposed so that chronologically distant pieces flowed in and out of each other for different scenes. For a Byzantine mosaic, Boulanger placed music by Stravinsky next to an anonymous Elizabethan consort song; for a Murillo painting, a de Falla lullaby led into a Bach chorale. The program surprises, not only by the sheer range of the repertory, but also for its seemingly random sequence. Much of the music was little known at the time, and few concerts of the period, especially those including such relatively unfamiliar music, showed such striking disregard for chronology in their organization. Yet, as Boulanger explained to the audience, her choices were intentional, aimed at demonstrating a crucial aesthetic point. Her performance was meant to show "how the true affinities in art are outside of the logical progression of time – how, suddenly, across the centuries, kinships assert themselves – and link the

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23 JANVIER 1936

PROGRAMME

COMMENTAIRES DE LOUISE DE VILMORIN

Prologue	Musique de J.-S. Bach. Les chœurs et l'orchestre.
I. L'Annonciation	Musique de Josquin des Prés, Palestrina. Comtesse Jean de Polignac, Mlle Rauh, MM. Derennes et Conrad. Les chœurs et l'orchestre.
II. Mosaïque byzantine	Musique d'Igor Strawinsky, Anonyme du XVIe s., Zipoli, Palestrina. M. Cuénod, les chœurs et l'orchestre.
III. L'Adoration des Bergers	Musique de Marcelle de Manziarly, J.-S. Bach, Schütz, Hindemith. Comtesse Jean de Polignac, Mmes Peyron, Bondonneau, Kedroff, Rauh, Monteil. MM. Cuénod, Kiritchenko, Sternoff et Tourintseff. Les chœurs et l'orchestre.
IV. La Fuite en Egypte	Musique de Schütz, Anonyme du XIVe s., Purcell, Anonyme du XVe s., J.-S. Bach. Comtesse Jean de Polignac, Mmes I. Kedroff, Peyron, N. Kedroff, Rauh, M. de Manziarly, Monteil. MM. Conrad, Kiritchenko, Sternoff, Tourintseff, Cuénod et Derennes. Les chœurs et l'orchestre.
V. Le Concert d'Anges	Musique de J.-S. Bach. Comtesse Jean de Polignac, Mme Kedroff. Musique d'Igor Strawinsky. Comtesse Jean de Polignac et l'orchestre.
VI. Vierge à l'Enfant	Musique de Haydn. Comtesse Jean de Polignac, Mme Kedroff, MM. Cuénod et Conrad.
VII. — Statue gothique	Musique de Palestrina, J.-S. Bach. Les chœurs et l'orchestre.

Figure 0.4. Program, Epiphany concert at the salon of Étienne and Édith de Beaumont, January 23, 1936. Collection of the Centre Nadia et Lili Boulanger. Photo © Répertoire de Programmes de Concert en France.

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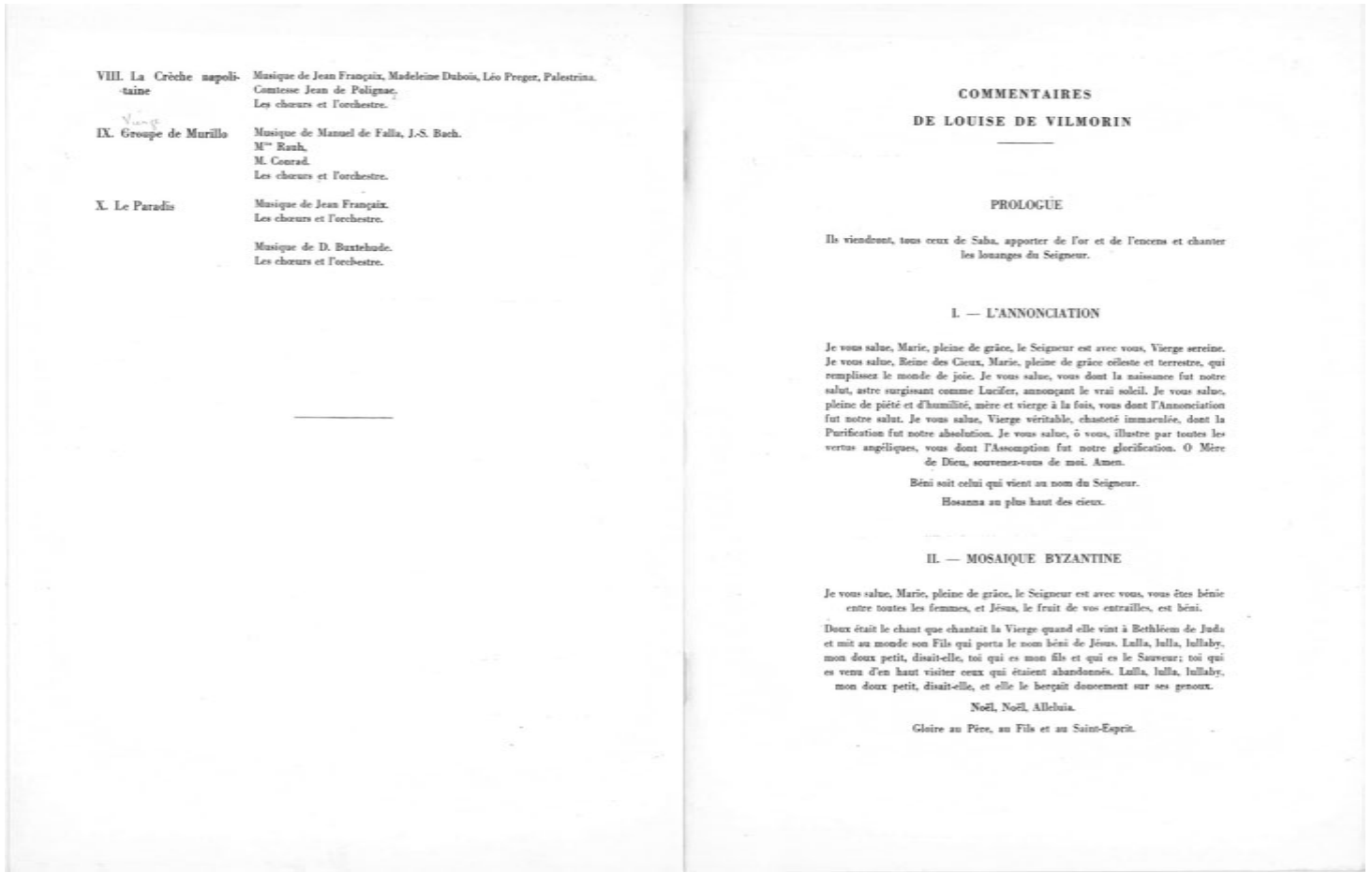

VIII. La Crèche napolitaine — Musique de Jean Françaix, Madeleine Dubois, Léo Preger, Palestrina. Comtesse Jean de Polignac. Les chœurs et l'orchestre.

IX. Groupe de Murillo — Musique de Manuel de Falla, J.-S. Bach. Mme Rauh, M. Conrad. Les chœurs et l'orchestre.

X. Le Paradis — Musique de Jean Françaix. Les chœurs et l'orchestre.

Musique de D. Buxtehude. Les chœurs et l'orchestre.

COMMENTAIRES

DE LOUISE DE VILMORIN

PROLOGUE

Ils viendront, tous ceux de Saba, apporter de l'or et de l'encens et chanter les louanges du Seigneur.

I. — L'ANNONCIATION

Je vous salue, Marie, pleine de grâce, le Seigneur est avec vous, Vierge sereine. Je vous salue, Reine des Cieux, Marie, pleine de grâce céleste et terrestre, qui remplissez le monde de joie. Je vous salue, vous dont la naissance fut notre salut, astre surgissant comme Lucifer, annonçant le vrai soleil. Je vous salue, pleine de piété et d'humilité, mère et vierge à la fois, vous dont l'Annonciation fut notre salut. Je vous salue, Vierge véritable, chasteté immaculée, dont la Purification fut notre absolution. Je vous salue, ô vous, illustre par toutes les vertus angéliques, vous dont l'Assomption fut notre glorification. O Mère de Dieu, souvenez-vous de moi. Amen.

Béni soit celui qui vient au nom du Seigneur.

Hosanna au plus haut des cieux.

II. — MOSAIQUE BYZANTINE

Je vous salue, Marie, pleine de grâce, le Seigneur est avec vous, vous êtes bénie entre toutes les femmes, et Jésus, le fruit de vos entrailles, est béni.

Doux était le chant que chantait la Vierge quand elle vint à Bethléem de Juda et mit au monde son Fils qui porta le nom béni de Jésus. Lulla, lulla, lullaby, mon doux petit, disait-elle, toi qui es mon fils et qui es le Sauveur; toi qui es venu d'en haut visiter ceux qui étaient abandonnés. Lulla, lulla, lullaby, mon doux petit, disait-elle, et elle le berçait doucement sur ses genoux.

Noël, Noël, Alleluia.

Gloire au Père, au Fils et au Saint-Esprit.

Figure 0.4. (cont.)

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most distant present with the days to come."[4] The event is emblematic of her approach to music from all times and places, and of her attempts to perform the timeless qualities of the historical and modern masterpieces she saw at the center of her life's work.

"VOUS AVEZ LES OEUVRES QUI RÉPONDENT POUR LE TEMPS"

Nadia Boulanger (1887–1979) is an intriguing figure in the history of twentieth-century music, seemingly central yet stubbornly elusive. By the end of her life, she was the object of a formidable hagiography, and a pilgrimage to Paris to study with her had become a near-obligatory rite of passage for aspiring American musicians. In 1970, the heroine of the blockbuster film *Love Story* could express her ambition for a musical career by telling her new boyfriend of her plans to work with Boulanger; the French pedagogue's reputation was by then so great that this could serve as shorthand for Jenny's musical dreams to a popular film audience.[5] Nearly a half-century later, Boulanger's name retains something of this talismanic quality. Few biographies of musicians fail to mention a connection with her if one exists.

But how to account for that impact has not always been clear. Boulanger's extraordinary charisma and inspirational effect on her students emerged compellingly from homages during her lifetime and biographies published after her death.[6] But the musical foundations of her appeal have often been less apparent than the portrait of her personality. Boulanger's abundant personal magnetism seems insufficient to account for the extent of her influence: there was also clearly something about her approach that resonated deeply with contemporary musical beliefs and practices, and which helped to persuade her audiences that she held the key to understanding and creating

[4] "J'avais pensé […] expliquer comment en art les vrais rapprochements sont en dehors de la suite logique du temps – que tout à coup à travers les siècles des parentés s'avèrent – et relient le plus lointain présent avec les jours à venir." Nadia Boulanger, ms. notes, *c.* December 1936. These notes for her spoken interventions are held with other uncatalogued materials for the concert (including scores, running order, and continuity music for the organ) at *F-LYc*.

[5] *Love Story*, dir. Arthur Hiller; see also the novel/screenplay by Erich Segal (New York: Harper and Row, 1970).

[6] Léonie Rosenstiel, *Nadia Boulanger: A Life in Music* (New York: Norton, 1982). Jérôme Spycket, *Nadia Boulanger* (Lausanne: Payot, 1987). (English translation by M.M. Shriver, Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon, 1992). See also Alan Kendall, *The Tender Tyrant: Nadia Boulanger* (Wilton, CN: Lyceum Books, 1977); Teresa Walters, "Nadia Boulanger, Musician and Teacher: Her Life, Concepts, and Influences" (DMA diss., Peabody Conservatory of Music, 1981); the special number of *ReM* 353–4 (1982) devoted to Nadia and Lili Boulanger; and Bruno Monsaingeon's documentary film *Mademoiselle: Nadia Boulanger* (Paris: Éditions du Léonard, 1987) which was compiled from interviews originally made for radio and television broadcast between 1973 and 1978. Material from the interviews, including segments used in the documentary, was also reworked into a fictive dialogue with Boulanger, published as Bruno Monsaingeon, *Mademoiselle: Entretiens avec Nadia Boulanger* (Paris: Van de Velde, 1981). English translation, *Mademoiselle: Conversations with Nadia Boulanger*, trans. Robyn Marsack (Manchester: Carcanet, 1985).

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great music. Studies of her compositional training and original music only partly address the problem.[7] Although she continued to think as a composer, Boulanger stopped producing new pieces relatively early in her career. And as attractive as some of her works have proven, they were little performed after 1920 and have only recently begun to claim a modest presence in the concert hall and recording catalogue. No one could plausibly claim that Boulanger's own compositions justify the iconic status she enjoyed in twentieth-century musical culture.

Boulanger herself, however, promoted exactly such a focus on original musical works. When asked by Bruno Monsaingeon to describe what she considered the most important musical trends of the century, she responded by reeling off a list of pieces and their dates of composition, concluding with the remark, "You have the works that stand for the time."[8] The statement resonates with the emphasis on the self-sufficient, fully realized musical masterwork that characterized Boulanger's approach to music generally, and which anchored her practice of analysis and performance as well as her concept of music history. In her own view, her failure to produce works worth considering would justify her absence from the story of twentieth-century music. As it is usually told, this story has often been characterized not only by emphasis on musical works, but also by heroic narratives that trace composers' progress toward artistic maturity. Such tendencies mark both popular and scholarly writing on Boulanger's career, which has overwhelmingly concentrated on her role in promoting new music and fostering composers' development. General music history textbooks, if they mention her at all, treat her as accessory rather than agent.

Boulanger's own accounts of her life placed her in a similar position by underlining the aspect of service to music, but she almost invariably downplayed the role of composers in favor of emphasis on their compositions. Her promotion of a version of *Werktreue*, or fidelity to the work, as the principal goal of all musical activity was enthusiastically echoed by her admirers, and she was regularly described as a servant, handmaid, or religious intercessory figure such as a priestess or apostle, a medium through which great music spoke rather than a musical force in her own right.[9] But, at the same time, her insistent focus on the work instead of the composer, coupled with her advocacy of a creative practice emphasizing artisanship and technique, provided a brilliant validation of her activities as defender of the music and musical values she believed in. In this book, I propose the

[7] Caroline Potter pointed out the problem with previous assessments of Boulanger's career in Caroline Potter, "Review of Léonie Rosenstiel, *Nadia Boulanger: A Life in Music*, 2nd ed. (New York: Norton, 1998)," *Music & Letters* 80 (1999): 315–17. Her own study, *Nadia and Lili Boulanger* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006) thus focuses on Boulanger's compositions.

[8] "Vous avez des oeuvres qui répondent pour le temps." Monsaingeon, *Mademoiselle: Nadia Boulanger*, transcribed in *Mademoiselle: Entretiens*, 111.

[9] Jeanice Brooks, "'Noble et grande servante de la musique': Telling the Story of Nadia Boulanger's Conducting Career," *Journal of Musicology* 14 (1996): 92–116.

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study of these activities – Nadia Boulanger's musical work rather than her works of music – as a mode of understanding her influence.

Such research has become possible in ways not available to Boulanger's earlier biographers. Boulanger's life was long and eventful, and her archives are dauntingly voluminous. She knew almost everyone who counted in European and American musical circles for much of the twentieth century, and, despite living through two world wars and two transatlantic moves, managed to keep astonishing amounts of paper related to nearly every facet of her multifaceted musical life. Boulanger's use of the language of musical service was undercut – or, at the least, complicated – by her growing understanding of her own importance, suggested by the project she imagined of a Boulanger family museum, which would display artifacts from her own career and those of her sister Lili and father Ernest (both composers), mother Raïssa Mychetsky and grandmother Marie-Julie Halligner (both singers). Her lifelong attachment to letters and documents seems to have sprung initially from their use in constructing personal memories and reflections, an attitude toward things that she shared with the rest of her family. But her indecision about what her executors should do with them after her death suggests she had become conscious of a broader historical value.[10] The creation of a Boulanger museum proved impossible, however, and her estate was instead split up and donated in several directions in 1981.[11] Her archive was in considerable disarray, and its sheer volume has been an obstacle. When I first began my research in the late 1980s, much of the largest gift – to the Bibliothèque Nationale de France – was still loose in cartons and plastic supermarket bags, and there have been major shifts in its organization as librarians have struggled to catalogue the vast number of scores, books, correspondence, and personal and professional papers that formed this part of the legacy. The personal correspondence alone, for example, contains more than 13,000 items from nearly 2,500

[10] *F-Pn* Rés. Vm dos. 124 includes a letter of last wishes from Boulanger to Annette Dieudonné and Marcelle de Manziarly, written in 1955 and opened, according to a note by Dieudonné, three days after Boulanger's death on October 22, 1979. It instructs them to give family portraits, manuscripts, scores, and books, along with the organ, to the Paris Conservatoire for a Boulanger family museum; especially significant papers held in three small cases were to be burnt. For other correspondence, Boulanger wrote "Lettres – ? je crois brûler – peut-être revoir. Faites ce que vous pourrez – encore pardon de tant de trouble – un jour je vous dirai tout ce que je vous dois" ["Letters …? I think burn them – perhaps think again. Do what you can – again apologies for so much trouble – someday I will tell you everything I owe you"]. While some letters were apparently burnt, Dieudonné donated the vast majority to the Bibliothèque Nationale; even some of the sensitive material was conserved, although the conditions of the donation required it to be sealed until 2011.

[11] See Florence Abondance, "Nadia Boulanger au futur Musée de la Musique," *ReM* 353–4, special issue on Nadia and Lili Boulanger (1982): 93–4; Jeanice Brooks, "The Fonds Boulanger at the Bibliothèque Nationale," *Notes* 51 (1995): 1127–37; Alexandra Laederich, "Les Fonds Nadia Boulanger: Un héritage complexe," *Bulletin du Groupe français de l'AIBM* hors série (2005): 39–48; Laurence Languin, "Le Fonds de la médiathèque Nadia-Boulanger du Conservatoire national supérieur de musique et danse de Lyon," *Bulletin du Groupe français de l'AIBM*, no. hors série (2005): 49–52.

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More information

correspondents.[12] A smaller but still enormous gift of Boulanger's working library to the Conservatoire National Supérieur Musique et Danse de Lyon has posed similar problems.

As these sources have emerged, more nuanced historical assessments of various aspects of Boulanger's career have begun to appear. An essay collection edited by Alexandra Laederich demonstrates the value of underpinning recollections of those who studied with Boulanger with documentary research.[13] The meaning of the arrangement and décor of the salon at 36 rue Ballu, where Boulanger received her pupils, has been attentively deconstructed by Cédric Segond; and recent work by Annegret Fauser on Copland, Alexandra Laederich on Poulenc, and Kimberly Francis on Stravinsky employs the rich resources of the Boulanger legacy to offer important insights into the role she played in these composers' music and lives.[14] Here I take a similar methodological tack, but propose the story of performance rather than composition as a mode of understanding Boulanger's impact. I argue that shifting the emphasis to performance, and broadening the scope to include historical repertory as well as new composition, provides a fresh view of Boulanger's work that helps to illuminate why her audiences found her approach so compelling. My definition of performance is deliberately broad: although I am principally concerned with Boulanger's appearances on the concert stage, I am also interested in other types of performing – recordings, radio broadcasts, lecture-recitals and performances in other teaching contexts – and in her comments on others' performances in concert reviews, masterclasses and classroom teaching. In construing "performance" to encompass all of these domains, I am aware of overriding arguments about the differences between these activities and their meanings that have exercised the fields of performance studies, sound recording analysis, history of broadcasting and many other established and emergent areas of research. But thinking of "performance" in the broader sense of Christopher Small's concept of

[12] See François Lesure, "A travers la correspondance de Nadia Boulanger," *Revue de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 5 (1982): 16–22; Catherine Massip, "Nadia Boulanger et ses réseaux à travers sa correspondance," in *Nadia Boulanger et Lili Boulanger: Témoignages et études*, edited by Alexandra Laederich (Lyons: Symétrie, 2007), 51–64. Jean-Claire Vançon, "Inventaire du fonds de correspondance reçue par Nadia Boulanger conservé au département de la Musique de la Bibliothèque nationale de France," in *Nadia Boulanger et Lili Boulanger: Témoignages et études*, edited by Alexandra Laederich (Lyons: Symétrie, 2007), 485–530.

[13] Laederich, ed., *Nadia Boulanger et Lili Boulanger*; Jeanice Brooks, "Nadia Boulanger and the Salon of the Princesse de Polignac," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 46 (1993): 415–68; "Noble et grande servante."

[14] Cédric Segond, "36, rue Ballu: les 'appartements' de Nadia Boulanger," in *La Maison de l'artiste: construction d'un espace de représentations entre réalité et imaginaire (XVII^e–XX^e siècles)*, edited by Jean Gribenski, Véronique Meyer, and Solange Vernois (Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2007), 203–15; Annegret Fauser, "Aaron Copland, Nadia Boulanger and the Making of an 'American' Composer," *Musical Quarterly* 89 (2006): 524–54; Alexandra Laederich, "La Première Audition à Londres des *Litanies à la Vierge noire* par Nadia Boulanger (novembre 1936)," in *Francis Poulenc et la voix: Texte et contexte*, edited by Alban Ramaut (Lyons: Symétrie, 2002), 153–67.

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