

ABSTRACT

Title: FRENCH STEWARDSHIP OF JAZZ: THE
CASE OF FRANCE MUSIQUE AND FRANCE
CULTURE

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The French treat jazz as “high art,” as their state radio stations France Musique and France Culture demonstrate. Jazz came to France in World War I with the US army, and became fashionable in the 1920s—treated as exotic African-American folklore. However, when France developed its own jazz players, notably Django Reinhardt and Stéphane Grappelli, jazz became accepted as a universal art. Two well-born Frenchmen, Hugues Panassié and Charles Delaunay, embraced jazz and propagated it through the Hot Club de France. After World War II, several highly educated commentators insured that jazz was taken seriously. French radio jazz gradually acquired the support of the French government. This thesis describes the major jazz programs of France Musique and France Culture, particularly the daily programs of Alain Gerber and Arnaud Merlin, and demonstrates how these programs display connoisseurship, erudition, thoroughness, critical insight, and dedication. France takes its “stewardship” of jazz seriously.

FRENCH STEWARDSHIP OF JAZZ: THE CASE OF FRANCE MUSIQUE AND
FRANCE CULTURE

By

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Foreword

This thesis is the result of many years of listening to the jazz broadcasts of France Musique, the French national classical music station, and, to a lesser extent, France Culture, the national station for literary, historical, and artistic programs. On vacations in France over many decades I was struck by 1) the high quality of music and commentary on jazz and 2) by the fact that France Musique and France Culture accorded a place of honor to jazz in their programs, which are chiefly devoted to classical music and French culture respectively. In searching for a master's thesis topic it occurred to me that it would be worthwhile to describe both the richness and the rigor of jazz programming at France Musique and France Culture and to place them in the historical context of French culture and radio from the end of World War I to the present. In using the term “stewardship” to describe the French approach to jazz it is perhaps useful to recall the word's definition: “The responsible use of resources, esp. money, time and talents in the service of God.”¹ My use of the term takes on some of the “nobility”—if not to say “sacredness”—of the task of stewardship, with its attributes of a knowledgeable, respectful, and conscientious approach to jazz.

Much of the source material I present is the result of a visit to Paris in 2007. During that trip I was able to interview a dozen or so musicologists and presenters of jazz on France Musique. I also spent time at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France doing basic research and recording the program notes since 1994, when L'Inathèque

¹ Lesley Brown, ed. *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 3056.

began digitization of the major jazz programs on France Musique and France Culture, the two national “highbrow” radio stations featuring jazz.

I must describe the variety of somewhat unusual primary sources used in this thesis since they will help to explain the method and limitations of my research.

The Inathèque de France, Institut National de l’Audiovisuel, has a branch located in Salle P of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Tolbiac) in Paris. The Inathèque is the official repository of all the broadcasts of the various stations of Radio France (including France Musique and France Culture), with some weeks’ delay. None of the information I acquired through the Inathèque, unfortunately, can be accessed on the internet; the researcher must go to the Inathèque site.

The broadcast archives consist of the actual recordings of the programs. To hear these, technicians there must “burn” the recording onto a compact disc, which the researcher may listen to and take notes on, but not record. Given the limited time of my stay in Paris, I only was able to listen to and take notes on four such broadcasts.

The most abundant source for this thesis is the Radio France program descriptors, which have been digitized since 1994 by the Inathèque and are available in Salle P. Over a two-week period I was able to engrave on a compact disk 5,757 program descriptors from virtually all the jazz programs of France Musique and France Culture. There was, however, a great variance in the amount of detail furnished by the various programs, and often within a series itself. The broadcast numbers are unfortunately not sequential for the successive entries of a given program series, but the accompanying title and date provide a convenient supplementary means of handling entries. In some instances over a long continuous

series, it was more helpful to identify the entries by date rather than by the non-serial Inathèque numbers and to scroll through the titles of the broadcasts. Again, one can access these descriptors only at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Another source is the current series of website broadcasts of France Musique and France Culture. These provide an opportunity—thanks to the computer program *Real Player*—to listen directly to broadcasts from all current jazz programs there, but only to the single programs of the current day or week. I was able to monitor a number of these programs as a supplement to my research in Paris. In addition, the web sites also have a rolling four-year archive (currently from 2005 through 2008) which provides a list of the musical works, composers, and performing artists for each broadcast in that period. These archival years appear on the web site of the appropriate jazz broadcast series, which can easily be scrolled through to find an entry. The easiest way to access these programs is to go to francemusique.fr and then to search for the broadcasts (émissions) or presenters by name.

Another primary source is Alain Gerber's book on Bill Evans,² used here to supplement the sparse program notes for his long broadcast series "Mort et Résurrection de Bill Evans"³ (Death and Resurrection of Bill Evans). This source is useful because some sections of the book corresponded to descriptors of the broadcasts, and also because it provides an insight into the erudition and intellect of Gerber, who is extremely prominent among French writers on jazz and a major force in French jazz broadcasting. I had listened to some broadcasts when I was in France

² Alain Gerber, *Bill Evans* (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard 2001).

³ Alain Gerber, "Mort et Résurrection de Bill Evans," *Le Jazz Est Un Roman*, France Musique [Radio broadcasts] (Paris: France Musique, 4 December 2000-22 February 2001), Inathèque 1214163-1236564.

in 2000 and 2001 and recognized that large passages of those broadcasts were taken from Gerber's book on Evans. I also used, in describing Gerber's France Culture program *Black and Blue*, (see below) some written material from Georges Paczynski's comprehensive study of drumming⁴ to amplify some of Paczynski's presentation in *Black and Blue*.

Finally, a major primary source in this thesis I owe to the generosity of Arnaud Merlin, who gave me access to the actual broadcast texts for a number of his programs on France Musique, discussed in detail below.

A potential primary source was the series of interviews I had with several presenters at France Musique and other jazz experts in Paris, which I have gratefully acknowledged elsewhere in the thesis. These experts were generous with their time and immensely helpful in providing and pointing directions to useful materials and filling in the background for my project. I was able to rely, however, on written or broadcast sources and did not need to use their interviews in this thesis, although I had their permission to do so.

Finally, the translations are mine, with the invaluable expert assistance of my wife Michèle.

⁴ Georges Paczynski, *Une Histoire de la Batterie de Jazz*, 3 vols. (Paris: Édition Outre Mesure, 1997, 2000, 2005).

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I would like to acknowledge the valuable assistance of several people in this project, particularly the members of the Parisian jazz community who gave generously of their time and knowledge. Laurent Cugny, arranger, former music director of the French National Jazz Orchestra, and professor of jazz at the Sorbonne Paris (IV) was particularly helpful in providing me access to his own work on jazz and jazz history, and in reading and correcting parts of my manuscript. The writer and jazz broadcaster Alain Gerber was generous with both his time and his interest in my project, for which he gave me several of his books, some currently out of print. Arnaud Merlin, a prominent producer and presenter at France Musique, graciously introduced me to his colleagues and to the broadcasting facilities themselves and helped me in countless ways to understand jazz in France. Anne Legrand of the Bibliothèque Nationale oriented me to the riches of the Bibliothèque Nationale and its specialized audio-visual department, Inathèque, whose helpful staff made possible the extensive files I amassed on the jazz programs of France Musique and France Culture. She also shared with me her excellent doctoral dissertation on the prominent jazz critic and promoter, Charles Delaunay. Karine Le Bail, a presenter at France Musique, generously gave me a copy of her broadcast about Simon Copans, in *Les Greniers de la Musique* (The Musical Attics) on France Musique and introduced me to the library facilities at France Musique. Professor Philip Baudoin opened to me his extensive personal collection of jazz materials and guided me skillfully regarding my subject. Pascal Anquetil, the head of the Centre d'Information du Jazz, provided valuable assistance and material on the contemporary jazz scene in France.

All the French jazz experts that I contacted responded positively and warmly, granting interviews and access to their work that provided invaluable information and insight into the French jazz scene. These included André Hodeir, one of the premier jazz theorists and critics, André Francis, the dean-emeritus of French jazz broadcasters, Xavier Prévost, the head of the France Musique Jazz section, and other distinguished France Musique presenters, including Claude Carrière, Alex Dutilh, Alain Gerber, and Arnaud Merlin—all of whose accomplishments are described in detail in the final chapters of this thesis.

I wish to express my thanks to my advisor Professor Richard King, who encouraged me every step of the way and closely reviewed and carefully edited this thesis chapter by chapter. My thanks also go to the other thesis committee members: Robert Gibson and Professor Christopher Vadala, whose knowledge and insight assisted me in the completion of this paper. I am also grateful to Professor Richard Wexler who carefully and helpfully edited the thesis. Tyler Mills was a capable editor, assisting me in the complexities of formatting and footnoting while offering wise and useful general advice. Most of all, I wish to thank my wife, Michèle, for her help and companionship during my research in France and for her invaluable assistance—cultural, linguistic, and editorial—in interpreting the French and their approach to jazz.

Table of Contents

FRENCH STEWARDSHIP OF JAZZ: THE CASE OF FRANCE MUSIQUE AND FRANCE CULTURE.....	
Foreword.....	ii
Acknowledgements.....	vi
Table of Contents.....	viii
CHAPTER I: FRANCE DISCOVERS JAZZ: 1917-1945	1
1.1 The Jazz Age.....	1
1.2 Le Jazz Hot	8
1.3 Le Hot Club de France.....	9
CHAPTER II: POST-WORLD WAR II: BEBOP COMES OF AGE.....	13
2.1 Panassié vs. Delaunay: The Traditionalists vs. The Beboppers.....	13
2.2 From Free Jazz to “Musiques Improvisées”	20
2.2.1 The Current French Jazz Scene: Multi-Form.....	27
CHAPTER III: THE HISTORY OF JAZZ ON FRENCH RADIO	30
3.1 The French Government and French Radio.....	30
3.1.1 Early French Radio	31
3.1.2 Simon Copans: American Ambassador of Jazz	33
3.1.3 Jazz Radio and the French Government	38
CHAPTER IV: FRANCE MUSIQUE—JAZZ.....	42
4.1 France Musique and France Culture: The Highbrow Radio	42
4.2 France Musique—Bureau du Jazz	43
4.3 The Two Daily Program by Arnaud Merlin and Alain Gerber.....	44
4.3.1 Arnaud Merlin: The Connoisseur and his programs.....	45
4.3.2 Alain Gerber: The Novelist and Poet of Jazz.....	56
4.3.3 <i>Le Jazz Est Un Roman</i>	56
4.4 Weekly Jazz Programs: From Mainstream to “Musiques Improvisées”	71
4.4.1 Xavier Prévost and <i>Le Jazz, Probablement</i> and <i>Jazz sur le Vif</i>	71
4.4.2 Claude Carrière and <i>Jazz Club</i>	73
4.4.3 Alex Dutilh and <i>Jazz de Coeur, Jazz de Pique</i>	75
4.4.4 Philippe Carles and <i>Jazz à Contre-courant</i>	77
4.4.5 Franck Médioni and <i>Jazzistiques</i>	78
CHAPTER V: GERBER’S <i>BLACK AND BLUE</i> : MUSICIANS AND CRITICS	82
CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSION: THE FUTURE.....	94
Appendices.....	98
A.1 Gerber’s Style and <i>Bill Evans</i>	98
A.2 Programs of <i>Jazz Club</i> , 2007	101
A.3 Programs of <i>Jazz de Coeur, Jazz de Pique</i> , 2007	102
A.4 Programs of <i>Jazzistiques</i> , 2007.....	103
A.5 Programs of <i>Black and Blue</i> , 2005-06	104
A.6 Philippe Carles and the influence of Free Jazz	106
Bibliography	108

CHAPTER I: FRANCE DISCOVERS JAZZ: 1917-1945

1.1 The Jazz Age

The history of how France discovered jazz contains elements that help to explain current French perspectives on jazz as illustrated in the programs of France Musique and France Culture. Ludovic Tournès, in his book *New Orleans sur Seine: Histoire du Jazz en France*, described this history as passing through three stages: diffusion, acculturation, and legitimation.⁵ The process of diffusion was in large part begun in the late 1920s, the work of an avant-garde of jazz lovers who created Le Hot Club de France, a review (*Jazz Hot*) and a record label (Swing). Their mission was to educate the public and promote concerts by both American and French musicians, and that mission continued long after the end of World War II. The American paragon the French jazz lovers promoted started with James Reese Europe and ran through Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington, Count Basie, Charlie Parker, John Coltrane, the Art Ensemble of Chicago, and many others—currently, Wynton Marsalis.⁶ The French jazz lovers developed a tradition of close analysis and dedicated connoisseurship which has continued to this day and which this paper will attempt to illustrate through its study of the jazz programs of France Musique and France Culture.

⁵ Ludovic Tournès, *New Orleans sur Seine: Histoire du Jazz en France* (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1999), 7-12.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 7-8.

Acculturation followed with the development before World War II of outstanding jazz musicians in France, notably guitarist Django Reinhardt and jazz violinist Stéphane Grappelli in Le Quintette du Hot Club de France. It accelerated during World War II when isolated France had to rely on French musicians. Finally the post-War cross-fertilization with touring American jazz artists helped produce such major French artists as pianists Martial Solal, Michel Petrucciani, and Jacky Terrasson, and clarinetist Michel Portal. For the culturally proud French, it was arguably necessary to produce their own competent jazz musicians to fully accept what otherwise might have remained an exotic American import instead of becoming, as it did, an international art form with Paris as one of its centers.

Tournès described the process of jazz’s legitimization as “having conducted this popular and ‘negro’ art, largely looked down upon during the 1920s, from the music hall to the Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique, where a department of jazz has existed since 1992.”⁷ As in much of French culture, support by the French government in the 1970s and 1980s “legitimized” jazz as a cultural reality following its acceptance by the French public—albeit an elite and minority portion—since the 1950s.

How was jazz first known by the French and what was their reaction to this radically new form of music? It is worth noting that jazz was also a new phenomenon in the United States and that the bellwether first recording of jazz by the Original

⁷ Ibid., 10. “...ayant conduit cet art populaire et ‘nègre’, largement méprisé dans les années vingt, du music-hall au Conservatoire national supérieur de musique de Paris, où existe depuis 1992 un département de jazz.” Unless otherwise specified, French passages have been translated by the author.

Dixieland Jazz Band (1917) was quickly followed by the appearance in France of a French group named the Great American Jazz Band—marking the first use of the word “jazz” in France. Of greater importance was the triumphant reception of James Reese Europe’s Hellfighters Military Band in France during their February-March, 1918 tour of 25 French towns. Not to be confused with a Sousa-like military band, the Hellfighters featured such jazz numbers as “Clarinet Marmalade,” “St. Louis Blues,” and “Darktown Strutters’ Ball.” Guenther Schuller described Europe’s contribution: “...Europe was to orchestral jazz the same kind of catalyst Jelly Roll Morton was for piano music. Both added new rhythmic dimensions to ragtime and prepared the way for the full emergence of jazz.”⁸ In fact, even before World War I, the French had experienced a form of jazz—the cake walk—which gave rise to several French compositions, most notably the “Golliwog” in Claude Debussy’s *Children’s Corner* of 1908.⁹

So, while Americans were discovering the rapidly evolving genre of jazz after World War I—from New Orleans to Chicago style, mixed with popularized versions such as Paul Whiteman’s white-tie-and-tails Jazz Orchestra—the French were not far behind. After the end of the devastation of World War I, French society erupted into a celebration of life that was reflected in the upbeat character of jazz and its suitability for the dance crazes of the era.¹⁰ The 1920s were aptly named “The Jazz Age.”

⁸ Gunther Schuller, *Early Jazz: Its Roots and Musical Development* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), 250.

⁹ Tournès, *New Orleans sur Seine: Histoire du Jazz en France*, 15.

¹⁰ Jeffrey H. Jackson, *Making Jazz French: Music and Modern Life in Interwar Paris* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2003), 2.

While the presence in France of American jazz musicians and fans in the US forces in World War I aided familiarity with jazz, several other factors contributed to the French “discovery” of jazz. As William A. Shack showed in *Harlem in Montmartre*,¹¹ several members of James Reece Europe’s Hellfighters and particularly of the highly decorated Harlem’s 15th Heavy Foot Infantry Regiment returned to France to live after the war. Better work prospects and the relative lack of discrimination in France were strong attractions. These musicians were in high demand in Paris, particularly in Montmartre, which contained many small nightclubs and was also a cheap place to live. The black American musicians spread the message of hot sounds (known as *le tumulte noir*) in tiny cafes and a few sumptuous settings that attracted rich and famous British and American tourists and French socialites. In the Parisian music idiom, this part of the Roaring Twenties was often called the era of *le jazz hot*.¹²

Further French receptivity to jazz was aided by the fad for so-called *négritude* that was prominent in intellectual circles in France during this period. Picasso’s African sculptures and some of his related cubist painting were good examples. The black American dancer Josephine Baker (she was not a jazz singer despite publicity to that effect) became the toast of Paris starting with her success in the musical *Revue Nègre*. The great New Orleans-born soprano saxophonist Sidney Bechet—later to become a legend in France—was among the musicians who played in her show.

¹¹ William A. Shack, *Harlem in Montmartre: A Paris Jazz Story between the Great Wars* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 4-19.

¹² William A. Shack, *Harlem in Montmartre: A Paris Jazz Story between the Great Wars* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), xvi-xvii.

A more authentic jazz singer was Ada Smith, also known as “Bricktop” because of her red hair. She had previous singing experience in Chicago and Harlem, and established a partnership with the first black American combat pilot, Eugene Bullard—a popular nightclub in Montmartre, *Le Grand Duc*, “...where they served up jazz and soul food in equal proportions.”¹³

The popularity of black American jazz musicians, however, created problems. With the onset of the Great Depression the French adopted the “ten-percent law.” Designed to protect French musicians from foreign competition, the law limited the number of foreign musicians to 10% of the number of French musicians in a given establishment; it also brought forth an undercurrent of resentment French musicians had long felt because black Americans had dominated the jazz scene, especially in Montmartre.¹⁴

Another factor in the French reception of jazz was what Ludovic Tournès termed “the ephemeral infatuation of the elites.”¹⁵ The music halls (including Josephine Baker’s mentioned above) were the first means, in an era before recordings and radio were widespread, of spreading jazz to the middle class. One of the most popular was Louis Mitchell’s Jazz Kings at the Casino de Paris. It was there that French writer and intellectual Jean Cocteau discovered jazz, even becoming something of an amateur jazz drummer. His poetic tendencies led him to see jazz, with its driving rhythms, as a passionate portrayal of a modern, machinist world.

¹³ Ibid., xvii.

¹⁴ Ibid., 77.

¹⁵ Tournès, *New Orleans sur Seine: Histoire du Jazz en France*, 14. “L’éphémère engouement des élites.”

The French avant-garde also had a short love-affair with jazz, which spread from Montmartre during the 1920s to Montparnasse (which Picasso and most of the modernist¹⁶ painters, plus Hemingway, Fitzgerald, and other American writers frequented) and the *Bœuf sur le Toit* (Ox on the Roof) in the upscale Rue Boissy d'Anglas near the American Embassy. It was there that the flower of the avant-garde (Gide, Diaghilev, Picasso, Léger, Cocteau, Ravel, and others) could be found together listening to French jazz pianist Jean Wiener, who is credited with “acclimatizing the blues to Paris.”¹⁷

Jazz was fashionable with the social and aesthetic elites during the 1920s and composers of art music made use of it.¹⁸ Early compositions include Erik Satie's *Ragtime du paquebot* (1917), and Francis Poulenc's *Rhapsodie nègre* (1918). Ravel, Stravinsky, and Milhaud all incorporated jazz in their compositions. Ravel's *L'Enfant et les sortilèges* (1925) included a fox-trot. More significant traces of jazz were present in the blues of Ravel's *Sonate pour violon et piano* (1927) and his *Two concertos for piano* (1929-31). Stravinsky also used jazz anecdotally in *L'Histoire du soldat*, *Ragtime pour onze instruments*, and *Piano-rag music* (1918-19).

Darius Milhaud (later Dave Brubeck's teacher at Mills College) was the most influenced by jazz. He visited New York, including the clubs of Harlem, in 1922. In *La création du monde* he used a blues scale and a jazzy 2/2 meter, and quoted “St. Louis Blues” in the ballet scene. Curiously, Milhaud told journalists during his second trip to America in 1926 that jazz no longer interested him because it had

¹⁶ Jackson, *Making Jazz French: Music and Modern Life in Interwar Paris*, 61-4.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 120.

¹⁸ The following two paragraphs rely largely on Tournès, *New Orleans sur Seine: Histoire du Jazz en France*, 14-24.

become an emblem of café society snobbism. Milhaud did, however, give jazz credit for being a “beneficial storm” (“orage bienfaisant”) that made a “clearer sky” (“un ciel plus pur”) of a classical music that needed shaking up (“enkystée dans des recettes éculées”).¹⁹

In the early 1930s jazz appeared to be fading in France, abandoned by art music composers and no longer enjoying the patronage of Americans and other expatriates whom the Depression forced to return home. Fortunately, the slack was partially taken up by the younger generation of French musicians, who had absorbed jazz and begun to play it seriously. The most famous group was the Quintet of the Hot Club of France, featuring the renowned Django Reinhardt on guitar and Stéphane Grappelli on violin. Other musicians included Ray Ventura and Grégor (*sic*). Jeffrey Jackson, in his book *Making Jazz French: Music and Modern Life in Interwar France*, argued persuasively that the advent of popular French jazz musicians helped enormously to convince the French public that jazz was not just an exotic black American import but also an authentic French product. This was true even though the French musicians did nothing to change the basic jazz language that they had learned from the Americans (although Ventura sometimes mixed in French chansons).²⁰

In the early 1930s, jazz in France took on a remarkable twist. Most French bands in the 1920s followed the genteel middle-class quasi-jazz tradition of the big Paul Whiteman (largely white) Orchestra, filled with legendary virtuosos such as Bix Beiderbecke, Frankie Trumbauer, and Jack Teagarden.²¹ But in the early 1930s two remarkable and well-born French connoisseurs arrived on the scene to change French

¹⁹ Ibid., 23.

²⁰ Jackson, *Making Jazz French: Music and Modern Life in Interwar Paris*, 121-35.

²¹ Schuller, *Early Jazz: Its Roots and Musical Development*, 192.

tastes. They were Hugues Panassié and Charles Delaunay. (This is a theme of elite attraction to jazz that we shall encounter throughout this history.)

1.2 Le Jazz Hot

I will not repeat the familiar story of how musicians such as Jelly Roll Morton and King Oliver began playing hot jazz in New Orleans in the 1910s, a style that moved to Chicago and other northern cities in the 1920s. The hot style was described by Ted Gioia as follows:

[T]he lead instruments...engage in spontaneous counterpoint. The trombone takes over the low register, providing a deep, deliberate bass melody; the clarinet plays more complex figures, often consisting of arpeggios and other rapidly fingered passages; the cornet moves mostly within the middle register, playing less elaborate melodies than the clarinet, but pushing the ensemble forward with propulsive, swinging lead lines.²²

In contrast to Whiteman's largely written-out music, hot jazz's signature was spontaneity—improvisation by individual musicians varying the given melody with original and spontaneous forays.

Hot jazz was not known in France until the late 1920s; for example, Louis Armstrong's music was unknown there until 1929. But its popularity spread rapidly and by 1932 there was a large demand for hot records in France. This in turn lured many prominent American musicians to tour France. In 1933 Duke Ellington was greeted enthusiastically at Paris' top symphony hall, the Salle Pleyel. Louis Armstrong followed him there in 1934; after performances Armstrong usually went to play in the clubs of Montmartre. Other hot musicians who toured France in the 1930s

²² Ted Gioia, *History of Jazz* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 50.

included Muggsy Spanier, Coleman Hawkins, Bill Coleman, and Benny Carter,²³ Fats Waller, and Mezz Mezzrow.²⁴ Carter actually remained in Europe from 1934 to 1938. He was so influential with French saxophonists that his style predominated among French players until the late 1940s.

1.3 Le Hot Club de France

In the Depression years of the early 1930s, jazz was no longer in fashion; it was no longer a novelty to the avant-garde, and the wealthy foreign tourists were less in number. At that point, an enthusiastic group of fans stepped in and grew highly excited over “hot” jazz, to the exclusion of the “straight” jazz played by Whiteman and Ventura. In 1932 Le Hot Club de France came into being, accompanied shortly thereafter by its magazine, *Jazz Hot*, the aim of which was to educate the public about the value of hot jazz. The Club was the most active organizer of concerts in the 1930’s, promoting not only the Quintette of the Hot Club but also Coleman Hawkins, Duke Ellington, Benny Carter, Barney Bigard, Bill Coleman, and many other Americans.

Founded by university students, Le Hot Club quickly became dominated by twenty-year old Hughes Panassié, heir to a wealthy mining engineer who had made a fortune through mineral holdings in Russia before the Russian Revolution and who owned large land holdings in Aveyron in the south of France. Panassié was important

²³ Jackson, *Making Jazz French: Music and Modern Life in Interwar Paris*, 155-8.

²⁴ Tournès, *New Orleans sur Seine: Histoire du Jazz en France*, 36.

not only for his organizational skills but he was also one of the first jazz critics, despite the fact that he lacked musical training.

In 1934 Panassié produced the first major book of jazz history and criticism: *Le Jazz Hot*.²⁵ Panassié's writings contain embarrassing passages of racism. At one point he repudiated his earlier preference for white musicians such as Bix Beiderbecke; after hearing Louis Armstrong and other black jazzmen, he declared that black musicians were superior. *Le Jazz Hot* claimed that the difference between "real" (i.e., hot) and "false" jazz is the presence of "swing nègre."²⁶ Panassié lionized Louis Armstrong, devoting a chapter to him; he also gave credit to white musicians such as Bix Beiderbecke and Muggsy Spanier and emphasized the beneficial effects of black-white collaboration: "In adopting the 'negro' style, the white musicians unconsciously brought certain qualities of order of a purely musical nature coming from their superior culture."²⁷ Panassié considered the resulting Chicago style, with its greater emphasis on improvised solos than the polyphonic ensemble playing of the New Orleans style, to be the final perfection of the jazz idiom. (We shall see later how this position caused him to repudiate bebop and hence discredit him with a large part of the French jazz elite.)

Charles Delaunay was the other major figure to energize jazz in the 1930s. Another privileged Frenchman, he was the son of the celebrated painters Robert and Sonia Delaunay and was raised in the atmosphere of the artistic elite of Paris. First hearing the music of the popular dance, the "Charleston," as a child, he was later

²⁵ Hughes Panassié, *Le Jazz Hot* (Paris: Corrèa, 1934).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 37.

²⁷ *Ibid.* "En adoptant le style nègre, les musiciens blancs y apportèrent inconsciemment certaines qualités d'ordre purement musical provenant de leur culture supérieure."

smitten by jazz in 1932, and became one of the leaders of the Hot Club and the editor of its magazine, *Jazz Hot*, in the late 1930s. His major contributions were: 1) his *Hot Discography* (1936), the first published list—anywhere— of hot jazz records, and 2) his founding, along with Panassié, in 1937, of the record label, Swing. This enterprise produced a recording by Coleman Hawkins' All Star "Jam" Band, which brought together Benny Carter and two French saxophonists. Other recordings also grouped black American and white French musicians. This fulfilled Panassié's and Delaunay's desire to feature French and American musicians on a shared and equal basis.²⁸

Curiously, the Hot Club had its most active period during the German Occupation in World War II, which broke out in 1939. In fact, jazz flourished in France during the War. Despite Nazi denunciation of jazz as the product of blacks and Jews and its banning in Germany, jazz was not forbidden in France, either by the Nazi Occupation force in the north or the collaborationist Vichy Government in the south. What the Nazis banned were performances by black and Jewish musicians. This inadvertent protectionism caused the several dozen French jazz musicians to keep busy as they struggled to keep up with the strong public demand for jazz. The French were, however, circumspect, disguising American jazz tunes by translating their titles into French. For instance, "Saint Louis Blues" became "La Tristesse [sadness] de Saint Louis," and "Honeysuckle Rose" became "Chèvrefeuille" (honeysuckle), and, "Lady Be Good" became the sound-like "Les Bigoudis" (hair

²⁸ Jackson, *Making Jazz French: Music and Modern Life in Interwar Paris*, 117.

curlers)!²⁹ The Hot Club continued to give concerts, and some 39 Hot Clubs were founded throughout France.³⁰

Part of jazz's success in occupied France was due to its suitability as a form of resistance. A counter-culture movement known as the Zazous derived its name from Cab Calloway's scat singing. The Zazous wore their hair long and dressed in a version of "zoot suits" in vogue in the US. They were subject to frequent attacks by the French pro-Nazi militias.

Another reason for jazz's relative success was the Hot Club's decision to avoid problems with the Occupation authorities by emphasizing jazz as a French rather than as a black or American activity. Delaunay deliberately circulated this patently false idea and used Django Reinhardt (a Belgian-born gypsy) and Stéphane Grappelli (Italian-born but conservatory-trained in France) as principal examples. All this occurred while Delaunay (half-Jewish himself) was engaged in the Resistance movement. The Hot Club's premises in Paris became a meeting place for British soldiers who had clandestinely parachuted into France and were disguised as Frenchmen. In 1943 the Gestapo arrested some of them; Delaunay himself was interrogated but released.³¹

In summary, at the 1944 Liberation and the end of World War II, France was liberated from its isolation, and, with the groundwork laid as described above, the French were immensely receptive to a revival of that American jazz art form they had adopted and hence internationalized.

²⁹ Ibid., 123.

³⁰ Tournès, *New Orleans sur Seine: Histoire du Jazz en France*, 473.

³¹ Ibid., 73.

CHAPTER II: POST-WORLD WAR II: BEBOP COMES OF AGE

2.1 Panassié vs. Delaunay: The Traditionalists vs. The Beboppers

The period from 1945 to 1960 was arguably the richest and most interesting period of jazz in France (and perhaps also in the U.S.), and set French tastes that have endured until the present day. As we shall see, these tastes are reflected in the current jazz programs of France Musique and France Culture—the subject of this thesis. Several factors account for this remarkable flourishing.

One obvious factor was French public gratitude to America for its liberation from German occupation, followed by the swift departure of U.S. military forces from France. French receptivity after its wartime isolation from American jazz brought forth a flood of touring American musicians. Another factor was the espousal of jazz by the Left Bank existentialist avant-garde, which gave the musician intellectual respectability and panache that it had previously lacked. In addition, jazz was the means by which post-war French youth asserted its independence—a normal sociological phenomenon but enhanced by their view that the previous generation had humiliated itself and France by its stunning capitulation to the Germans in World War II.

Finally, there was the “jazz war” between Hughes Panassié and the traditionalists against Charles Delaunay and his more pluralist taste in jazz. This dispute was occasioned by Panassié’s rejection of the bebop style introduced by

Charlie Parker and Dizzy Gillespie and its stout defense by Delaunay and influential critics such as André Hodeir and Boris Vian. The quarrel had the effect of giving even further publicity to jazz and placing it in an intellectual context, given the French penchant for intellectual analysis and controversy.

Thanks to the promotional efforts of Panassié and Delaunay, Paris became an international center for jazz performance right after the war. Don Redmond and Rex Stewart performed first, in 1946, followed by Dizzy Gillespie. Others who came—many regularly—included Louis Armstrong (then still considered by the French the world's greatest jazz artist), Bill Coleman, Charlie Parker, Miles Davis, Mezz Mezzrow, Duke Ellington, Buck Clayton, Benny Goodman, Lionel Hampton, the Modern Jazz Quartet, Billie Holiday, and many others. The revered Duke Ellington gave more than 25 concerts in France between 1948 and 1960, many on radio or television.³²

Meanwhile, in 1950 Sidney Bechet returned and decided to settle in France permanently, dominating the jazz scene until his death in 1959. Other musicians settling in Paris included Jimmy Gourley, Don Byas, Mezz Mezzrow (Panassié's favorite), Albert Nicholas, and particularly Kenny Clarke. Along with Thelonious Monk, Clarke was part of the house band at Minton's in Harlem during the definitive wartime years of bebop, playing often with Parker and Gillespie. In Paris for three years after the war, he toured often with French musicians, recording on Delaunay's Swing label. In 1956 he returned to stay and began a valuable career of teaching while becoming a major jazz performer in France. In the late 1950s he founded the

³² Colin Nettlebeck, *Dancing with de Beauvoir: Jazz and the French* (Melbourne, Australia: Melbourne University Press, 2004), 68.

celebrated Paris jazz club, The Blue Note. It was there that Bud Powell, with Clarke on drums, took up his famous five-year residency in Paris in 1959.

During this period, American and French jazz musicians often played together—to the benefit of the fledgling French jazzmen. During the 1950s French jazz was divided into two main schools: traditional and bebop. The presence of Mezz Mezzrow and, particularly, Sidney Bechet guaranteed a strong showing for the “Dixieland Revival.” French traditional jazz groups included those of Maxime Saury and Claude Luter, playing the New Orleans style, which died out gradually after Bechet’s death in 1959.

The bebop school meanwhile took root with the emergence of the outstanding French bebop pianist Martial Solal and the advocacy of the pre-eminent jazz musicologist André Hodeir. A group of competent progressive French musicians emerged: pianists Claude Bolling and René Utreger, saxophonist Barney Willen, trumpet player Roger Guérin, and bassist Pierre Michelot.³³

To be sure, mainstream bands such as Duke Ellington’s and Count Basie’s were also immensely popular, as were the top American mainstream and bebop artists brought over by *Jazz at the Philharmonic* through the efforts of Delaunay from 1948 through the 1950s. Curiously, the French never developed a strong taste for the “swing” era white bands, such as Glenn Miller, Benny Goodman, and Tommy Dorsey. This is in good part due to the fact that the French were cut off from American music during the war; the French also demonstrated a preference, strongly enunciated by Panassié, Delaunay and Vian, for black musicians. Similarly, the immensely popular Dave Brubeck never caught on in France; his tendency to use his

³³ Ibid., 69-70.

“classical” training was aesthetically offensive to Hodeir and Delaunay.³⁴ Boris Vian was so offended by Brubeck’s style that he refused to distribute his recordings (as well as Stan Kenton’s) in the Philips record company that Vian advised.³⁵

The figure most responsible for introducing jazz to the Left Bank intellectual circles was Boris Vian.³⁶ He was an engineering graduate of one of France’s *grandes écoles*, the École Centrale, an excellent jazz trumpet player and, even more, a novelist, jazz enthusiast, and prolific critic. He and his wife were an attractive couple who became part of the “existentialist” set. He introduced Simone de Beauvoir to jazz and suggested albums she should hear. Jean-Paul Sartre solicited his advice on jazz after hearing some on a trip to New York.³⁷ Vian also arranged for Sartre to write a positive article about jazz in “Jazz 47,” a special edition of the review *America*. Vian introduced Charlie Parker and Miles Davis to Sartre at the Club Saint-Germain in 1949. Jazz became a fixture of the newly-created Left Bank jazz clubs, known as “caves,” which were frequented by the existentialist set. Using Charlie Parker as an example, Sartre was later to analyze jazz as possessing a number of essential qualities that Nettlebeck characterized as: “individualism, spontaneity, perpetual originality and self-renewal, and the capacity to unite musician, instrument and music in a single future-oriented act.”³⁸

³⁴ André Hodeir, *Jazz: Its Evolution and Essence*, trans. David Noakes (New York: Grove Press, 1956), 276-77.

³⁵ Frank Ténor, *Frankly Speaking: Chroniques de Jazz de 1944 à 2004* (Paris: Édition du Layeur, 2004), 189.

³⁶ Tournès, *New Orleans sur Seine: Histoire du Jazz en France*, 309-14.

³⁷ Nettlebeck, *Dancing with de Beauvoir*, 130. Sartre’s first jazz experience produced his famous quote from his article “Nick’s Bar, New York City”: “Jazz music is like bananas, it has to be consumed on the spot... It is riveting; you can’t think of anything else.”

³⁸ *Ibid*, 130-31.

The advent of bebop³⁹ in France in 1946 was to cause a major crisis in the Hot Clubs of France, the principal French organs for jazz education and dissemination. The spark that started the fire was an article in the May-June, 1946 issue of *Jazz Hot* by the young composer, musician and critic André Hodeir (destined to become a major international jazz critic and theoretician) in which he described Charlie Parker and Dizzy Gillespie as “a renewal of the music of jazz.” The dictatorial Panassié resented that someone else had discovered new jazz musicians before him and viewed bebop as a radical departure from his favored Chicago style of traditional jazz. He therefore resigned from *Jazz Hot* and started a rival jazz review. He also managed to expel Delaunay, who had espoused bebop, from the Hot Club of France. Panassié continued his polemic against bebop, but he was intellectually outgunned by the opposition, four young, highly-educated and highly-qualified critics—Hodeir, Vian, Frank Ténor, and Lucien Malson; Delaunay featured all these young jazz intellectuals in *Jazz Hot*.

This was in a sense a generational revolt against the opinionated Panassié. The young critics Hodeir and Vian possessed technical musical skills that Panassié lacked. Malson was greatly influenced by the American anthropologists Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict, who gave him a sense of the variability of cultures and hence an opposition to dogmatism. The young critics tended to see jazz as an art in

³⁹ Richard Wang defined bebop as: “A comparison of the two styles (swing and bebop) reveals that: swing phrases are more uniform in length, more symmetrical in shape, and more congruent with the harmonic phrase than those of bebop; swing rhythmic patterns are less varied, more even-flowing, and less disrupted by shifting accents than those of bebop. Bebop on the other hand, is more complex, full of greater contrasts, has more rhythmic subtleties, and makes a greater and more expressive use of dissonance.” “Jazz Circa 1945: A Confluence of Styles,” *The Musical Quarterly*, 59 (1973), 541, as quoted in Frank Tirro, *Jazz: A History*, 2d ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1993), 291. I would add that bebop places a premium on fast playing and instrumental virtuosity.

evolution with bebop its latest manifestation. This in no way kept them from appreciating and promoting earlier musicians. Hodeir was a great admirer of Armstrong, Ellington, and Cootie Williams, to name a few; Delaunay recorded Armstrong, Ellington, Benny Carter, and Jonah Jones—representing a variety of styles. Later, Delaunay promoted tours not only for Parker and Gillespie, but also for Bechet.

On the other hand, Panassié viewed anything beyond the Chicago style as a pathway to decadence, maintaining that position until his death in 1974.⁴⁰ The polemics even extended to opinions about the clarinetist Mezz Mezzrow, an important early influence on Panassié, and initially a great success in France after World War II. Following his successful French tour in 1951, the *Jazz Hot* team decided to break its silence and severely criticize Mezzrow, calling him an amateur musician. Hodeir pointed to his very severe technical and inspirational limitations and the telling fact that he had recorded very few pieces. This criticism had little immediate effect, but Mezzrow's popularity declined sharply after 1954.⁴¹

It is important to see this 1945-1960 period in a wider context. The foregoing description of the jazz public concentrated on a relatively small group: the musicians, critics, and fans (chiefly the few thousand members of the Hot Clubs of France), the limited readership of the jazz magazines, and attendees of jazz concerts and clubs. But jazz represented a very small proportion of the music listened to by the French population. This was partly due to the popularity of the French chanson, featuring such artists as Edith Piaf, Yves Montand, Jacques Brel, George Brassens, Charles

⁴⁰ Tournès, *New Orleans sur Seine: Histoire du Jazz en France*, 106-15.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 144-47.

Aznavour, and Gilbert Bécaud (some jazz-influenced). Equally, or more importantly, rock burst upon the scene in the late 1950s and began its meteoric rise in popularity.

It is worth noting also that the Dixieland style was generally more popular in France in the 1950s than bebop. This was partially attributable to the immense popularity of Sidney Bechet; however, French traditional bands such as Maxime Saury's and Claude Luter's also seemed to attract more public attention than French bebop groups. The complexity of bebop and the fact that it was not dance music were significant factors limiting its popularity.

On the other hand, this paper has described the "elite" nature of jazz (like classical music) in France: its elite purveyors such as Panassié and Delaunay; its appeal to middle-class and university audiences; its espousal by highly-educated critics like Hodeir, Vian, Ténort, and Malson; its appeal to the avant-garde circles; and, finally, its emblematic role for the immediate post-War generation.

There is other evidence that jazz had an "elite" audience.⁴² In 1959 *Jazz Magazine* conducted a survey, revealing that over 50% of its readers were between 15 and 20 years of age. Jazz was appreciated by students at the most prestigious universities in France. The Hot Club opened a chapter in the Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris in 1948 and by the end of the 1950s jazz orchestras were playing in most of the elite universities in France. In 1963, jazz was the choice of the university students while rock and yé-yé (featuring Johnny Hallyday) were the most popular among the high school age. Another survey by INSEE (Institut National de la Statistique Économique) in 1962 confirmed that the highest percentage of jazz lovers

⁴² The following paragraph relies on Tournès, *New Orleans sur Seine: Histoire du Jazz en France*, 331-40.

(50.7%) had a university education. An informal survey taken by Ludovic Tournès in 1995 showed that 65% of jazz lovers had university educations. To be clear, however, while the majority of jazz lovers were university-educated, it is also true that the majority of French students either ignored or disliked jazz. Tournès summed it up: “[Jazz] remains, despite an undeniable popularization of jazz during the course of the 1950s, the music of a minority.”⁴³

A study of France Musique in 1986 by Sophie Mangin analyzed the proportion of programming devoted to the various forms of jazz. She found it interesting that jazz of the 1940s and 1950s, particularly bebop, was still in vogue and constituted over 18% of the total programming.⁴⁴ We shall see that some of the major figures of jazz radio broadcasting are from that original 1950s generation. We shall also see a tendency to treat jazz as “high art,” investing it with the seriousness of analysis and the caring attitude of connoisseurship that is usually associated with classical music.

2.2 From Free Jazz to “Musiques Improvisées”

The free jazz movement was always a marginal phenomenon in the US and Europe; however, it is worth including in this study because it started a trend in jazz

⁴³ “...celui-ci [jazz] reste, malgré une popularisation indéniable au cours des années cinquante, la musique d’une minorité.”

⁴⁴ Sophie Mangin, “Analyse du Programme de France Musique, 1986” (Thesis, Mémoire de Maîtrise, Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1989), 66. Mangin’s statistics indicated the following percentage-breakdown among jazz listeners on France Musique in 1986:

- 1) classic jazz (from New Orleans style through swing): 34%;
- 2) 1940s and 1950s e.g.; Lester Young, Erroll Garner and bebop: 18%;
- 3) modern jazz (West Coast, cool and free jazz): 47%.

The large modern jazz figure can be partially explained by France Musique’s practice of encouraging young musicians, many avant-garde, by covering their live concerts. (See below).

away from its earlier forms and well-codified rules. As in the US, free jazz influenced a number of serious French musicians in varying degrees and at various times. In Europe in particular it combined with the avant-garde classical movement of aleatory music to produce a post-1970 generation of musicians, some of whom now play a form—“*musiques improvisées*”—that is viewed somewhat derisively by mainstream French jazz musicians. (The fact that the term is in the plural is a subtle hint that European jazz is no longer dependent on its American roots and has moved increasingly to incorporate elements of “world” music.) This is of relevance to this study because France Musique, with its obligation to record live concerts of young musicians does, occasionally, feature such music.

The 1960s and early 1970s period was one of political and social turmoil in the United States and, after 1968, in France. Of greatest relevance to jazz, the American black community became much more politically active and produced militant groups such as the Black Panthers. Black jazz musicians could not remain unaffected by this growth of political consciousness and, in some cases, radicalization. Free jazz musicians sometimes gave a more radical ideological justification for their music. For instance, Archie Shepp, one of the more ideologically radical free jazzmen, stated: “Jazz is one of the most significant social and aesthetic contributions to America.... It is against war; against [the war] in Vietnam; it is for Cuba; it is for the liberation of all people...Because jazz is a music born of oppression, born of the servitude of my people.”⁴⁵ Contemporary titles

⁴⁵ Philippe Carles and Jean-Louis Comolli, *Free Jazz, Black Power*, 2000 ed. (original in 1971) (Paris: Gallimard, 2000), 47. “Le jazz est une des contributions, sociales et esthétiques, les plus significatives pour l’Amérique...il est contre la guerre; contre celle du Vietnam; il est pour Cuba; il est pour la

illustrate the rising black political assertiveness: Charlie Mingus' *Meditation for Integration* and *Prayer for Passive Resistance*; Archie Shepp's *Attica Blues* and *The Cry of My People*. Perhaps underestimating the role in the black social movement of such non-jazz figures as James Brown and Aretha Franklin, Tirro stated: "Although rock 'n' roll became the principal music of protest for young white Americans, modern jazz became the dominant sound of the Black Power social movement in the US."⁴⁶

Free jazz dates its beginning to Ornette Coleman's 1960 album *Free Jazz*, using a double quartet chiefly improvising and producing sounds not previously used in jazz.⁴⁷ (Coleman had earlier called this style "harmelodic.") Frank Tirro defined free jazz as: "performances that negate stylistic rules that were formerly valid, by attempting to destroy feelings of structure, direction, and tonality while introducing random improvisation and nontraditional instruments such as sitars, amplified thumb pianos, police whistles, etc."⁴⁸ The assault on the jazz tradition could hardly have been more complete. Yet it had some effect on serious musicians. Ted Gioia stated: "Over the next several years, the work of Albert Ayler, Cecil Taylor, Pharoah Sanders, even John Coltrane, among others, would increasingly gravitate toward longer, uninhibited, loosely structured, often disturbing performances, explosions of sound that are much closer to *Free Jazz* than to any of Coleman's earlier works."⁴⁹

libération de tous les peuples...Parce que le jazz est une musique née elle-même de l'oppression, née de l'asservissement de mon peuple. "

⁴⁶ Tirro, *Jazz: A History*, 2d ed., 376.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 177.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 379.

⁴⁹ Gioia, *History of Jazz*, 344.

The reaction to this radical new form of jazz was predictably negative. While Leonard Bernstein, Gunther Schuller (a former teacher of Coleman) and, at least initially, John Lewis supported Coleman's music, major jazz musicians (such as Miles Davis and Roy Eldridge), distressed by the absence of a solid beat in free jazz, dismissed Coleman's music brutally.

Coleman went to Europe in 1965, in part because his music had been received unenthusiastically in the US, and it was then that France first experienced free jazz. In that period Coleman, Ayler, and Taylor all toured in France and Don Cherry started a group in Paris that included Gato Barbieri on saxophone and well-known French drummer Aldo Romano. Meanwhile, the flamboyant American free jazz group the Art Ensemble of Chicago recorded its first album in Paris. Mainstream musicians such as saxophonist Barney Willen were affected in the sense that they started to incorporate world music into their repertoire in records such as *Jazz in India*.⁵⁰

The "revolution" of May 1968 led by French university students, was the most important political, and particularly social, event in France since World War II, leading to the 1969 resignation of President Charles de Gaulle. Even before that date, part of the jazz world in France had begun to radicalize, substituting an extra-musical element for the previous emphasis on aesthetics. This took the form of identification with American black aspirations and sometimes radical movements in the US. As it happened however, the Black Power movement tended to spurn French offers of solidarity since Black Power's focus was on the Third World. The French tendency

⁵⁰ Laurent Cugny, "Jazz en France" (Paris, *n.p.*, 2007), 58. Cugny, a professor of jazz at Sorbonne (Paris IV), generously gave me access to this unpublished text.

culminated with a Maoist, Michel Le Bris, becoming *Jazz Hot*'s editor-in-chief in 1968, espousing free jazz and adopting a militant political tone. In the May-June, 1968 issue, Le Bris wrote:

I end this article as students are demonstrating in the street...Perhaps another combat is starting that is in the process of breaking up the entire planet. The "humanists", the "aesthetes", for whom art at the same time cannot completely engage a way of life and who have a holy horror of violence (at the same time making themselves accomplices of the bourgeois ideology) will perhaps have to choose one day their camp. I hope it will be very soon.⁵¹

In 1971, Philippe Carles (currently, among his other broadcasts, an occasional presenter of "musiques improvisées" concerts on France Musique) and Jean-Louis Comolli (both influenced by radical black American writer LeRoi Jones, later known as Amiri Baraka) wrote the popular book *Free Jazz, Black Power*, whose thesis was that free jazz was an attempt to "free" jazz from the white influence that had distorted what should have been a purely black identity—emphasizing an exclusively black music based on the expression of the black struggle against oppression and repudiation of white, European culture. In the introduction they stated:

[F]ree jazz no longer is defined as an aberrant musical phenomenon with mysterious motivations. We try to break down some of its characteristics with, on one hand, the earlier forms of jazz, and on the other, the socio-political context that produced it.⁵²

Despite the conjuncture of the radicalization of US society over civil rights and Vietnam and the radicalization of French society after the events of May 1968,

⁵¹ Quoted by Cugny in *ibid*, 58. "Je termine cet article alors que dans la rue les étudiants manifestent...Peut-être commence ici un même combat, qui est en train de faire craquer toute la planète. Les 'humanistes': les 'esthètes,' pour qui l'art ne peut pas engager toute une façon de vivre et qui ont une sainte horreur de la violence (se faisant du même coup complices de l'idéologie bourgeoise) devront peut-être choisir, quelque jour, leur camp. J'espère que ce sera très bientôt."

⁵² Carles and Comolli, *Free Jazz, Black Power*, 39. "...le free jazz ne se définit plus comme un phénomène musical aberrant, aux motivations mystérieuses; on s'efforce de dégager quelques-unes de ses articulations avec d'une part les formes antérieures du jazz, d'autre part le contexte socio-politique où il se produit."

the ideological connection between free jazz and the French 1968 revolution was short-lived. Ludovic Tournès gave three reasons why: 1) music is a weak political messenger, unlike literature or art; 2) free jazz was connected with the issues of American blacks and had only limited resonance in France except for a short period; and 3) free jazz was “difficult to access” and far less able to reach the “masses” with a message than pop music, with its “simple structures and ... words that can crystallize a message that a large part of French youth would identify with.”⁵³

The reaction to free jazz by the French jazz establishment was immediate and intensely negative. In 1960 French bebop idol Martial Solal wrote a damning criticism of Coleman:

[W]hat I notice at first is the disproportion between the two faces of Ornette Coleman. On one hand, we have an alto saxophonist very Parker-like in spirit.... On the other hand, we have a musician that public rumor contends is revolutionary because he makes the False [off-key] a category of the Just [on-key].... Some of his discoveries are excellent, but successful sounds do not suffice to create a style.⁵⁴

Solal in 1965 was even more critical of free jazz:

[The] faults that I detest the most in man are stupidity and lack of awareness.... (In) jazz... problems no longer exist; everything is permitted: no errors of harmony (because harmony is not envisaged); no errors of coordination (because everyone plays at his own tempo);... no problem of fluffed or false notes because that appears to be authorized.⁵⁵

⁵³ Tournès, *New Orleans sur Seine: Histoire du Jazz en France*, 398. “... du fait de ces structures simples et de l’existence de paroles qui peuvent cristalliser un message dans lequel une grande partie de la jeunesse française se reconnaîtra...”

⁵⁴ Quoted by Cugny, in “Jazz en France,” 55. “Ce que je remarque tout d’abord c’est justement la disproportion entre les deux visages d’Ornette Coleman. D’une part, nous avons un saxophoniste alto d’esprit très parkérien,... D’autre part, nous avons un musicien que la rumeur publique prétend révolutionnaire parce qu’il fait du Faux une catégorie du Juste. ... Certaines de ses trouvailles sont excellentes. Mais des effets sonores réussis ne suffisent pas pour créer un style.” Martial Solal’s “Pas de Style” in *Jazz Magazine* No.64, November 1960, 38, republished in *Les Cahiers du Jazz* No. 3, 2006 (Paris: Outre Mesure), 61.

⁵⁵ Quoted by Cugny, in *ibid.* 56. “... les défauts que je déteste le plus chez l’homme sont la bêtise et l’inconscience. ... [Dans] le ‘free jazz’ ... plus aucun problème, tous les coups étant permis: plus de fautes d’harmonie (puisque’il n’y a pas d’harmonisation prévue), plus d’erreur de mise en place (puisque chacun joue dans son tempo),... plus de ‘canards’ ou notes ratées, puisque cela semble être

One of the most influential jazz radio broadcasters, André Francis, voiced a similar criticism of free jazz:

[M]any practitioners of free jazz had such a thirst for pure novelty that the cry of the new-born, powerful, lyrical, disordered, to them seemed preferable to any organization. What is important is not just to invent something new; it is for that invention to be practical and a generator of other inventions. The first step is only the first step; it is not the best or the most useful... To see beauty only in revolution is as naïve as not to see that beauty must be also revolutionary. Everything is a question of equilibrium.⁵⁶

Free jazz was by no means the principal form of jazz in France in the 1970s. Mainstream artists such as Martial Solal continued to be popular, and fusion violinist Jean-Luc Ponty and organist Eddie Louiss emerged, along with several others. The main effect of free jazz however was to encourage a tendency that continues today for many of the new generation of musicians, most prominently the clarinetist Louis Sclavis and guitarist Marc Ducret: namely to play “musiques improvisées” under the title of jazz, even though it lacks the vocabulary of the jazz musical language.

This trend is accentuated by the influence of the avant-garde of contemporary “classical” music. For instance, conservatory-trained Michel Portal was often used in the late 1960s by such composers as Boulez, Stockhausen, and Berio. Portal, drummer Daniel Humair, saxophonist Jean-Louis Chaument, and several other jazz musicians continue to play contemporary avant-garde music. As Tournès noted:

“Avant-garde composers appreciate this new generation of musicians who combine

autorisé.” Martial Solal in “Une tentative grotesque” in *Jazz Magazine* No. 115, February 1965, 51; republished in *Les Cahiers du Jazz*, No. 3, 2006 (Paris: Outre Mesure), 62-3.

⁵⁶ André Francis, *Jazz: L'Histoire, Les Musiciens, Les Styles, Les Disques* (Paris: Seuil, 1991), 214.

“De nombreux pratiquants du free jazz ont eu tellement soif de nouveautés pures que le cri du nouveau-né, puissant, lyrique, désordonné, leur semblait préférable à toute organisation. L'important n'est pas seulement d'inventer quelque chose de neuf, c'est que cette invention soit pratique et génératrice d'autres inventions. Le premier pas n'est que le premier pas; il n'est ni le meilleur ni le plus utile... Ne voir la beauté que dans la révolution est aussi naïf que de ne pas savoir que la beauté doit être, aussi, révolutionnaire. Tout est question d'équilibre.”

the rigor of a classical training of the highest level with the liberty of spirit that their practice of jazz gives them, and that few classical instrumentalists possess.”⁵⁷

2.2.1 The Current French Jazz Scene: Multi-Form

French musicologists describe today’s French jazz scene as “multi-form.” To be sure, France Musique, continues to give prominence to French jazzmen playing in the mainstream tradition. Pianists such as Martial Solal, the late Michel Petrucciani, Jean-Michel Pilc, Manuel Rocheman, Jacky Terrasson, and Laurent de Wilde, violinist Didier Lockwood, and guitarists Sylvain Luc and Bireli Lagrène, to name only a few, continue to thrive by playing in the mainstream/post-bebop jazz idiom. But the generation of 1968 has imposed an eclecticism that is new: not only “musiques improvisées,” but also various jazz hybrids with world music, pop, traditional and rap have complicated the contemporary scene with various forms of “jazz” to the point that it is difficult to characterize them.⁵⁸

The result is a vibrant “jazz” culture much of which would be unrecognizable to jazz purists. There has been a veritable explosion of this culture in the past 20 years, as the following statistics collected from the wider definition of jazz by the French Ministry of Culture’s publication *Jazz 2004* verify: “2,600 registered artists, 50 “collectives,” 750 places where jazz is played, 325 associations, 400 festivals, 20 competitions, 130 labels, 125 agents, 100 journalists, 80 radio associations and 200

⁵⁷ Tournès, *New Orleans sur Seine: Histoire du Jazz en France*, 405. “Les compositeurs d’avant-garde apprécient cette nouvelle génération de musiciens que allient la rigueur de la formation classique au plus haut niveau à la liberté d’esprit que leur donne leur pratique du jazz, et que peu d’instrumentalistes classiques possèdent.”

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 409.

jazz schools.”⁵⁹ Nevertheless, once again, it is important to emphasize that jazz remains the choice of a distinct minority. As in 1960, in 2003 jazz recordings represented about 3% of the total market.⁶⁰

These statistics can be supplemented by some qualitative observations. France has traditionally hosted some of the world’s finest jazz festivals, and that scene is more vibrant than ever. Festivals particularly in Paris, Vienne, Nice (L’Arène du Jazz), Antibes-Juan-les-Pins (where Keith Jarrett is a perennial performer), and Marciac (which Wynton Marsalis has adopted) attract the finest in American and European jazz musicians, and are often broadcast and emceed by the broadcasters of France Musique. Since 1986 the French state has sponsored the Orchestre National de Jazz (ONJ), which unites outstanding musicians and innovative music directors. Finally, since 1992 the prestigious National Conservatory (CNSM) in Paris (La Villette) has developed a faculty of jazz with a complete curriculum and many master classes given by first-class visiting musicians.⁶¹ By all accounts, this faculty is producing outstanding jazz musicians.

The foregoing historical synopsis is intended to provide context for the major subject of this paper: an analysis of the role of France Musique and France Culture in fostering a deep appreciation and understanding of jazz—American, French, and international. Some recurring themes already mentioned are: 1) the tradition of promotion and education in jazz by a devoted vanguard of highly educated

⁵⁹ Pascal Anquetil, *Jazz 2004: Le Guide-Annuaire du Jazz en France: jazz, blues, gospel, salsa, électro jazz, musiques improvisées* (Paris: IRMA—Centre d'Information et de Ressources pour les Musiques Actuelles, 2004), 3.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 5. Actually the 2006 3.3% figure was a jump of .6% over the 2002 figure of 2.7% because of large sales of CDs in France by Nora Jones.

⁶¹ Tournès, *New Orleans sur Seine: Histoire du Jazz en France*, 418-19.

enthusiasts illustrated earlier by the Hot Clubs of France; 2) the gradual evolution in French eyes of jazz from an exotic African-American import in the 1920s to its international status today approaching “high art”; 3) the French tradition of analysis and debate carrying over into its approach to jazz, as shown by the Panassié-Delaunay “war” over bebop and, later, bebop supporters’ criticism of free jazz; and, most of all, 4) the surprising fact that the culturally proud French could embrace with such fervor this foreign art form and continue to nurture its appreciation today. The French jazz critic and promoter Frank Ténor summed it up:

Thus a music born in the bosom of a community of Africans deported to America was able to agitate the ears and brains of the descendants of the Gaulois to the point of provoking incendiary declarations, excommunications, venom, and uproar, even though it was created and evolved (90% [of it] at least) on the other side of the ocean.⁶²

We shall now turn to a brief history of French radio and jazz’s place in it, before examining the programs of France Musique and France Culture, and the approach taken by their major presenters.

⁶² Frank Ténor, *Frankly Speaking: Chroniques de Jazz de 1944 à 2004* (Paris: Édition du Layeur, 2004), 248. “Ainsi une musique née au sein d’une communauté d’Africains déportés dans les Amériques a-t-elle pu agiter les oreilles et cervelles de descendants de Gaulois au point de susciter déclarations incendiaires, excommunications, venin et chahuts, alors qu’elle se créait et évoluait (à 90% au moins) de l’autre côté de l’océan.”

CHAPTER III: THE HISTORY OF JAZZ ON FRENCH RADIO

3.1 *The French Government and French Radio*

In exploring briefly the history of jazz on French radio, we will find in it some of the themes we will encounter in France Musique and France Culture: the enthusiasm and connoisseurship of the presenters; the tradition of erudite commentary on jazz radio programs; and a continuing dialogue with the French government to seek recognition and greater exposure to jazz on the state-dominated radio scene in France.

Radio came to France in 1922, and by 1935 the French population of 41 million owned 5 million radios. Radio became politically important during World War II, because General de Gaulle, the leader of the Free French resistance, started to broadcast his messages from London in 1940. Meanwhile, from 1940 to 1944 the German occupation and the collaborationist Vichy government assumed state control of all French radio stations. After the Liberation, the French government continued this practice.

In 1963, President de Gaulle inaugurated the impressive, modern, doughnut-shaped building that houses the French state radio. Called “La Maison de la Radio,” it overlooks the Seine in the up-scale 16th arrondissement and contains the broadcasting facilities, recording studios (Bill Evans, among others, recorded there), and a large auditorium for the two major orchestras and two choirs under the

authority of Radio France.⁶³ In 1965, the three French state stations France I, II, and III became, respectively, France Inter (a popular music, news and entertainment station), France Musique (playing only classical music at the time) and France Culture (specializing in high-brow culture, with drama, some music, and cultural lectures). The umbrella state organization of television and radio (ORTF) was broken up in 1975, when Radio France was born and gained its independence from the other state media organizations. At its advent in 1981, the leftist government of President Mitterrand permitted private radio stations to operate in France while also according official recognition to jazz, as we shall see later. In 1999,⁶⁴ the French radio audience's "reach" was 83%; 99% of French households had a radio and they averaged three hours of listening per day. Currently, Radio France consists of seven stations: France Inter, France Info (news), France Culture, France Musique, France Bleu (regional), FIP (France Inter-Paris; specializing in a wide range of music: e.g. classical, jazz, hip hop, chanson, rock blues, world music, etc.), and Le Mouv' (pop).

3.1.1 Early French Radio

Jazz made its first regular (weekly) radio appearance in 1932 on a low-wattage Parisian station, Radio L.L., under Jacques Bureau (a high-school friend of Charles Delaunay) with the recordings supplied by none other than Hughes Panassié. Radio L.L. quickly became a major means of disseminating jazz in Paris under the

⁶³ These musical organizations are: L'Orchestre National de France, L'Orchestre Philharmonique de Radio France; Le Chœur de Radio France, and La Maîtrise de Radio France.

⁶⁴ Geoff Hare, *Radio Broadcasting in France* (Newcastle University, UK: Dr. Geoff Hare [Professional Site], 8 July 2000); available from <http://www.ncl.ac.uk/sml/NMRG/radio_on_web/radio.htm> ; accessed 12 September 2007. Hare cited the website *Médiamétrie*; available from <<http://www.mediametrie.com>>.

name of Le Hot Club de France. This program started the French tradition of jazz commentary. (After all, in 1932 this new art form required explanation in France.) Three “concerts,” with commentary, were broadcast in the spring of 1932.⁶⁵ By the end of the 1930s several other jazz programs appeared in Paris and elsewhere in France: the station Poste Parisien began to broadcast its own jazz group in 1934. It also retransmitted to French colonial radios a 1934 concert by Louis Armstrong. Radio-Paris and Paris-PTT inaugurated jazz programs, as did a number of French provincial stations. In 1936 Le Hot Club de France developed a relationship with Radio-Cité, and Panassié commented on the Hot Club’s music. After a visit to the US, Panassié presented in 1939 on Le Poste Parisien two program series: *Le Jazz Hot* and *Musique Vivante*.

Finally, another feature of French jazz broadcasting—direct broadcasts from jazz clubs—started in this period. Popular disk-jockey Gedovius (*sic*) broadcast from fashionable clubs like “Le Boeuf sur le Toit” and others.⁶⁶ Radio Paris was controlled by the German propaganda staff and all of France’s radio stations were censored. Nevertheless, as noted above, jazz, both French and American continued its popularity, with Panassié and Delaunay, among others, selecting and commenting on the top jazz musicians. Jazz grew even more in popularity after the Liberation in

⁶⁵ Jean-Jacques Ledos, ed., “Un Demi-Siècle de Jazz sur les Radios Francophones: 1932-1982,” *Cahiers d’Histoire de la Radiodiffusion*, No.75 (Jan.-Mar. 2003), 22. The first concert played recordings by Red Nichols, Eddie Lang, Jack Pettis, and Miff Mole; the second, entitled “véritable style Chicago,” featured Louis Armstrong and McKenzie (*sic*); the third, entitled “au vieux [old] style nègre,” featured “Saint Louis Blues” by Emmet Miller and Louis Armstrong, “St. James Infirmary” and “A Good Man is Hard to Find” by King Oliver, plus recordings by non-New Orleans-born musicians: “Crying all Day” by Frank Trumbauer, “Tiger Rag” by Jimmy Dorsey, and “Is that Religion” by Cab Calloway. The program received some 100 enthusiastic letters, which earned it a year’s contract under the name “Ce qu’est le Jazz.”

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 14-32. This paragraph is based on this source.

1944, when it became, in the words of Jean-Jacques Ledos: “the emblem of recovered liberty.”⁶⁷ As noted earlier, Paris was liberated on August 20, 1944, and the first jazz program was presented on Radiodiffusion Française on August 27 on a feeble signal. The Germans had destroyed most of the radio transmitters in France as they retreated, but France, with Allied help, quickly restored service over the following year.

3.1.2 Simon Copans: American Ambassador of Jazz

The growing popularity of jazz in France after World War II owes much to a remarkable American named Simon (Sim) Copans.⁶⁸ Copans received a doctorate in 1938 from Brown University with a dissertation on French perceptions of American democracy under the Second Empire. He did research in France in the 1930s when he also met and married a French woman before returning to teach French civilization at Columbia University. Although exempt from military service as head of a family, he nevertheless volunteered as an interpreter in the information service and participated as a “Radio Officer” in the Normandy Invasion. Since the Germans had confiscated most of the radios on the northern French coast, one way chosen by the US army to communicate with the French villages and towns they passed through was the “mobile unit”—a truck mounted with a loud speaker. Copans found the best means of attracting attention was to start by playing a loud jazz selection, often by an American big band!

⁶⁷ Ibid., 40. “Emblème de la liberté recouvrée.”

⁶⁸ The information on Simon Copans is drawn from three sources: 1) Ledos, ed., “Un Demi-Siècle de Jazz sur les Radios Francophones: 1932-1982,” 132-35; 2) Karine Le Bail, “Les Greniers de la mémoire,” a program by Le Bail broadcast on France Musique on 7 May, 2007; and 3) Philippe Koechlin, “Sim Le Sage” (Sim the Wise), *Jazz Hot*, No. 207 (March, 1965), 19-21.

He then participated in the liberation of Paris and was given the job of liaison with French radio. The US forces brought two important assets with them. One was the V-Disk (Victory Disk), music recorded exclusively for the US military as a patriotic exception to the musicians' union strike in the US during part of the war. Its 900 titles included many new recordings of the major jazz artists and big bands, e.g., Armstrong, Bechet, and Ellington—a discovery for the culturally isolated French.

The second asset was the Armed Forces Network (AFN), which installed a station in Rueil-Malmaison just outside Paris. Copans started a program of American music for the GIs and also the French: jazz, gospel, folk, and musical comedies. In 1946 AFN transferred its Rueil-Malmaison station to the French government, along with its record collection. This station became Paris Inter, the predecessor of France Inter, today the most popular radio station in France. Copans continued his program under the name of *Panorama du jazz américain*, which lasted until 1976 with some 4,000 broadcasts! His role in disseminating jazz to the new generation in France is universally recognized in France and hard to overestimate. (His show's theme song, "Metronome All Out," recorded by Duke Ellington in 1945, is still remembered by many.) According to André Hodeir,⁶⁹ most jazz lovers tuned in partly because his show was on "prime time," Saturdays at 1 P.M., whereas other jazz programs, such as that of André Francis, were consigned to late hours in the evening. Copans was among the first to introduce bebop to France and to play Stan Kenton's music, which had a big influence on French musicians. But his wider taste in jazz and American

⁶⁹ Ledos, ed., "Un Demi-Siècle de Jazz sur les Radios Francophones: 1932-1982," 103.

music attracted the ire of the French jazz “purists,” such as Hodeir.⁷⁰ Copans replied with a mild protest by asserting that he had played “30% Duke Ellington, etc.” but later acknowledged that Hodeir had done him a service by forcing Copans to take his work more seriously. Copans came to realize that “there existed in the French public a kind of seriousness, love, passion for jazz that really astonished me.”⁷¹ He began to present jazz experts such as Daniel Filipacci and musicologist André Clergeat on his program and later invited French musicians to bring further perspectives on jazz and its history.

Bi-lingual, with an appealing personality and an appreciation of both French and American culture, Copans was very accessible even though he was considered a “star.” For instance, Yann Gillot related the following story: He went to see Copans to complain that Copans was playing too much blues, gospel, and traditional jazz. Gillot asked Copans to play the “new” jazz that he claimed the French preferred, e.g., Woody Herman and Dizzy Gillespie. He also wanted to rehabilitate the white orchestras little known in France and “disdained” by the critics, e.g., those of Benny Goodman and Tommy Dorsey. Copans listened sympathetically, to the point that he invited Gillot to join his show for several sessions and pick out the recordings himself.⁷²

⁷⁰ Philippe Koechlin. “Sim Le Sage,” *Jazz Hot* No. 207 (March 1965): 19-20. Interview with Simon Copans.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 19-20. “...il existait chez le public français une espèce de sérieux, d’amour, de passion du jazz qui m’ont vraiment étonnés.”

⁷² Ledos, ed., “Un Demi-Siècle de Jazz sur les Radios Francophones: 1932-1982,” 134-35. The selections Gillot chose were: “Well Git It” by Tommy Dorsey; “Skyliner” by Charlie Barnet; “Suddenly It Jumped” and “Midriff” by Duke Ellington; “Wild Root,” “Apple Honey,” and “Caldonia” by Woody Herman; “Gotta Be This or That” by Benny Goodman; “Good Bait” by Dizzy Gillespie; pieces by Stan Kenton; “Rocky Comfort” by Coleman Hawkins and “Blues in Thirds” by Sidney Bechet.

Copans, who remained in France until his death in 2000, became a kind of American ambassador of culture: delegate and presenter with the Voice of America (where he assured the transmission of the Newport Jazz Festival on French radio), head of the Franklin Roosevelt Cultural Center, and founder of L'Institut d'Études Américaines in 1959, where he also lectured. He was a major force in creating the jazz festival at Souillac (his vacation home). Testimonials by Frank Ténor, André Francis, and many other jazz figures attested to his immense contribution to French appreciation of jazz.

Jazz lovers, however, had to fight for a place in the newly nationalized French radio.⁷³ (This is a theme we shall follow throughout this study.) The strong communist movement in France, with considerable political influence, denounced jazz as imperialist propaganda. In October 1946, Delaunay wrote a letter to the new head of Radiodiffusion Française, Paul Gilson, in the name of the 60 sections of the Hot Club de France, in which he deplored the paucity of jazz programs on French radio. Gilson replied by offering Delaunay the position of director of jazz with the hope of having six broadcasts each week—unfortunately soon reduced to one per week. This was the first regular broadcast after the war, presented by Frank Ténor which was soon joined by Hughes Panassié's *Jazz Panorama*—thus assuring that traditional as well as modern jazz would be heard. French authorities refused the purists' request in 1947 for an autonomous jazz radio service, but 1948-49 brought an improvement in both the number of hours broadcast and in scheduling at hours when there were more listeners. Jazz's position on the state radio remained fragile during the 1950s. For example, programs by Delaunay and by Hodeir were dropped in 1953.

⁷³ Tournès, *New Orleans sur Seine: Histoire du Jazz en France*, 203-9.

It was not until 1961 that the situation improved when a Bureau du Jazz opened on French radio with musicologist Lucien Malson as its director.⁷⁴ This resulted in a noticeable increase in the number of weekly jazz programs in France: from 29 in April 1961 to 47 in December 1962.⁷⁵ Charles Delaunay pointed out ironically regarding this happy situation that the number of broadcasts were increasing in inverse proportion to the number of listeners,⁷⁶ which were falling with the advent of rock and yé-yé.

A private station filled the gap. This was Europe No.1, a “peripheral” station broadcasting from the Sarre in Germany, just beyond the French border. Its jazz program, *Pour ceux qui aiment le jazz*,⁷⁷ was in the expert hands of Frank Ténot⁷⁸ and Daniel Filipacchi and was broadcast one hour per day. The show was conversational in tone—a welcome change to some from the didacticism of some of the French programs—but did instruct as well as entertain.⁷⁹ Mondays were devoted to modern jazz, Tuesdays to New Orleans jazz, Wednesdays to a concert, Thursdays to a quiz show on jazz, Fridays to record companies hawking their new recordings, and Sundays (there was no Saturday program) to a longer program that played pieces the radio listeners requested. Highly successful, Europe No.1 received over 32,000

⁷⁴ Ledos, ed., “Un Demi-Siècle de Jazz sur les Radios Francophones: 1932-1982,” 160. Malson got the job after an interview with Paul Gilson of RTF, who liked Malson’s presentations on *Pithecanthropus Erectus* by Charles Mingus and *Kind of Blue* by Miles Davis.

⁷⁵ Tournès, *New Orleans sur Seine: Histoire du Jazz en France*, 468.

⁷⁶ Charles Delaunay, *Delaunay’s Dilemma: de la Peinture au Jazz* (Macon, France: Editions W, 1985), 217.

⁷⁷ This paragraph’s source is principally Tournès *New Orleans sur Seine: Histoire du Jazz en France*, 209-12.

⁷⁸ Ténot was to make a personal fortune as an entertainment impresario for a wide spectrum of jazz and popular music and variety shows in France during the last half of the 20th Century. Before his death however, he showed his enduring love for jazz by buying the defunct Parisian communist radio station Radio TSF, which broadcasts jazz twenty-four hours per day.

⁷⁹ Ledos, ed., “Un Demi-Siècle de Jazz sur les Radios Francophones: 1932-1982,” 74. Its theme songs were: “Everyday” by Count Basie, sung by Joe Williams; and later the specially dedicated “Blues March for Europe No.1” played by the Jazz Messengers featuring Benny Golson and Lee Morgan.

responses to a jazz poll it launched in 1959. It celebrated its fifth anniversary in 1960 with eight concerts retransmitted on its air waves, featuring the following artists and groups: Quincy Jones, Jazz at the Philharmonic, Ella Fitzgerald, Miles Davis, John Coltrane, Count Basie, the Modern Jazz Quartet, and Nat King Cole.

3.1.3 Jazz Radio and the French Government

Until the reforms of Minister of Culture Jack Lang in 1983, jazz on the state radio existed more by popular demand than by support from the French government. In 1963, the Minister of Information, Alain Peyrefitte, excluded jazz from the programs of RTF Haute Fidélité (later France Culture) in favor of classical music. Malson took up the cudgels and wrote an article “La Dignité du Jazz et la Nouvelle RTF” in *Jazz Hot* (No. 191, October 1963). The article pointed out that the music of Xenakis as well as Mozart’s popular “divertissements” are considered “classical.” Employing this logic, Malson put words in the minister’s mouth: “...the RTF-HF radio station will therefore broadcast the traditional secular music of the minstrels of blues along with the sacred music of the singers of spirituals, both classical, and that, no less classical, of Basie, Gillespie or Parker.”⁸⁰ The minister accepted Malson’s interpretation publicly, and jazz stayed on the new station!

Jazz maintained a foothold in state radio because of the efforts particularly of André Francis and Lucien Malson. Francis⁸¹ was an extremely popular presenter, having been trained as an actor and acted in minor roles with the Comédie Française

⁸⁰ Ibid., 166. “...la chaîne RTF-HF diffusera donc de la musique profane traditionnelle des ménestrels du blues comme celle, sacrée, des chanteurs de spirituals, l’une et l’autre classique, et celle, non moins classique, de Basie, Gillespie ou Parker.”

⁸¹ Ibid., 149-155.

and the Folies-Bergère. He broadcast several times a week (200 broadcasts a year), often on different stations, from 1946 to 1996. He also wrote the most popular French history of jazz, which went through several editions.⁸² An active interviewer of visiting jazz musicians and promoter and broadcaster of jazz festivals, Francis claimed to have known all the great jazz musicians, American and French, except for Jelly Roll Morton, Fats Waller, and Art Tatum.⁸³ His programs would often retransmit a concert and then discuss it with leading French jazz experts such as Delaunay, Hodeir, Ténor, and Vian.⁸⁴ So indifferent was the administration of the state radio to jazz that it broke the three hours of the famous Newport Jazz festival arranged by Francis into five 25 minute broadcast segments aired in the middle of the afternoon and without advance publicity.⁸⁵ One statistic can illustrate André Francis' influence: in 1987 he presented his 10,000th recording of a jazz group.⁸⁶ He also persuaded RTF in 1959 to begin broadcasting French and other groups, which started the practice of broadcasting live club performances, festivals and other local groups throughout France.⁸⁷ In 1964, Francis established the jazz program on the new state radio station France Musique and continued as director of the jazz section until his retirement in 1996.

Lucien Malson⁸⁸ had 40 years of continuous service in jazz radio, starting in 1956 with André Francis on France IV (later France Musique) and retiring in 1996 from *Black and Blue* on France Culture. He was joined in 1973 by Alain Gerber,

⁸² André Francis, *Jazz: L'Histoire, Les Musiciens, Les Styles, Les Disques* (Paris: Seuil, 1991). First published as *Jazz* by Seuil in 1958.

⁸³ Ledos ed., "Un Demi-Siècle de Jazz sur les Radios Francophones: 1932-1982," 151.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 149.

⁸⁵ Tournès, *New Orleans sur Seine: Histoire du Jazz en France*, 207.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 207.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 206-9.

⁸⁸ Ledos, ed., "Un Demi-Siècle de Jazz sur les Radios Francophones: 1932-1982," 159-70.

whom this paper will discuss at length. Malson used his fortuitous appointment as head of a new Bureau du Jazz at RTF from 1961 to 1975 as a means of establishing a solid foundation for jazz on the radio: increasing its total hours, establishing themes for programs, placing programs on unchanging schedules to promote listener loyalty, retransmitting concerts and the prestigious Antibes Jazz Festival (which featured the top American musicians), and establishing relations with various new record companies to enlarge the jazz inventory on French radio. Ludovic Tournès summed up Malson's achievement: "A real policy is thus put into place from 1961 which assures for jazz a limited but real place on the cultural chess board: jazz thereby achieves a genuine place on radio and a 'dignity' that will no longer be put in question."⁸⁹

French radio jazz faced other challenges in the following years. In 1975, President Giscard d'Estaing was dissuaded from dropping France Culture when his advisor pointed out that the station cost less than a kilometer of road construction. However, the President decided to open France Musique as a field of experimentation and named Louis Dandrel as its head.⁹⁰ France's state classical (and jazz) music station saw itself revolutionized: "extra-European" and electronic music was introduced in large quantities along with rock and traditional folkloric music. Fifty presenters did indeed resign in protest from France Musique. But no jazz presenters resigned, because jazz, being an African-American creation, fit in with the multicultural emphasis of the new reform. Its proportion of program time actually

⁸⁹ Tournès, *New Orleans sur Seine: Histoire du Jazz en France*, 209. "Une véritable politique est donc mise en place à partir de 1961, qui assure au jazz une place limitée mais réelle sur l'échiquier culturel: le jazz conquiert ainsi une véritable place à la radio et une 'dignité qui ne sera plus remise en cause'."

⁹⁰ Ledos, ed., "Un Demi-Siècle de Jazz sur les Radios Francophones: 1932-1982," 166.

increased from 6.9% to 10.2%.⁹¹ The only problem was that the reform had introduced rock and placed it and jazz under the same (non-jazz expert) director—an explosive mixture. But the reform only lasted until 1977 and was reversed virtually in its entirety, so the integrity of the jazz programming was restored.⁹²

⁹¹ Jean-Louis Alibert, “Dix Neuf Heures de Musique Par jour: Les Fonctions de France Musique” (Ph.D. diss., Université de Grenoble, 1982), 156.

⁹² Ledos, ed., “Un Demi-Siècle de Jazz sur les Radios Francophones: 1932-1982,” 166-80.

CHAPTER IV: FRANCE MUSIQUE—JAZZ

4.1 *France Musique and France Culture : The Highbrow Radio*

Radio France—to which France Musique and France Culture belong— is considered by many to be the primary cultural institution in France.⁹³ This is partly because it is responsible for the two most important French orchestras: L’Orchestre National de France (current director Kurt Masur) and L’Orchestre Philharmonique de Radio France (current director MyungWhun Chung), plus two choral groups, Le Chœur de Radio France and La Maîtrise. France Culture is the largest employer of actors in France. In 2006, Radio France had a budget of over 500 million Euros, broadcast more than 500,000 hours annually and had over 25% of the entire French radio audience (competing with private stations and stations from abroad, mainly Europe). As mentioned earlier, its various branches consisted of France Inter, France Info, France Bleu, France Musique, France Culture, and Le Mouv’. France Musique’s audience comprised 1.5% and France Culture’s audience was 1.4% of the total radio audience in France—attesting to the limited audiences for these stations, owing to the “high-brow” character of their content and presentations. Nevertheless, France Musique and France Culture represented 9.1% and 14% respectively of the direct costs of the programs of Radio France—suggesting a commitment to nurture these programs despite the relative paucity of their audiences.

⁹³ Radio France, *Radio France: Rapport d'Activité, 2006*. (Paris: Radio France, 2006) [Document posted online]; available from <<http://image.radio-france.fr/frentreprise/today/img/RA-RF-2006.pdf>>; accessed 11 October 2007. The information on current activities of Radio France and its affiliates is also drawn from the *Rapport d'Activités, 2006* page on the Radio France website.

Since its inception, France Musique has adopted the image of an elitist radio station with a pedagogic mission. For instance, its long-running, three-hour program *Le Matin des Musiciens* would concentrate on a precise subject in the history of music with much commentary by experts. Similarly, on Sunday afternoons another three-hour program, *Le Roi des Galettes*, would play some five versions of the same classical work which an assortment of conductors, composers, and musicians would assess and ultimately class in terms of quality. France Musique-Jazz has followed this tradition of blending music with expert commentary.

4.2 France Musique—Bureau du Jazz

This paper will now turn to its principal topic: the presentation of jazz on France Musique, concentrating on the background of the presenters and particularly the content of their programs in the Bureau du Jazz, currently directed by Xavier Prévost (also a presenter described below), who succeeded André Francis in 1982.⁹⁴ This part of the thesis will give a summary of all the jazz programs on France Musique,⁹⁵ but concentrate mainly on the only two daily programs (the others are weekly)—those by Alain Gerber and Arnaud Merlin.

⁹⁴ Radio France, *Recherche sur Radio France.fr* (Paris: Radio France, 2007) [search engine]; available from <<http://www.radiofrance.fr/services/recherche/resltats.php?KEYWORDS=jazz>>; accessed 13 October 2007. Information on the members of the Bureau of Jazz at France Musique and France Culture was acquired at this website by scrolling to the appropriate station and entering the presenter's name. An easy way to access information on jazz at France Musique is to go to radiofrance.fr, scroll to France Musique or France Culture and then to the appropriate broadcast (émissions) or presenter by name.

⁹⁵ Inathèque de France, *France Musique: Program Files: Selected Jazz Broadcasts 1994-2007* [Radio broadcast files on compact disc] (Paris: Radio France, 10 June 2007), Inathèque documents 164685-255701. The Inathèque numbers in this thesis were taken from a compact disc compiled for the author in Salle P of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, by L'Inathèque de l'Institut National de l'Audiovisuel. The program descriptions are based in large part on the author's research of the digitized information on France Musique's and France Culture's jazz programs dating from 1994.

In the following chapters, I will try to demonstrate why France Musique and France Culture merit the appellation “stewards” of jazz. I invite the reader to judge the contents of these programs by such criteria as their erudition, comprehensiveness, thoroughness, entertainment, educational value, and good taste. The reader will note a decided preference for the bebop and post-bebop tradition (as opposed to the free jazz movement) along with a fondness for the major figures of the entire jazz tradition. The programs also show a responsibility to broadcast live jazz and to feature many of the hundreds of young French jazz artists who have recently emerged, even though many have departed from the mainstream tradition into “musiques improvisées.” In the tradition of the French intellectual, many of the presenters have graduate degrees in the liberal arts and are jazz journalists and critics, so the programs also present a sophisticated and literate approach to the subject matter. In the end, I conclude that France Musique and France Culture, through their presentations, treat jazz as “high art.”

4.3 *The Two Daily Programs by Arnaud Merlin and Alain Gerber*

Daily programs in radio—the unique situation of Merlin and Gerber at France Musique-Jazz—have some obvious advantages. Since they are broadcast at the same hour every day, these programs can develop a regular, faithful audience. The fact that the programs are broadcast daily is also presumably an indication of their support by the France Musique organization. This is the situation of the major programs broadcast by Gerber and Merlin. Their programs are also currently in the early

evening, which is a more accessible hour than that of most of the other France Musique jazz programs, which are broadcast at 11 P.M. or midnight on weekends.

4.3.1 Arnaud Merlin: The Connoisseur and his programs

Arnaud Merlin was born in Tours in 1963. He studied music at the Sorbonne and the Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique in Paris, where he obtained prizes in the history of music and aesthetics. As a music journalist, he has written for *Le Monde de la Musique*, *Jazzman*, and *Jazz Hot*. He is the co-author, with Franck Bergerot, of *L'Épopée [Epic] du Jazz* and has been a producer at France Musique since 1996. His strong background in formal musical studies makes him a versatile producer of both classical and jazz broadcasts. I will discuss three of his five programs since 1996: *Le Jazz de A à Z*, *Suivez le Thème*, and *Par Ici Les Sorties*.

*Le Jazz de A à Z*⁹⁶

On September 2, 1996, Merlin started a weekly half-hour program discussing the major elements of jazz. This was not a new pedagogical foray in France; it was indeed a French jazz tradition: Panassié, Delaunay, Hodeir, Ténort, and Malson had done similar programs over the previous decades. The following chart shows the subjects of the totality of Merlin's broadcasts: from September 2, 1996, to June 30, 1997. (His explanations are included on some, but not the most obvious programs.)

⁹⁶ Merlin, Arnaud. "Le Jazz de A à Z." Radio program transcripts. Paris: France Musique, 2 September 1996-30 June 1997. Inathèque 164685-255701.

- A comme [as in] Anatole: see below.
- A comme Arrangement: the head arrangement, an orchestration produced orally through rehearsals; example: Count Basie.
- B comme Bebop: bebop's origins in World War II, featuring Parker and Gillespie.
- B comme Blues: the blues repertory from Louis Armstrong through the swing era and free jazz up to Chick Corea.
- B comme Big band: played several examples, notably from Duke Ellington's Orchestra.
- B comme Break: played several examples of these short solos between ensemble passages.
- B comme Bridge: played examples of this B section of a 32-bar popular song form AABA.
- C comme Chorus.
- C comme Cliché.
- C comme Combo: examples from the Hot Five of Armstrong through the Modern Jazz Quartet.
- C comme Cool: concentrated on Miles Davis.
- D comme Drums.
- E comme École: (school of jazz).
- E comme Electrique: 1960s developments; illustrated by Miles Davis.
- E comme Europe.
- F comme France.
- F comme Free jazz.
- F comme Fusion: 1970s with Weather Report and 1980s in France with Sixun.
- G comme Gamme: (scale).
- G comme Groove: most frequent during the 1930s but still used today; illustrated by pieces with "groove" in the title.
- H comme Harmonie: retraced the history of harmony in jazz.
- H comme Hi Hat: the sock cymbal called "charleston" in French.
- H comme Hot: "hot" versus "straight" jazz.
- I comme Improvisation.
- J comme Jam session.
- J comme Jazz.
- J comme Jazz rock: emphasizing the diversity of the groups.
- L comme Libre: meaning "free jazz."
- M comme Mainstream: jazz artists faithful to the swing era of the 1930s and 1940s.
- M comme Modal.
- N comme Notation: the place of notation in a jazz piece based on improvisation.
- Jazz musique. (sic) Le jazz de A à Z du 14 avril 1997 : comparison of combos and big bands.
- O comme Orchestre: emphasizing orchestral color and instrumentation; featuring "Cotton Tail" by Duke Ellington.
- P comme Partition: (score).

- Q comme Quote.
- R comme Ragtime.
- R comme Rythmique: rhythmical.
- S comme Scat.
- S comme Sideman.
- S comme Standard: emphasizing the contribution of songs from Broadway musicals.
- S comme Swing.
- T comme Tempo.
- W comme West Coast: illustrations of California jazz

The first broadcast, on “*anatole*,” was an interesting introduction to the series, highlighting its pedagogical character.⁹⁷ Merlin explained that “*anatole*” is a (peculiarly French) term of disputed origin meaning the chordal framework or “changes” of “I Got Rhythm,” later expanded to mean the chordal framework of any piece whose harmony becomes the basis of another piece.⁹⁸ Panassié explained the term as deriving from the habit of medical students to give a person’s name (e.g., “Anatole”) to the skeleton in their anatomical laboratory, obviously adopted to describe the “skeletal” framework of chordal progressions of a jazz standard. Another vague explanation is that a guitarist or banjoist with no formal musical education used it as a mnemonic device in order to remember chords. Merlin explained that “*anatole*” describes a 32-bar piece (4 times 8 bars) in the form of AABA (the usual form of popular songs). The first two bars of the A phrase followed a simple harmonic progression of “do, la mineur, ré mineur, sol septième” (I, vi, ii, V7)—which Merlin, as an aside, pointed out is the same as the beginning of *La Mer*

⁹⁷ Arnaud Merlin, *Le Jazz de A à Z* (Paris: France Musique, 2 September 1996). This section is based on a transcript of the text of Merlin’s radio broadcast “A comme anatole” kindly given by Merlin to me.

⁹⁸ Jazz musicians in the US often call this practice a “contrafact”: putting a new melody over an existing harmony.

as sung by Charles Trenet. In his broadcast, Merlin played and commented on the following musical examples:

- “I Got Rhythm” by Art Tatum in 1939; “extrapolations tournoyantes” (swirling extrapolations).
- “Lester Leaps In” by Lester Young in 1939 with Count Basie’s Kansas City Seven, based on the chord changes of “I Got Rhythm”; Merlin described Young’s approach as “deepening of the phrase and rhythmic variation.”⁹⁹ Merlin pointed out that the harmonic constraints give a structural basis for real originality, in the way that portraits or “*nature morte*” paintings are never merely exercises of style but opportunities for real artists to show their creativity in painting.
- “Oleo” was a head written by Sonny Rollins, based on the “*anatole*” of “I Got Rhythm;” played by the Miles Davis Quintet in 1954 with Rollins, Horace Silver, Percy Heath and Kenny Clarke.
- “Koko” was written by Charlie Parker and played in 1945 by Parker, Gillespie, and Max Roach. This head was based on “Cherokee,” which Merlin pointed out extends the meaning of “*anatole*” beyond the chord changes of “I Got Rhythm” to apply to chord changes based on any known piece. (He called it a “false *anatole*” with a form of AABA in 64 measures, in rapid tempo.) It also illustrated the growing harmonic liberties (e.g., substitute and altered chords, 11ths and 13ths etc.) bebop musicians took with the “*anatole*.”
- “Stranger is More Back” was played by European pianist Zool Fleischer. Merlin pointed out that in Europe, where the American popular song repertory is less well-known, the “*anatole*” nevertheless is observed—although here Fleischer reduced the form to 28 bars for the theme but followed the 32 bar form in the solos.
- “Little Peace (*sic*) In C For U” was written by Michel Petrucciani and played in 1996 by Petrucciani with Stéphane Grappelli, George Mraz and Roy Haynes. Merlin used that newly-issued piece to illustrate the fact that we still find “the system of chord changes as the principle of

⁹⁹ “...approfondissement de la phrase et variation rythmique.”

performance and as an elementary pretext”¹⁰⁰ for jazz fantasies, experimentation, and discoveries between musicians.¹⁰¹

Looking at the totality of *Le Jazz de A à Z*, I find it a fairly comprehensive survey for a French audience of most of the major concepts of jazz. The brevity of the descriptions of each program in the France Musique program notes prevents a fuller description or analysis of the material; however, ones hopes, the description of “*anatole*” above will give some notion of the high quality of the analysis and the examples cited, given that these were half-hour weekly programs designed for a lay audience. With those constraints, they appear to satisfy the goal of defining American terms of jazz for French listeners while providing some appropriate musical examples.

*Par Ici Les Sorties*¹⁰²

This program began on September 5, 2006, and continues to run today on a daily basis, Monday through Friday from 7 to 8 P.M. This is not a jazz program, but Merlin often manages to work in a jazz piece along with the classical fare that predominates in the broadcasts. The program’s title is a *double entendre*: “*sorties*” means the hour when many French finish their day’s work—the hour of the

¹⁰⁰ Merlin, *Le Jazz de A à Z*, 2 September 1996-30 June 1997. “[L]’*anatole* comme principe de jeu, comme prétexte élémentaire...” This quote is from the 2 September 1996 broadcast text.

¹⁰¹ The other peculiarly French term, like “*anatole*,” to describe the harmonic structure used often in jazz is the term “*christophe*,” which was coined by French saxophonist Jean-Claude Fohrenbach and comes from the harmony at the beginning of the (rather obscure) piece “Christopher Columbus,” as described by Philippe Carles, André Clergeat and Jean-Louis Comolli, in *Dictionnaire du Jazz*, 234.

¹⁰² Arnaud Merlin, “*Par Ici Les Sorties*,” *Radio France* (Paris: Inathèque de France, Institut National de l’Audiovisuel, 5 September 2005--). [Radio broadcast files on compact disc]; Inathèque 2526986--. Radio broadcast files are available from http://www.radiofrance.fr/francemusique/em/sorties/emission.php?e_id=20000016; accessed December 2007.

broadcast. The principal meaning for “*sorties*” is illustrated by the fact that Merlin plays a selection of chiefly newly-released CDs received by France Musique.

The broadcast of February 20, 2007, comprised performances of Bach, Mozart, Poulenc, and Vivaldi. However, Merlin included the jazz standard by Cole Porter “I Love You,” recorded in the U.S. by the Manuel Rocheman trio, played in 7/4 time! Merlin also described earlier renditions by Frank Sinatra, Chet Baker, Bill Evans, and John Coltrane.

The broadcast of February 21, 2007, was also representative. It featured new releases of performances of Vivaldi, Stravinsky, Thomas Tallis, and Schumann. However, it also included a performance of Bill Evans’ “Very Early” by Manuel Rocheman on piano and baritone vocalist Laurent Naouri.

The broadcasts obviously depend largely upon the CDs that distributors choose to send for promotion to France Musique. This appears to produce a preponderance of French or European recordings, including jazz. Nevertheless, in the first three months of 2007, CDs by the following U.S. artists appeared: Fletcher Henderson/Louis Armstrong, Bill Mobley, Judy Garland, Chet Baker/Art Pepper, Herbie Hancock, Ella Fitzgerald, Paul Bley, and Oscar Peterson—a fairly representative list of major North American jazz figures. What is unprecedented—or at least highly unusual—is that an hour devoted to classical music on a national classical radio station also includes regularly a jazz recording. While this feature undoubtedly owes much to the fact that its presenter, Arnaud Merlin, is well-known for his taste for mainstream jazz through his previous jazz programs on France

Musique, it also attests to the respect in which jazz is held at France Musique and by the music cognoscenti in France.

*Suivez le Thème*¹⁰³

This program ran from September 9, 1997 to June 27, 2002 and resumed on July 4, 2005, until September 2, 2005—all daily, Monday through Friday, 11 P.M. to midnight.¹⁰⁴ Each program started with the theme song “Green Dolphin Street” played by Manuel Rocheman and his trio. The program featured a jazz standard of which Merlin presented several versions, along with his commentary. Merlin played several hundred standards over the five-and-one-half-year period of the show. Indeed, the list of standards is so comprehensive and is based so extensively on the great American tradition of popular music (Rodgers, Gershwin, Arlen, Carmichael, etc.) that it could comprise several versions of those jazz artists’ staples, *The Fake Book* and *The Real Book*. Some examples from the first weeks of the program include: “Body and Soul,” “All of Me,” “I Got Rhythm,” “Laura,” “All the Things You Are,” “Autumn Leaves,” “Cherokee,” and “Night and Day.”

In some cases Merlin devoted four broadcasts to the same tune, presenting an array of performances. Among those to receive such treatment were: “I Got Rhythm,”

¹⁰³ Arnaud Merlin, *Suivez le Thème*, France Musique (Paris: Inathèque de France, Institut National de l'Audiovisuel) [Radio broadcast files on compact disc], 9 September 1997 to 2 September 2005. Inathèque 433913-2524291. It has no current website at France Musique because the series finished in 2005.

¹⁰⁴ *Jazz Poursuite* (3 September 2002 to 1 July 2004) and *Frais et Dispos* (6 September 2004 to 1 July 2005) presented by Arnaud Merlin succeeded *Suivez le Thème* until it resumed on 4 July 2005. *Jazz Poursuite* had a varied program but contained pedagogic content, mainly devoted to a history of jazz but including such touches as listening quizzes, e.g., Duke Ellington’s adaptation of Tchaikovsky’s “Waltz of the Flowers” (*Inathèque* 1571937); interviews, e.g., a discussion of Ahmad Jamal (*Inathèque* 1570485) and curiosities, e.g., the history of the New York jazz clubs on 52nd Street (*Inathèque* 1613415).

“Les Feuilles Mortes” (“Autumn Leaves”), “Summertime,” “All the Things You Are,” “My Funny Valentine,” “Lover Man,” “Yesterdays,” “The Man I Love,” “What is This Thing Called Love?,” “Night and Day,” “Tea for Two,” “Stardust,” “Round about Midnight,” “Music from Otto Preminger’s Movies,” “Love for Sale,” “Cherokee,” “Honeysuckle Rose,” “I Can’t Get Started,” “Stella by Starlight,” and “On Green Dolphin Street.”

“Autumn Leaves” is a representative example, with a French twist, of Merlin’s commentary and his choice of artists.¹⁰⁵ “Autumn Leaves,” Merlin pointed out, is one of the rare “standards” of French origin. This is a surprise to many Americans because the American version had none other than Johnny Mercer as its lyricist. In fact, Merlin indicated that the original song was entitled “Les Feuilles Mortes” (The Dead Leaves), composed in 1945 by Joseph Kosma and based on a lyric by the famous 20th century poet Jacques Prévert. Its original use was in the ballet *Le Rendez-Vous* as a motif in the ballet’s “Pas de deux”—which Merlin presented in a rendition by the Orchestre Philharmonique de Nice. The ballet then became the basis of a film by director Michel Carné entitled *Les Portes de la Nuit*, at which time Prévert wrote the lyrics “Les Feuilles Mortes,” which the young Yves Montand sang in the film. The song and the film were both unsuccessful; however, Montand recorded it in 1949 with immense success and received the *Disque D’Or* in 1954 for its millionth recording sold.

¹⁰⁵ Arnaud Merlin, *Suivez le Thème*, France Musique (Paris: Inathèque de France, Institut National de l’Audiovisuel) [Radio program] broadcasts 330-333, 12-15 February 2001, Inathèque 1234221-1234320. The content of this section is based on the written text of some of Merlin’s radio broadcasts, graciously given by Merlin to me.

In the first broadcast, Merlin presented a 1949 reading of the text of Prévert's poem "Les Feuilles Mortes," without music and recited by Pierre Hiégel. Perhaps it served to familiarize the French speaker with the content and tone of the poem as a background to appreciating the musical renditions.

Regarding the music, Merlin pointed out that the small thematic motive of four notes, replayed one step lower four times according to what is called in French "une marche harmonique" (harmonic progression) attracted the interest of jazz artists. Stan Getz, with his combo, seems to be the first jazz musician to record the song, in December 1952. Merlin played various interpretations of "Autumn Leaves," from its early ballad style to increasingly fast and varied tempos:

- Stan Getz, 1952: ballad.
- Erroll Garner, 1955: ballad; part of the album "Concert by the Sea," which was one of the best selling albums in the history of jazz.
- Ahmad Jamal, 1955: Merlin called this rendition "une petite révolution" in approaching the theme—there is a little bass line that serves as the introduction and the melody has a totally different phrasing.
- Mel Tormé, 1957: sang it in French with the arranger Marty Paich also playing the accordion, in keeping with the French tradition.
- Dizzy Gillespie's Big Band, 1957: with Gillespie as the soloist.
- Cannonball Adderly, 1958: Merlin called this the most celebrated version of the song, "...thanks to the communicative warmth of Adderley's alto and the restrained freshness of the trumpet of Miles Davis, played with a mute."¹⁰⁶ Sidemen included Hank Jones on piano, Sam Jones, on bass and Art Blakey on drums. Merlin pointed out the same little bass line heard in the Ahmad Jamal rendition, another indication of Jamal's profound influence on Davis.

¹⁰⁶ "...grâce à la chaleur communicative de l'alto de Adderley, et la fraîcheur tout en retenue, de la trompette de Miles Davis, jouée avec sourdine."

- Ahmad Jamal, 1959: Jamal completely changed his rhythmic treatment, partly by replacing the guitarist, Ray Crawford, with the drummer Vernel Fournier.
- Bill Evans was among the most inventive in exploring the harmonic possibilities of “Autumn Leaves.” He recorded several versions between 1959 and 1980. Merlin presented the 1959 version with Scott LaFaro and Paul Motion, showing Evans’s very personal trademark: “...phrasing which supported the melody by the chords in the left hand, placed on each of the notes stated by the right hand.”¹⁰⁷
- Oscar Peterson, 1961: used a “classique” approach, with a slower tempo and playing on top of the beat.
- Gene Ammons and Sonny Stitt recorded it in 1961 with Ammons playing plaintively and Stitt showing an expressive lyricism.
- Paul Desmond recorded it in the 1960s with strings. Merlin commented that the album was not his best but that his rendition of “Autumn Leaves” was “eminently romantic.”
- Miles Davis recorded it again in 1965, with the perfectly regulated tempo of Tony Williams along with Ron Carter’s precise bass: “Davis turns around the theme, takes time to breathe between each phrase, extrapolates on the reins of the melodic line and then giving liberty to Wayne Shorter and Herbie Hancock to push even further.”¹⁰⁸
- Charles Lloyd Quartet, 1966: After playing a successful version at the Antibes-Juan-les Pins Festival, the group recorded a suite in three parts based on “Autumn Leaves”: 1) an improvised prelude; 2) the tune; and 3) an ending on a meditative “Autumn Echo.” Lloyd in this suite abandoned the saxophone for the flute. Of particular note was the appearance of the then unknown 21-year-old Keith Jarrett on piano showing signs of later greatness, along with Cecil McBee and Jack DeJohnette.
- Chet Baker and Paul Desmond, 1974: Merlin observed that musicians in the 1960s and 1970s began to renew their interest in timbre, made possible partly by technical improvements in the electric guitar, and started to record with a younger generation. Thus, Bob James joined them on the electric piano, (and Hubert Laws on the flute), along with

¹⁰⁷ “...de phraser en soutenant le chant par des accords de main gauche posée sur chacune des notes énoncées par la main droite.”

¹⁰⁸ “Davis tourne autour du thème, prend le temps de respirer entre chaque phrase, extrapole sur des brides de ligne mélodique, confiant ensuite au saxophoniste ténor Wayne Shorter et au pianiste Herbie Hancock le soin de pousser plus loin encore...”

fusion drummer Steve Gadd and bassist Ron Carter. The rendition remained, however, melodic.¹⁰⁹

- Johnny Griffin Quartet, 1980: in a 15 minute performance at the Antibes Festival they used “Autumn Leaves” as a “trampoline” for “transcendent virtuosity” at an incredibly fast tempo.
- Bill Evans, 1980: Just prior to his death, Evans played his last version of “Autumn Leaves” which was recorded in a California jazz club. Merlin pointed out the differences with the 1959 version; notably, the subtle manner in which Evans did a chordal accompaniment of the bass solo of Marc Johnson, constantly varying the rhythmic content.

Merlin’s fourth and final broadcast on “Autumn Leaves” consisted of renditions of the song by a variety of artists: Juliette Gréco, Keith Jarrett, Wynton Marsalis, Django Bates, Jacky Terrasson with Cassandra Wilson, Soriba Kouyaté, Enrico Pieranunzi, and Tom Harrell.

Listening to an hour of the same tune, without relief, can be trying for all but the most dedicated jazz aficionado. Also, a program featuring mainly American jazz artists could be offensive to some French sensibilities. Perhaps for those reasons Merlin included at least one French artist or piece (not necessarily “Autumn Leaves”) in most programs. The first broadcast included two typically French “musettes,” with an accordion, and two other jazz standards played by the French bop pianist Bernard Peiffer, described by Merlin as a precursor to Martial Solal. Later broadcasts included a 1948 recording of the song by French singer Cora Vaucaire, a 1949 recording by popular French singer Henri Salvador of “A la mi-Août,” a 1950 rendition in English and French by the French icon Edith Piaf, and finally, a new release, “Sharing,” by the quintet headed by French pianist Antoine Hervé.

¹⁰⁹ Professor Christopher Vadala, the Director of the Jazz Program at the University of Maryland, pointed out to me that this rendition was unusual in that it contained an extended form by having a tag at the end of the last “A” section.

4.3.2 Alain Gerber: The Novelist and Poet of Jazz

Alain Gerber is a major cultural figure in France. Born in Belfort, France in 1943, he studied literature and philosophy before becoming a novelist and jazz critic. His writings, which won several prizes, include 24 novels (including four “novelized” biographies of American jazz figures), eight short stories (one winning a Prix Goncourt), two “*récits*” (book length stories), four children’s books, several plays and twelve “*essais*” (book size studies), all the *essais* being about American jazz figures. He has also written extensively for the principal jazz periodicals in France. Gerber has been a presenter on France Musique and France Culture since 1971 and has been awarded le Grand Prix du Roman de la Ville de Paris for the totality of his writings.

4.3.3 *Le Jazz Est Un Roman*¹¹⁰

Alain Gerber’s *Le Jazz Est Un Roman* (Jazz is a Novel), running since 1999, is the flagship jazz program on France Musique. In the series Gerber reads excerpts from his many works on jazz, some novelized biographies (e.g. *Lester Young*, *Louis* (Armstrong), 24 broadcasts; *Charlie* (Parker), part of 82 broadcasts on Kansas City; *Lady Day* (Billie Holiday), 200; *Chet* (Baker), 85; *Clifford Brown*, 19; *Paul Desmond et Les Femmes*, 77; and some *essays* (e.g., *Bill Evans*, 50). Most recently, Gerber

¹¹⁰ Alain Gerber, “*Le Jazz Est Un Roman*,” *France Musique* [Radio broadcast files] (Paris: Inathèque de France, Institut National de l’Audiovisuel, 9 June 1999--), Inathèque 1052567--; available from <http://www.radiofrance.fr/francemusique/em/jazz-roman/emission.php?e_id=10>.

broadcast 86 programs that drew on his novel based on Miles Davis,¹¹¹ plus 23 broadcasts on the jazz artists who played in Davis' groups. These readings were interspersed with musical examples from the jazz subject of the broadcasts, plus other jazz pieces to illustrate a point or give variety to the program.

Le Jazz Est Un Roman has as its identifier-theme song the delicious (sadly out-of-print) piece "Let's Not Waltz Tonight" by George Handy played by Zoot Sims, overdubbing a tenor and four alto saxophones. The program consists of a theme, often carried for several broadcasts. For instance, beginning on September 25, 2007, Gerber was presenting several programs entitled "15 Décembre 1943: Un Jour dans la vie de Fats Waller" (A day in the life of Fats Waller), the day of his death, largely featuring Waller either playing his own pieces or those of others. For variety, he would sometimes feature one of Waller's own pieces recorded by fellow jazz artists. For example, in the September 27, 2007 program, in addition to nine pieces played or sung by Waller, Gerber included his "I've Got a Feeling I'm Falling" and "Keeping out of Mischief Now" played by Louis Armstrong. In addition, Gerber added Gershwin's "Summertime" played by Duke Ellington to give even greater variety and perhaps add some insight into his commentary on Waller.

Generally, the longer the series the more variety Gerber was obliged to put in the musical program. In 2004-05, Gerber produced 200 programs on Billie Holiday, chiefly reading from his long novel on her life and art *Lady Day: Histoires d'Amour*. Since the corpus of her work could not fill 200 hours, even with long excerpts from the novel, Gerber featured other pieces that he liked. For instance, on the June 20,

¹¹¹ Alain Gerber, *Miles* (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 2007). Read by Gerber on *Le Jazz Est Un Roman*, 15 January-21 May 2007, Inathèque 2984211.

2005 program, he included pieces played by Cannonball Adderley, Nat Adderley, and Holiday's sometime-collaborator Teddy Wilson, in addition to "Fine and Mellow" written and performed by Holiday with Mal Waldron.

Gerber's "Bill Evans" Broadcasts

Gerber produced 50 programs about Bill Evans on *Le Jazz Est Un Roman* from December 4, 2000 to February 22, 2001. The series was entitled "Mort et Résurrection de Bill Evans" (Death and Resurrection of Bill Evans) and was followed by a series of four broadcasts entitled "Autour de Bill Evans" (Around Bill Evans) from February 26 to March 1, 2001, featuring some of the numerous outstanding sidemen who played in Evans' succession of trios.¹¹² As was his custom, Gerber memorialized this enormous undertaking with a 350 page book, *Bill Evans*, published in 2001.¹¹³ The book and program were based on copious secondary sources (largely without footnotes, bibliography or, sometimes, attribution). His principal sources were observations on Evans by Canadian jazz critic and lyricist Gene Lees (the editor of *Downbeat* at one point) and a 1998 biography by Peter Pettinger,¹¹⁴ plus published interviews with Evans' sidemen and by Evans with the French critic François Posif, as well as books on Miles Davis and on others who crossed Evans' path.

Since this is a thesis on the quality of the presentations on France Musique, the following account will give a short summary of Gerber's book, from which he drew for his broadcasts. Appendix 1 includes selections of Gerber's insights and

¹¹² Gerber, "Mort et Résurrection de Bill Evans" and "Autour de Bill Evans," *Le Jazz Est Un Roman*, [Radio broadcasts] 4 December 2000 to 22 February 2001; 26 February 2001 to 1 March 2001, Inathèque 1214163-1236564.

¹¹³ Gerber, *Bill Evans*.

¹¹⁴ Peter Pettinger, *Bill Evans: How My Heart Sings*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

talent for imagery in his prose style—all intended by me to celebrate the high quality of his writing and his presentations on France Musique.

Gerber’s radio program “Death and Resurrection of Bill Evans” was based on his book on Evans, which explored Evans’ continuing attempt to avoid stagnation in his music. The theme also alluded to Evans’ long-term addiction, first to heroin and later to cocaine, with the “resurrection” that each injection would bring to the “deathly” feeling before it. Musically, Evans, who started playing jazz at age 13 and received a music degree from Southeastern Louisiana University, felt the need after the completion of his military service in the mid-1950s to remake his style from the ground up. As Gerber ironically put it: “He wanted to re-fashion a virginity by completely breaking with his innocence.”¹¹⁵ Evans took a year off at his parents’ house to accomplish this task.

Evans was to spend his career absorbed by his attempt to perfect (or “resurrect”) his art. This “resurrection” did not, however, involve his succumbing to the commercial temptation of adapting his style to jazz-rock as did many of his contemporaries. Rather, it involved Evans’ quest for producing on the piano what he heard in his head (like all musicians). It also involved perfecting, even revolutionizing, the art of the trio, chiefly through his long-time collaboration with Paul Motian on drums and Eddie Gomez on bass.

Gerber used the following examples to illustrate Evans’ early significant changes of style: “All about Rosie” from *Chromatic Universe*, Evans’ work on Miles Davis’ *Kind of Blue* and “Peace Piece” from his breakthrough album *Everyone Digs*

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 68. “Il voudrait se refaire une virginité tout en brisant avec son innocence.”

Bill Evans of 1961.¹¹⁶ Gerber claimed that Evans' style did not start to move towards stability until his monophonic recording of "Autumn Leaves" on the album *Portraits in Jazz*. Despite Evans' formidable and hard-won technical gifts as a pianist and his amazing ability as a sight-reader, Evans always emphasized that his aim was to achieve a "feeling" in music. Gerber claimed Evans conveys a kind of intimate, private emotion.¹¹⁷ Even though Evans worked throughout his career on perfecting ("resurrecting") his "sound"—saying that he would like to approach the impossible, imitating the human voice—he stated that: "What interests me is more the spirit *that thinks jazz* than the instrument *that plays jazz*."¹¹⁸

Among the "resurrections" that Evans experienced as recorded by Gerber were:

1) His acquisition of a modal jazz aspect to his playing, which he acquired with composer George Russell and which caused Miles Davis, who wished to go a bit the modal route, to replace Red Garland with Evans in his group—as Gerber put it: "putting a tightrope walker where a weight-lifter had performed marvelously."¹¹⁹ This move "made" Evans' early career owing to his role in Davis' historic partly-modal recording *Kind of Blue* in 1959.

2) His going farther than earlier examples of Nat Cole and Oscar Peterson in moving the trio from an accompaniment of the piano to a three-way conversation between piano, bass, and drums. The happy coincidence of collaborating with the immensely talented Scott LaFaro and Paul Motian brought this innovation to a degree

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 88.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 46.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 336. "Ce qui m'intéressait, c'était d'avantage l'esprit *qui pense jazz* que l'instrument *qui joue jazz*."

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 128. "...mettre un funambule là ou un leveur de fonte avait fait merveille."

of high art that continued after LaFaro's untimely death in 1961 in an automobile accident.

3) His very successful innovation of overdubbing in *Conversations with Myself* and later uses of this technique in some others of his solo piano pieces.

4) His ability not to rely exclusively on jazz standards but to contribute an impressive array of original compositions to the jazz repertory, e.g., "Waltzing with Debby," "Peace Piece," and many others.

5) His revolutionary approach to voicings. Gerber alluded to this several times in his book, giving some credit to George Shearing as an influence on this aspect, as well as on Evans' occasional block chord usage, e.g., Evans' admirable performance on "On Green Dolphin Street" with Paul Chambers and Philly Joe Jones in 1959.¹²⁰ According to Frank Tirro: "Postwar jazz piano took a quantum jump in the late 1950s when Red Garland and Bill Evans...revoiced keyboard chords by omitting the root as the lowest sounding pitch and replacing it with the seventh or the third of the chord on the bottom."¹²¹

Gerber carefully traced the various early musical influences on Evans with musical examples, presumably also played on his France Musique program. According to Gerber, Evans summed this up: Bud Powell was his principal influence because of his sense of form; George Shearing for his voicings ("Conception," "Lullaby of Birdland"); Dave Brubeck ("Someday My Prince Will Come"); and finally, Oscar Peterson for his hard swing ("swing puissant)." Gerber however offered Evans' and Peterson's separate recordings of "Woody n' You" as examples of

¹²⁰ Ibid., 65.

¹²¹ Tirro, *Jazz: A History*, 2d ed., 362.

their shared pianism.¹²² Other influences were Earl Hines for the architecture of his choruses, Nat Cole (“Body and Soul” with Lester Young in 1942) for his block chords, and even Milt Buckner in Lionel Hampton’s band for his voicings.¹²³

Powell got special attention because his was the most profound influence on Evans, who claimed that Powell possessed the most impressive talent of composition of any jazz musician. Most of all, to Evans, Powell brought forth profound emotion; so much so that he equated Powell’s “sentiment of the absolute” with that of Beethoven.¹²⁴ Gerber claimed that Evans’ early album *New Jazz Conceptions* was his final tribute to Powell: “a communion that would become a farewell meal.”¹²⁵ There Evans played some emblematic Powell numbers, such as “I Should Care” and “My Heart Stood Still.” Evans was also influenced later by a few other jazz musicians:

- Evans collaborated in several works by jazz composer George Russell, who, through his pioneering work in modes, had an important influence on him. Evans’ solo in Russell’s “All about Rosie” was characterized by Ralph Gleason as one of the rare solos to combine emotion and high tension in a pure form.¹²⁶ (Gerber adds “Transformation” and “Revelations” to that list.)
- Horace Silver’s influence on Evans (e.g., *Horace Silver Trio and Art Blakey-Sabu*) came through Silver’s example of courage in following his own musical instincts.

Musically, Gerber claimed:

Both...sweated blood to implant melodic lines at *high tension*. Horace had his method, founded especially on the reminiscences of boogie; Bill had his, elaborated when he worked on his dexterity and adjusted, before a Bach score, his muscular mechanics. Both cultivated, as did Bud Powell, contradictory

¹²² Gerber, *Bill Evans*, 288.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 61.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 95-99.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 95. “Une communion qui serait un repas d’adieu.”

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 69.

phrasing, both liquid and angular. The German historian and critic Joachim-Ernst Berendt proposed this description: "...the clearly-defined lines that appear to take shape liberally in space like an incandescent metal that is solidified."¹²⁷

Evans' collaboration with the Miles Davis Sextet for a short period starting in 1958 was a mixed blessing for him.¹²⁸ (Gerber liked to highlight this kind of conflict in his radio program). On one hand, it launched Evans as a well-known and respected jazz pianist. (A *Downbeat* poll of critics in 1958 selected him as the "most promising" musician of the year.) Evans had enormous respect for Miles Davis' clairvoyance and perseverance; in Evans' eyes, Miles, like Thelonious Monk, was a "total artist."¹²⁹ Miles was grateful to Evans for introducing him to the music of Rachmaninoff and Ravel and to the playing of pianist Arturo Michelangeli. He admired Evans for his way of playing: "...it was like notes of crystal, sparkling water cascading down from a clear waterfall" and his playing underneath the rhythm ("en déca du rhythm)."¹³⁰

On the other hand, Evans was unhappy for various reasons in the short time he was with Davis. His sense of inferiority returned with the feeling that he was not able to play as well as he wished. He also resented having to exert himself to the

¹²⁷ Ibid., 102. "Tous deux...suent sang et eau pour implanter des lignes mélodiques à haute tension Horace avait sa méthode, fondée notamment sur ses réminiscences du boogie; Bill avait la sienne, élaborée lorsqu'il travaillait sa dextérité et réglait, devant une partition de Bach, sa mécanique musculaire. L'un et l'autre cultivaient, comme Bud, un phrasé contradictoire, liquide et anguleux. L'historien et critique allemand Joachim-Ernst Berendt en a proposé cette description très imagée 'des lignes nettement définies qui paraissent se dresser librement dans l'espace tel un métal incandescent qui s'est solidifié'."

¹²⁸ Ibid., 123-41.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 131.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 129-30. "...c'était comme des notes de cristal, une eau pétillante tombant en cascade d'une chute limpide."

maximum while Miles Davis got most of the credit. This all added up to a wish to start his own group, which he did in 1959.

Gerber found a way of describing Evans' trios by sorting out his music in terms of the series of bassists and drummers who played with him for the major part of his career, from 1959 until his death in 1980. This provided a means to play much of the corpus of Evans' work in the broadcasts and to provide insight by comparing the various trios' approaches. Gerber described Evans' approach to the trio through the image of an equilateral triangle, with the two other parts being "more equal" than the necessarily more dominant piano. He added: "The innovation is that he (the pianist) can no longer relax (i.e., lean) on them, nor they on him."¹³¹

Evans was fortunate that his early trio—Scott LaFaro on bass and Paul Motian on drums— was ideally suited to this revolutionary approach. LaFaro was a gifted and arrogant young bassist whose musical gifts of harmonic and melodic invention inspired Evans in his own performance. "LaFaro dialogues with him [Evans] imitating or doubling the piano lines, designing melodic figures to reply to, with a technique close to the flamenco or classic guitar—a new utilization of all the fingers of the right hand."¹³² Following LaFaro's early and untimely death in 1961 after only a year together, Evans described him as "irreplaceable."¹³³ When they played together for the first time Gerber described the event as a mutual "coup de foudre"

¹³¹ Ibid., 160. "L'Innovation c'est qu'il ne peut plus *se reposer* sur eux, ni eux sur lui."

¹³² Philippe Carles, André Clergeat and Jean-Louis Comolli Paris, *Dictionnaire du Jazz* (Paris: Éditions Robert Laffont, 1994), 375. "LaFaro dialogue avec lui, imitant ou doublant les lignes du piano, désignant des figures mélodiques auxquelles répliquer, avec une technique de la guitare flamenca ou classique (utilisation nouvelle de tous les doigts de la main droite)."

¹³³ Gerber, *Bill Evans*, 180.

(love at first sight),¹³⁴ with LaFaro often initiating the exchange that Evans would not have provoked but, once launched, took a pleasure in continuing.¹³⁵ Under this system the drummer no longer performed solo choruses. On the other hand, while keeping the beat, the drummer was freed up to do much that was new: e.g., counter-tempos, broken figures. The style—what Gerber called “simultaneous improvisation”—was first displayed in the June 1961 Village Vanguard recordings, e.g., *Gloria’s Step/Jade Vision; Sunday at the Village Vanguard*. Gerber considered the number “Solar” from that album a fine example of the Evans/LaFaro collaboration.

Gerber devoted a large chapter entitled “Journey and Partners” (Parcours et Partenaires) and several broadcasts to a discussion of Evans’ work with his principal sidemen and included musical examples and descriptions of their collaboration. Such comprehensive attention to sidemen is unusual in jazz literature and shows Gerber’s thoroughness of approach (and his obvious love particularly for the drums). The following examples illustrate this approach:

- Philly Joe Jones (drums) (1961, 67, 76); *Everybody Digs Bill Evans*; “Rhythmic liberty...floating beyond time.”¹³⁶
- Paul Motian (drums) (1959-64); *Portrait in Jazz*; “vocalization of his instrument.”¹³⁷
- Chuck Israels (bass) (1961-6); *Moonbeam*, “If You Could See Me Now.” Israels used a walking bass.¹³⁸

¹³⁴ Ibid., 186. LaFaro’s death sent Evans into a profound depression and growing dependence on heroin. Evans’s sister-in-law recalls Evans wandering aimlessly around New York wearing LaFaro’s clothes. Gerber called this: “A derisory attempt, but worthy of primitive magic, to incarnate his impossible resurrection.” (“Une tentative dérisoire mais digne de la magie primitive, d’incarner son impossible résurrection.”)

¹³⁵ Gerber, *Bill Evans*, 180.

¹³⁶ Ibid, 164-65.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 161-62.

- Gary Peacock (bass) (1963-4); *Trio "64"*; He and Evans did not find a "terrain d'entente" (a ground for mutual understanding).¹³⁹
- Larry Bunker (drums) (1963-5); *The Bill Evans Trio Live*, "Nardis" (The art of the [drum] chorus); "Stella by Starlight" (listen for brushes). "One of the most underestimated drummers of his generation."¹⁴⁰
- Eddie Gomez (bass) (1966-77); *Eloquence*, "Saudade do Brasil/But Beautiful"; Gomez used new technical advances in amplification to exploit the upper range and harmonics.
- Jack DeJohnette (drums) (1968); *Bill Evans at the Montreux Jazz Festival*, "One for Helen"; his audacious drumming poetry helped win a Grammy award in 1968 for that album.
- Marty Morrell (drums) (1968-74); *Montreux II*, "Very Early"; an ability to anticipate the desires of Evans and to maintain rhythmic activity in meditative passages without compromising the atmosphere.¹⁴¹
- Eliot Zigmund (drums) (1975); *You Must Believe in Spring*, "Gary's Theme/The Peacocks." Gerber maintained that, of all the musicians who played with Evans, Zigmund was perhaps the one most attuned to the pianist's mood.¹⁴²
- Marc Johnson (bass) (1977-80); *The Paris Concert*, "Up with the Lark"; inspired by the late LaFaro, Johnson helped Evans regain his inspiration.¹⁴³
- Joe LaBarbera (drums) (1976-80); *Turn out the Stars, vol. II* "Yet Ne'er Broken"; he wanted to play the role of LaFaro (but on drums) and Evans gave him that liberty.

Evans' collaboration with other jazz figures outside of his trio also gave greater variety to Gerber's radio show. Gerber was able to choose from among Evans' recordings over the years with Lee Konitz, Tony Scott, Charlie Mingus, Stan

¹³⁸ Ibid., 186-93. In an interview with Jean-Louis Ginière in *Jazz Magazine*, No.116, cited by Gerber, Israels claimed that Evans' most original attribute was his rhythmic vocabulary...free, yet disciplined.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 193-95.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 196-200.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 215-19.

¹⁴² Ibid., 219-21.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 222-24.

Getz, Freddie Hubbard, Zoot Sims, Kenny Burrell, Tom Harrell, Toots Thielemans, Jim Hall, Tony Bennett, and—as Gerber put it—with himself on the recording *Conversations with Myself*.

After his death in 1980, Evans left behind a towering reputation: six Grammy awards, the Downbeat Hall of Fame (1980), and his designation as the “best loved” pianist (beating Tatum and Peterson) in a 1984 poll taken by critic Gene Lees of 60 prominent jazz pianists.¹⁴⁴ Evans made a particular impact in France where he recorded some of his best pieces and where his restrained, nuanced “impressionistic” style seemed to appeal to French sensibilities.¹⁴⁵ One can see why Gerber devoted 50 hours of radio to someone that he and the French so admire.

Le Jazz Est un Roman: Analysis

Le Jazz Est un Roman is considerably more varied than the foregoing description of a typical long biographical broadcast series would suggest. In the time series from September 9, 1999 to May 4, 2007, which I copied at the Bibliothèque Nationale, there was a total of 1,670 broadcasts.¹⁴⁶ In that vast archive I discovered a virtual encyclopedia of jazz artists, both well-known and obscure. The programs overwhelmingly feature Americans: the major and minor figures of the bop period and beyond, along with very occasional French artists—generally once every two

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 273.

¹⁴⁵ I have heard from several French sources that Evans’ style on the piano is the one most imitated in current jazz conservatories in France.

¹⁴⁶ Alain Gerber, *Le Jazz Est Un Roman: Radio Program on France Musique*. [Radio program] (Paris: Inathèque de France, Institut National de l'Audiovisuel, 2007), Inathèque 1052567 to 3096605; Also available from http://www.radiofrance.fr/francemusique/em/jazzroman/emission.php?e_id=10; accessed December 2007.

weeks or so.¹⁴⁷ Once again, noticeably absent were the popular white swing band artists of the 1930s-1940s such as Benny Goodman, Artie Shaw, and Tommy Dorsey. Yet progressive bands of the 1940s-1950s like those of Stan Kenton, Woody Herman, and Charlie Ventura were featured. Similarly, Dave Brubeck, whom Gerber considered to have “an absence of style,”¹⁴⁸ was not featured except as an auxiliary to Paul Desmond in the long series devoted to Desmond. Notably absent also was free jazz with the exception of a part of Ornette Coleman’s repertory. The pre-bop period in the broadcasts was generally limited to iconic figures: particularly Louis Armstrong, along with Count Basie, Bix Beiderbecke, Fats Waller, Lester Young, Duke Ellington, and Billie Holiday.

We can infer from these preferences, plus those heard in Gerber’s program *Black and Blue* on France Culture, described below, something about Gerber’s taste in jazz. It is decidedly mainstream, meaning a preference for regular rhythms and standard jazz harmony, incorporating the harmonic and rhythmic sophistication of the be-bop period, but also enjoying pre-war precursors such as Roy Eldridge, Johnny Hodges, and Charlie Shavers.

Gerber has a great ability to “re-cycle” his work: his broadcasts generally drew from his books on jazz and vice versa. Based on secondary sources, the vast majority of the broadcasts were devoted to the subjects of Gerber’s numerous books on jazz figures: Louis Armstrong, Jack Teagarden, Charlie Parker, Billie Holiday, Lester Young, Chet Baker, Clifford Brown, Bill Evans, John Coltrane, Paul Desmond, and, most recently, Miles Davis. Many of these figures were probably

¹⁴⁷ This underestimates the number of French and European artists’ recordings presented, since a French or European number sometimes was played in programs featuring an American artist.

¹⁴⁸ Alain Gerber, *Portraits en Jazz* (Paris : Renaudot et Cie, 1990), 163.

chosen for his novels because of the interesting or dramatic, often tragic, lives they lived; they all had a fascinating personal story to tell. All the figures, however, also had great musical accomplishments. The shorter series of programs often were drawn from portraits of jazz figures in other books that Gerber wrote, particularly *Portraits en Jazz*¹⁴⁹ and *Fiesta in Blue*.¹⁵⁰

Emerson wrote: “A foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds...With consistency a great soul has simply nothing to do.”¹⁵¹ This thought applies to Gerber’s most recent broadcasts on *Le Jazz Est Un Roman*. The program in question is “Señor Blues” (the title of a piece written by Horace Silver) scheduled from October 8 to December 18, 2007 and perhaps beyond, which traces the history of the blues: rural Texas and Delta blues, then urban blues, starting with Chicago.¹⁵² At first notice, this concentration on the history of the blues would appear to be a departure from Gerber’s concentration on mainstream jazz. The program presented Blind Lemon Jefferson, Leadbelly, Muddy Waters, Howlin Wolf, Robert Johnson, Lightnin’ Hopkins, Bessie Smith, and many more figures from the history of the blues. There could be many reasons for this. One is Gerber’s undoubted interest in the history of jazz in which the blues plays a seminal role. His series was described as an “unedited novel,” suggesting that he intended to write about the interesting lives

¹⁴⁹ Gerber, *Portraits en Jazz*. Some representative portraits: Lee Konitz, Eddie Jefferson, Jimmy Giuffre, Hal McKusick, Martial Solal, Bobby McFerrin, Doc Cheatham, and Michel Petrucciani.

¹⁵⁰ Gerber, *Fiesta in Blue: Textes de Jazz* (Paris: Coda, 2007). This book was originally published in 1999. It featured portraits of major artists, such as Charlie Christian, Stan Getz, Coleman Hawkins, and Sonny Rollins. It also treated some earlier jazz figures such as Jelly Roll Morton, King Oliver, and Bubber Miley. It also included portraits of such obscure musicians as Daniel Huck, Roger Humphries, Rose Murphy, and Pinky Winters.

¹⁵¹ John Bartlett, *Familiar Quotations*, ed. Justin Kaplan (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1992), 431.

¹⁵² Gerber, *Le Jazz Est Un Roman*, 2007 <http://www.radiofrance.fr/francemusique/em/jazz-roman/emission.php?e_id=10>.

of his blues subjects, as he has done for many jazz figures. Another reason may be that Gerber wanted to appeal to the French love of the blues, which has been growing in popularity in recent years, as illustrated by the introduction of the blues into several jazz festivals in France.

However, with a closer look one is reassured that the jazz connection was maintained: virtually every program of traditional blues artists included jazz numbers based on the blues. For instance, the program of November 27, 2007,¹⁵³ featured Bessie Smith, Alice Moore, Juanita Hall, Otis Spann, Lightnin' Hopkins, and Robert Johnson. But it also included some blues numbers by jazz musicians Jimmy Rushing and Django Reinhardt. The program of November 23, 2007¹⁵⁴ presented Buddy Rich, Gerry Mulligan, and Nina Simone along with blues figures Leadbelly, Jazz Gillum, Snooks Eaglin, Etta Jones, and John Lee Hooker. Gerber's commentary necessarily traced the social history of the blues, highlighting poverty and racial discrimination, often illustrated by the lyrics of the blues numbers on the program.

Gerber's forthcoming series, scheduled from February 25 to May 22, 2008, is on "la vie tumultueuse de Frank Sinatra" (the tumultuous life of Frank Sinatra) and is entitled "Le Sultan de Pâmoison" (the Sultan of Swoon). It promises to follow the Gerber formula: an interesting life that could be the subject of another novel and broadcast series and, above all, an opportunity to hear some excellent music—even though Sinatra would probably not pass the jazz test of many jazz purists.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

4.4 Weekly Jazz Programs: From Mainstream to “Musiques Improvisées”

The other jazz programs on France Musique are weekly, broadcast in the late evening on weekends. They also tend more to reflect the current scene of young French artists, from mainstream to “musiques improvisées,” and often comprise live performances and interviews. The content, in part, appears to represent an obligation France Musique feels to encourage the large increase in “jazz” musicians turned out by conservatories starting in the 1980s. The reader should not assume however that this eclectic assortment of music necessarily represents the tastes of the France Musique presenters, who are for the most part firmly grounded in the jazz tradition. Their choice of recordings when no concert is available is a sure sign of their preference for mainstream jazz. Their biographies below should also illustrate their wide range of relevant experience in culture in general and jazz in particular.

The rest of this chapter describes the presenters on France Musique and their jazz broadcast programs.

4.4.1 Xavier Prévost and *Le Jazz, Probablement* and *Jazz sur le Vif*

Prévost was born in France in 1949 and has degrees in philosophy, modern literature, and management. Like many of his France Musique colleagues, he has contributed to a number of jazz publications, including *Jazz Magazine*, the *Dictionnaire du Jazz* and *L’Encyclopédie Universalis*. He is a member of the editorial board of France’s most erudite jazz journal, *Cahiers du Jazz*. In 2005 he published a book of interviews with the celebrated French jazz pianist Martial

Solal,¹⁵⁵ which he also presented in his broadcasts. Incidentally, Solal noted in one interview: “[The French] radio is the only media that takes account of jazz, [and] which presents it in a competent manner.”¹⁵⁶ Prévost has been a producer on France Musique and France Culture since 1982, and head of the Bureau du Jazz at France Musique since 1997.

Le Jazz, Probablement (Jazz, Probably)

This program has run from September 9, 2001, to the present on Sundays from 11 P.M. to 1 A.M.¹⁵⁷ It records live concerts in France and elsewhere and presents a mixture of “jazz de strict obédience” (straight jazz) with “le jazz moins [less] orthodox,” e.g., classical, contemporary, “musiques improvisées” and free jazz; hence the ambiguous name, *Le Jazz, Probablement*.

Jazz sur le Vif (Live Jazz)¹⁵⁸

This program began on September 8, 2004, and continues to the present, broadcast on Mondays from 10 to 11 P.M. It includes a series of broadcasts of free public concerts recorded at France Musique studios, concentrating on new talents.

According to Prévost, “Many ‘live’ (programs)... also permit one to listen to young

¹⁵⁵ Xavier Prévost, *Martial Solal: Compositeur de L'Instant* (Paris: Éditions Michel de Maule, Institut National de l'Audiovisuel, 2005).

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 173. “La radio est le seul média qui tient compte du jazz, qui le présente de manière compétente.”

¹⁵⁷ Xavier Prévost, *Le Jazz, Probablement*, France Musique [Radio broadcast file] (Paris: Inathèque de France, Institut National de l'Audiovisuel 2001-), Inathèque 1324150-; available from <http://www.radiofrance.fr/francemusique/em/jazz/emission.php?e_id=37>; accessed 12 December 2007.

¹⁵⁸ Xavier Prévost, *Jazz sur le Vif*, France Musique [radio broadcast file] (Paris: Inathèque de France, Institut National de l'Audiovisuel, 2004-), Inathèque 1321450-; available from <http://www.radiofrance.fr/francemusique/em/vif/emission.php?e_id=10000003>; accessed 12 December 2007.

interpreters like the pianists Baptiste Trotignon or the saxophonist Géraldine Laurent. We are determined to play the most avant-garde works in order to demonstrate the most contemporary state of that music.”¹⁵⁹

The show also broadcasts a variety of concerts, which usually take place in France, by well-known jazz artists such as Michel Portal, Stefano Di Battista (an Italian saxophonist), Hank Jones and Joe Lovano, Kenny Werner, Brad Mehldau, Enrico Pieranunzi (a highly-regarded Italian pianist), Shirley Horn, Wayne Shorter, Dave Brubeck, Ahmad Jamal, and Dianne Reeves.

4.4.2 Claude Carrière and *Jazz Club*

Claude Carrière is one of the best-known jazz producers in France. He joined France Musique in 1975. His program *Tout Duke* of 400 broadcasts from 1976 to 1984, was particularly noteworthy for playing all of Ellington’s recordings.¹⁶⁰ He is the Honorary President of the prestigious L’Académie du Jazz, Officier des Arts et Lettres, and the recipient in 2000 of the Django D’Or Medal. His *Jazz Club* is among the best-known and most venerable jazz programs in France.

*Jazz Club*¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ Antoine Pecqueur, “Ça Swingue!,” *Le Monde: Supplément Télévision* (Paris : *Le Monde*, 2007), TEL 35.

“De nombreux ‘live’ ...permettent également d’entendre les jeunes interprètes, comme le pianiste Baptiste Trotignon ou la saxophoniste Géraldine Laurent. Nous tenons à diffuser des œuvres pointues, afin de montrer l’état le plus contemporain de cette musique.”

¹⁶⁰ Ledos, ed., “Un Demi-Siècle de Jazz sur les Radios Francophones: 1932-1982,” 175.

¹⁶¹ Claude Carrière, *Jazz Club*, France Musique [Radio broadcast file] (Paris: Inathèque de France, Institut National de l’Audiovisuel, 2007), Inathèque 583845-; available from <http://www.radiofrance.fr/francemusique/em/jazz_club/emission.php?e_id=19>; accessed 12 December 2007.

Jazz Club broadcasts Fridays from 11 P.M. to 1 A.M. Begun in 1982, it is the only program in the world, according to France Musique, that produces a weekly show recorded directly from a jazz club—chiefly in France but sometimes also in Switzerland, Belgium, or the Czech Republic. Carrière broadcasts frequently from Paris’ most prestigious jazz clubs: The Duc des Lombards, New Morning, La Villa, Sunside and Sunset—and even Euro Disneyland (a concert by Eliane Elias). As Carrière’s co-producer Jean Delmas put it: “It is in clubs that musicians are the most daring; for in jazz it is vital to take risks.”¹⁶² Carrière’s show was the first to broadcast Brad Mehldau, James Carter, and Bill Carrothers in France. He has broadcast virtually all the top French musicians, as well as American musicians touring in Europe such as Stan Getz, Dexter Gordon, Dizzy Gillespie, Carla Bley, Charlie Haden, Kenny Barron, Steve Lacy, Mark Murphy, Elvin Jones, and Hank Jones. Since 1995 *Jazz Club* has produced concerts, among other things, by Bill Carrothers, Dianne Reeves, Fred Hersch, Don Braden, Kenny Werner, Joe Lovano, Dave Holland, Tommy Flanagan, Enrico Pieranunzi, Johnny Griffin, Jim Hall with Chris Potter, Martial Solal, and Lee Konitz.

Jazz Club’s live program is limited, of course, by the programs playing at the various jazz clubs, primarily in Paris. This necessitates a greater display of French and European artists, since American jazz artists are present less frequently, and the most popular American artists often play in concert settings not usually available to *Jazz Club*. Its 2007 program, reproduced in Appendix 2, confirms this fact.

¹⁶² Pecqueur, “Ça Swingue!,” 2007, TEL 35. “C’est dans les clubs que les musiciens osent le plus. Or dans le jazz le risque est vital.”

When no appropriate concert was available, Carrière showed post-bop taste in presenting CDs, each program featuring an artist: examples include David Sanchez, Hank Jones, Dave McKenna, John Lewis, Jacky Terrasson, Cedar Walton, Joe Henderson, Enrico Pieranunzi—whom Carrière promoted early in the pianist’s career—French Gypsy guitarist Bireli Lagrène (reminiscent of Django Reinhardt), “musiques improvisées” artist Henri Texier, Lou Donaldson, and French pianist Laurent de Wilde.

4.4.3 Alex Dutilh and *Jazz de Cœur*, *Jazz de Pique*

Dutilh was born in 1949 in France and is currently editor of the monthly *Jazzman*, a prominent jazz periodical in Europe. Previously he was jazz director for *Le Monde de la Musique* and for the other principal jazz periodical *Jazz Hot*. He also produces jazz programs for the French-German television station *Arte*. He is the current director of Le Studio, an organization for the training of contemporary musicians.

Jazz de Cœur, *Jazz de Pique* (Jazz of Hearts, Jazz of Spades)¹⁶³

This program dates back to 1999. Broadcast on Saturdays from 11 P.M. to midnight, it features current jazz artists and it tends to favor current French and French-speaking European musicians. As its name implies (see footnote), it

¹⁶³ Alex Dutilh, *Jazz de Cœur*, *Jazz de Pique*. France Musique [Radio broadcast file] (Paris: Inathèque de France, Institut National de l'Audiovisuel, 2007), Inathèque 1054054; available from <http://www.radiofrance.fr/francemusique/em/coeur_pique/emission.php?e_id=15>; accessed 13 December 2007. The title has a meaning: *coeur* (hearts) and *pique* (spades) are suits in card games. *Coeur* also implies “lyrical” or “sentimental” and *pique* implies “thorny” or “stimulating” in this jazz context.

emphasizes both new currents and mainstream jazz. Dutilh often has other experts as collaborators: Vincent Bessières (for blues) and Michel Contat and Jonathan Duclos-Arkilovich for jazz.

Dutilh often interviews a prominent French-speaking jazz musician and plays some of his or her music along with other selections. The 2007 program reflected this emphasis on French-speaking artists (see Appendix 3). For instance on June 1, 2007, Jean-Michel Pilc (a French post-bop pianist currently residing in the US) was interviewed, and Dutilh presented the following pieces: a work written by Pilc (“Simplicity”), one played by Pilc (“But Not for Me”), Hoagy Carmichael singing his song “Two Sleepy People,” Pierre Christoph playing Jaki Byard’s “Out Front and His Own” and “So Long Mister B,” and Count Basie’s Orchestra playing his “Jumping at the Woodside.”

Another example: on his show of September 22, 2007, Dutilh interviewed Italian alto sax player Stefano Di Battista, and presented two CDs on which Di Battista played his own compositions. Also included were performances by Herbie Hancock, Steve Coleman, Thelonious Monk, and Don Cherry. Rounding out the program were performances by young musicians Dré Pallemarts and Candy Duffer.

Dutilh has interviewed many of the major French contemporary jazz figures: pianists Jacky Terrasson and René Utréger, accordionist Richard Galliano, reed player Michel Portal, bassists Daniel Humair and Henri Texier, violinists Didier Lockwood and Jean-Luc Ponty, guitarist Sylvain Luc, and drummers André Ceccarelli and Aldo Romano. Dutilh also interviewed and played the new releases of even more new faces in French jazz. The program also concentrated on CDs of

important contemporary or near-contemporary US musicians (except for Fats Waller whom he obviously loves and plays repeatedly), e.g., Brad Mehldau, Steve Lacy, Bill Evans, Keith Jarrett, Miles Davis, Wynton Marsalis, Sonny Rollins, Kurt Elling, and Joshua Redman. He even included a commentary on a book, *Woody Allen et le Jazz* by Oscar Font about French favorite Woody Allen—who is an occasional performing Dixieland clarinetist at the Carlyle Hotel in New York.

4.4.4 Philippe Carles and *Jazz à Contre-courant*

Carles was editor-in-chief of *Jazz Magazine* for 35 years, was a co-author of *Free Jazz/Black Power*, and has been a producer on France Musique since 1971. He also was a co-editor of perhaps the major jazz reference work in French (often cited in this thesis), *Dictionnaire du Jazz*. (I have included as Appendix 6 an amusing and perhaps exaggerated description of the number of artists influenced by free jazz that Carles and his co-authors cited in the *Dictionnaire*,¹⁶⁴ which illustrates both his special expertise in free jazz and his sense of humor.)

Jazz à Contre-courant (Jazz against the Current)¹⁶⁵

This program began on September 12, 2004; it broadcasts weekly on Sundays from midnight to 1 A.M. Carles describes the program as presenting contemporary music while demonstrating its connection with the history of jazz. In this way, Carles

¹⁶⁴ Philippe Carles, André Clergeat, and Jean-Louis Comolli. *Dictionnaire du Jazz*. Paris: Éditions Robert Laffont, 412.

¹⁶⁵ Philippe Carles, *Jazz à Contre-courant*. France Musique [Radio broadcast file] (Paris: Inathèque de France, Institut National de l'Audiovisuel, 2007), Inathèque 2058154-; available from http://www.radiofrance.fr/francemusique/em/contre_courant/emission.php?e_id=28; accessed 26 December 2007.

nurtures new talent while combining with it his encyclopedic knowledge of jazz history. In practice, this means Carles concentrates on the more avant-garde contemporary musicians, French and American, mixing their music with a couple of pieces in the jazz tradition; e.g., his September 15, 2007 program featured pieces by Joe Zawinul and some avant-garde French musicians—along with a 1963 Zawinul/Ben Webster rendition of Ellington’s “Some Sunday” and a 1926 piece, “Florida Blues” by the Dixieland Jug Blowers!

4.4.5 Franck Médioni and *Jazzistiques*

Médioni has degrees in journalism and ethnology; he writes for *Jazz Magazine*, *Impro Jazz* and *Jazz Notes*, and has published a book on jazz: *Jazz en Suite*. Médioni has been a producer at France Musique since 1995.

*Jazzistiques*¹⁶⁶

Jazzistiques is broadcast Wednesdays from midnight to 12:50 A.M. It is for true aficionados, given its late hour! Médioni proposes to illuminate mainstream jazz and, to a lesser extent, contemporary French jazz, by a variety of programs: e.g., featuring a musician, a record label, a festival, a film, or a book on jazz. He claims to approach jazz from varied angles: “thématique, esthétique, sociologique, discographique, poétique, philosophique.” His 2007 program included a mixture of mainstream artists

¹⁶⁶ Franck Médioni, *Jazzistiques*” France Musique [radio broadcast file] (Paris: Inathèque de France, Institut National de l’Audiovisuel, 2007), Inathèque number not recorded. Available from <http://www.radiofrance.fr/francemusique/em/jazzistiques/emission.php?e_id+40>; accessed 21 December 2007.

like Coltrane, Keith Jarrett, Ellington interpreting Strayhorn, and Solal. It also included some historic subjects such as the 1950s critic and musician Boris Vian, Baroness Koenigswarter, who nurtured Parker, Monk, and many other be-bop artists, and examples of jazz interpretations of the music of Jimi Hendrix. On September 26, 2007, he featured bassist Stéphane Belmondo. Even so, he played only one CD from Belmondo's Trio and two by contemporary European artists; the majority of the program consisted of pieces played mainly by well-known artists: Cannonball Adderly, Dave Douglas, Martial Solal, and Paul Bley. The 2007 program is shown in Appendix 4.

Médioni also presents occasional programs on exotic jazz instruments such as the *bugle* (flugelhorn), with selections from Miles Davis, Shorty Rogers, Clark Terry, Art Farmer, and European *bugleurs* Yoann Loustalot and Franz Koglmann. In 2005 his programs featured the full range of jazz instruments plus several exotic ones: harp, harmonica, tuba, bandoneon, organ, violin, and bagpipes! For the Fender Rhodes he played pieces by "musiques improvisées" artists Henri Texier and Pierre de Bethmann, along with Miles Davis' "Shhh, Peaceful," Rufus Wainwright's "Poses" played by trumpeter Dave Douglas, and Bill Evans playing his "Re, Person I Knew" (on piano, not Fender Rhodes).¹⁶⁷ His "L'Héritage Coltranién" program featured pieces written by Coltrane plus a piece composed and played by Elvin Jones ("Dear John C."), dedicated to Coltrane. The program also presented music by French saxophonist François Jeanneau ("Waltz") and the David Ware Quartet ("Autumn Leaves").

¹⁶⁷ Peter Pettinger, *Bill Evans: How My Heart Sings* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 325.

In summarizing the foregoing description of France Musique-Jazz, I would suggest the following. First, while its presenters feel an obligation to give opportunities to the plentiful new generation of French artists, many of whom play “musiques improvisées,” their preferences are for mainstream jazz. The praiseworthy goal of acquainting the French audiences with the excitement of live performances in jazz clubs necessarily restricts their choices to the artists who are playing there, most of whom are French. While a number of these artists are in the mainstream jazz tradition (Solal, Terrasson, de Wilde, Rocheman), many are not. It is also clear that when American artists appear, France Musique is there to record them.

Secondly, the strong educational and professional backgrounds of the France Musique presenters (also sometimes called “producers”) renders the normal American term “disc jockey” a grotesque underestimation of their capabilities. While all but Merlin lack academic degrees in music, they bring with them other graduate degrees, literary eminence, and serious contributions to the top French jazz journals.

Finally, the tradition of French scholarship carries over into the content of the presentations on France Musique-Jazz. The selection of jazz recordings, as opposed to live performances, covers a significant part of the American jazz heritage. It must be admitted, however, that the emphasis is on mainstream post-War jazz—meaning music with a regular “beat” and a defined tonal system. With the exception of Alain Gerber and Philippe Carles, both of whom range a bit further into the earlier jazz era, most pre-War selections appear to be largely restricted to the giants: Bessie Smith, Billie Holiday, Armstrong, Ellington, Basie, Waller, Lester Young and, *bien sûr*, Bechet.

Similarly, the commentary is extremely competent. This includes: pedagogical programs like Merlin's *Jazz de A à Z* and Médioni's *Jazzistiques*; interviews with current figures of the jazz world as in Prévost's and Dutilh's programs; judicious selections of, and commentary on, live jazz club performances by Carrière; Carles' enormous erudition; and Gerber's evocative readings and musical examples, taken from his meaty novels about major jazz figures, which run for months at a time. Also, while one should not overemphasize its importance, it is also significant that Merlin's current daily program *Par Ici Les Sorties* often includes one new jazz release among the classical program. I do not know of an American radio station that does that; also, few—if any—current American classical stations in my experience feature any jazz in their programs—and certainly not 12 hours per week.

This paper has argued that France treats jazz as “high art.” I believe the foregoing description of France Musique's approach to jazz supports that conclusion. However, before concluding this paper I would like to describe a consummate example of the expert and thorough nature of French presentation of jazz: Alain Gerber's program *Black and Blue* on France Culture.

CHAPTER V: GERBER'S *BLACK AND BLUE*: MUSICIANS AND CRITICS

*Black and Blue*¹⁶⁸ has a long and distinguished history. In 1965, the anthropologist and jazz musicologist Lucien Malson persuaded the authorities at France III (later France Culture) to allow him to start a program on “musique afro-américaine” which he entitled “Connaissance du [Knowledge of] jazz”—an indication of its pedagogical mission. He re-titled it *Black and Blue* in 1973 and invited Alain Gerber, “whose erudition and ease at the microphone I appreciated,” to join him.”¹⁶⁹ Malson left the program in July 1996 and Gerber has run it ever since.

Black and Blue has always been a weekly show, usually one hour in duration. Its time during the week has varied; currently it is broadcast on Sundays from midnight to 1 A.M. The program took its name from a famous song by Fats Waller (“What did I do to be so Black and Blue?”) and currently has as its theme-song “Miles Ahead” by Miles Davis and Gil Evans, played by tenor saxophonist Joe Henderson. What is so distinctive about the program is that Gerber has two practicing jazz musicians as regular participants.

Georges Paczynski, born in Grenoble, France in 1943, is a drummer who has played with the top French musicians, as well as with Phil Woods and Hampton Hawes. He continues to play and record with his own trio; he is also an accomplished

¹⁶⁸ Alain Gerber, *Black and Blue*. France Culture [Radio broadcast file] (Paris: Inathèque de France, Institut National de l'Audiovisuel, 2007), Inathèque 599272; available from http://www.radiofrance.fr/chaines/france-culture2/emissions/black_blue/index.php?emission_id=67; accessed November and December 2007.

¹⁶⁹ Ledos, ed., “Un Demi-Siècle de Jazz sur les Radios Francophones: 1932-1982,” 162. “...dont j’estimais l’érudition, et l’aisance à l’antenne.”

scholar. His masters' thesis was entitled "Baudelaire et la musique," and his doctoral dissertation "La Genèse du Rythme et l'Anthropologie Gestuelle" (The origin of rhythm and gestural anthropology), was later published in 1988 as *Rythme et geste: les racines du rythme musical*" (Rhythm and gesture: the roots of musical rhythm).¹⁷⁰ Paczynski was named professor at the Conservatoire National de Colombes (1973) and the Centre d'Informations Musicales (CIM) (1979) and has taught at several other French conservatories. Paczynski has written perhaps the most comprehensive history of jazz drumming, his three-volume *Une Histoire de la Batterie [drums] de Jazz*,¹⁷¹ which runs to some 1,000 pages (with copious musical transcriptions). The first two volumes have won prizes in France for the best book of the year on jazz.

Jean-Louis Chautemps¹⁷² is a saxophonist, flautist, and composer, born in Paris in 1931, the son of a doctor. He studied law and medicine before deciding to make a career in jazz. He has played with Claude Bolling, Sidney Bechet, Django Reinhardt, Zoot Sims, Lester Young, Albert Ayler, Roy Eldridge, Don Byas, Chet Baker, Dexter Gordon, and many other well-known U.S. and French jazz figures. During the 1970s, he experimented with free jazz and third stream jazz. He has composed music for films and plays and co-authored a book on the saxophone. The *Dictionnaire du Jazz* described him as being "on every musical front today: studio, jazz, and contemporary musician, teacher."¹⁷³

¹⁷⁰ "Georges Paczynski," *BiblioMonde* (Paris: The Association BiblioMonde, 2002-2006); available from <<http://bibliomonde.com/auteur/georges-paczynski-1300html>>; accessed 20 November 2007.

¹⁷¹ Paczynski, *Une Histoire de la Batterie de Jazz*. The three volumes are: 1) *Des Origines aux Années Swing* (From the Origins to the Swing Years); 2) *Les Années Bebop* (The Bebop Years); and 3) *Elvin Jones, Tony Williams, Jack DeJohnette: Les Racines de la Modernité* (The Roots of Modernity) .

¹⁷² Philippe Carles, André Clergeat and Jean-Louis Comolli Paris, *Dictionnaire du Jazz*, 225-26.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 226. "...sur tous les fronts de la musique d'aujourd'hui: musicien de studio, de jazz, de musique contemporaine, enseignant."

Gilles Anquetil¹⁷⁴ is Editor-in-Chief of *Le Nouvel Observateur*, a major French weekly magazine, has written on the Iranian revolution, and has published three novels, one of which, *Tout Va Se Jouer* (Everything Will Be Played), published in 1996, concerns jazz and improvisation.

Black and Blue's program, from the beginning, consisted of a single theme for each broadcast, with commentaries by the participants, and musical examples. Malson and Gerber served as moderators and joined invited participants in making comments. Looking at brief summaries of the history of the program since 1994, one views a veritable encyclopedia of jazz. Early broadcasts, from 1994 to 1998, for example, featured explorations, variously, of: "Mississippi Mud," a discussion of the early history of the blues, and programs featuring Joshua Redman, Sidney Bechet, and Ornette Coleman, discussed by French reed jazzman Michel Portal. The broadcasts also included one on "Où en est le Jazz Français?" (Where is French Jazz Today?) discussed by jazz critic Pascal Anquetil. Others included a program on vibraphonist Bobby Hutcherson, discussed by French pianist Laurent de Wilde, and interviews with a number of French authors of books on jazz, as well as discussions with jazz record producers, a discussion by experts of Gunther Schuller's *Early Jazz*, and an analysis of the rumba as a form of jazz, with examples by Wes Montgomery, Barney Wilen, Jaki Byard, Art Pepper, Curtis Fuller, Bill Evans, and Grant Green. See Appendix 5 for an overview of the wide variety of subject matter in *Black and Blue*, which featured commentary on particular musicians such as Oscar Pettiford,

¹⁷⁴ Etonnants-Voyageurs, *Gilles Anquetil. Festival International du Livre et du Film* (7 April 2007); available from <http://etonnantsvoyageurs.com/spip.php?article1676>; accessed 21 November 2007.

Keith Jarrett, Bud Shank, Eliane Elias (and other Brazilians), Jim Hall, and Miles Davis, plus appearances by various guest French jazz experts.

In some of the broadcasts Gerber's fertile literary imagination was in great evidence:

- “Les Sept Péchés Capitaux”¹⁷⁵ (The Seven Cardinal Sins), September 9, 1999 to November 5, 1999, was launched as a challenge to the experts to apply this unusual criterion to musicians. One example of this rich variety must suffice: “L’Envie” (Envy). Gerber and Paczynski described great artists who had “des rêves inassouvis” (unfulfilled dreams): Fats Waller, who wanted to be a concert performer; and Bud Powell, who wanted the technique of Art Tatum while also dreaming of classical music. (They presented the piece “Bud on Bach” to illustrate both Powell’s technical imperfections and his improvisational genius.) Finally they discussed Billie Holiday, who dreamed in vain of becoming a Hollywood star.
- “Les Sept Merveilles du Monde: Les Pyramides d’Égypte” (The Seven Wonders of the World: The Egyptian Pyramids)¹⁷⁶ was in a similar vein: Gerber and Paczynski played excerpts from the “wondrous” concerts of the 1960s in Paris: by such artists as The Jazz Messengers (1959), Thelonious Monk (1961), and Charles Mingus (1964), plus “legendary” recordings of John Coltrane and Miles Davis. The presenters also discussed the atmosphere, clubs and radio programs of that era.
- “Le Jardin des Muses: Polymnie, le lyrisme” (The Muses’ Garden, Polymnie, who represents lyricism)¹⁷⁷ rounded out this series of fanciful broadcasts. Gerber and Paczynski defined lyricism as “le rêve d’un art” (the dream of an art) and illustrated its influence on jazz artists. They played the quintessentially lyrical piece “I Remember

¹⁷⁵ The other six capital sins were: la colère (anger); la luxure (lust); l’orgueil (pride); la gourmandise (gluttony); la paresse (laziness); l’avarice (avarice, stinginess). The presenters asserted that “l’avarice ne swingue pas” but lauded the economy of style of Jimmy Giuffrè, Count Basie and John Lewis. The program added an eighth sin: la mièverie (daintiness, affectation) but claimed jazzmen tend to avoid this criticism by calling this “sin” “elegance... suavité” etc.

¹⁷⁶ Others of the seven marvels of the ancient world broadcast were: the temple of Artemis at Ephesus; the statue of Zeus (illustrated by the MJQ’s “sculpted” music); the mausoleum at Halicarnassus; and the lighthouse at Alexandria. The hanging gardens of Babylon were illustrated by Jack Teagarden and Lester Young because of their “l’art du temps suspendu” (the art of suspended time). A broadcast on the Colossus of Rhodes seems to be absent from the records.

¹⁷⁷ The other eight ancient Greek Muses evoked in separate broadcasts were: Calliope: eloquence; Clio: history; Erato: elegy; Uranie: astronomy; Thalie: comedy; Melpomène: tragedy; Euterpe: music; and Terpsichore: dance.

Clifford” as a prelude and then gave the following period examples: Mahalia Jackson (Negro spiritual), Sidney Bechet (New Orleans style), Lester Young (middle jazz), Art Pepper (modern jazz), and Keith Jarrett (contemporary jazz).

This mixture of critics and musicians together with imaginative programming gave an exemplary variety and authority to the presentations on *Black and Blue*. I was able to listen to the full broadcasts of only a few of the programs but they gave an idea of the show’s approach. The first program was “Le Cas Brubeck,”¹⁷⁸ a public broadcast by Gerber and his group from the Sacha Guitry Studio at La Maison de Radio France on January 4, 2000. The introduction to the broadcast outlined the basic controversy over Brubeck: in the U.S., he was a popular idol in the 1950s (on the cover of *Time* magazine), considered “a pioneer, innovator, one of the beacons of ‘cool,’ and one of the founders of the West Coast movement.”¹⁷⁹ Others considered him “an opportunist, vulgarizer, and, finally, a parasite of the great currents of modernity.”¹⁸⁰ Gerber mentioned that in France Boris Vian refused to distribute Brubeck’s best sellers and many French detested him without even hearing him. In short, he was “taboo” in France. However, even his adversaries appreciated some of his compositions.

In the ensuing discussion, the participants described some of Brubeck’s well-known negatives: a heavy-handed pianism, his difficulty with sight reading (due to some visual problems in his youth) and his frequent lack of a regular beat, describing him derisively as *claudicant* (limping). One participant accused him of a “cardinal sin”: no swing; instead Brubeck stomped his feet to show he could swing! Another

¹⁷⁸ Gerber, *Black and Blue*, 2007, Inathèque 1099456.

¹⁷⁹ “...un pionnier, un novateur, l’un des phares du cool et l’un des fondateurs du mouvement West Coast.”

¹⁸⁰ “Un opportuniste, un vulgarisateur, et, finalement, un parasite des grands courants de la modernité.”

participant claimed he had purveyed “jazz hygienique” (hygienic jazz). The participants even minimized his innovations in rhythm as demonstrated in his albums *Time In* and *Time Out*. Paczynski observed that Tchaikovsky had used 5/4 time (alternating 2 + 3 with 3 + 2) in the second movement of the *Symphonie Pathétique* whose origin he traced to the Balkans and Eastern Europe.¹⁸¹ He also emphasized the decisive contribution of drummer Joe Morello and pointed out, parenthetically, the beautiful round sound of Morello’s cymbals. A participant pointed out that Brubeck was harmonically 20 years behind contemporary music. For instance, the 1961 piece “Bluette” showed the influence of Chopin, Scriabin, and Satie. It also, however, superimposed 4/4 and 3/4 tempos on the traditional 12-bar blues form. In summary, the final judgment was that Brubeck was a bad pianist but a good composer.

While the discussion appeared to emphasize the negative, the participants did conclude that Brubeck had demonstrated that jazz had a future. The group’s judgment was similar to the description Arnaud Merlin produced in his book *The Story of Jazz*: “Dave Brubeck’s quartet popularized a number of processes foreign to jazz... (borrowed from the sophisticated structures of classical music) and encountered widespread success—so much so that even today he remains suspect in the eyes of purists.”¹⁸²

Gerber and Chautemps attempted “Un dernier bilan” (a final accounting) of Wynton Marsalis in their program on March 31, 2000, following two other broadcasts on Marsalis: a first broadcast and “un deuxième [second] bilan.” The first two

¹⁸¹ See Paczynski, *Une Histoire de la Batterie de Jazz*, vol. 2, *Les Années Bebop*, 277-81 on Joe Morello and Brubeck.

¹⁸² Arnaud Merlin and Frank Bergerot, *The Story of Jazz: Bop and Beyond* trans. Marjolijn de Jager (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1993), 23.

programs pointed out Marsalis' remarkable talent as a trumpeter who had "occulté" (hidden the influence of) his models, Clifford Brown, Lee Morgan, and Miles Davis. The participants claimed that no musician other than Bill Evans has generated more controversy than Marsalis because of Marsalis' decision to go back to the origins of jazz rather than embark on an experimental path. Paczynski quoted Nietzsche: "It is only when he is strong enough to utilize the past...that man becomes man: on the other hand, too much history kills man."¹⁸³ Marsalis was described as a "musicologist from Jelly Roll Morton to Thelonious Monk" and one who attempts to study Buddy Bolden even though Bolden never recorded. Participants called Marsalis a musician of "integration, not rebellion," a musician who "reconciles all the eras" and appears to be the "musician of consensus" where "the past is the best"—despite the fact that there is no such consensus. The participants posed the question of whether Marsalis is legitimate and productive in guarding "the flame of the blues" and giving jazz a canonic repertoire. During the discussion the participants pointed out, variously, that Marsalis is a fine arranger and composer—with varied and coherent ideas—and not just a disciple of Mingus; that pianist Marcus Roberts exerted a strong influence on him; and that Marsalis is a superb trumpeter, playing without clichés—though one participant preferred Nicholas Payton. The participants agreed that Marsalis is not "post-modern" (with its ironic bent) but rather uses the past directly to inform the present. In conclusion, the participants had a wide divergence of views despite high regard for his musical gifts. Gerber concluded the program ambiguously by remarking that Marsalis' place in contemporary jazz reminded him of what André

¹⁸³ "C'est seulement quand il est assez fort pour utiliser le passé...que l'homme devient homme: trop d'histoire en revanche tue l'homme."

Gide replied when asked who was the greatest literary figure in French history:

“Victor Hugo, alas”—i.e., a genius but one with many artistic faults.

Surveying the totality of programs on “*Black and Blue*” from 1994 to the present, one is struck by the variety of its contents; what is noteworthy is the relative lack of repetition of subject matter over some 600 programs. This feature is even more striking when one considers the fact that the program spends little time on the early jazz scene, with the exception of a few early giants, such as Bessie Smith, Louis Armstrong, Billy Holiday, Bix Beiderbecke, Fats Waller, Teddy Wilson, and so on. The broadcast has little of the antiquarian character of, say, the American radio broadcast *Hot Jazz Saturday Night*,¹⁸⁴ which concentrates on the gamut of early jazz artists. If we are to judge preferences by successive numbers of broadcasts devoted to a single jazz figure, the following figures are suggestive:

- John Coltrane (four)
- Sidney Bechet (three)
- Wynton Marsalis (three)
- Django Reinhardt (three)
- European reed player Bobby Jaspar (two)
- Lee Konitz (two)
- Martial Solal (two)
- Gerry Mulligan (two)

¹⁸⁴ Presented for years by Rob Bamberger on WAMU (Washington D.C.) radio station on Saturday nights.

From September 5, 2003, to July 2, 2004, the program also devoted some 50 nearly successive broadcasts to jazz in Paris in the 1950s, presenting a mixture of American and French artists.

On the other hand, one senses that the program in 2006 and 2007 was digging deeper into the archives to find original material, or at least a fresh approach. In doing so, the *Black and Blue* effort seems to have been successful. Having featured most of the mainstream jazz artists over the previous 13 years, Gerber started two new types of program: one on jazz instruments and their practitioners and one on underrated or obscure artists. I will conclude this discussion of *Black and Blue* with examples from the current 2007 program, which highlighted those themes. (Also see Appendix 5 for a sample of *Black and Blue*'s programs in 2005 and 2006.)

Discussion of jazz instruments gave an opportunity to the two instrumentalists, Paczynski and Chautemps, to describe the instruments and comment on various jazz artists' use of them. The program also had an unusual twist. The series is named: "Le saxophone, trompette etc. en diagonal" ("diagonal" meaning, in this context, "with a slant"). The slant was sometimes used to look at musicians identified with a particular city. For example, the broadcast of November 12, 2006 presented tenor sax players from Chicago: Bud Freeman, Von Freeman, Gene Ammons, Johnny Griffin and Joe Farrell—a mixture of better and lesser known artists. The March 18, 2007, broadcast featured tenor sax players from Brooklyn: Flip Philips, Al Cohn, David Liebman, and Steve Grossman. The April 22, 2007 broadcast presented tenor players from "L'Athènes de l'Amérique," Boston: Paul Gonsalves, Sonny Stitt, Jerry Bergonzi, and Ricky Ford.

One rather technical series was “L’Histoire de la batterie [drums] en diagonal par [by] Georges Paczynski.” In the program of October 29, 2007,¹⁸⁵ Paczynski traced drumming from its 19th century origins and then explained the technique of the “roll” (*roulement*) at the heart of the march and the “shimmy” (*roulement gratté*) of Baby Dodds. He then described the problems of mastering the sticks, demonstrating himself on the snare drum its role in the early New Orleans funeral processions that would come to have repercussions throughout the history of jazz. Paczynski then illustrated the “buzzle roll” (*marche tambour*) as played by Chick Webb, Art Blakey, and Elvin Jones. Gerber ended the broadcast with quotes from Thoreau “sur la marche et sur la vie” (about the march and about life).

In the broadcast of November 26, 2007,¹⁸⁶ Paczynski evoked “la mélodie du rythme.” He demonstrated drum phrasing by accompanying his own singing of the themes of “Limehouse Blues” and “Now is the Time,” and presented Zutty Singleton’s and Kenny Clarke’s versions of those respective songs, along with his commentary. He also personally demonstrated various techniques such as *la boussole* (compass) technique of giving a firm tempo for the combo. Gerber then recounted an anecdote regarding Kenny Clarke in which Clarke admitted that, in order to keep strict count of the measures, he sang to himself “Sweet Sue”! Paczynski continued to discuss the technique for playing the snare drums in a *marche tambour*, with a comment that Jack DeJohnette was the acknowledged master. They ended their musical selections with “Star Eyes” played by Ahmad Jamal, with Vernell Fournier

¹⁸⁵ Gerber, *Black and Blue*, 29 October 2007. Broadcast available at <http://www.radiofrance.fr/chaines/france-culture2/emissions/black_blue/index.php55697>.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 26 November 2007. Broadcast 2549695.

accompanying on drums—with compliments on his brush technique. Paczynski also posed, as a criticism, the general question of whether the fast drummers of the swing and bebop eras were aiming for surprise rather than sentiment. Perhaps as a gesture to the cultural character of France Culture, the broadcast ended with the thoughts of French cubist painter Georges Braque: “le tambour, instrument de la meditation” (the drums, instrument of meditation).

The other new program in *Black and Blue* explored unknown or underrated musicians. Gerber called this program “Petit Dictionnaire incomplet des incompris” (small incomplete dictionary of the misunderstood [or unknown]). For instance, in the program on drumming described above, Gerber included a segment called “L comme Ellis Larkins”—the second in a series on Larkins.¹⁸⁷ Gerber gave a history of Larkins’ life (Juilliard, etc.) and presented Larkins’ rendition of “I’m Through With Love,” which Gerber praised for its phrasing and touch, mentioning Larkin’s talent as an accompanist in New York’s café society.

The other underrated (or underplayed) musicians Gerber presented in his programs from September 3 to December 3, 2007, were: saxophonist and orchestra leader Charlie Ventura, singer Dorothy Donegan, trumpet player Jabbo Smith (three programs), drummer and singer O’Neil Spencer, reed player Joe Maini, and tenor sax player Paul Quinichette.

As I hope the foregoing demonstrates, it would almost be an understatement to say that *Black and Blue* was (and is) a program for jazz aficionados. The show

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. Perhaps less well-known popularly, Larkins nevertheless was selected as one of the best pianists of the 20th century by *The Smithsonian Collection: Jazz Piano: Ellis Larkins, “Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea,” The Smithsonian Collection: Jazz Piano No. 2, Vol. 3* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1989); compact disc. Martial Solal was the only French pianist included in that collection.

aims at the highest standards of knowledge and expertise, combining programs of critical commentary (e.g., on Brubeck and Marsalis) with those of a technical character (e.g., Paczynski on drum technique), along with the presentation of obscure jazz artists. The program often uses literary quotations to add a note of “French culture” and literary aspiration—all of which suit its literary hosts, Gerber and Anquetil. Gerber was careful, however, in each program to feature several recordings which illustrated the program themes, in order to give genuine pleasure to his listening audience. This practice makes good sense; it also responds, at least in part, to criticisms offered by lay listeners to radio pedagogues throughout the history of French jazz radio: avoid too much “blah, blah” at the expense of the music. Finally, while *Black and Blue* has moved around the weekly calendar throughout its history, one must indeed be a true jazz fan to tune into *Black and Blue* at its current broadcast hour of Sunday midnight to 1 A.M.!

CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSION: THE FUTURE

It is always hazardous to attempt to predict the future. In concluding this thesis I can only point to certain features in the history of jazz in France that may have a role in the future of jazz there. First, jazz has established a certain place in French culture. As we have seen, from its initial treatment after World War I of jazz as primitive African-American folklore, it gradually acquired an acceptance—thanks partly to the appearance of some outstanding French jazz artists in the 1930s—as an international, universal music. The circumstances favoring America after World War II, the acceptance of jazz in the avant-garde existentialist circle and as an identity-statement by French youth after the War, plus the polemical confrontation between traditional and bebop fans all helped to put jazz on a firm, if minority, footing and able to withstand (barely) the popular onslaught of rock in the 1960s and beyond.

A major factor in France's "stewardship" of jazz has been the high intellectual and entrepreneurial quality of its "stewards." There is a kind of apostolic succession that has nurtured and propagated an educated appreciation of jazz on the radio and elsewhere: Panassié, Delaunay, Copans, Hodeir, Vian, Ténor, Malson, Francis, Carrière, Carles, Gerber, and Prévost in turn have carried the jazz torch from the 1930s to the present. While the more senior presenters on France Musique represent the 1950-60s generation that embraced jazz as *their* music, they seem to be thriving in contemporary France. Meanwhile, a younger generation of presenters bodes well for jazz: Merlin, Dutilh, and Médioni are wedded to the jazz tradition and to the need to

instruct as well as entertain. The frequent appearances of practicing jazz musicians and critics also bring a freshness and authenticity to the programming.

As for the future, several factors are in play. First, France Musique and France Culture are totally dependent on financing by the French government. We have seen how various governments have threatened those institutions, though ultimately relenting. France Musique and France Culture are unabashedly “high-brow” and appeal to a tiny segment of the overall French population. These stations would be vulnerable to a populist French government, or one wishing to engage in “zero-base” budgeting. With changing demographics one can imagine that jazz could lose its perch in France Music and France Culture even though their jazz programs have thrived for decades. It is true that the private radio station TSF, which broadcasts 24 hours a day, might take up some of the slack. But it is difficult to imagine a substitute for the institutional excellence of the French national radio system. It is equally hard to imagine a future French government that will not take high culture seriously.

There is also a certain ambivalence in France Musique’s current approach to jazz. Most, if not all of the presenters seem to have a preference for mainstream jazz, particularly the canonic artists before World War II and for bebop and post-bebop after the War. Yet many of the weekly programs feature so-called “musiques improvisées” (with the plural form implying that other improvised music besides American jazz is in play, including European and “world” alternatives). This combines with a growing interest in “world music,” which, after all, American jazz musicians have benefitted from, whether from Afro-Cuban rhythms, Brazilian bossa

nova, African polyrhythmic drumming, or Indian ragas. Today, however, the sources are more diffuse and the context in which they fit is no longer the “mainstream” condition of beat and tonality.¹⁸⁸ Given France Musique’s commitment to presenting live jazz and the fact that those artists appearing are generally French or other Europeans, often from the burgeoning new crop of jazz musicians, the result is sometimes, but by no means always, an improvised music that has little in common with jazz.

Philosophically, perhaps this ambivalence has an aesthetic basis. On one hand, the France Musique presenters are firm adherents to the canonic tradition of jazz and desire to perpetuate it. On the other hand, one hears lamentations that there has been no truly creative innovator in jazz since John Coltrane. Even an outstanding musician like Wynton Marsalis, as we have seen, elicits an ambivalent response, because he chooses to draw his inspiration from the early jazz tradition rather than to venture into experimental efforts beyond his recent long compositions. Meanwhile, innovators like Dave Brubeck and to some extent the Modern Jazz Quartet are criticized for drawing some of their innovation from their classical studies.

In searching for a new departure in jazz, there has emerged a variety of improvised music with no clear relationship to the jazz tradition or sensibility. We witnessed some of this in *Jazz sur le Vif* and *Le Jazz, Probablement*. As the great French broadcaster André Francis put it:

¹⁸⁸ One exception is the Tunisian oud player and leader Anouar Brahem, who has recorded with Dave Holland on bass and John Surman on soprano sax and bass clarinet.

[B]ecause jazz, in an irresistible manner is transformed and tied to more and more complex musical civilizations, has become a world more intellectual than sensitive, more revolutionary or revolted than it was in the past, and sometimes more a pseudo-political weapon than an art for the good of the people, should we abandon those musics that were jazz? They were natural and supple, lyrical and popular, inspired and generous.¹⁸⁹

However, Francis concluded: “Jazz is still alive. Let us love it before history seizes it.”¹⁹⁰ This seems to be the attitude of the current group at France Musique and France Culture.” I hope this essay has demonstrated their expertise, competence, dedication and, yes, love for jazz as an authentic form of “high culture.” May the spirit of French “stewardship” endure.

¹⁸⁹ Francis, *Jazz: L'Histoire, Les Musiciens, Les Styles, Les Disques*, 258. “Parce que le jazz, d’une manière irrésistible, s’est transformé, s’est lié à des civilisations musicales de plus en plus complexes, est devenu un monde plus intellectuel que sensitif, plus révolutionnaire ou révolté que par le passé et, quelquefois, plus une arme pseudo-politique qu’un art pour le meilleur du peuple, devons-nous faire absolument notre deuil de ces musiques qui ont été le jazz ? Elles étaient naturelles et souples, lyriques et populaires, inspirées et généreuses.”

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 259. “Le jazz est toujours vivant. Aimons-le avant que l’histoire ne le saisisse.”

Appendices

A.1 Gerber's Style and Bill Evans

Alain Gerber has a separate career as a novelist, which perhaps explains his novelistic approaches in his books on major jazz figures. Gerber's talent as a writer—his rich verbal imagination and his vivid images and metaphors—are apparent in his “*essai*” on Bill Evans. I provide here some of Gerber's more colorful descriptions to illustrate the high quality of prose insight that informs his writings and his radio program *Le Jazz Est Un Roman*.

- On “Peace Piece” and its influence on Evans' style:

“Peace Piece” gives the unusual example of an ideal attained immediately...but which, from then on, will remain largely inaccessible. Not that the pianist did not do better after that. But to do better, he had to do something else, ceaselessly avoiding that straight path that stretched out before him....“Peace Piece”...constituted the double function of a compass and a foil in his forward progress: a magnet with opposing poles.¹⁹¹

- On Evans's tendency to “speed up” in the course of a number during his final years:

It is not impossible that the vibrant swing of the last trio was born in part from the tension between the musician [Evans] who, whatever he may have thought, did not manage to master himself, and the musician [LaBarbera], who no matter what he might have promised, could not prevent himself from grabbing his comrade by the sleeve....Bill Evans and Joe LaBarbera: “Yet Ne'er Broken” in *Turn out the Stars, Vol. 11* (Warner Bros.)¹⁹²

¹⁹¹ Gerber, *Bill Evans*, 143. “Peace Piece” donne l'insolite exemple d'un idéal atteint d'emblée...mais qui, désormais, restera largement inaccessible. Non que le pianiste n'ait pas fait mieux après cela. Mais pour faire mieux, il lui faudra faire autre chose, s'écarter sans cesse de ce droit chemin qui s'est enfin tracé devant lui... ‘Peace Piece’ ... aura eu, dans son avancée, la double fonction de boussole et de repoussoir: un aimant avec ses pôles antagonistes.”

¹⁹² Ibid., 225. “Il n'est pas impossible que le swing vibrant du dernier trio fût en parti né de la tension entre le musicien qui, quoi qu'il eût cru, n'arrivait pas à se maîtriser, et le musicien qui, quoi qu'il eut promis, ne pouvait s'empêcher de retenir son camarade par la manche.... Bill Evans and Joe LaBarbera: “Yet Ne'er Broken” in *Turn out the Stars, Vol. 11* (Warner Bros.).

- On Evans's most influential drummer, Paul Motian:

The punctuation/syncopation, the multiplication of accents placed “in the air” rather than on the beat, the proliferation of slower tempos, even counter-tempos, the asymmetrical interventions, the broken figures or those deliberately left as a mere sketch, the apparent ruptures in the rhythmic continuity, the commentaries made as asides—all this defines an approach to the drums to which, each in his own style, all the percussionists will conform; who, after Paul (Motian) will respond to Bill Evans on the basis of a [clearly] defined way of playing together.¹⁹³

- On Evans' long-time bassist Eddie Gomez :

Eddie was his fortress against the temptation to play “prettily,” the danger of becoming dull, indeed affected.¹⁹⁴

- On drummer Jack DeJohnette:

Each one made a step in the direction of the other...with such a drummer it rains heavy blows: you have to march or you die.¹⁹⁵

- On drummer Eliot Zigmund :

He is perhaps the one who feels things most in the mood of the pianist [Evans]....Among everyone, he is, along with Motian and LaBarbera, the one who picks up with the most grace and courage the challenge of silence. Cymbals become crystal objects in his hands; even the bass drums seem to have something fragile about them. Delicacy is not an added value but rather a founding principle....Bill Evans: “Gary's Theme”/“The Peacocks” in *You Must Believe in Spring* (Warner Bros.).¹⁹⁶

- On Evans's singularity:

¹⁹³ Ibid., 162-63. “La ponctuation/syncope, la multiplication des accents placés ‘en l’air’ plutôt que sur le temps, la prolifération de sous-tempos, voire de contre-tempos, les interventions asymétriques, les figures brisées ou délibérément laissées à l’état d’ébauche, les ruptures apparentes de la continuité rythmique, les commentaires comme en aparté—tout cela définit une approche de la batterie à laquelle, chacun dans son style, se conformeront tous les percussionnistes qui, après Paul (Motian) donneront la réplique à Bill Evans sur la base d’une collaboration régulière.”

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 208. “Eddie était son rempart contre la tentation de la joliesse, le danger de l’affadissement, voire de la mièvrerie ”

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 212-13. “Chacun faisait alors un pas en direction de l’autre...Avec un tel batteur, il pleut des coups durs: ou l’on marche ou l’on crève. ”

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 220. “Il est peut-être celui qui ressent le plus les choses au diapason du pianiste...De tous, il est, avec Motian et LaBarbera, celui qui relève avec le plus de grâce et de courage le défi du silence. Les cymbales deviennent entre ses mains des objets de cristal; même les caisses semblent avoir quelque chose de fragile. La délicatesse n’est plus une valeur ajoutée, mais un principe fondateur.... Bill Evans: “Gary's Theme”/ “The Peacocks,” in “*You Must Believe in Spring*” (Warner Bros.)

One of the singularities of Bill is that he gave proof, like Oscar [Peterson], of an exceptional technical mastery in jazz...at the same time rivaling the poetic outpourings of Thelonious [Monk] (e.g., “Everything Happens To Me,” in *Solo Sessions Volume 1* (Milestones)).¹⁹⁷

- On describing Evans’s swing:

The goal is always a dialogue and if possible an osmosis between tension and release. To arrive at that, Bill puts in place a series of bipolar schemes: the explicit opposes the implicit...abstraction/incarnation, tangible/spectral, sensuality/abstinence, intellectuality/emotionality, distancing/investing, understatement/hyperbole, phrases by detached notes/ phrases in chords, overflowing/restraint, retraction/release, attack/dodge, greet/reject, modesty/indiscretion, slow down/full speed ahead, muted/crystalline, and so on.¹⁹⁸

- On comparing Evans to a painter:

Even if he never broke completely with the abstraction of the first masterpieces engraved in the wake of George Russell, even if he was in search of refinement, even if he cultivated that perfection of line that he admired in a certain traditional Japanese painting, it was because he did not wish to appear like a water-colorist of jazz, even less as a master of pastel or of wash-drawing [tinting], and least of all, as a landscape painter-decorator. To create an “atmosphere,” no matter how refined, was a hundred leagues from his ambition. If he used water it was [nuclear] heavy-water. Gracefulness seemed to him to be a desirable courtesy, but intensity was his true obsession, even when it passed as the supreme authority on *sfumato*.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 289-90. “L’une des singularités de Bill est qu’il fit preuve, comme Oscar, d’une maîtrise technique assez exceptionnelle dans le jazz...tout en rivalisant de déclamation poétique avec Thelonious... “Everything Happens To Me,” in *Solo Sessions Volume 1* (Milestones.) ”

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 350. “Le but est toujours un dialogue et, si possible, une osmose entre la tension et la détente. Pour y parvenir, Bill met en place une série de schémas bipolaires. L’explicite s’oppose à l’implicite ...abstraction/incarnation, tangible/spectral, sensualité/abstinence, intellectuality/affectivité, distanciation/investissement, litote/hyperbole, phrasés par notes détachées/phrasés en accord, débordement/rétention, rétraction/relâchement, attaque/esquive, accueil/rejet, pudeur/indiscrétion, ralenti/plein régime, feutré/cristallin, et ainsi de suite.”

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 300. “S’il ne rompit jamais complètement avec l’abstraction des premiers chefs-d’œuvre gravés dans le sillage de George Russell, s’il fut en quête d’épure, s’il cultiva cette perfection du trait qu’il admirait dans une certaine peinture traditionnelle japonaise, c’était parce qu’il ne souhaitait pas apparaître comme un aquarelliste du jazz, moins encore comme un maître du pastel ou du lavis, et moins que tout comme un paysagiste-décorateur. Créer une “atmosphère,” si raffinée fut-elle, était à cent lieues de son ambition. Et s’il utilisait l’eau c’était l’eau-forte. La grâce lui semblait une courtoisie souhaitable, mais l’intensité fut sa véritable obsession, même lorsqu’il passait pour l’autorité suprême en matière de *sfumato*.”

A.2 Programs of "Jazz Club," 2007²⁰⁰

- 10/12/2007 Le quintette de la pianiste Leila Olivesi
- 10/05/2007 Le quartette Baptiste Trotignon et David El Malek
- 09/28/2007 Le contrebassiste Chuck Israels
- 09/21/2007 Adam Nussbaum and Bann
- 09/14/2007 David Prez et Romain Pilon group
- 09/07/2007 Mark Murphy, chanteur
- 06/29/2007 Le Trio du pianiste Zool Fleischer
- 06/22/2007 Francesco Bearzatti, saxophone
- 06/15/2007 Le sextette du saxophoniste Jacques Schwarz-Bart
- 06/09/2007 Airelle Besson-Sylvain Rifflet "Rocking Chair"
- 06/01/2007 Le saxophoniste James Spaulding
- 05/25/2007 La chanteuse Elisabeth Kontomanou
- 05/18/2007 Le Charlier-Sourisse Quartet
- 05/11/2007 Le quartette du pianiste Chris Cody
- 05/04/2007 Mario Canonge et Alain Jean-Marie, pianos
- 04/27/2007 Le septette de Pierre de Bethmann, piano Fender Rhodes
- 04/20/2007 Le trio du pianiste Eric Legnini
- 04/13/2007 Le trio du saxophoniste Lew Tabackin
- 04/06/2007 Le Quartette d'Anne Paceo, batterie [drums]
- 03/30/2007 Le Quintette du batteur Stéphane Huchard
- 03/23/2007 Le Quintette du saxophoniste Olivier Temime
- 03/16/2007 Le trio du pianiste Manuel Rocheman
- 03/09/2007 Le trio Bill Stewart
- 03/02/2007 Quartette du guitariste Frédéric Sylvestre
- 02/23/2007 Le pianiste Ben Aronov
- 02/16/2007 Le Blowing Trio du pianiste Laurent Coq
- 02/09/2007 Le Quintette du saxophoniste Rosario Giuliani
- 02/02/2007 Le Quintette du pianiste René Urtreger
- 01/26/2007 Le quartette du saxophoniste Rick Margitza
- 01/19/2007 Hommage à Don Ellis au C.N.S.M.D.P. Conservatoire de Paris
- 01/12/2007 Le pianiste Sal Mosca
- 01/05/2007 Giovanni Mirabassi

²⁰⁰ Claude Carrière, *Jazz Club*, France Musique [Radio broadcast file] (Paris: Inathèque de France, Institut National de l'Audiovisuel, 2007), Inathèque 583845; available from <http://www.radiofrance.fr/francemusique/em/jazz_club/emission.php?e_id=19>; accessed 12 December 2007.

A.3 Programs of “Jazz de Coeur, Jazz de Pique,” 2007²⁰¹

- 10/27/2007 Édouard Ferlet
- 10/20/2007 David Linx
- 10/13/2007 Olivier Ker Ourio
- 10/06/2007 Yaron Herman
- 09/29/2007 Manu Katché
- 09/22/2007 Stefano Di Battista
- 09/15/2007 David El-Malek, Baptiste Trotignon
- 09/08/2007 Anne Ducro
- 06/29/2007 Maria Schneider, chef d'orchestre
- 06/22/2007 Harald Haerter
- 06/15/2007 David Amar
- 06/08/2007 Airelle Besson et Sylvain Rifflet
- 06/01/2007 Jean-Michel Pilc
- 05/25/2007 Hubert Dupont
- 05/18/2007 Tord Gustavsen
- 05/11/2007 Jérôme Sabbagh
- 05/04/2007 Eric Le Lann
- 04/27/2007 Louis Winsberg
- 04/20/2007 Sophie Alour
- 04/13/2007 Michel Portal
- 04/06/2007 Charlier et Sourisse
- 03/30/2007 Edouard Bineau et Sébastien Texier
- 03/23/2007 Jacky Terrasson
- 03/16/2007 Jean-Marie Machado
- 03/09/2007 Laurent Coq
- 03/02/2007 Manu Dibango
- 02/23/2007 Henri Texier
- 02/16/2007 Guillaume de Chassy
- 02/09/2007 Jean-Philippe Muvier
- 02/02/2007 Thomas de Pourquery et Sylvain Rifflet
- 01/26/2007 Alban Darche
- 01/19/2007 Stefano Bollani
- 01/12/2007 François Jeanneau
- 01/05/2007 Rosario Giuliani

²⁰¹ Alex Dutilh, *Jazz de Coeur, Jazz de Pique*, France Musique [Radio broadcast file] (Paris: Inathèque de France, Institut National de l'Audiovisuel, 2007), Inathèque 1054054; available from <http://www.radiofrance.fr/francemusique/em/coeur_pique/emission.php?e_id=15> ; accessed 13 December 2007.

A.4 Programs of “Jazzistiques,” 2007²⁰²

- 10/24/2007 Joni Mitchell et le jazz
- 10/17/2007 Les quatuors de saxophone
- 10/10/2007 Le trio Keith Jarrett, Gary Peacock/Jack DeJohnette
- 10/03/2007 Gros plan Fred Frith(The big picture)
- 09/26/2007 Stephane Belmondo
- 09/19/2007 Stephane Kerecki
- 09/12/2007 Joe Zawinul
- 09/05/2007 Jazzistiques (1)
- 06/29/2007 L'Héritage Coltranien
- 06/22/2007 Les Duos de Solal
- 06/15/2007 Boris Vian et le Jazz
- 06/08/2007 Le Label Act
- 06/01/2007 Le Fender Rhodes
- 05/25/2007 Bon Anniversaire Archie Shepp (Happy birthday)
- 05/18/2007 Le Label Nocturne
- 05/11/2007 Les 30 Ans du Vienna Art Orchestra
- 05/04/2007 Le Bugle (Flugelhorn)
- 04/27/2007 Le Label Songlines
- 04/20/2007 Les 30 Ans de L'Arfi (Association à la Recherche d'un Folklore Imaginaire)
- 04/13/2007 Voix de Jazz au Feminin (The feminine voice in jazz)
- 04/06/2007 Le Shakuhachi
- 03/30/2007 Le Label Camjazz
- 03/23/2007 Jazz à Kansas City
- 03/16/2007 LonelyWoman
- 03/09/2007 Jazz, un Mot en Question (a word in question)
- 03/02/2007 Banlieues Bleues (Suburban blues)
- 02/23/2007 Le Label Marge
- 02/16/2007 Quand [when] Duke Ellington Interprète Billy Strayhorn
- 02/09/2007 Pannonicade Koenigswarter, L'Amie [the friend] des Musiciens de Jazz
- 02/02/2007 Le Nay
- 01/26/2007 Le Label Dreyfus Jazz
- 01/19/2007 Le Festival Sons D'Hiver (Sounds of winter)
- 01/12/2007 Quand [when] Les Musiciens de Jazz Interpretent Jimi Hendrix
- 01/05/2007 L'Enseignement (Teaching) du Jazz en Question

²⁰² Franck Médioni, *Jazzistiques*. France Musique [Radio broadcast file] (Paris: Inathèque de France, Institut National de l'Audiovisuel, 2007). Inathèque number not recorded; available from http://www.radiofrance.fr/francemusique/em/jazzistiques/emission.php?e_id+40; accessed 21 December 2007.

A.5 Programs of "Black and Blue" 2005-06²⁰³

- 10/07/2005 Keith Jarrett: le musicien pluriel (versatile)
- 10/14/2005 A l'Ouest[to the West]: adieu au batteur [goodbye to the drummer] Stan Levey
- 10/21/2005 Le concert de Black and Blue
- 10/28/2005 Le jazz au féminin [female jazz]: 1ère partie
- 11/04/2005 A l'Ouest : la veste trouée [torn shirt] de Carl Perkins
- 11/11/2005 A l'Ouest: Sidney Bechet, cet inconnu (that unknown)
- 11/18/2005 Philippe Baudoin et André Clergeat (jazz musicologists)
- 11/25/2005 Keith Jarrett: le trio avec Gary Peacock et Jack DeJohnette
- 12/02/2005 Le Jazz au féminin: 2ème partie
- 12/09/2005 Keith Jarrett: le solitaire (the solitary)
- 12/16/2005 La bonne humeur de [the good humor of] Clark Terry
- 12/23/2005 A l'ouest: la conquête de nouveaux territoires [the conquest of new territories] par la contrebasse [by the bassist]: Oscar Pettiford
- 12/30/2005 A l'ouest: Larry Bunker ou la grandeur invisible (or the invisible grandeur)
- 01/06/2006 A l'Ouest de [to the west of] Lester Young: Paul Quinichette
- 01/13/2006 Carte blanche à Gilles Anquetil
- 01/20/2006 Black and blue: émission du [broadcast of] 20 janvier 2006
- 01/27/2006 Dégustation à l'aveugle [blindfold test] par Georges Pludermacher, classical pianist
- 02/03/2006 A l'Ouest: l'artiste Anthony Ortega
- 02/10/2006 Black and blue en public [in public]: carte blanche à Paul Benkimoun
- 02/17/2006 A l'Ouest: Bud Shank et les flûtistes West Coast (and the West Coast flautists)
- 02/24/2006 A l'Ouest: ce fou [crazy man] de Don Ellis
- 03/03/2006 Black and blue: émission du [broadcast of] 03 mars 2006
- 03/10/2006 Carte blanche à Jean-Louis Chautemps
- 03/17/2006 A l'ouest: Terry Gibbs, le M.[Mister] 100,000 volts de Santa Monica Boulevard
- 03/24/2006 Eliane Elias et autres chanteuses brésiliennes (and other Brazilian singers)
- 03/31/2006 A l'Ouest: Miles Davis en Californie: 1ère émission
- 04/07/2006 A l'Ouest: les débuts de [the debuts of] Jim Hall

²⁰³ Alain Gerber, *Black and Blue*. France Culture [Radio broadcast file] (Paris: Inathèque de France, Institut National de l'Audiovisuel, 2007), Inathèque 2549695-2783914; available from <http://www.radiofrance.fr/chaines/france-culture2/emissions/black_blue/index.php?emission_id=67>; accessed November and December 2007.

- 04/14/2006 Les incompatibilités d'humeur (the incompatibilities of humor)
- 04/21/2006 A l'Ouest: le trompettiste [trumpet player] Don Fagerquist
- 04/28/2006 A l'Ouest: Miles Davis en Californie : 2ème émission
- 05/05/2006 Trois pianistes d'exception [three unusual pianists]: Don Friedman, Denny Zeitlin, Hampton Hawes
- 05/12/2006 Carte blanche à Georges Paczynski
- 05/19/2006 Jazz et Bossa Nova
- 05/26/2006 A l'ouest: un franc-tireur nommé [sharpshooter named] Stu Williamson
- 06/02/2006 A l'Ouest : Jon Faddis, le trompettiste [the trumpet player] d'Oakland
- 06/09/2006 A l'Ouest : (re)découvrir [rediscover] le pianiste et arrangeur Roger Kellaway
- 06/16/2006 André Hodeir et Martial Solal, deux poètes de l'exigence sur la sellette (two poets of exactitude under cross examination)
- 06/23/2006 Antonio Carlos Jobim, enfant chéri [beloved child] des jazzmen

A.6 Philippe Carles and the Influence of Free Jazz²⁰⁴

English translation:

“... free [jazz] became widespread and ended by impregnating most of the practices of jazz ... Jean-Pierre Moussaron inventoried pell-mell, the pilgrim fathers (O. Coleman, Bill Dixon, Shepp, Taylor), its perpetual migrants (Coltrane, Paul Bley), its meteoric bards (Ayer, Giuseppe Logan), its wandering explorers, (Cherry, Burton, Greene), its jovial buffoons (Han Bennink, Lol Coxhill, Willem Breuker), its elders (Mingus, Muhal Richard Abrams), its warriors (The Art Ensemble of Chicago, Alan Silva, Byard Lancaster), its marginal figures, on-lookers, or ‘passing figures’ (Jimmy Giuffre, Dolphy), its alchemists (John Tchaicai, Marion Brown) , its ‘possessed’ (Sunny Murray, Frank Lowe, Sunny Shamrock), its strolling poets (Prince Lasha, Perry Robinson), its wise and mad virgins (Patty Waters, Jeanne Lee, Linda Sharrock), its more or less temporary immigrants (Sonny Rollins, the brothers Kuhn, Albert Mangelsdorff, Michel Portal, Stan Tracey), its bowmen [or archers] (Eddie Gomez, Henry Grimes, Charlie Haden, Barre Phillips, Gary Peacock, Jean-François Jenny-Clark), its solitary figures (Steve Lacy, Sun Ra, Dollar Brand), etc.”

²⁰⁴ Philippe Carles, André Clergeat and Jean-Louis Comolli, *Dictionnaire du Jazz*, 412.

Original French:

“... Le free [jazz] s’est universalisé et a fini par imprégner la plupart des pratiques du jazz ... Jean-Pierre Moussaron inventoriait, ‘pêle-mêle,’ ses pères pèlerins (O. Coleman, Bill Dixon, Shepp, Taylor), ses perpétuels migrants (Coltrane, Paul Bley), ses bardes météoriques (Ayler, Giuseppe Logan), ses défricheurs errants (Cherry, Burton, Greene), ses bouffons joviaux (Han Bennink, Lol Coxhill, Willem Breuker), ses anciens (Mingus, Muhal Richard Abrams), ses guerriers (L’Art Ensemble Of *(sic)* Chicago, Alan Silva, Byard Lancaster), ses marginaux, guetteurs ou ‘passeurs’ (Jimmy Giuffre, Dolphy), ses alchimistes (John Tchaicai, Marion Brown), ses possédés (Sunny Murray, Frank Lowe, Sunny Shamrock), ses poètes flâneurs (Prince Lasha, Perry Robinson), ses vierges sages et folles (Patty Waters, Jeanne Lee, Linda Sharrock), ses immigrants plus ou moins temporaires (Sonny Rollins, les frères Kuhn, Albert Mangelsdorff, Michel Portal, Stan Tracey), ses archers (Eddie Gomez, Henry Grimes, Charlie Haden, Barre Phillips, Gary Peacock, Jean-François Jenny-Clark), ses solitaires (Steve Lacy, Sun Ra, Dollar Brand), etc.... ”

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