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THE MUSIC OF THE MIDDLE AGES
IN SELECTED FRENCH MUSIC HISTORIES
AT THE TURN OF THE 20TH CENTURY (1895-1915):
A COMPARATIVE AND CRITICAL STUDY

presented by

Lilianne Doukhan

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Musicology

Conrad D. Donakowski
Major professor

Date April 2, 1996

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THE MUSIC OF THE MIDDLE AGES
IN SELECTED FRENCH MUSIC HISTORIES
AT THE TURN OF THE 20TH CENTURY (1895-1915):
A COMPARATIVE AND CRITICAL STUDY

By

Lilianne Doukhan

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

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School of Music

1996

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ABSTRACT

THE MUSIC OF THE MIDDLE AGES IN SELECTED FRENCH MUSIC HISTORIES AT THE TURN OF THE 20TH CENTURY (1895-1915): A COMPARATIVE AND CRITICAL STUDY

By

Lilianne Doukhan

The nineteenth-century interest in medieval music marks the beginnings of music history as a modern discipline. The purpose of the present study is to discover how selected historiographers of the turn of the twentieth century who produced the first scientific studies of medieval music, perceived and understood the role and contribution of medieval music. Our research bears on the three most influential historians and teachers of that time, Maurice Emmanuel at the Paris Conservatory, Vincent d'Indy at the *Schola Cantorum*, and Jules Combarieu at the *Collège de France*. For each author we consider (1) the philosophy of the school concerning music history and medieval music; (2) the events of his life as far as they are relevant to his interest in medieval music and to his philosophy of history; (3) his particular historical perspectives; (4) his methods of historical investigation; and, lastly, (5) his concepts of medieval music, namely, the factors which contribute to its origins, its developments, and its aesthetics.

For Emmanuel, the classical scholar, the role of medieval music was that of a mediator between two epochs, transmitting and reinterpreting the ancient heritage,

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especially the major third and rhythmic variety. For d'Indy, the conservative scholar, medieval music, especially plainchant, became a manifesto for traditional ideas, a tool in the crusade against the degeneracy of artistic, spiritual, and political forces. For Combarieu, the positivist scholar, medieval music was an expression of society, and a symbol of the progress of humanity from the sacred to the secular world; this progress was achieved especially through the expressive power of the liturgical drama, and the new technicalities of counterpoint.

Historical scholarship opened up new perspectives for musical composition. Thus, many medieval features became important elements in early twentieth-century composition. Indeed, the presence of these medieval elements in contemporary French works attests to the impact of these three teachers and historians. Also, the influence of these historians widened the field of investigation in music history and established a firm foundation in France for the scientific study of medieval music.

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For the completion of this dissertation, grateful acknowledgment is due to several individuals and institutions.

I am particularly grateful to Drs. Conrad Donakowski and Rosalie Schellhous, of Michigan State University, who supervised the writing of this dissertation and exposed me to the rich world of culture and scholarship. I am also grateful to Professor emeritus Dr. C. Warren Becker, of Andrews University, for his teaching, his inspiration, and especially for his interest and support in my studies.

I wish also to express my gratitude to my husband and my daughter whose encouragement, patience, and moral support have been of great help in the long and difficult path of study and research.

I am very much indebted to Dr. Leona Running who, with kindness and utmost diligence and expertise, has read and edited the entire manuscript.

I would also like to thank the following libraries and music centers, for providing me with manuscripts, articles, books, and other information. The *Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris* (Music Library); the Institute of Musicology, Zurich (Switzerland); the University of Geneva (Switzerland); the

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Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.); Rochester University; and Andrews University. In this instance, I offer special thanks to librarians Sandra White and Linda Mack, for their relentless assistance and resourcefulness in obtaining important and rare material.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents for their interest and their involvement in my years of continuing education. I dedicate this volume to them, Mr. Otto and Mrs. Elsbeth Uebersax.

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INTRODUCTION

If the Middle Ages are no longer viewed today in music history as a "deplorable era" of "profound ignorance,"¹ this is due to the efforts of nineteenth-century historiography.² It is noteworthy, indeed, that only then, and especially at the turn of the twentieth century, music historians began to realize the importance of the heritage of the past. The discipline of musicology was actually triggered by the issue of authentic church music, more particularly that of plainchant. The debate of the relationship between aesthetics and compositional techniques

¹"Déplorable . . . époque pendant laquelle . . . ce n'était partout qu'ignorance profonde" (Adrien de la Fage, *Essais de diphtérogaphie musicale ou notes, descriptions, analyses, extraits et reproductions de manuscrits relatifs à la pratique, à la théorie et à l'histoire de la musique* [Paris: O. Legouin, 1864; reprint, Amsterdam: Frits A. M. Knuf, 1964], 10).

²"Historiography" is here understood in the sense of Hans-Heinrich Eggebrecht's definition: "Music historiography is the writing of music history, . . . the way in which music history has been conceived and presented" (*New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie [Washington, D.C.: Grove's Dictionaries of Music, 1981], s.v. "Historiography"). Beyond this strict sense of the term, we embrace Vincent Duckles' broader definition of historiography: "Historiography . . . is essentially a branch of the history of ideas, concerned with the analysis of those concepts, principles, and laws by means of which men have sought to rationalize their experience of the art" (Vincent Duckles, "Patterns in the Historiography of 19th-Century Music," *Acta Musicologica* 42 [1970]: 6).

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had formed the starting point and major concern of both the Cecilian society in Germany and the research of the Benedictine monks of the abbey of Solesmes. Medieval music stands then at the beginnings of music history as a modern discipline. To study the way medieval music has been analyzed and understood by these turn-of-the-century French historiographers of medieval music, may well then reveal itself as a rewarding enter-prise. Our concern in this study is to discover within the context of the general trends of historical writing of those times, how selected historiographers perceived and under-stood the role and contribution of medieval music within the greater scheme of the history of music.

The main reason which justifies our inquiry is of historical order, namely, the importance of the turn of the twentieth century, in regards to the studies of music history in general, and of medieval music in particular. It is significant, indeed, that during this period of twenty years (1895-1915), historical writing reached a peak in the field of music. Nine major music histories were written,³

³Paul Bergmans, *Variétés musicologiques. Documents inédits sur l'histoire de la musique et des musiciens en Belgique* (Ghent: C. Vijt, 1891-1901); Louis Lacombe, *Philosophie et Musique* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1896); Albert Soubies, *Histoire de la musique*, 2 vols. (Paris: Librairie des bibliophiles, E. Flammarion Successeur, 1900); Vincent d'Indy, *Cours de Composition Musicale*, 3 vols. (Paris: A. Durand, 1902-1909); Ricciotto Canudo, *Le livre de l'évolution. L'homme: psychologie musicale des civilisations* (Paris: E. Sansot, 1907); Paul Landormy, *Histoire de la musique* (Paris: P. Delaplane, 1910); Maurice Emmanuel, *Histoire de la langue musicale*, 2 vols. Vol. 1: *Antiquité*,

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while seven only had been published between 1800 and 1895.⁴ Parallel to these publications, and probably in causal relationship to them, one observes a general increase in teaching positions in the field of music history.⁵ Several factors played a role in this development, such as the awakening of historical awareness under the influence of romanticism;⁶ the organization of singing academies and

Moyen Age (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1911); vol. 2: Renaissance, Epoque moderne, Epoque contemporaine (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1928); J. Combarieu, *La musique, ses lois, son évolution* (Paris: E. Flammarion, 1907); idem, *Histoire de la musique des origines à nos jours* (Paris: A. Colin, 1913-19); Albert Lavignac, ed., *Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du Conservatoire*, 11 vols. (Paris: C. Delagrave, 1913-31).

⁴Adrien de la Fage, *Histoire générale de la musique et de la danse*, 2 vols. (Bologna: Forni, 1844); Jean-Baptiste Labat, *Etudes philosophiques et morales sur l'histoire de la musique ou recherches analytiques sur les éléments constitutifs de cet art à toutes les époques, sur la signification de ses transformations*, 2 vols. (Paris: J. Techener, 1852); Joseph Louis d'Ortigue, *Dictionnaire liturgique, historique et théorique de plainchant et de musique religieuse, au moyen âge et dans les temps modernes* (Paris: Migne, 1860); François-Joseph Fétis, *Histoire générale de la musique depuis les temps anciens à nos jours*, 5 vols. (Paris: Didot, 1869-76); F. Marcillac, *Histoire de la musique moderne et des musiciens célèbres en Italie, en Allemagne et en France depuis l'ère chrétienne jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: Sandoz et Fischbacher, 1876); Henri M. F. Lavoix, *Histoire de la musique* (Paris: Quantin, 1884); Félix Clément, *Histoire de la musique depuis les temps anciens jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: Hachette, 1885).

⁵This phenomenon was general in the different fields of history: "In the faculty of letters of the University of Paris, 22 positions were assigned to history and the historical sciences" (Oron J. Hale, *The Great Illusion: 1900-1914, The Rise of Modern Europe*, ed. William L. Langer [New York: Harper & Row, 1971], 102-103).

⁶R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946), 86-88. See also Tibor Kneif, "Die Erforschung mittelalterlicher Musik in der Romantik und ihr

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historical concerts;⁷ the emergence of scholarly music journals and periodicals;⁸ and the creation of new schools of music geared primarily towards the music of the past.⁹ The same period witnessed an increased interest in the music of the Middle Ages. Since the time of Charles de Coussemaker (1805-1876), nothing noteworthy had been contributed to the research on medieval music.¹⁰ This new interest in medieval studies was fostered and helped especially by the studies done by the Benedictine monks of

geistesgeschichtlicher Hintergrund," *Acta Musicologica* 36 (1946): 123-36.

⁷Alexandre Choron's singing school in 1817; Fétis' *Concerts Historiques*, 1832; the choral society *Orphéon*, started in 1833; the *Société pour la Musique Vocale et Religieuse*, founded by the Prince de la Moskowa in 1843; the *Société Sainte Cécile*, active from 1849-56; the *Société de l'Harmonie Sacrée*, 1873; the *Concordia* society, 1879; and the *Chanteurs de St. Gervais*, 1892.

⁸*La Revue Musicale*, founded by Fétis (1827-35), joined in 1835 with the *Gazette musicale de Paris* to form the *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* (1835-80); *Le Ménestrel* (1833-1940); *La France Musicale* (1837-70); *Musica Sacra* (1874-1901); *La Tribune de Saint-Gervais* (1895-1929), by the *Schola Cantorum*; *Le bibliographe musical* (1872-76) continued as *Bibliographie musicale française* (1875-1920); *La Revue d'histoire et de critique musicales* (1901-12) to become *La Revue Musicale*; *Le Mercure Musical* (1905-14) which merged in 1912 into the *S.I.M. Revue musicale mensuelle*, publication of the French section of the International Musical Society; *L'Année musicale* (1911-13); *La Revue du chant grégorien* (1892).

⁹1817, *Ecole de musique religieuse*, founded by Choron; 1853, *Ecole de musique classique et religieuse*, founded by Niedermeyer (these two schools were a direct outgrowth of the efforts in favor of the restoration of plainchant); 1894, *Schola Cantorum*, founded by d'Indy.

¹⁰See Jacques Chailley, *Quarante mille ans de musique: l'homme à la découverte de la musique* (Paris: Plon, 1961), 36.

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Solesmes in the context of plainchant restoration;¹¹ the publication and edition of medieval theoretical writings;¹² the recent research in the field of notation;¹³ and previous work done in medieval music other than plainchant.¹⁴

¹¹See the extensive bibliography in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Plainchant."

¹²Charles de Coussemaker, *Scriptorum de musica Medii Aevi: Novam Seriem a Gerbertina alteram*, 4 vols. (Paris: A. Durand, 1864; reprint, Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1963), continuing the work of Martin Gerbert (1720-1793), *Scriptores Ecclesiastici de Musica Sacra Potissimum*, 3 vols. (Graz: St. Blasien, 1784; reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1962); and Adrien de la Fage, *Essais de diphtérogaphie musicale*.

¹³Louis Lambillotte, *De l'unité dans les chants liturgiques, moyen de l'obtenir: confronter les manuscrits des différents siècles et des différents pays; application au célèbre répons Viderunt, dans ses différentes notations, depuis St. Grégoire (VI^e siècle) jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: Poussielgue-Rusand, 1851); Fr. Raillard, *Explication des neumes ou anciens signes de notation musicale, pour servir à la restauration complète du chant grégorien, avec des tableaux de comparaison et un recueil de chants religieux, extraits d'un manuscrit du XI^e siècle* (Paris: E. Repos, 1852); J. Tardif, *Essai sur les neumes* (Paris: A. Durand, 1853); Dom Joseph Pothier, *Les mélodies grégoriennes d'après la tradition* (Tournai: Imprimerie liturgique de Saint-Jean l'Évangéliste, Desclée Lefèbvre, 1880); idem, *Étude sur les neumes-accents. La Paléographie musicale* (Solesmes, 1889-1892).

¹⁴For studies on the Sequence, see Félix Clément, *Choix des principales séquences du moyen-âge, tirées des manuscrits, traduites en musique en parties avec accompagnement d'orgue* (Paris: A. Le Clere, 1861). On the liturgical drama, see idem, "Le drame liturgique du moyen-âge," *Annales archéologiques* 7 (1847): 307; 8 (1848): 36, 77, 304; 9 (1849): 27, 162; 10 (1850): 154; 11 (1851): 6; see also Alexandre de la Fons-Mélicoq, "Cérémonies dramatiques et anciens usages dans les églises du nord de la France," *Annales archéologiques* 10 (1850): 92; Victor Luzarche, *Office de Pâques ou de la résurrection, accompagné de la notation musicale et suivi d'hymnes et de séquences inédits. Publié pour la première fois d'après un manuscrit du XII^e siècle de la bibliothèque de Tours* (Tours: J. Bouserez, 1856); and Charles de Coussemaker, *Drames*

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The present investigation will help us to a better understanding of the advances made in the study of medieval music. Considering the fact that this period brought the first scientific studies of medieval music, questions concerning the nature of its contribution are of importance and should be addressed.¹⁵

Method

Our investigation will be subjected to a threefold limitation: topical, in time, and in space. The topic of our study will focus on the investigation of medieval music.¹⁶ In time, we shall confine ourselves to the two decades before the first World War (1895-1915). Indeed, as has already been demonstrated, one has to wait until 1895 to

liturgiques du moyen-âge (texte et musique) (Rennes: H. Vatar, 1860). On the chanson, see François-Auguste Gevaert, *Chansons du XVe siècle, publiées d'après le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, par Gaston Paris, et accompagnées de la musique transcrite en notation moderne* (Paris: Librairie Firmin-Didot, 1875).

¹⁵See Hans-Heinrich Eggebrecht, "Ueber das gegenwärtige Interesse an der Musikgeschichte des Mittelalters," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 134 (1973): 209. See also Barry Brook's remark on the importance of such an inquiry "because the precedents for much that we do were established at that time" ("Patterns in the Historiography of 19th-Century Music," *Acta Musicologica* 43 [1971]: 248).

¹⁶Rather than adopting the chronological delimitation of the medieval period proposed by the authors under study (up to 1600), we follow the "modern" division, namely, from approximately the sixth century A.D. to the middle of the fifteenth century. This decision was made on the basis of the rationale that it was those centuries which were creative, characterized by gestation and innovation, whereas the following period (1450-1600) was more concerned with perfecting and elaborating previously acquired techniques.

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see the beginning of an important concentration of writings on music history in general, and of historical studies on medieval music in particular. Furthermore, those histories were characterized by a new type of approach, of a critical vein. They were to lay the scientific foundation for later studies.¹⁷ During the same time, the teaching of music history was introduced into the academic curriculum, and the first chairs of music history were created.¹⁸ This explains the necessity for the creation of textbooks. The turmoil caused by World War I brought cultural activities momentarily to a halt, and moreover, radically transformed the general outlook on traditional values. These circumstances then suggest the year of 1915 as a natural time limit for that period, thus marking the end of an epoch.¹⁹ With regards to place, the great centers of medieval music were essentially located in Frankish territories. It will therefore be of interest to concentrate on French historians to see how they perceived their own cultural heritage. Our study of medieval music

¹⁷See Hans-Heinrich Eggebrecht, "Geschichte der Musik," in *Riemann Musik Lexikon*, 2:333. See also Hans Albrecht, "Musikwissenschaft," in *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 10:1210.

¹⁸*Schola Cantorum* (1896), by André Pirro; *Ecole des Hautes Etudes* (1902), by Paul Landormy; Sorbonne (1903), by Romain Rolland; University of Paris (1904), by Jules Combarieu. Courses in music history had been introduced to the *Conservatoire* in 1872.

¹⁹Hugo Riemann, "Geschichte der Musik," in *Riemann Musik Lexikon*, 3:333.

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will be conducted in the perspective of three Parisian schools. Within the largely centralized educational system of France, academic and practical instruction during the nineteenth century was mainly concentrated in Paris, at the *Conservatoire*. Several schools of music were being created around the turn of the century. We have chosen to focus on the three most influential ones of that time, each one representing a specific tradition: the Paris Conservatory with its emphasis on technical performance (conservative trend); the *Schola Cantorum* with its emphasis on historical knowledge (in reaction to the Conservatory); and the *Collège de France*, integrating music into the broader context of humanities, that is, history, literature, sociology, and philology (humanistic approach). Each one of these schools was representative of a particular philosophy of music. Furthermore, each author of the music histories under investigation held a teaching position in one of those schools. Their books were indeed published within a few years of the beginning of their teaching appointments and may be considered as a direct outgrowth of their teaching activity. A brief background examination of each of these schools as to their interest in music of the past in general, and in medieval music in particular, will shed light on the context which spurred the writing of those histories. Our investigation will address the question of how the interest in music of the past, and especially medieval music, affected the creation and growth of the

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particular institution, and what in the school's philosophy, performance program or curriculum, indicated a concern with past and especially medieval music. The history of the development of a music history class, and, more specifically, of the place granted to the section on medieval music, will also be examined.

Against this background we shall then draw the concepts of medieval music which grew out of the teaching of those classes and were gathered within the main music histories written at the turn of the century. The particular approach of each historian will be studied essentially by means of an examination, description, explanation, and critique of relevant statements of his writings: Maurice Emmanuel for the Paris Conservatory; Vincent d'Indy for the *Schola Cantorum*; and Jules Combarieu for the *Collège de France*. Each of the above authorities happened to deal extensively with the subject of medieval music, either as music history teacher or as composition teacher. In the course of our study, several steps will be undertaken. First, the author's approach to medieval music will be situated in relation to the philosophy of the school, and events in the author's life which were formative or relevant to his interest in medieval music and to his philosophy of history. Then, we shall examine the historical perspective which underlies each author's treatment of medieval music. This will yield information as to their motivation for the study of medieval music, and their purpose behind the study of

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medieval music. In the next step, an inquiry into the materials used, and the criteria on which the study is based, will reveal the author's emphases and his method of historical investigation. Then we shall examine his concept of medieval music, that is, the factors which contributed to its origins, its shaping, its developments, and its aesthetics.²⁰ This will be done by means of representative examples chosen from the texts. The choice of those passages will be determined by how typically they represent the author's original view of medieval music.

Our study will try to explain and situate the various concepts and treatments of medieval music produced by those three authors. It will enable us to draw a synthetic and comparative picture of the various views of the nature and importance of medieval music in its own time, and within the broader picture of the general history of music. It will also evaluate the judgments, methods, and nature of their contribution, and bring out new insights that were added to already existing concepts and treatments of medieval music.

The primary source material used for our study is composed of documents written between 1895 and 1915, and may

²⁰In this context, the term aesthetics will be understood as "nature and meaning of music." In other words, we do not approach the term in its philosophical sense of "theory of art and beauty." We see it rather in a historical perspective, as a description and explanation of the artistic phenomenon by means of other sciences, such as psychology, sociology, and general history; or as the aesthetic perception and appreciation, at a certain time in history, of the beautiful; or, lastly, as the purpose, the meaning of the music within a given cultural context.

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be classified into four categories: (1) histories of medieval music which constitute the main body of research; (2) monographs written by the same authors which provide more in-depth treatment of specific subjects; (3) articles written in collections and periodicals; and (4) introductions and commentaries to modern editions of medieval manuscripts.²¹

Review of Literature

While extensive studies are present on German musical historiography of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries,²² there is very little or no reference at all to French musical historiographers of that period. Very little information is provided by the articles on "Music History," "Historiography," and "Musicology" in Riemann's *Musiklexikon*, the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, and Honegger's *Science de la Musique*. Short bibliographical references to French historiography may be found in Frank Ll. Harrison and Glen Haydon, whereas they are completely omitted in Rudolf Heinz's survey.²³ Warren D. Allen²⁴ deals with several

²¹All English translations are ours, unless otherwise stated.

²²See the bibliographical supplement in Lewis Lockwood, "Patterns in the Historiography of 19th-Century Music," *Acta Musicologica* 43 (1971): 281-2; Kneif, 123-36.

²³Frank Ll. Harrison, Mantle Hood, and Claude Palisca, *Musicology* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall Inc., 1963); Glen Haydon, *Introduction to Musicology* (New York:

aspects of Combarieu's philosophy of history. A recent publication by Katherine Bergeron²⁵ refers to Combarieu's discussion of the methods practiced by the Solesmes monks, and short excerpts of the latter's *Les rapports de la musique et de la poésie*²⁶ are reproduced in Bojan Bujić's reader *Music in European Thought 1851-1912*.²⁷ Only brief mention is made by Allen of Emmanuel and d'Indy. Studies on d'Indy or Emmanuel deal principally with their role as composers. With the exception of a 1947 article on Emmanuel as musicologist,²⁸ their historical work is generally omitted or hinted at very briefly and in a superficial manner, with little or no indication as to their

Prentice Hall, 1941). The latter mentions French historiographers only in bibliographical sections. Rudolf Heinz, *Geschichtsbegriff und Wissenschaftscharakter der Musikwissenschaft in der 2. Hälfte des XIX. Jahrhunderts* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1968).

²⁴Warren D. Allen, *Philosophies of Music History: A Study of General Histories of Music 1600-1960* (New York: Dover Publications, 1962).

²⁵Katherine Bergeron, "A Lifetime of Chants," in *Disciplining Music: Musicology and Its Canons*, eds. Katherine Bergeron and Philip V. Bohlman (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992): 182-196.

²⁶Jules Combarieu, *Les rapports de la musique et de la poésie considérées au point de vue de l'expression* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1893).

²⁷Bojan Bujić, *Music in European Thought 1851-1912*, Cambridge Readings in the Literature of Music, ed. John Stevens and Peter le Huray (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 197-209.

²⁸Victor Basch, "Emmanuel musicologue," *La Revue musicale* 204 (1947); republished, *La Revue musicale* 410-4 (1988): 51-64.

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contribution to music history.²⁹ There is, then, no systematic presentation of French historical writings on music in general, or on medieval music in particular, as seen by French historians of the *fin de siècle*.

This study will then form an important link with earlier French historiography, especially François-Joseph Fétis (1784-1871), and should shed light on the developments which took place in historical writing since the second half of the nineteenth century. In order to evaluate those changes, and to situate the histories to be investigated within their context, it is important at this point to understand the principal issues and debates which surrounded historical writing at the turn of the twentieth century.

Issues in Nineteenth-Century Historiography of Music

The time around the middle of the nineteenth century appears as a formative period in the historiography of music. Several historians had a premonition of the unity of

²⁹This is the case of Eleanor Carlson's thesis "Maurice Emmanuel and the Six Sonatines for Piano," D.M.A., Indiana University, 1974. D'Indy's *Cours de Composition Musicale* has been the object of two dissertations: Merle Montgomery, "A Comparative Analysis of Vincent d'Indy's *Cours de composition musicale*," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Rochester, 1946; Ralph R. Guenther, "Vincent d'Indy," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Rochester, 1948. The former work consists in a translation of d'Indy's *Cours de Composition*, and a commentary section where the author makes a comparison with other representative composition textbooks, with emphasis on the art of musical composition. The latter study focuses principally on d'Indy the composer, with a short section on his activities as teacher, writer, and editor.

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the historical process, and vaguely perceived that it should be considered as a whole. There was also increasing awareness of the value of each historical period *per se*, and a general concern to move away from subjective and personal modes of interpretation. The major critique addressed by late nineteenth-century historians to earlier writings dealt with the lack of an objective approach and a critical method.³⁰ Several historians of the mid-nineteenth century had already tried to introduce a more objective approach through the application of philological methods and textual criticism to musical documents.³¹ Fétis had strongly insisted on the consultation and comparative study of primary sources, both scores and treatises, and their critical evaluation.³² At this stage, however, even though the desire for a more scientific approach was present, it could be realized only partially for lack of the

³⁰See especially Combarieu's critique of Fétis, "Le charlatanisme dans l'archéologie musicale au XIXe siècle et le problème de l'origine des neumes," *Rivista Musicale Italiana* 2 (1895): 189.

³¹Combarieu, on the other hand, acknowledged the importance of Fétis' "pressentiment de cette connexion qui fait des études musicales une branche de la philologie" ("Le charlatanisme dans l'archéologie musicale au XIXe siècle," 196).

³²François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1868), 1:xviii. The histories of de la Fage and Labat, on the contrary, contain no reference to primary sources. For an in-depth treatment of Fétis' historical approach, see Rosalie Schellhous, "Fétis's Tonality as a Metaphysical Principle: Hypothesis for a New Science," *Music Theory Spectrum* 13/2 (Fall 1991): 219-240.

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necessary tools. Due to insufficient materials available to these researchers, their work was bound to be incomplete and erroneous. The absence of an appropriate method was probably the most widespread critique addressed to earlier nineteenth-century histories of music. Most of them were written in form of compilations, enumerations, or anecdotes, cast in a narrative style without a general principle to unify the different elements. Some of the earlier historians, however, had already deplored the lack of a generating idea which would unify the various historical events observed, and enable the writer to understand and interpret the sequence of their happening, and thus formulate a doctrine of development. Both Fétis and Clément (1822-1885) indicated the need for a generating principle, a hypothesis which governed the development of music. Fétis especially explained how the study of sources leads to nothing without "a general idea without which unity cannot be achieved."³³ He spoke of "discerning the categories of ideas" which governed the artist's work and his endeavor "to reveal the real causes for the various transformations undergone by music since antiquity to the present day."³⁴

³³"La conception d'un ensemble complet grâce à l'esprit généralisateur" (Fétis, *Biographie universelle*, 2nd ed., 8 vols., 1:xvii). Neither Labat nor de la Fage were concerned with a unifying principle.

³⁴"Discerner celui des ordres d'idées auquel appartiennent leurs travaux. . . . Je veux essayer . . . de faire connaître les causes réelles des diverses transformations que la musique a éprouvées depuis l'antiquité jusqu'à l'époque actuelle" (*Biographie universelle des*

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Fétis was generally considered by his successors as the only serious French historian who had tried to introduce modern methods. His awareness of the need for a scientific method and a hypothesis made him boast of having founded a "new science" called "philosophy of music," which henceforth would permit the researcher to establish his appreciation "on more solid ground than mere sentimental impressions."³⁵ In spite of his "modern" attitude, Fétis was heavily criticized for his subjective approach. Already in his own time, his "Résumé philosophique de l'histoire de la musique" which forms the first volume of the first edition of his *Biographie universelle*³⁶ where he exposes his philosophy of history, had provoked a series of polemics.³⁷ Both Clément and Combarieu attacked him

musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique, 2 vols. [Bruxelles: Méline, Cans, 1837], 1:xxx, xxxix). Fétis found those causes in the development of the musical language, that is, the melodic scale and its transformations (*Biographie universelle*, 1:xxxviii). Clément, on his side, saw the cause of musical evolution in the "perpétuité d'un principe tonal" (*Histoire de la musique*, ii).

³⁵"L'appréciation de ces travaux et de ces productions ne serait plus le résultat de certaines impressions sentimentales, mais bien l'expression de la vérité absolue" (*Biographie universelle*, 1:xxx-xxxi).

³⁶"Résumé philosophique de l'histoire de la musique," in *Biographie universelle des musiciens*, 1:xxxviii.

³⁷Fétis refers particularly to Kiesewetter's reaction to certain of his "conjectures" (*Biographie universelle*, 2nd ed., 1:xxxvj).

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directly on these "conjectures."³⁸ Unfortunately, Fétis had not been able, on a general basis, to go beyond a mere enunciation of the principle, and failed to realize and verify his hypotheses by actual objective demonstration.³⁹ His historical investigation mainly remained on the level of a simple observation and description of the events *per se*; his hypotheses remained mere conjectures of possible causes for the development or transformation of the musical language. The same critique must also be addressed to Clément's history. The works of both authors, therefore, remain basically narrative and descriptive.⁴⁰

Answers and solutions to this lack of a unifying principle were progressively furnished by the elaboration of diverse philosophical approaches to history. The

³⁸"Elle résulte d'une théorie chimérique que ce savant a pensé plutôt dans son imagination que dans les faits: Il s'est trop hâté de conclure du particulier au général" (Clément, *Histoire de la musique*, 348); "ce résumé dans lequel il y a très peu d'histoire véritable et pas de philosophie" (Jules Combarieu, "Le charlatanisme dans l'archéologie musicale au XIXe siècle et le problème de l'origine des neumes," *Rivista Musicale Italiana* 2 [1895]: 204).

³⁹Fétis was aware of this weakness and justifies it by a lack of time: "La marche rapide que j'ai été contraint d'adopter dans ce résumé . . . ne me permet pas de discuter les preuves des faits que j'avance" (*Biographie universelle*, 1:190); in spite of his promises, his *Histoire générale de la musique*, published 32 years later, does not provide any further proof.

⁴⁰In spite of Fétis' plan to elaborate and demonstrate these theories in his *Histoire*, published in 1869, the latter still features the same ideas, same style, and same argumentation. At their very best, Fétis' writings remain the work of an archivist.

historicist approach to music history may be observed, for instance, in the moving away from the association of the Middle Ages with primitivism. While de la Fage (1801-1862) still saw the Middle Ages as a "deplorable epoch" of "profound ignorance,"⁴¹ Fétis, on the contrary, pointed to the value of the past and the duty of the historian to look for the beauties of all the genres during all the different periods.⁴² A different response to the quest for unity was found in the organic hypothesis, where the historical process is seen as a unified whole, and the individual as subordinated to a group. This theory found a first advocate in Lavoix' *Histoire de la musique*, in which the author moves away from the great-man approach and conducts his study in the perspective of the evolution of musical form.⁴³ Fétis and Clément were only marginally influenced by the organic hypothesis. Although Fétis had expressed a vague feeling for the wholistic character of history, he rejected any organic theory of progress.⁴⁴ His approach was still

⁴¹De la Fage, *Essais de diphtérogaphie*, 10.

⁴²"Faire comprendre ce que sont les beautés de tous les genres et de tous les temps" (*Biographie universelle*, 1:xxxiii).

⁴³The nineteenth century was mainly dominated by the great-man theory and the divine-origin theory. Both ideas were rooted in a deep respect for religious music and explain the predominance of the moralist theory with regards to the role and study of music history, in favor with most historians of the mid-nineteenth century (Allen, 51).

⁴⁴"L'invention ne saurait être en progrès dans les arts; . . . ce qu'on appelle en général progrès n'est que transformation" (*Biographie universelle*, 1:xxxiii). "Un des

solidly anchored in the great-man theory; the latter formed indeed the second principle of his historical understanding.⁴⁵ The place occupied in historical writing by the organic hypothesis may be assessed in terms of the historian's sensitivity to several theories implied in the latter, such as the importance of a theory of origins, and the division of historical periods into organically connected segments. In the case of Fétis and Clément, for example, even though both advanced a theory of the origins of music,⁴⁶ their investigation did not deal with the laws of development which form an essential consequence of that hypothesis. Their lack of involvement with the organic hypothesis is further confirmed by an absence of pre-occupation to link the various stages of development together into organically related periods, according to a specific principle. Neither Fétis nor Clément, nor any of the earlier historians, tried to advance or justify a

plus grands obstacles à la justesse des jugements sur la valeur des oeuvres musicales se trouve dans la doctrine du progrès appliquée aux arts: J'ai eu longtemps à lutter contre elle, et j'ai dû supporter d'ardentes polémiques lorsque je soutenais que la musique se transforme, et qu'elle ne progresse que dans ses éléments matériels" (*Biographie universelle*, 2nd ed., 1:v).

⁴⁵"L'autre point de vue de l'histoire générale de la musique est celui qui nous fait connaître la valeur des travaux des artistes, et de la part de chacun d'eux dans les développements et les transformations de l'art" (*Biographie universelle*, 2nd ed., 1:ii).

⁴⁶Fétis saw the origins of music in "les facultés sentimentales et imaginatives . . . de l'humanité" (*Histoire générale de la musique*, 1:ii); Clément adopted the divine-origin theory (*Histoire de la musique*, 1).

classification of the course of history into definite epochs; their works are merely arranged into successive chronological sections (by centuries or by countries, for example), without showing an organic principle at work behind the arrangement. In one aspect, however, several authors revealed their understanding of the organic unity in the historical process, namely, in their affirmation of the influence of environmental factors on the development of the musical language. Many instances demonstrate their concept of music history as forming an integral part with other aspects of human civilization. Fétis speaks of the relationship between music and history, politics, and society; Labat (1802-1875) mentions how the development of music follows social fluctuations; and Clément establishes a parallel between the progress of music and the progress of culture.⁴⁷

Beyond the impact of the historicist and evolutionist theories on nineteenth-century historiography, positivism left its mark in the general claim for a scientific method.⁴⁸ This principle, however, has not been carried much further than the compilation and cataloguing of ancient

⁴⁷Fétis, *Histoire de la musique*, 1:120-23, 172, 173, 187; Labat, 5; Clément, *Histoire de la musique*, i.

⁴⁸Labat had already expressed his anticipation of Fétis' "archeological" contribution to music history (*Histoire de la musique*, 1:38).

sources.⁴⁹ The establishment of a method of historical investigation, specific to music history, had to wait until Combarieu's *Histoire de la musique*.

It was within this context of seeking and maturation, that the new generation of historians, namely, of the turn of the century, proposed their contribution. The latter was to take place on two levels, that is, the demonstration of a method of historical analysis, and the introduction of a philosophical perspective. Their endeavor was further facilitated under the influence of evolutionism and positivism, which by the end of the century had become well established theories. Their efforts will be a reflection of the *esprit du siècle*, the philosophical currents and models, and the social and political changes which took place during their time.

The Intellectual Background
of the Historiography of Music
at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

The years between 1895 and 1915 can rightly be seen as the end of an era and the beginning of a new one.⁵⁰ The development of musicological research in France was stimulated by the 1871 debacle in the Franco-Prussian war

⁴⁹See Combarieu's comment: "Au début de ce siècle, l'esprit scientifique, en matière de philologie musicale comme en quelques autres, était peu exigeant" ("Le charlatanisme dans l'archéologie musicale au XIXe siècle, 198).

⁵⁰Hale, 110.

which had brought along a renewal of interest in the national musical heritage. At that time, historians were caught between two currents. On one hand they are able now to apply to its fullest the scientific method and give free course to practice and experiment. They also have full access to, and mastery of, the various philosophical currents, to give their histories a unified character. On the other hand, the Bergsonian theory of instinct and intuition as superior to intellect is beginning to infiltrate the positivist position. Under such circumstances, one must expect a complex approach to the historical study of medieval music. The picture will indeed emerge full of parallels, dichotomies, and novelties. The historiographers under investigation share several common traits which were characteristic of this multifaceted heritage, such as a strong attachment to the past; an emphasis on source materials and cultural context; a distinctive interest in, and treatment of, medieval music; and the vision of an organic role of medieval music within the greater scheme of music history.

Under the impact of positive philosophy, the major concern of historians at the turn of the century was to "discipline" the subject of music history.⁵¹ Although the

⁵¹The term is borrowed from Katherine Bergeron and Philip V. Bohlman, eds., *Disciplining Music: Musicology and Its Canons*; see also Hayden White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Interpretation* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 58.

concern for an objective approach had already been firmly established among the earlier generation of historiographers, the state of knowledge in medieval sources had grown considerably over the previous quarter of the century. In 1898, Pierre Aubry taught a course in the history and methods of medieval musicology at the Catholic Institute of Paris.⁵² The scientific trend had found its strongest expression in the methods of the French tradition of classical philology which formed the cornerstone of historical investigation at the turn of the century; Renan (1823-1892) had strongly advocated a philological perspective in the historical enterprise.⁵³ Applied to music history in the form of paleography, it largely contributed to the study of musical genres. The research conducted at the Solesmes abbey and made available through the publication of the *Paléographie musicale* since 1889,⁵⁴ was to play a primary role in the advancement of the scientific method at the turn of the century. Similar work was done during the early years of the new century by Pierre

⁵²Aubry's lectures were published as *La musicologie médiévale: histoire et méthodes* (Paris: H. Welter, 1900; reprint, Geneva: Slatkine, 1975).

⁵³See in particular Renan's lecture "The Services of Philology to the Historical Science," given before the Scientific Association of France on March 2, 1878 (Lewis F. Mott, *Ernest Renan* [New York: D. Appleton, 1921], 340).

⁵⁴Dom Mocquereau, ed., *Paléographie musicale* (Tournai: Société Saint-Jean l'Évangéliste, Desclée 1889-). On the role of the *Paléographie* in music history research, see Bergeron, "A Lifetime of Chants," 186-191.

Aubry (1874-1910), on the medieval motet and chanson.⁵⁵

The study of music history was now solidly anchored on a certain number of sciences, such as archeology, philology, paleography, and so forth. The reliance on rational and scientific certitude, based on documents, enabled the historians to go beyond the personal and subjective argument: musical documents now speak for themselves. This method had been perfected and firmly established by the monks of Solesmes.⁵⁶ As a consequence, late nineteenth-century historiography is characterized by a definite shift away from the biographical approach, towards a study of the evolution of musical genres based on hard evidence. This resulted in the abandonment of the narrative, anecdotal style which was often perceived by late nineteenth-century

⁵⁵On the motet, see Aubry, *Cent motets du XIIIe siècle publiés d'après le manuscrit Ed. IV.6 de Bamberg* (Paris: A. Rouart, Lerolle; P. Geuthner, 1908); idem, *Le roman de Fauvel* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1907). On the chanson, see idem, *Trouvères et troubadours* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1909); idem, *Le chansonnier de l'Arsenal (Trouvères du XIIe-XIIIe siècle)*, 2 vols. (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1909-10); and Pierre Aubry and Joseph Bédier, *Les chansons de la croisade* (Paris: H. Champion, 1909).

⁵⁶The restoration of plainchant by the Benedictines of the abbey of Solesmes had been characterized since the early stages of the abbey under the direction of Dom Prosper Guéranger (1805-75), with serious scholarship (see Bergeron, "A Lifetime of Chants," 187-9). On Solesmes' influence upon late nineteenth-century historians of medieval music, see especially *ibid.*, 187-9.

historiographers as amateurish or self-taught, in favor of a scientific approach.⁵⁷

The strong reliance on the philological method, even though it presented an old French tradition, had been inculcated in Maurice Emmanuel, Vincent d'Indy, and Jules Combarieu, by their German masters. The historiographical scene at the end of the nineteenth century was indeed dominated and overshadowed by the German school.⁵⁸ The German influence, however, went beyond a simple working method; it must be extended to the realms of historical method, as proposed by Ambros (1816-76), and metaphysics. The latter influence was especially apparent in the rationalization process of the divine-origin theory (Hegel), and the primary status of the concepts of myth and magic (Wagner, Schopenhauer) within the historical scheme. The historians under investigation all demonstrate a concern to

⁵⁷In spite of their claim to the scientific approach, Fétis, de la Fage, Labat, and Gevaert were still perceived by the succeeding generation of music historians as practicing primarily the great-man approach; de la Fage's work is hardly more, as he affirms himself, than a "simple catalogue of works" (*Essais de diphtérographie*, 7). As the title indicates, it is essentially a description of parchments (*diphtérographie*) and manuscripts of ancient music.

⁵⁸Among the German historians and musicologists were Otto Jahn (1813-69), August W. Ambros (1816-76), Philipp Spitta (1841-94), Gustav Jacobsthal (1845-1912), Hermann Kretzschmar (1848-1924), Hugo Riemann (1849-1919), Guido Adler (1855-1941), Peter Wagner (1865-1931), Johannes Wolf (1869-1947), and Friedrich Ludwig (1872-1930). Their influence on the historians in our study is all the more important, as all three had been commissioned to study the educational system in Germany with regards to music.

place the events under study into a philosophical perspective. They all reflect, to some degree or another, the liberal empiricism and romantic idealism characteristic of their time. Three thought currents distinctive of German romanticism are represented in particular in their works: the Neoplatonic concept of recovery of the original unity at a higher level; the theory of transcendental idealism with its concept of natural law and the principle of an embodiment of the spiritual in the sensuous; and nineteenth-century German historicism. Historicism had fostered new interest in the past, and reestablished its importance and value. The Enlightenment had acknowledged two epochs, the glorious Antiquity, and the enlightened present.⁵⁹ In this system, the Middle Ages were merely regarded as a decadence of Antiquity,⁶⁰ and thus, medieval music was dismissed with disdain and contempt. However, by posing the principle of the past as being necessary to explain the present, the romantics rehabilitated the status of medieval music.⁶¹ This view reflects the context in which it

⁵⁹This thesis was carried well into the nineteenth century; see, for instance, Labat, 38.

⁶⁰See Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation. The Rise of Modern Paganism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966), 35-36.

⁶¹In spite of a general acceptance of the historicist theory, Gevaert still saw medieval music as "barbaric and vulgar at its origins" (François-Auguste Gevaert, *Les origines du chant liturgique de l'église latine: étude d'histoire musicale* [Ghent: Ad. Hoste, 1890; reprint, Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1971], 44).

developed, namely, the discussion on the decadence of music in general (Fétis), and of church music in particular (Cecilians, Solesmes). The Middle Ages were thus instituted as a separate, third period in the historical chronology.⁶² They now occupy the center of the historical picture—at that time often spanning the period up to 1600, that is, including the Renaissance—and are interpreted as a turning point, or a time of transition, where musicians can grow accustomed to the new sounds.

Similarly under the German influence of Herder (1744-1803), Forkel (1749-1818), and Ambros, the doctrine of progress, development, and later of evolution, had gradually found its place in French historiography. Most music histories written during the nineteenth century were characterized in one way or another by these theories. Progress was here understood as an evolution happening under the impact of nature rather than reason, and in terms of a gradual growth from one stage to another which reached its final and highest level with the nineteenth century. In this perspective, history was seen as a whole, an organic unity. Within the theory of organic unity, the concept of origins became essential to prove the different doctrines and laws of development, where music moves in "successive

⁶²The reintroduction of the triune division was facilitated by the romantic revival of christianity and its doctrine of unity in trinity, as well as by the romantic interpretation of human history as happening in three stages (Victor Hugo).



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stages," naturally from one stage to another. Only through the knowledge of the origins could the present state be understood and sensible decisions be made with regards to the future. The matter of origins formed for all historians under investigation an important topic, to such an extent that the origins were often perceived as multiple. Among the theories of origin proposed, one encounters mainly the theory of natural origin, but also the linguistic, nationalist, moral, and utilitarian theories. The social theory of origins was essential for all of them. As a consequence of the organic unity, music was linked with the cultural and social elements of a time, and understood as the expression of a society.⁶³ Society was seen as an organic force in the origins of music. The result was a change in the understanding of history, away from the great-man theory or divine-origin theory, towards a concept where the individual contribution (genius) becomes insignificant in itself, and is important only as a part of the whole, as the product of the society. In this perspective, music and the artist fulfill a specific purpose in society, namely, to educate and serve. Art becomes a means of social control. Several of these theories had already been advocated earlier

⁶³Gevaert especially underlined the importance to study music in its context: "Pour suivre avec intérêt l'histoire des cantilènes liturgiques, il est indispensable de les replacer par la pensée dans leur cadre originaire, . . . et de se représenter le mode d'exécution pour lequel elles furent primitivement conçues" (*Les origines du chant liturgique*, 9).

in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, especially under the influence of Rousseau (1712-78)⁶⁴ and the Saint-Simonians, one of the most influential social movements of the times.⁶⁵ Another determining factor for historical writing at the turn of the twentieth century, should be recognized in the writings of the liberal philosopher

⁶⁴The ideas of Jean-Jacques Rousseau which impressed both German and French thinkers and musicians throughout the nineteenth-century (see on this influence Jacques Barzun, *Classic, Romantic, and Modern*, 2nd ed. [Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, Phoenix Edition, 1975], 18 ff., 171 ff.) will even be recognized in the writings of our historiographers of medieval music at the turn of the twentieth century. Among these ideas, we note for instance: his emphasis on the purpose of art as being of moral order and thus to be used for the benefit of a nation (*Considérations sur le gouvernement de Pologne et sur sa réformation projetée*, in *The Political Writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, edited by C. E. Vaughan, 2 vols. [New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1962], 2:427); music's origin in communal ritual (*Essai sur l'origine des langues*, in *Oeuvres complètes de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, vol. 3 [Paris: Furne, 1852]; English translation, *Essay on the Origin of Languages*, in *On the Origin of Language*, trans. John H. Moran, edited by Alexander Gode [New York: Frederick Ungar, 1966], 50-51); his presentation of plainchant as primitive and folklike and his suggestion for its restoration ("Plainchant," in *Dictionnaire de la Musique*, vol. 12 of *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. V. D. Musset-Pathay [Paris: Dupont, 1824]); the close relationship he perceives between language and music (*Essay on the Origin of Languages*, 50-51); and the importance of instinct in the concept of genius ("Génie," *Dictionnaire de la Musique*).

⁶⁵See Ralph P. Locke, *Music, Musicians and the Saint-Simonians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 5. Claude-Henri Saint-Simon (1760-1825) was a utopian socialist who promoted the ideal of communalism, and believed in the restoration of social order through the work of a scientist elite. He saw in the association of science, industry, and the arts the coming of a new spiritual power (on the influence of the Saint-Simonian movement in nineteenth-century thinking, see *ibid.*, 5 ff.).

Félicité de Lamennais (1782-1854)⁶⁶ who was the mentor not only of Guéranger but also of Franz Liszt (1811-1886). Guéranger's dependence on Lamennais⁶⁷ may already be detected in his initiative to restore the Benedictine abbey of Solesmes precisely after the communitarian ideal of the Saint-Simonians. As for Liszt, he himself acknowledged his sympathy for both the Saint-Simonians and Lamennais.⁶⁸ As we shall see, Guéranger as well as Liszt had indeed an important impact on the shaping of the historical thought and the method of the three historians under study.

Beyond the many common perspectives of method and philosophy, these histories of the *fin du siècle* will demonstrate yet another characteristic of the *esprit du siècle*, namely, diversity. Through their multiple differences and divergences, they will reveal to the reader a multifaceted view of the music of the Middle Ages.

⁶⁶While Lamennais adopted the communitarian principle of the Saint-Simonians (Conrad Donakowski, *A Muse for the Masses: Ritual and Music in an Age of Democratic Revolution, 1770-1870* [Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1977], 142), several of his other theories go back to Rousseau. As the latter, he believed in the origins of music as a product of religious communal activities, the moral role of music, and the importance of plainchant. He also believed in the role of expressiveness as a primary factor in the progress of art (Félicité de Lamennais, *Esquisse d'une philosophie*, 3 vols. [Paris: Pagnerre, 1840], 3:134; 327-30; 338).

⁶⁷On the connection between Guéranger and Lamennais, see Ernest Sevrin, *Dom Guéranger et Lamennais* (Paris: Librairie philosophique, 1933); see also Donakowski, 144-6.

⁶⁸Locke, 103-4.

PART ONE

MAURICE EMMANUEL
THE CLASSICAL SCHOLAR

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CHAPTER 1

THE PARIS CONSERVATORY

The foundation and development of the Paris Conservatory took place at a time of general awakening of the interest in the past.¹ Indeed, as a child of the Revolution, the Conservatory was to espouse in many ways its ideas, among them the strong reliance on the past. The revolutionaries' ideals were strongly rooted in the veneration for classical antiquity.² In the decrees which accompanied the birth of the Conservatory, this reference

¹The Conservatory was born on the day the Bastille was stormed (July 14, 1789). Bernard Sarrette, captain of the National Guard, foresaw the important social role music would play in the events of the Revolution and their aftermath. Thus, he gathered and took charge of the forty-five musicians of his regiment in order to prevent them from dispersing. The group was to participate actively in all celebrations and ceremonies following the fall of the Bastille (see Lavignac, pt. 2, 6:3449-3451).

²See Robespierre's address of February 7, 1794: "Or, quel est le principe fondamental du gouvernement démocratique ou populaire, c'est-à-dire le ressort essentiel qui le soutient et qui le fait mouvoir? C'est la vertu: je parle de la vertu publique qui opéra tant de prodiges dans la Grèce et dans Rome, et qui doit en produire de bien plus étonnants dans la France républicaine" (quoted by André Lagarde and Laurent Michard, *Le XVIIIe siècle* [Paris: Bordas, 1962], 408). Robespierre's reference to Montesquieu (1689-1755) and Rousseau is apparent. See Montesquieu, *Esprit des lois*, 2 vols., in *Oeuvres complètes*, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade (Paris: Gallimard, 1951), bk. 3, ch. 3, 2:251; Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Considérations sur le gouvernement de Pologne et sur sa réformation projetée*, ch. 2: "Esprit des anciennes institutions," 2:427-30; see also *ibid.*, 2:431.

was clearly made by the poet Marie-Joseph Chénier, one of the spiritual leaders of the Revolution. In his address to the Convention on July 28, 1795, speaking about the power of music in politics,³ he specifically refers to Plato's *Republic*.⁴ He also informs the politician that "the art of governing men is nothing else but the art of governing their emotions."⁵ Chénier, like many of the revolutionaries, was also strongly inspired by Jean-Jacques Rousseau's ideas and believed in music as a power to influence citizens for the better.⁶ The historian and politician Daunou, principal author of the Constitution of the year III, used a similar

³"Platon, qui connaissait son pouvoir et sa moralité, le mêlait à toutes les institutions de sa République" (Marie-Joseph Chénier, "Report on the organization of the Central Institute of Music, presented to the Convention on 10 thermidor III-July 28, 1795," quoted by Constant Pierre, *Le Conservatoire National de Musique et de déclamation: Documents Historiques et Administratifs* [Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1900], 121).

⁴Plato, *Republic* I,iii:401, quoted in "Plato-From the *Republic*," in Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1950), 4-12.

⁵"Malheur au politique imprudent, au législateur inhabile, qui, prenant les hommes pour des abstractions et croyant les faire mouvoir comme les pièces d'un échiquier, ne sait pas qu'ils ont des sens; que ces sens forment des passions; que la science de conduire les hommes n'est autre chose que la science de diriger leur sensibilité; que la base des institutions humaines est dans les moeurs publiques et privées, et que les beaux-arts sont essentiellement moraux, puisqu'ils rendent l'individu qui les cultive meilleur et plus heureux" ("Report on the organization of the Central Institute of Music," quoted by Pierre, 121).

⁶See Frédéric de la Grandville, "Le Conservatoire et la République de 1848," *Revue Internationale de Musique Française* 3 (1980): 367.

argument in his address on the social role of music in public education.

In reading the ancient philosophers, one is impressed by the great importance they granted music in their writings and their institutions. . . . It was sufficient for us to begin to live under republican laws in order to perceive the depth of this ancient wisdom, and to understand the necessity of embracing their lessons. Experience already has demonstrated to us what this art is capable of doing in favor of liberty; an art which, far more than any other art, captivates the thoughts, takes possession of the imagination, influences the human passions, causes multitudes to unite simultaneously in identical affections, and in other words, brings into agreement countless willpowers.⁷

Music becomes then a primary tool for the education of the people.⁸

The above statements show that in the light of Plato's doctrines, music was not only perceived as a powerful tool

⁷"On est frappé, en lisant les anciens philosophes, de l'immense place qu'ils accordaient à la musique dans leurs écrits et dans leurs institutions. . . . Il nous a suffi de commencer de vivre sous des lois républicaines pour sentir la profondeur de cette sagesse antique et pour entrevoir la nécessité de nous en appliquer les leçons. L'expérience a déjà pu nous apprendre ce qu'il peut pour la liberté, cet art qui, plus qu'aucun autre, captive la pensée, fanatise l'imagination, fait bouillonner les passions humaines, imprime à des multitudes des affections simultanément unanimes, et met, pour ainsi dire, en accord d'innombrables volontés" (quoted by Henri Radiguer, "La musique française de 1789 à 1815," in Lavignac, pt. 1, 1:1562-63). As early as 1790, Mirabeau and Condorcet had already expressed the same thought (idem). In the same vein, the young Republic also took over from Plato the idea of government-controlled music schools (see the decree of August 3, 1795, quoted by Radiguer, "La musique française," Lavignac, pt. 1, 1:1568).

⁸The idea of educating the people to make them better citizens occupied a central place in Ancient Greece. See Donakowski, 44; cf. Harold T. Parker, *The Cult of Antiquity and the French Revolutionaries: A Study in the Development of the Revolutionary Spirit* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937), 125.

of government, but also as a means of democratic unity. The philosophical argument finds its counterpart in the social argument. Until now, music had been an activity for the elite: it had either been associated with the court (*Ecole Royale de Chant*) or the Church (*Maîtrises*).⁹ For the first time, the people were to have their own musical institution, by the people and for the people.¹⁰ The political role of music was indeed very strongly exploited by the Revolution and was a great asset for the founders of the Conservatory. Festivals, a "common celebration in singing events of victory and the fall of hated institutions,"¹¹ had a great unifying impact on the people, and were a powerful factor in waking their national awareness and hence interest in their

⁹The *Maîtrises*, an institution dating back to the fifteenth century, prepared singers for liturgical functions in the church. The *Ecole Royale de Chant* was founded in 1783 as an educational establishment adjunct to the opera. It represented a first attempt at running a music academy entirely with public funds. It survived until 1795, when it was supplanted by the *Institut National de Musique* (see *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Education in Music: Conservatories").

¹⁰"Pour la première fois fonctionnait en France une école populaire de musique; pour la première fois, l'enseignement donné ne concernait point la musique d'église, comme dans les maîtrises de cathédrale, ni la musique de théâtre, comme à l'école royale de chant. Au peuple qui avait conquis la liberté et célébré la fraternité, Sarrette apportait l'organisme nécessaire aux manifestations artistiques inspirées par ses enthousiasmes" (Radiguer, in Lavignac, pt. 1, 1:1568).

¹¹See Radiguer: "Son rôle est intimement lié à la politique; il est sorti de la grande effusion lyrique de la Révolution et du besoin de s'unir en chantant pour flétrir ce qu'on déteste, ou pour exalter ce qu'on adore" (in Lavignac, pt. 1, 1:1568).

past values. As a result, the primary task of the Republic was to collect and preserve these values. Museums of all sorts were created. The new Conservatory was to be one of them.¹² The very name of the new institution expressed this concern: "Conservatory." What had started as a small group of 49 musicians of the *Garde Nationale* under Sarrette, grew within six years into the *Conservatoire National de Musique*. Sarrette, its founder, explains the name of the institution on the basis of its vocation: preventing masterpieces of all periods from falling into oblivion, while indicating the progressive advances of this art

¹²See the inaugural address of Sarrette at the opening of the Conservatory on October 22, 1796, quoted by Pierre, 187; see also Henri Vanhulst, "La musique du passé et la création du Conservatoire de Paris: Sa présence dans les premières méthodes," *Revue Belge de Musicologie* 25 (1971): 51. During the years following the Revolution, various museums were opened for the progress of science and the arts. The purpose of these institutions was to gather into one place art works which had been scattered so far among private collectors and the Church, and to make them available to the public. This nationalistic strain was to grow throughout the nineteenth century, parallel with the evolution of the political and historical situation which became more and more nationalistic. Between 1822 and 1841, it reached the point where all foreign students were prohibited from attending the Conservatory. Only alumni and present students were allowed to participate in the concerts organized by the Conservatory. Chopin's humble request to play at one of those concerts was rejected (see Grandville, 374). Indeed, article 3 of the rules of the *Société des Concerts du Conservatoire* stipulated that "absolutely no artist foreign to this establishment will be able to be heard in the said concerts, no matter how great his talent" (quoted by Cecilia Dunoyer, "The Paris Conservatoire: Its Political and Musical Climate in the Nineteenth Century," *The American Music Teacher* 36 [June-July 1986]: 12).

through history.¹³ This interest in past values generated the creation of a national music library, in order to furnish models of music and to trace the development of this art.¹⁴

The Conservatory's attachment to the past was yet to find another expression, namely, *academism*. Numerous articles dating from the turn of the twentieth century indeed criticize the Conservatory's traditionalist attitude and portray the institution as "the bastion of conservatism."¹⁵

The reference to the past did not only govern the creation and the development of the Conservatory, it also affected, to a certain extent, its production. This appears particularly in the early instrumental methods published by

¹³"Cette nouvelle institution en arrachant à l'oubli les chefs-d'oeuvre de toutes les écoles, offrira l'exposition unique des richesses sublimes de cet art, et indiquera à l'histoire sa marche progressive" (Letter by Sarrette to Taillandier, quoted by Pierre, 123; cf. Vanhulst, 51, 52).

¹⁴See article 10 of the law passed on August 3, 1795: "Une bibliothèque nationale de musique est formée dans le Conservatoire; elle est composée d'une collection complète des partitions et ouvrages traitant de cet art, des instruments antiques ou étrangers" (quoted by Pierre, 124, 141-142; cf. Vanhulst, 52).

¹⁵See Jean Marnold, "Le Conservatoire et la Schola," *Mercure de France* 43 (July-Sept 1902): 112; Camille Maclair, "Le Classicisme et l'Académisme," *La Revue Bleue* 40 (1903): 338; Albert-Emile Sorel, "Préjugés et Traditions," *La Revue Bleue* 41 (1904): 192; E. Vuillermoz, "La Schola et le Conservatoire," *Mercure de France*, 16 September 1909, 238. This urge to hold on to the immediate past, that is, one's own present, was in reality one of the major obstacles for the real discovery of the past.

the school as, for instance, P. Baillots's *L'Art du violon*. The author indeed admits that the study of ancient works is necessary in order to acquire a good performing style.¹⁶

The first direct reference to medieval music is found as early as the year 1800 in various textbooks. Thus, for instance, *Principes élémentaires de musique*¹⁷ gives a few lines of information on medieval notation and the origin of the scale, and the theorists Guido d'Arezzo and Johannes de Muris are briefly mentioned. On the other hand, as early as 1814, Roze's *Méthode de plain chant* is published by the Conservatory under the influence of Napoleon's *Concordat*.¹⁸

These principles, however, were not carried through on the level of performance. One of the original aims of the Conservatory, characteristic of the revolutionary spirit, had been to instruct the people. Consequently, programs of early concerts, organized by the Conservatory during its first years, clearly show the inclusion of works of the past. Very soon, however, under the pressure of society's taste, these works were progressively to give way to more

¹⁶"Pour se former un bon style, il faut commencer par se nourrir des auteurs anciens" (Pierre Baillot, *L'art du violon* [Paris: Imprimerie du Conservatoire, n.d. (1834)], 7, quoted by Vanhulst, 57).

¹⁷Henri Agus, Charles-Simon Catel, Luigi Cherubini, et al., *Principes élémentaires de musique suivis de solfèges*, 2 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie du Conservatoire, an VIII-an X [1800-1802]).

¹⁸Nicolas Roze, *Méthode de plain chant* (Paris: Imprimerie du Conservatoire, n.d. [1814]); see Vanhulst, 55.

and more fashionable programs, especially of lyrical character.¹⁹ The Conservatory's emphasis was shifting from its original didactic purpose to that of entertaining the people.²⁰ The teaching of the Conservatory was presently geared mainly towards the display of artistic bravura and virtuosity.²¹

The idea of a music history class came up for the first time in 1848 as if to express the spirit of the second Republic, installed during the same year, a spirit of hope for renewal and open-mindedness. Under the instigation of Maleden, the creation of a music history class was discussed

¹⁹See the observation of a former Conservatory student, Gaston Carraud: "Pour le Conservatoire, le théâtre seul existe; toute musique qui n'est point de théâtre y est considérée comme un genre inférieur" ("Pour le Conservatoire," *Le Mercure Musical*, 15 July 1905, 199). This situation was partly due to the fact that most of the directors of the Conservatory wrote themselves predominantly for the stage, such as Auber, Thomas, and Dubois; see Gail H. Woldu, "Gabriel Fauré as Director of the Conservatoire National de Musique et de Déclamation, 1905-1920" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1983), 8-9, 64; see also Stephen H. Riggins, "Institutional Change in Nineteenth-Century French Music" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1980), 21, 168; cf. Dunoyer, 11. A list of works performed from 1830-1879 at the *Concerts du Conservatoire*, the *Concerts populaires*, and the *Concerts Colonne*, shows only seven works by sixteenth-century composers performed during those 49 years (see Riggins, 310, 314, 316, 319, and 327; cf. also the list of concert programs in Lavignac, pt. 2, 6:3449-51).

²⁰The educational role of the arts in developing ethics and virtues was a prominent theme both in Classical Antiquity and during the Revolution (see Parker, 125, 134, etc.).

²¹See Vanhulst, 58.

among the faculty of the Conservatory.²² Maleden's idea was to introduce this discipline from the perspective of the philosophy of music. He was particularly interested in the influence of science on the emotions, and in the study of the various methods of plainchant and their relationship to art and theory.²³ In fact, Maleden's proposal was unique insofar as it advocated an analytical and synthetical approach to musical discipline. His idea was however rejected by the faculty; they were more interested in a class of general knowledge "limited to musical erudition," rather than philosophy.²⁴ Since no compromise could be

²²Pierre de Maleden was a harmony teacher who had imported from Germany a new system of harmonic analysis. According to Saint-Saëns, it was "a marvelous tool to penetrate the depths of music, a light which illuminated its most secret corners" (Camille Saint-Saëns, *L'Ecole buissonnière: notes et souvenirs* [Paris: Pierre Laffitte, 1913], 8).

²³Maleden presented the purpose of the class as follows: "A exposer l'influence de la science sur le sentiment, à formuler à l'entendement ce qui aurait pu paraître au premier abord être l'objet de l'inspiration et du sentiment, et par-là donner à ces derniers plus de vivacité. . . . A exposer et à analyser dans leurs rapports à l'art et à la théorie les diverses méthodes d'enseignement de la lecture musicale du chant et du plain-chant. . . . La critique dans l'art et dans la science, l'analyse actuelle et rétrospective des théories, des systèmes et des méthodes d'enseignement . . . sont des *inductions* tirées de l'exposé des faits. . . . A donner à l'élève dans l'école la maturité de raison artistique, le pouvoir critique et l'expérience que l'artiste n'a reçu jusqu'ici que de la vie et des années" (Maleden, "Lettre du 6 avril 1848," Archives Nationales, série AJ 37-836d, quoted by La Grandville, 372).

²⁴Idem. Adrien de la Fage, author of *Histoire générale de la musique et de la danse* and plainchant theorist, had been a second candidate for the position. His proposal was also rejected (see Jacques Chailley, "Momigny, Maleden et l'Ecole Niedermeyer," in *Logos Musicae: Festschrift für*

reached, the opening of a music history class was to be postponed for twenty-three years. It finally opened in 1871. The first two teachers, of "obscure identity," were a certain Barbereau, and the violinist and journalist Eugène Gautier.²⁵ It is significant that the creation of the class was contemporary with the period of "renewal" and "reawakening" which French music underwent during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, after operatic music had ruled supreme over the previous seventy-five years. This reawakening was to a large extent the product of strong nationalistic feelings due to the French defeat in the Franco-Prussian war in 1871.²⁶ The history course remained optional for the majority of the students and was open to the general public.²⁷ In reality, it was mostly visited by "female socialites" who wanted "to add polish to

Albert Palm, ed. Rüdiger Görner [Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1982], 16, 17).

²⁵See Chailley, "Momigny, Maleden et l'Ecole Niedermeyer," 18.

²⁶See Riggins, 2, 187.

²⁷The proposal for the creation of the music history class (August 31, 1871), reads as follows: "Cours d'esthétique et d'histoire de la musique: le cours d'esthétique, plus particulièrement obligatoire pour les élèves des classes de composition, serait facultatif pour les élèves d'harmonie et les élèves les plus distingués de toutes les autres branches de l'enseignement. Des personnes étrangères au Conservatoire pourraient y être admises" (quoted by Pierre, 310).

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their liberal education."²⁸ The contents of the course were described as follows:

Survey of the History of Music, from the most ancient times until today.
Musical paleography.
Notation.
Exposition of the principal musical systems.
Sacred and secular music.
Biography of the great masters.
Critical study of their works, etc.²⁹

The study of medieval music had at last found its place with the creation of the first history class. In spite of the course description, however, knowledge of the Middle Ages or the Renaissance was still rudimentary.³⁰ The first music history class conducted by an authentic musicologist was inaugurated in 1878 by Bourgault-Ducoudray, who had a keen interest in the study of ancient music.³¹ Later, under

²⁸"Malheureusement, son cours était un cours libre et facultatif, où les élèves du Conservatoire se dispensaient d'assister, où se fréquentaient guère que des auditrices étrangères à la maison, dames ou jeunes filles du monde désireuses d'avoir quelques clartés sur l'histoire de la musique" (Pierre Lalo, "Les réformes du Conservatoire," *Le Temps*, 22 August 1905, quoted in Woldu, 89). See Maurice Emmanuel's comment on this "unprofessional" situation, while discussing the German educational system in music ("Les conservatoires de musique en Allemagne et en Autriche," *La Revue de Paris*, 1 March 1900, 129).

²⁹"Proposition de Création, 31 août 1871," quoted by Pierre, 310.

³⁰Idem.

³¹See Emmanuel: "Ami des vieux Modes qu'un Mode nouveau a tyranniquement séquestrés. . . . Plein d'admiration pour l'art Antique et d'enthousiasme pour le Plain Chant, à une époque où, presque sans guides, il s'aventurait dans l'Histoire de la Musique, passionnément cultivée depuis, . . . Bourgault-Ducoudray ne paraissait point se douter de l'influence exercée par lui-même, qui dans son enseignement fut un audacieux, sur ces rénovations" (Emmanuel, *Histoire*

the directorship of Gabriel Fauré (1905-1920), numerous reforms were introduced into the Conservatory. With regards to the history class, those reforms became effective in 1905 and were directly related to Fauré's interest in early music. This particular field of study had been opened to him during his studies at the Ecole Niedermeyer.³² In 1907, the music history class was taken in charge by Bourgault-Ducoudray's student, Maurice Emmanuel. He was to become the first Conservatory teacher to write a music history,³³ and therefore deserves a special treatment in our research.

de la langue musicale, 1:12; see also Chailley, "Momigny, Maleden et l'Ecole Niedermeyer," 18).

³²See Woldu, 25. The Niedermeyer school, opened in 1853, pioneered in the teaching of early music (fifteenth- to eighteenth-century masters); see *ibid.*, 18-19. On the origin and development of the Ecole Niedermeyer, see Marie Louise Boëllmann-Gigout, "L'Ecole de musique classique et religieuse: ses maîtres, ses élèves," in *Histoire de la musique*, ed. Roland-Manuel, vol. 2 of *Encyclopédie de la Pléiade* (Paris: Gallimard, 1963), 841-866. See also Gustave Lefèvre and Madame Veuve Henri Heurtel, née Lefèvre-Niedermeyer, "L'Ecole de Musique Classique Niedermeyer," in Lavignac, pt. 2, 2:3617-3621.

³³Maurice Emmanuel, *Histoire de la langue musicale*. The work is hereafter referred to as *Histoire*.

CHAPTER 2

MAURICE EMMANUEL (1862-1938)

I. THE AUTHOR

Emmanuel's predilection for ancient music was stimulated by two sources: his deep interest in the native *chanson*, and the classical training he received at the Sorbonne. His interest in medieval music began very early. When he was seven, his family moved to Burgundy, where he was exposed to the modal melodies of Burgundian folksong and the plainsong services and festivities of the *Hôtel Dieu* at Beaune.¹ This encounter with modality became an important milestone in his discovery of past music. As a result, a large part of his later research would be devoted to folksong and the medieval *chanson*.² In a manner similar to Bartók and Kodály, he regularly traveled through various countries as far as Hungary; these journeys revealed to him

¹Later in his life, he became a fervent promoter of the restoration of plainchant. His attempt to introduce it into the chapel of Sainte-Clotilde where he was *maître de chapelle*, led to his dismissal from that position (*New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Emmanuel, Maurice").

²Maurice Emmanuel, "L'art choral bourguignon," *Mémoires de l'académie des sciences, arts, et belles-lettres de Dijon* (January 1925): 3-18; idem, "La chanson populaire: emprunts au folklore national," *La revue de Bourgogne* 8 (1923): 349-371; idem, "Le chant à l'école," *La grande revue* (15 December 1910): 782-800; (10 January 1911): 68-81.

a source of folk music which he collected and wrote down.³ Modality, a consistent feature of his musical language, was to impress an indelible mark on his musical writing, as he puts it himself in a letter to Paul Le Fleu:

It was the plurality of modes found in the popular chansons, rather than the music of antiquity, which oriented my musical language in such a way that it could no more be content with the simple major-minor system taught in school.⁴

Convinced of the equality of all modes, he would stand up all his life against the "tyranny of the mode ut," and speak in favor of polymodality.⁵ His own compositions equally demonstrate this conviction.⁶ Emmanuel's nonconformity to "traditional" language which was then promoted by

³Maurice Emmanuel, *XXX chansons bourguignonnes du pays de Beaune, précédées d'une étude historique* (Paris: Durand, 1913).

⁴"C'est la modalité plurale de la chanson populaire qui m'a, beaucoup plus que la musique antique, orienté vers un langage sonore qui ne veut plus s'en tenir au majeur-mineur des solfèges" (quoted in "Biographie de Maurice Emmanuel," *Revue Musicale* 206 [1947], 125). Emmanuel himself relates how he discovered modality. After taking down into notation the melodies sung to him by a neighbor, he played them back, only to be told that his transcription was wrong. What he had interpreted as mistakes, were in reality modal scale patterns which he had altered by the leading tone (Emmanuel's preface to *XXX Chansons Bourguignonnes*, viii).

⁵This term includes the Greek modes, the medieval church and folk modes, Hindu and other "exotic" modes, as well as the modern minor and major modes. See Maurice Emmanuel, "La polymodie," *La revue musicale* (1 January 1928): 197-213; idem, "Le tyran 'Ut'," *Musique* (15 March 1930): 242-50 (English version: "The 'Tyrant Ut'," *Pro Musica Quarterly* 7 [1929]: 35-40).

⁶See, for instance, his early piece *Ouverture pour un conte gai* (1882) which features free rhythms and medieval modes; see also his string quartet in B-flat Major (1903), and the piano sonatina No. 4 (1920).

the Conservatory closed him the door to the *Prix de Rome*.⁷ Discouraged, he turned to classical studies at the Sorbonne, where, in 1895, he defended a dissertation on Greek dance.⁸

The results of his research convinced him of the riches of free and natural rhythms as illustrated in his opera *Salamine* and his incidental music to *Amphitryon*.⁹

In 1898, as Pierre Aubry tried to introduce a chair of music history at the *Collège de France*, he recommended Maurice Emmanuel as lecturer. The project, however, never materialized.¹⁰ In 1909, he was proposed by his former teacher Bourgault-Ducoudray for the position of professor of

⁷Delibes, Emmanuel's professor of composition, taxed this piece as "baroque and unperformable" (*New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Emmanuel, Maurice").

⁸Maurice Emmanuel, *Essais sur l'orchestrique grecque (De saltationis disciplina apud Graeco)*, diss. University of Paris, 1895; published as *La danse grecque antique* (Paris: Hachette, 1896).

⁹The poet Ezra Pound at that time acknowledged Emmanuel's authority in matters of Greek rhythms (see *Letters of Ezra Pound*, ed. D. D. Paige [London: Faber & Faber, 1951], 339). Emmanuel had also experimented with Hindu modes and bird song: see his *Sonatina No. 2* (1897) based on bird song, and *Sonatina No. 4* (1920) on Hindu modes (Alfred Cortot, *La musique française de piano*, 2nd series [Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1948], 233, 239-241). This interest in Hindu modes may be traced back to a conversation between Emmanuel and Busoni (see Cortot, 240).

¹⁰It was jeopardized by an indignant chemistry professor, Berthelot, who declared he would rather leave the *Collège* than see music entering it ("Biographie," 124; see also R. Stevenson, "Maurice Emmanuel: A Belated Apologia," *Music and Letters* 40 [1959], 157). On Aubry's recommendation, see Pierre Aubry, "Lettre ouverte à M. Maurice Emmanuel sur la rythmique musicale des trouvères," *La Revue Musicale* 10 (1910), 262.

music history at the Conservatory.¹¹ Both men shared a common interest in ancient modes. Indeed, one of the key ideas of Emmanuel's teaching and writing was polymodality. He saw it as an element of renewal of the musical language.¹² It also forms the central idea of his *Histoire de la langue musicale*.¹³ Emmanuel's numerous publications on modality, rhythm, aesthetics, and education,¹⁴ contributed to his reputation, among his contemporaries, as a serious researcher and music historian, to such a point that his compositional contribution was largely ignored.

¹¹Emmanuel was to occupy this position until 1937, one year before his death.

¹²René Dumesnil, "Musique: Maurice Emmanuel," *Mercure de France*, 1 February 1939, 717.

¹³"Notes for the preparation of his Cours d'histoire de la musique," mentioned in "Biographie de Maurice Emmanuel: Liste chronologique des livres et articles publiés par Maurice Emmanuel," *Revue Musicale* 204 (January 1947): 127-128.

¹⁴Emmanuel had been commissioned by the University of Paris to inquire into the educational methods in music teaching in Germany and Austria (Paul Landormy, "In Memoriam: Maurice Emmanuel," *Bulletin du Comité National de Propagande pour la musique* 16 [1939]: 4). Emmanuel published the results of his mission in two articles, "La musique dans les universités allemandes," *Revue de Paris*, 1 June 1898 (quoted in "Biographie de Maurice Emmanuel," 127-8); idem, "Les conservatoires de musique en Allemagne et en Autriche," 119-45.

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II. HISTORICAL VIEWPOINT

Emmanuel's philosophy of history is a product of the multiple, and often complex and contradictory, tendencies of his age. His writings on medieval music reveal a combination of three perspectives, evolutionist, historicist, and romanticist.¹⁵

The Evolutionary Perspective

The Middle Ages occupy in Emmanuel's view an intermediary stage in the evolutionary process of the musical language. He shows how many of its elements (for instance, notation, rhythm, modal scales, polyphony) grew organically out of antiquity and were subjected to slow transformation in the course of time. The concept of an organic growth of the musical language is one of his leitmotifs. In the first instance, his terminology clearly reveals this direction. He makes profuse use of terms directly associated with the

¹⁵Although these expressions often overlap, for the sake of clarity in our study, we shall limit the meaning of these expressions in the following way. Evolution is understood as encompassing such concepts as organic growth, transformation, adaptation, and development (George H. Mead, *Movements of Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Merritt H. Moore [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944], 127). Historicism is understood in terms of explaining a phenomenon never in isolation from its past, but essentially through its origins and its development (David Bebbington, *Patterns in History: A Christian Perspective on Historical Thought* [Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1990], 92). Romanticism is understood in its emphasis on the source of things in nature, and the high consideration for the past, especially the Middle Ages, as the cradle of modernity (Roland M. Stromberg, *European Intellectual History Since 1788* [New York: Appelton-Century-Crofts, 1968], 31 ff.).

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concept of evolution, such as "organic," "spontaneous," "in germ," "growth," "life of sounds," and so forth.¹⁶ The meaning of those terms receives particular attention when considering how carefully the author, as a philologist, must have chosen his words. At the very beginning of the *Histoire*, Emmanuel defines the purpose of his work as the history of the "progressive genesis" of the musical language.¹⁷ He understands the musical language as a living organism going through the various stages of "birth, development and transformation."¹⁸ The beginnings of polyphony, for instance, are described in terms of "embryonic," and modern harmony as emerging from "slow tapping around in the dark."¹⁹ Between these different stages of development, Emmanuel sees an ongoing process of filiation, a continuity:

The modern musical system is the temporary result of earlier systems. . . . The first part of the Middle Ages is directly connected to antiquity.²⁰

This continuity happens in the threefold perspective of a

¹⁶See also the concept of mutation which appears in his statement on Guido: "He oriented art towards its new destiny" (*Histoire*, 1:169).

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 1:21.

¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁹"Les lents tâtonnements de la polyphonie, qui a peu à peu, au cours du Moyen Age, dégagé de la résonance le cortège des harmoniques" (*ibid.*, 1:25-26).

²⁰"Le régime musical moderne, est l'aboutissement provisoire des systèmes antérieurs; . . . Le Moyen Age I se rattache directement à l'Antiquité" (*ibid.*, 1:21, 5).

linear, cyclic, and dialectic process. The *linear* approach is supported by the idea of existing knowledge developing through progressive transformation and adaptation:

One cannot resuscitate dead things. From age to age, continuity in art is achieved . . . by slow transformations and successive adaptations.²¹

In matters of musical language, transformation comes about in the form of a progressive discovery of the elements of the musical language which continues throughout the ages until exhaustion of all the possibilities. This process can be demonstrated by means of the theory of natural harmonics. The gradual discovery and organization of the various overtones started in antiquity, to be continued throughout the Middle Ages. It successively went through the stages of improved physiological perception of the "laws of nature"; scientific correction of the Pythagorean third; and logical

²¹"On ne ressuscite pas choses mortes. D'un âge à l'autre, en art, la continuité se fait . . . par transformations lentes, par adaptations successives" (ibid., 2:633). Emmanuel's language comes close to the terms used by the philosopher Pascal (1623-1662): "Les secrets de la (1) nature sont cachés; le temps les (2) révèle d'âge en âge. . . . Les (3) expériences qui nous en donnent l'intelligence multiplient continuellement" (Pascal, "Préface pour le traité du vide," in *Oeuvres complètes*, edited by Jacques Chevalier, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, no. 34 [Paris: Gallimard, 1954], 532).

"La langue musicale est fournie par (1) la nature. . . . La nature (2) conseille, en fournissant à l'oreille des données positives. . . . Le développement de l'art musical semble être lié au (3) recul progressif . . . des limites assez étroites de la production ou de la perception des harmoniques" (Emmanuel, *Histoire*, 1:21-23). Not only do both authors use the same ideas, but also the same sequence of arguments: (1) nature is the holder of knowledge; (2) this knowledge is revealed progressively through time; (3) increasing knowledge continually pushes off the limits of man's understanding.

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procedure (analogy), to make possible the unfolding of classical harmony.²² Once all the materials furnished by nature have been discovered, integrated, and worked out, a *cyclic* dimension is superimposed on the linear concept of evolution. An example of cyclic evolution of the musical language can be seen in the return of Emmanuel's contemporaries to the medieval modes.

The return to the old modes is proof that the melodies today tend to be oriented into a descending direction; this is a token of rebeginning.²³

The idea of return, however, is not associated in Emmanuel's thought with progress and decline, which generally accompany the cyclic theory and the notion of a new beginning. It must rather be understood as the continuation of a process where the same basic material is reused in different ways, once all the possibilities of organization have been exploited.

Such works are rebeginnings. Not imitations, but simple encounters. These encounters are necessary because art does not possess countless types: artists mark with their personal stamp a material which was already molded by their predecessors.²⁴

A third dimension in Emmanuel's understanding of the

²²*Histoire*, 2:627-628. The last examples refer to later techniques (seventeenth century).

²³"Ce retour aux anciens modes prouve que les mélodies ont de nos jours une tendance à s'orienter vers le grave; ce qui est un recommencement" (*ibid.*, 2:622).

²⁴"De telles oeuvres sont des recommencements. Simples rencontres et non imitations. Rencontres nécessaires, parce que l'art ne dispose pas de types innombrables: les artistes ne font que marquer d'une empreinte personnelle la matière déjà pétrie par leurs devanciers" (*ibid.*, 1:15).

development of musical language consists in the idea of a *dialectic* progress. Progress is not only achieved through a linear accumulation or a cyclic return, but also by means of a crisis-solving procedure. This does not happen on a regular, foreseeable basis, but rather in an unexpected and sudden manner. In fact, it often comes as the result of a rupture with tradition. An example of such a process is found in Guido d'Arezzo. Here, the introduction of a new element (staff notation) caused a rupture with tradition and oriented musical language into a new direction.²⁵ In this case, progress was achieved in replacing old theories with new ones. The solution was found in a synthesis of contradictions.²⁶

The Historicist Perspective

Beyond the evolutionist perspective, Emmanuel's text also reveals a historicist approach. In speaking about the relationship between ancient and modern art, he underlines the important role of the past in the elaboration of the contemporary musical language: "Today's achievements are the temporary result of earlier systems."²⁷ There is no

²⁵"Les Gui d'Arezzo sont rares. Ce grand artiste, et aussi grand érudit, au XIe siècle, a orienté l'art occidental vers ses nouvelles destinées" (ibid., 1:169).

²⁶A similar situation is found with the issue of binary versus ternary rhythmic structures, during the *ars nova*.

²⁷"Le régime musical moderne est l'aboutissement provisoire des systèmes antérieurs" (*Histoire*, 1:21).

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contradiction for Emmanuel between past and present; his theory of the past is based on two principles: (1) the principle of permanence,²⁸ and (2) the principle of variance.

Antique art has grown persistent and vigorous branches right into modern art. It is possible that some of its roots, though hidden under modern developments, are still green and may produce new offsprings.²⁹

This principle is further developed in the following statement:

The musical language . . . undergoes perpetual fluctuations and will forever do so.³⁰

Careful inquiry into the text explains the nature of those fluctuations as various aspects of the same and permanent basic material.

The natural elements [of the musical language] are more or less completely known and used, according to time and place. . . . Their coordination varies.³¹

Emmanuel's approach is then more related to the idea of

²⁸The importance of the element "permanence" in Emmanuel's work was very strongly understood by his contemporaries, to the extent that it became the object of an article on Emmanuel by Robert Bernard: "M. Emmanuel et le sens du permanent," *Revue Musicale* 204 (January 1947): 3-8.

²⁹"L'Art Antique a poussé, jusque dans l'Art Moderne, de persistantes et vigoureuses ramures. Et voici que, peut-être, quelques-unes de ses souches, enfouies sous les apports modernes, mais pleines de sève encore, vont produire de nouveaux rejetons" (*Histoire*, 1:9).

³⁰"La langue musicale . . . éprouve des fluctuations perpétuelles dont il est certain que l'ère ne sera jamais close" (*ibid.*, 1:21).

³¹"Ses éléments naturels sont, suivant les époques et les pays, plus ou moins complètement connus et employés; . . . leur coordination varie" (*ibid.*, 1:21)

diversity than that of progress, lending his evolutionary thesis a historicist dimension.³² While the principle of permanence apparently excludes the idea of progress characteristic of the evolutionist approach, the two concepts are not necessarily incompatible.³³ There is then a common body of material available to all artists, who at various epochs mark it in their different ways. In comparing these epochs, the author devotes himself to finding a unifying principle and a common denominator, to discovering analogies between the various stages of musical development. He endeavors

to expose the variations of the musical language, which does not at all exclude the permanent character of its principles; and to find, in the successive time periods, possible analogies between works separated in time by centuries.³⁴

He does this through the study of relationships and differences rather than criteria of inferiority or

³²Historicism indeed implies the idea of different values being shaped in different times by different societies. The relationship between these values must not be looked for in a more or less advanced stage of their respective musical languages (progress), but in a different manifestation of a common and permanent basic language. See Bebbington, 93.

³³Herder (1744-1803) saw the concept of progress as taking place within a given society, a given time, or place (Johann G. Herder, *Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit* [Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1967], 44).

³⁴"D'exposer les variations de la langue musicale, qui n'excluent point la permanence de ses principes, et en cherchant, à travers les périodes successives, quelles analogies peuvent être relevées entre des oeuvres séparées les unes des autres par de longs siècles" (*Histoire*, 1:15).

superiority. Indeed, his language witnesses the great care he takes to avoid negative value judgments with regards to past periods. In talking about earlier times, such as the Middle Ages, he prefers to speak of "anterior" rather than "inferior."³⁵

Another aspect of Emmanuel's historicist approach is apparent in the importance he attaches to the role of language in the development of music. This particular interest can, of course, be attributed to his experience as a philologist. However, it probably should be explained primarily from a historicist perspective. The preoccupation with language was indeed one of the hallmarks of historicism.³⁶ The philological dimension is present everywhere in Emmanuel's *History*. The title of his book already exhibits this preoccupation: *History of the musical language*. Rather than writing about the history of musical genres, he chose to write a history of the musical language. "There is the life of sound, as there is the life of words."³⁷ There is identification of the musical language with the language of words. While the idea of progress in

³⁵Ibid., 1: 21.

³⁶See *Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache*, in Johann Gottfried Herder, *Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. Bernhard Suphan, vol. 5 (Berlin, 1891); English translation, *Essay on the Origin of Language*, trans. Alex. Gode, in *On the Origin of Language* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publ., 1966), 86-166; see also Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Essai sur l'origine des langues*.

³⁷"Il y a la "vie des sons" comme il y a la "vie des mots" (*Histoire*, 1:21).

musical language is many times linked by Emmanuel to the development of the spoken language, it must be pointed out that he often does so in negative terms: stagnancy in the advancement of musical language is mainly due to sclerosis in the development of spoken language.³⁸

The Romanticist Perspective

The romanticist strain in Emmanuel's philosophy of history finds expression in his great emphasis on the role of nature, understood as an organic whole which exerts an active influence on the human being. As an echo to this thought, Emmanuel declares that nature furnishes the constants of musical language,³⁹ namely, in form of natural resonance which constitutes the basic material of the music language. Nature constantly acts on the musician, suggesting and imparting knowledge to him. The development of the musical language depends on the artist's continually growing ability to become more receptive to nature's voice. This process will open up the progressive discovery of greater possibilities of this language. It is the artist's

³⁸"Les pédants qui la révéraient [Greek music] ont fait croire à sa tyrannie par l'insistance qu'ils mirent à évoquer, à tout moment, les vieux mots; ils ne comprirent pas qu'en évoluant, elle dût en même temps renoncer aux antiques vocables, et ils exigèrent de ceux-ci qu'ils continuassent à avoir cours. De sorte qu'ils ont du même coup, en l'affublant d'un vieux costume, masqué le développement harmonieux de ses formes et alourdi sa marche vers l'avenir" (ibid., 1:170).

³⁹Ibid., 15, 21.

responsibility and task to dig into this common stock, to make his choice according to his understanding, and to imprint his personal stamp on it.

Emmanuel's historical viewpoint presents itself in a complex pattern of antitheses: A linear course of history comes with cyclic overtones; evolutionism goes hand in hand with historicism; continuity rivals rupture; and permanence is opposed to variance. Far from considering these elements as contradictory, they should rather be understood as so many complementary factors in the author's representation of the development of music, and more particularly, of medieval music.

III. METHODS AND TECHNIQUES OF HISTORICAL INVESTIGATION

Emmanuel organized his *History* according to the classical pattern of two major divisions, old and new. Those divisions are based on criteria belonging to musical language, namely, the respective use of the minor and major modes.⁴⁰ Volume One is devoted to the *Art of Antiquity* which corresponds to the reign of the minor mode. It comprises the time of antiquity and the period of the Middle Ages, the latter divided into two sections: Middle Ages I (sixth to twelfth century), and Middle Ages II (thirteenth to fifteenth century). Volume Two, *Modern Art*, is marked by the reign, or "tyranny," of the major mode. It discusses the Renaissance, modern times, and the contemporary period. The study of medieval music takes up an important part of Emmanuel's complete *History*. Out of a total of 619 pages (in two volumes), encompassing the development of music history since antiquity up to contemporary times, 164 pages are devoted to the Middle Ages. In terms of quantity, the chapter on the Middle Ages is given most prominence, since it features more pages than any other period under investigation;⁴¹ it thus speaks of the author's interest

⁴⁰Within a larger perspective, rhythm, notation, and harmony are further landmarks which distinguish the two periods.

⁴¹The six periods in his *History* are arranged in the following manner: Antiquity (104 pp.), Middle Ages I and II (164 pp.), Renaissance (84 pp.), Modern Times (107 pp.), and Contemporary Period (111 pp.). An Introduction on "Simultaneous Harmony" (41 pp.) and a conclusion on the "Continuity of Musical Language" (25 pp.) frame the main

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in this particular segment of music history. Within the section on medieval music, the type of material which receives the most extensive treatment is in some way related to the Greek heritage (such as modal scales), or to the development of the spoken language (such as rhythm).

Emmanuel's discussion follows three types of argumentation: they are of linguistic, literary, and historical order.

The Philological Approach

Emmanuel has been recognized as the first French musicologist to conduct the study of music history according to criteria and methods applied in philology.⁴² The very title of the book, *The History of Musical Language*, reveals his interest and background in philology, a result of his advanced studies in classical literature. He conducted the lines of his investigation on the musical language very much in the way a linguist would study the history of a language, focusing his interest on signs (notation), vocabulary (modes and scales, rhythm), grammar (intervals), syntax (polyphony), and form.

body of the work. A descriptive index featuring the essential technical terms provides a helpful tool (30 pp.), and bibliographical entries are provided in the footnotes.

⁴²Marc Honegger, *Dictionnaire de la Musique*, s.v. "Emmanuel, Maurice." Even though the philological method had been claimed by earlier historians, their work had remained on a more general level of comparative study, and did not include a detailed analysis of the various elements of the musical language.

Emmanuel's choice of the basic material for his investigation translates his concern with scientific method: he deals with objective and measurable data. As he writes in the preface to his *History*,

A history of the musical language can only be undertaken by considering primarily the melodic and harmonic intervals which form the essential elements of the musical discourse. . . . The genesis and transformation of the scales and chords represent reliable data, the clearest ones that could be established.⁴³

The Literary Approach

Considered from a literary point of view, Emmanuel's *History* is cast in narrative, descriptive form. In fact, he presents the history of the development of musical language as a drama with three protagonists: nature, the musician, and the theorist. Nature is personified as the holder and dispenser of all musical knowledge. It constantly acts on the musician to stimulate his discovery and understanding of the musical language. The musician is presented as a character subjected to the principle of natural law; he receives all knowledge from nature through instinct and inspiration. His searching mechanism is put into motion during moments of crisis when he needs to find practical solutions for specific problems. It is this interaction

⁴³"Une histoire du langage sonore ne peut être tentée que si l'on fait état principalement des intervalles mélodiques et harmoniques, qui sont les essentiels éléments du discours musical. . . . La genèse et la transformation des Echelles et des Accords fournissent des repères sûrs, les plus clairs que l'on puisse fixer" (*Histoire*, 1:4).

between nature's solicitation and the musician's pragmatism that causes music history to advance. The greater or lesser success of this enterprise depends on the degree to which the musician is prey to tradition (dogma) or prejudice. The theorist is the principal antagonist in the drama. He is the one who introduces the obstacle, the stumbling block; by holding on to prejudices like dogma and tradition, he hinders the development of musical language. The outcome of the drama is the ultimate, though still partial, victory of nature; partial, because even today, prejudice still is an obstacle to nature's full triumph.

In accordance with the literary form he chose for his *History*, Emmanuel uses a vocabulary which relies on suggestion, intuition, and supposition. This often leaves his argumentation weak and obscure and undermines the scientific character of his writing.

The Historical Approach

From a historical point of view, and in keeping with his principle of continuity and permanence, Emmanuel's basic approach consists in looking at issues from two different, though complementary, angles. He sees them in the perspective of the past, that is, where they come from; and he also sees them in the perspective of the future, that is, their

prospective development.⁴⁴ Things do not have an existence of their own, but they come out of something and lead into something. Thus, his first section on medieval music is entirely turned towards the past; he demonstrates how medieval concepts and practices came out of the Greek tradition and were a continuation of the past. His second section on medieval music sees phenomena in the light of what was to come, namely, tonality, and shows how they contained seeds of the future.

Even though Emmanuel started out on a sound principle, namely, the examination of objective data, he does not carry through with an actual scientific observation of these data, followed by logical conclusion drawing. On the contrary, he is in reality very little concerned with the study and examination of primary sources themselves, namely,

⁴⁴An application of this principle is apparent in the way he establishes later data as a reference point for the understanding of earlier stages of development. This method can be verified in his study of plainchant rhythm. Rather than turning to the oldest manuscripts to establish them as the prime source of reference—as did the Solesmes school with the Saint-Gall manuscripts (Dom Paul Cagin, and Dom André Mocquereau, *Plainchant and Solesmes* [London: Burns and Oates, 1904], 36)—he adopted the method of the Accentalists, who built their theory on the basis of a compromise between various settings of the same text, in order to work out the best version. The result was obtained through a comparative study of several manuscripts from different periods. The best version was considered the one which served the meaning of the text to the fullest. As a general rule, older material represented for Emmanuel earlier stages in the process of development.

manuscripts and theoretical treatises.⁴⁵ His allusions to treatises remain very vague, and he never quotes directly from the source. He relies almost exclusively on secondary sources, most often outdated or even erroneous, such as Coussemaker's *Art Harmonique*.⁴⁶ This lack of scientific rigor often leads to incomplete or approximate knowledge

⁴⁵See Aubry's remark in "Lettre ouverte": "Vous qui n'avez jamais travaillé sur les sources, vous qui n'avez jamais ouvert un manuscrit" (269-270). Emmanuel does, however, mention the following sources: the fifth-century treatise *De Institutione Musica* by Boethius; the tenth-century treatise by Odo of Cluny; the eleventh-century *Montpellier Antiphonary*; the twelfth-century chansonnier of St. Germain-des-Prés; manuscripts 844 and 846 from the Bibliothèque Nationale; the *Bamberg manuscript*; *Anonymous of Reading*; Hucbald's *De harmonia institutione*; Guido's *Micrologus*. No mention is made of the *Enchiriadis* treatises.

⁴⁶In his correspondence with Emmanuel, Aubry makes the following reproach: "Vous ignorez que les approximations de Fétis et De Coussemaker, vos seuls auteurs, sont devenues inexistantes depuis les recherches récentes des érudits allemands, que vous ne connaissez pas" ("Lettre ouverte," 263). See, for instance, Coussemaker's presentation of John of Garlandia as the inventor of invertible counterpoint, while the musical example given in the treatise is a clear demonstration of voice crossing (*Histoire*, 1:306; Charles de Coussemaker, *Histoire de l'harmonie au moyen âge* [Paris: V. Didron, 1852], 53). This error was to be dispelled by Combarieu (*Histoire de la musique des origines à nos jours*, 3 vols. [Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1913-1919], 2:368). Other secondary sources Emmanuel refers to, are Amédée Gastoué's *Les origines du chant romain: l'antiphonaire grégorien*, Bibliothèque Musicologie, 1 (Paris: A. Picard, 1907); Peter Wagner's *Neumenkunde: Paleographie des Gregorianischen Gesanges*, Collectanea Friburgensia: Veröffentlichungen der Universität Freiburg (Schweiz), Neue Folge, fasc. 6 (Freiburg [Schweiz]: Kommissionsverlag der Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1905); François A. Gevaert's *La mélodie antique dans le chant de l'église latine* (Ghent: A. Hoste, 1890); and Gustav Jacobsthal's *Die chromatische Alteration im liturgischen Gesang der abendländischen Kirche* (Berlin: J. Springer, 1897); and idem, *Die Mensuralnotenschrift des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Buchdruckerei von Liebheit & Thiesen, 1870).

which leaves the objective reader unsatisfied, facing all kinds of hypotheses and speculations that are not supported or verified from outside. Emmanuel's terminology is typical in that sense. He makes frequent use of expressions such as "evoking," "musicians took to," "foreshadow," "indistinct perceptions," "assumptions," "suppositions," "impressions," and "inspirations."⁴⁷ The lack of scientific rigor is further deepened by a rather subjective approach to certain aspects of medieval music, such as the role of the medieval theorist,⁴⁸ and the mediocre artistic value of early polyphonic music. The strong points in Emmanuel's demonstration will then be found in sections where he applies his proficiency as a classical scholar to the study of music history.

⁴⁷*Histoire*, 1:186, 288.

⁴⁸His reference to medieval theorists is generally prejudiced; see, for instance, Boethius whom he calls a "senator-consul-secret counselor who prides himself on musical science" (*ibid.*, 1:202). Emmanuel's view of the medieval theorist was shared by his contemporaries, such as Vincent d'Indy, Jules Combarieu, as well as Dom Mocquereau, even if it was for different reasons (see Bergeron, "A Lifetime of Chants," 187-188).

CHAPTER 3

MEDIEVAL MUSIC IN MAURICE EMMANUEL'S *HISTOIRE DE LA LANGUE MUSICALE*

I. THE ORIGINS OF MEDIEVAL MUSIC

In Emmanuel's theory of the origins of the musical language, both nature, as an organic force, and antiquity hold a prominent position. This romantic admiration for classical civilization was an important feature of the nineteenth century;¹ in this case, it was certainly intensified by Emmanuel's classical training.

The Role of Nature

The original and primary source of musical knowledge must be looked for in nature: "The foundations of the musical language are given by nature."² The role of nature in the origins of music is indeed an ongoing one. According to the principle of continuity in nature, every stage in music history takes its beginning anew in nature. Thus, for instance, the rhythm of primitive art, that is, popular art, grew out of the "immutable physiological mechanism of

¹See Donakowski, 237.

²"La langue musical est, dans ses fondements, fournie par la nature" (*Histoire*, 1:21).

marching or running,"³ namely, the binary patterns of 2, 4, 8, and so forth, which Emmanuel calls the "square patterns."⁴ Similarly, characteristic expressions of medieval music, such as, for instance, rhythm, tonality, and so forth, found their origin in nature. However, being part of a continuous process, their immediate source must be sought in the past, namely, antiquity.⁵

The Role of Antiquity

Considered in a historical perspective, the source of the medieval musical language is to be found in antiquity. The influence of antiquity on the medieval musical language is of prime and permanent importance, since "an intimate continuity connects both periods."⁶ Although the Greek principles were most of the time misunderstood or misinterpreted by the medieval theorist,⁷ medieval music owes

³Ibid., 1:109; see also *ibid.*, 1:295.

⁴"Le jalonnement rythmique régulier, établi par des percussions équidistantes, engendre la 'carrure'" (*ibid.*, 1:108). By "square," the author understands subdivisions in multiples of two.

⁵For the same reason, musical phenomena characteristic of the Middle Ages will be studied not in the perspective of their origins, but rather of their development.

⁶*Histoire*, 1:170.

⁷Emmanuel is ever sarcastic about theorists, past and present: "Le détail des confusions qu'une nomenclature pédantesque, établie par des ignorants, créa comme à plaisir, sera épargné au lecteur. Il en était alors de même qu'aujourd'hui: théoriciens et musicologues dissertaient, par à peu près, d'une technique dont le mécanisme s'obstinait à leur échapper" (*ibid.*, 1:180). He imputes to

everything to its predecessors. Indeed, the basic characteristics of the medieval musical language were established during antiquity: intervals, modes, harmony, notation, rhythm, and forms, all have as their source Greek music theory. A series of examples dealing with various aspects of the medieval musical language illustrate Emmanuel's standpoint. The rules governing the intervals are still the same:

With regards to intervals, the theory and practice of the Ancients continues to govern for many centuries the organization of sounds.⁸

Similarly, he understands the early medieval modes (up to the eleventh century) as a prolongation of the Greek modes, transmitted by way of the Romans to the Middle Ages. They were built on the same four finals as those authorized by the Greeks.

The harmonic canons of the Greeks had been transmitted to the medieval musicians through the Romans. Approximately until the eleventh century, these medieval musicians, as faithful successors of the Greeks, did not change anything. . . . They only

Boethius the responsibility of introducing the confusion between a mode (morphology of a modal scale) and a tone (pitch of a modal scale): "Ils prirent les Tons pour des Modes: le sénateur Boèce avait donné de ce galimatias un illustre exemple au VI^e siècle" (ibid.). Obviously, Emmanuel was not aware that this confusion had already been made by the Greeks themselves (see Combarieu, *Histoire de la Musique*, 1:230-231).

⁸"En ce qui regarde les Intervalles, la théorie et la pratique des Anciens continuent à régler, pendant de longs siècles, l'organisation des sons entre eux" (*Histoire*, 1:170). Emmanuel includes in his statement not only the *symphonies* and *diaphonies*, but also the chromatic and enharmonic intervals of the different Greek genera.

accepted the modal fifths with respective finals on A, G, F, and E.⁹

Early medieval polyphony also was built on the same principles of two-voiced counterpoint and open perfect intervals, characteristic of Greek music.

Antiquity has transmitted to the Middle Ages . . . the practices of a two-voiced counterpoint and incomplete chords reduced to two sounds and exclusively composed of symphonies. . . . The succession by parallel fourths or fifths still delighted the masters of the eleventh century. These examples are very precious because their contextures show how persistently the ancient ideas prevailed, one and a half centuries after Aristotle.¹⁰

Similarly, medieval notation has its roots in Greek notation:

Hellenistic notation survived the pagan world. Only the meaning of its characteristics was lost.¹¹

The influence of spoken language was a determining factor of rhythm, both in antiquity and the Middle Ages.

It was the spoken language which dictated the durations of the musical language, both during the Middle Ages

⁹"Jusqu'au XI^e siècle environ, les musiciens du Moyen Age, fidèles successeurs des Grecs, dont les Romains leur avaient transmis les canons harmoniques, n'ont pas varié sur ce point-là. . . . Ils n'ont accepté que les quintes modales ayant respectivement pour sons graves *la, sol, fa, mi*" (ibid., 1:175).

¹⁰"L'Antiquité a transmis au Moyen Age . . . la pratique d'un contrepoint à deux parties, et aussi d'accords incomplets, réduits à deux sons et composés exclusivement de Symphonies. . . . Les successions exhibées plus haut enchantaient encore, au XI^e siècle, les maîtres de l'art: exemples très précieux, car leur texture montre avec quelle persistance les idées des Anciens prévalaient encore, quinze cents ans après Aristote" (ibid., 1:197).

¹¹"La notation hellénique survécut au monde païen. Seulement le sens était perdu de ses caractéristiques" (ibid., 1:201).

and in antiquity. The words command the musical rhythms.¹²

Finally, the same basic formal patterns governed musical structures throughout history.

One notices that, from the beginning to the end of history, musicians have built their works according to a small number of formal types. They all had already been used by the ancients.¹³

Emmanuel does not interpret this relationship of dependence as a positive achievement. He sees it as the impoverishment of a heritage. Medieval music is to him often but denatured Greek music, and definitely a "simplification" of Greek music.¹⁴ Time and again, he deplores what he perceives to be the greatest obstacle in the development of the medieval musical language, namely, the holding on, out of reverence for the past, to traditionally established truths.¹⁵ It appears as if the musical product of the Middle Ages cannot be granted an existence of its own, but only in the perspective of its past (Greek antiquity),¹⁶ or its future (tonality). In

¹²"Au Moyen Age, comme dans l'antiquité, c'est la langue verbale qui dicte ses durées à la langue sonore. Les mots commandent aux rythmes musicaux" (ibid., 1:233).

¹³"On constate que, d'un bout à l'autre de l'histoire, les musiciens ont édifié leurs ouvrages d'après des types de construction peu nombreux, déjà pratiqués par les Anciens" (ibid., 1:635).

¹⁴Ibid., 1:169.

¹⁵See in particular ibid., 1:201-202.

¹⁶"Ils se vantent d'être moins les hérauts de l'art neuf que les conservateurs de l'ancien" (ibid., 1:169).

this sense, Emmanuel agrees with the *philosophes* who despised the music of the Middle Ages—plainchant—finding its sole value in being a "remnant of classical Greek and Roman music."¹⁷

This outlook on medieval music does not leave great room for any original contribution on the part of the medieval musician. Even the elements which Emmanuel recognizes as medieval innovations¹⁸ are not given more credit than being a mere reorganization of already existing material. This means that even in the shaping of medieval music, the musician remained to a great extent dependent on the Greek musician.

¹⁷See Rousseau, "Plain-chant," in *Dictionnaire de la musique*.

¹⁸For instance the use of the interval of a third, the binary rhythmic divisions, and the variation technique.

II. THE SHAPING OF MEDIEVAL MUSIC

Emmanuel's concept of the shaping process of medieval music reveals four forces in action. Three of them have a positive impact, namely, nature, the pragmatism of the musician, and verbal language. In addition, there were other forces at work which would hinder the evolution of the musical language, such as tradition and theoretical speculation.

The Role of Nature

The development and shaping of the musical language, rather than belonging to the realm of rational elaboration, obeys organic and empirical processes. The development of the musical language takes place in form of an absorption by the artist of a specific element given to him by nature. In this process, the idea of continuity and permanence as characterizing the elements suggested by nature is very strongly present. The process of absorption itself happens by means of suggestion and intuition.¹⁹ Emmanuel particularly stresses the role of intuitive perception on the part of the musician. The extent to which this intuitive process is developed by the artist, and made use of for the advancement of the musical language, varies "according to time and place," as does also the coordination of the various

¹⁹Nature "advises" (*Histoire*, 1:23), "familiarizes the ear" (*ibid.*, 1:172), "gives a foreboding" (*ibid.*, 1:186), "suggests" (*ibid.*, 1:285), and so forth.

elements.²⁰ Emmanuel presents this process of "becoming aware" as happening in successive stages. Once the artist opens his ear to nature and becomes aware of new elements, he familiarizes himself with them; then, he incorporates them into his creative work and systematizes them; finally, they will be developed into a theory which will serve as the basis of a new system. The field of action where these changes take place belongs primarily to the realm of musical practice, as opposed to musical theory. As a consequence, Emmanuel concludes that the advancement of the practice of music precedes the development of theory.²¹

The history of the development of the major mode C, which happened during the Middle Ages through the acceptance of the interval of a major third, provides an appropriate illustration of Emmanuel's thesis. The emergence process of the mode C occupies a key position in Emmanuel's work, since it represents the very starting point of modern tonality, the ultimate goal of the musical language throughout the history of its development.²² Three events helped in bringing about this new mode. They all happened around the eleventh century: (1) the disappearance of the quarter-tone

²⁰Ibid., 1:21.

²¹"Le développement libre de l'art a été plus rapide que l'évolution de la théorie" (ibid., 1:190).

²²Ibid., 1:4ff.

from occidental music;²³ (2) the increasing number of antiphons with melodies in ascending direction; and (3) the implication of the interval of a third in early polyphony. This last element was of special importance. It was the phenomenon of natural resonance (overtones) which more or less consciously produced the major mode, namely, through the suggestion of the interval of the major third.²⁴

The first polyphonic experiments furnished incomplete types of chords, wherein the natural major third was evoked and confusedly perceived. . . . It is possible to imagine the reason which increased the perception of natural resonance in the ear of the musician. . . . If one lets vibrate softly and for a long time incomplete chords such as the open fifth in just intonation, they create the desire for the third above the bass note.²⁵

The sustained sounding of the harmonic interval of a fifth acoustically suggested to the medieval ear the fourth

²³The disappearance of the quarter tone with the emergence of polyphony was an important event which helped to clear the path for the new major mode: "L'art médiéval [a] toléré l'usage restreint des quarts de ton jusqu'au jour où les premières tentatives d'harmonisation polyphone —accords de 2 sons naissants,—l'ont aboli automatiquement, par incompatibilité" (ibid., 1:174).

²⁴Ibid., 1:293.

²⁵"Les premiers essais polyphoniques fournissaient des types d'accords dans lesquels la tierce majeure naturelle était évoquée et confusément perçue. . . . Il est possible d'imaginer les causes par lesquelles le phénomène de la Résonance s'est "agrandi" dans l'oreille des musiciens. . . . Des accords incomplets tels que [la quinte vide], exécutés aux voix avec justesse, si on les laisse vibrer longuement, doucement dans l'espace sonore, font désirer la tierce du son de basse" (ibid., 1:288, 279; cf. ibid., 1:172; see also "Le tyran 'ut'," 246-49). Hoppin made a similar remark: "[The organum's] chief contribution would have been to familiarize the ear with the sound of perfect consonances as harmonic intervals" (Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, 193).

overtone, creating with the fundamental tone an interval of a major third. Having thus "charmed"²⁶ the ear of the musician, the new discovery will stimulate his search in the direction of tonality. The history of the use of the major third is an example of how, through an empirical process, a new need is created.²⁷

The timid experiments of the polyphonic art . . . opened the ears to the charm of the natural thirds. They became desirable, and soon necessary.²⁸

Through progressive assimilation, a new element, given by nature, infiltrated and replaced an older system.

This aural perception of a major triad did not occur suddenly, however. It slowly grew out of traditional practice, namely, the frequent singing of antiphons in the Greek Iastian mode with final on G. Emmanuel mentions the significant fact that the majority of antiphons transmitted over the period from the third to the tenth century, were indeed in the Iastian mode.²⁹ The major third, which is

²⁶Ibid., 1:186.

²⁷Ibid., 1:290.

²⁸"Les expériences timides de l'art polyphonique . . . ont ouvert les oreilles au charme des tierces naturelles. Elles les ont rendues désirables et bientôt nécessaires" ("Le tyran 'ut'," 248).

²⁹680 antiphons out of 1180. Emmanuel bases his affirmation on Gevaert's research on the tonary of Regino of Prüm (see *Histoire* 1:189). He mentions that, significantly, this mode (on G) as well as the mode on F, were of barbarian, that is, secular, origin. Emmanuel will come back later to this important statement, since it corroborates his belief in the advancement of art through secular circles. While the major mode was readily picked up by "profane" musicians, that is, the *trouvères* and

characteristic of that mode, was then known "explicitly" through melodic intervals, and "implicitly" through the harmonic implications contained in the modal fifth:

The Phrygian and Lydian harmonies, of oriental origin, which had been held in high honor by the Romans, had familiarized the ear with the major thirds included in their modal fifths. . . . From there started the march towards modern tonality, exclusively in major mode."³⁰

The assimilation of the major third is thus described in six stages:

1. As a starting point, nature suggests, by natural resonance, the major third;
2. in a second step, the third is "suspected";
3. in a third step, it is perceived as "charming";
4. then it receives "semi-legal status," it is admitted as a passing tone;
5. in a next step, it "catches the attention" of the musician;

troubadours, the Church was very slow to accept it. See *ibid.*, 1:187.

³⁰"La Phrygisti, la Lydisti, à qui les Romains avaient conféré grands honneurs, familiarisaient l'oreille avec les tierces majeures incluses en leurs quintes modales. . . . De là un acheminement vers la Tonalité moderne, toute majeure" (*ibid.*, 1:172). In Emmanuel's opinion, the medieval musician then proceeded to a transfer of the "major triad," perceived melodically on the final G, to the tenor of the mode, namely, D. They thus obtained a new "triad," D/F-sharp/A. Connecting both "triads" resulted in a new modal scale identical to the modern G-major scale with its leading-tone F-sharp. For reasons of simplified writing (without the sharp sign), this pattern was transferred to C and thus the major mode was created (*ibid.*, 1:287-8). The particular nature of this scale, with its mobile tone at the upper end of the tetrachords, adequately fit the new shape of the melodies, in ascending direction. The mode on C was thus the answer to an already existing necessity, namely, to find a theoretical basis to underlie a new practice.

6. finally, it "receives full satisfaction."³¹

The major mode grew out of circumstances that happened to occur and concur at the same time. It corresponded to a specific practice and need at that time, and took advantage of a certain number of favorable agents. In that sense, the major mode represented a positive and major contribution of the Middle Ages to the musical language. Nevertheless, when considering the existing materials, there is nothing new fundamentally, except the way things were used, assembled, or structured.³² The contribution of the Middle Ages to the development of the major and minor scale patterns consists then merely in a different conceptualization of existing material; a greater awareness on the part of the musician of the materials made available to him by nature; and a simplification of existing schemes pushed to the extreme by a monopolization of the remaining modes by the major mode.³³

The role of nature as an agent of continuity in the shaping of medieval music is also illustrated by the developments which took place in rhythm. In his discussion of mensural music, Emmanuel brings out the major role of

³¹See *ibid.*, 1:283, 278, 186.

³²Emmanuel speaks about the "mécanisme de sa construction, l'aménagement intérieur" (*ibid.*, 1:293).

³³There is, indeed, nothing new, since Aristotle in his *Politics* had already reduced all the modes to the two types Dorian (minor) and Phrygian (major).

nature in this development, namely, through the emergence of the binary division.

In returning to nature, the fourteenth-century musicians recognized the legitimacy of the binary division with regards to the ternary division.³⁴

This statement indicates that Emmanuel understood the role of nature in a romanticist perspective, that is, as a source of inspiration,³⁵ rather than according to the viewpoint characteristic of the fourteenth-century *ars nova*, where nature was considered as an object of observation or investigation, whose phenomena had to be explained by means of scientific laws.³⁶ To him, the emergence of the binary division during the Middle Ages may not really be considered as a contribution or novelty; it is rather seen as a return to the rhythms which were the original and spontaneous ones given by nature to man, and which already were present in the Greek musical system. It is, however, surprising that Emmanuel, the Hellenist, does not mention at all the

³⁴"Les musiciens du XIVE siècle ont, en retournant à la nature, reconnu que la division par 2 était aussi légitime que la division par 3" (ibid., 1:322).

³⁵See W. T. Jones, *A History of Western Philosophy* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1952), 891-2.

³⁶See Philippe de Vitry, *Ars nova* (in Gerbert, vol. 3), and Johannes de Muris, *Speculum Musicae* (in Coussemaker, *Scriptorum*, vol. 3). One wonders, indeed, to what extent Emmanuel was knowledgeable of these two theorists. Although he makes no reference to their writings, he must have known them. On this humanistic approach to music, see Edward A. Lippman, "The Place of Music in the System of Liberal Arts," in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. Jan LaRue (New York: W. W. Norton, 1966), 558-9.

mathematical principle, characteristic of the late Middle Ages, of the division of the smallest value, as opposed to the Greek principle which was built on the multiplication of the smallest unit. This sudden and increasing practice of the division of the smallest value would point towards a progressive movement away from the thinking patterns of antiquity, and stand as a token for the new direction undertaken by the medieval mind. The Greek idea of a minimum indivisible unit was an untouchable one. To upset such a basic concept meant a revolutionary change of direction on the part of the medieval thinker whose mind is now open to scientific observation and mathematical rationalization. By his very training, the musician cannot be excluded from this group. Music was, indeed, part of the medieval scientific *quadrivium*, together with arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy.³⁷ It might be true that the practice was started on a practical, experimental level, or even as the result of an instinctive return to the natural rhythmic patterns of man. This principle would still be perfectly compatible with the intellectual approach of the period which favored natural, scientific explanations at the expense of theological speculations. One cannot overlook, however, the significant fact that these innovations happened precisely at a time when such rationales were made possible, not before, nor after.

³⁷Hoppin, 20-21. Both de Vitry and Muris, the main representatives of the *ars nova*, were not only musicians, but also mathematicians.

The particular mindset at that time created an experimental ground which made those concepts possible. Both approaches, the practical and the intellectual, must therefore be seen in a reciprocal relationship. But Emmanuel is not interested in the theoretical aspects of musical language, or in speculations. He essentially considers the pragmatic side of the development of music in the same way as he is primarily dealing, in the discussion on rhythm, with musicians who contributed to popular art—the chanson—rather than to "savant" art.

The concept of nature as an agent of continuity in the development of the musical language does not address the case of musical innovators such as Guido d'Arezzo, who steered the musical language into a completely different direction, creating a rupture with tradition. Emmanuel is not at all explicit on how such a phenomenon should be interpreted. One might infer from the foregoing explanation that he considers certain musicians as being particularly receptive to the influence of nature, and able to carry through with their new understanding, unfettered by tradition or theory. This could be an indication for a certain sympathy, on Emmanuel's part, with the "great-man" theory of the romantic tradition where the "genius" is seen as a propagator of art. As for Guido d'Arezzo, he is the only one to whom Emmanuel refers as an artist breaking away from tradition and teaching new paths. In comparing medieval polyphony to Greek polyphony, Emmanuel observes, referring

especially to Guido's modified parallel organum, a "tendency towards emancipation."³⁸ If we interpret the term emancipation as a breaking away from established patterns or traditions, then the procedure can be understood as the expression of a creative mind, a genius. The compulsion of his creative instinct pushed the composer to tread new paths. In fact, Emmanuel endeavors to demonstrate Guido's originality and the extent of his influence in the advancement of musical language and especially of tonality, in situating him at the countercurrent to the developing stream of polyphony.³⁹ Yet, this aspect of development by rupture (genius) is not the rule; it must rather be considered as rare and irregular. And when it happens, it is dictated primarily by reasons of practicality.

The Role of Pragmatism

As has already been shown, Emmanuel does not believe that history moves ahead by means of theoretical elaboration. In his view, new elements do not grow out of theoretical speculation, but out of the common action of

³⁸"Une tendance émancipatrice" (ibid., 1:172).

³⁹It is apparent from the text that Emmanuel erroneously attributes to Guido the invention of modified parallel organum and staff notation. With regards to the former, the *Enchiriadis* treatise had already mentioned this particular type of early polyphony a hundred years earlier. This treatise should have been known by Emmanuel, since it had been published by Gerbert in his *Scriptores*, 1:152-212. The same observation holds for staff notation, which was already used before Guido, though in a more simplified pattern (see Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, 60).

empirical experimentation and pragmatism. Pragmatism, in Emmanuel's eyes, is actually a major agent within the evolutionary scheme. It represents two important paradigms of evolutionism, namely, the propulsive force found in "nature,"⁴⁰ here understood as an organic power, versus a mechanistic, mathematical view of nature; and the principle of adaptation to a given situation. Emmanuel demonstrates this process with several examples of medieval music. The case of the emergence of the major mode on C has already been discussed. It was made possible by a certain number of changes which had taken place in the musical language at that time, especially through the early experimentations with polyphony.⁴¹ Similarly, the real reason behind the invention of the rhythmic modes must be found in a practical need, and not in the theorists' endeavor to borrow and adapt from Greek models. This can only serve as an *a posteriori* explanation of a technique devised long before, to meet a technical problem of the performer. In a time when notation was not expressing rhythmic values, the rhythmic modes were devised as a practical tool, to prevent the performer from becoming the victim of equivocal rhythmic interpretation. The landmarks had to be conspicuous to the eyes and the ears of the performer;⁴² he must be able to quickly adapt to a

⁴⁰On the ambiguity of this term, see Donakowski, 135.

⁴¹See especially the abolition of the quarter tone, and the progressive introduction of the major third.

⁴²*Histoire*, 1:263-67.

new situation. The rhythmic modes were a simple and adequate way for the *trouvère* or *troubadour* to make the choice of an appropriate rhythm:

Those poor poet-musicians whose profession was to sing all over the world needed an easy and completely empirical means of installing in their airs the appropriate rhythm. Their minds had to guess what notation did not indicate, and the application should follow with ease. . . . The *trouvère* did not need to think; he oriented himself at a glance.⁴³

According to Emmanuel, only one pattern was in use, the ternary one, as found in modes I-III:

As long as the role of [the rhythmic modes] was to compensate for the insufficiency of signs, they ought not to be numerous or ambiguous; otherwise they would not have been reliable guides. This is the reason for the exclusive use of the first three modes in monodies;

⁴³"Il était nécessaire que ces pauvres poètes-musiciens, dont c'était le métier de chanter par le monde, eussent des moyens faciles et tout à fait empiriques, d'installer en leurs airs le mouvement rythmique approprié. Ce que la notation ne leur indiquait pas, il fallait que leur esprit le devinât et que l'application aisément s'ensuivit. . . . Le Trouvère n'avait pas à réfléchir; d'un coup d'oeil il s'orientait" (ibid., 1:258, 259). The empirical nature of this process would argue against a change of mode within the same piece, as advocated later by Fred E. Flindell, "Syllabic Notation and Change of Mode" (*Acta Musicologica* 39 [1967]: 21-34). By analogy with the first leading verse, the rest of the piece is given rhythmic life. "Le premier vers de la pièce . . . était construit intentionnellement, quant à la répartition des accents, avec assez de précision pour dicter à l'interprète le choix de mode à adopter" (see *Histoire*, 1:259). This implied naturally that the musician was skilled in letters and could refer to the rules regulating poetry (see ibid., 1:263). As a consequence, a possible noncorrespondence of that particular pattern with the dynamic accents of the text in subsequent verses was not considered as problematic by the poet-musician.

and of the indiscriminate use, in all three modes, of the ternary time.⁴⁴

Once mensural notation introduced signs capable of expressing durations directly and unequivocally, the problem of ambiguity was solved. Therefore, the reappearance of binary patterns coincides with the advance of rhythmic notation.⁴⁵

In Emmanuel's eyes, the advent of staff notation is probably the most outstanding example of the impact of the musician's pragmatic sense on the development of the musical language.⁴⁶ As the determining factor in the development of staff notation, Emmanuel mentions a continually growing concern with a still more precise representation of the melodic contour. The purpose of the staff was to prevent

⁴⁴"Tant qu'ils furent chargés de suppléer à l'insuffisance des signes, ils durent, pour être des guides sûrs, n'être ni nombreux, ni équivoques: de là l'usage exclusif, dans les monodies, des trois premiers; et pour les trois modes, indistinctement, du temps ternaire" (ibid., 1:267). Only later was this simplification justified by transcendental considerations (ibid.).

⁴⁵"Deux refusa plus longtemps de se laisser confisquer par Trois" (ibid., 1:267).

⁴⁶He calls the emergence of staff notation "le fait capital de l'histoire séméiographique" (ibid., 2:624), and sees it as an end phase of the process which leads from the learning stage, to rational assimilation, to sensory assimilation: (a) the purely *didactic* alphabetic system develops into (b) the *intellectually* perceived neumatic accent system, and further into (c) a system where the *senses* (eyes) are able to perceive the message (ibid., 1:216).

possible errors by ignorant or absent-minded scribes.⁴⁷ Furthermore, he understands both the four-line staff and Guido's solmization system (the Guidonian hand) as direct answers to the specific problems encountered in the training of singers.⁴⁸ Again, the combination of theory and practice at the right time made the system become so widely acceptable.

Though the role of the practical musician is undeniable in the advent of staff notation, it would nevertheless be difficult to ignore the part played by the theorist. Emmanuel completely disregards the writings of the *Musica Enchiriadis* on the beginnings of staff notation, prior to Guido. The same may be observed with regards to mensural notation. There is hardly any reference to the contribution of the theorists in the elaboration of the new ideas. On

⁴⁷Ibid., 1:217. Emmanuel shows how this evolution towards a more accurate pitch representation is illustrated by the various phases which characterized the development of musical notation, from the abstract to the concrete, from ideographic (accent neumes), to diastematic (Aquitanian neumes), to staff notation: "Musical notation changed from ideographic to diastematic. It became thus capable of revealing intervallic relationships to the eyes, by means of direct reading" (ibid., 2:625; cf. also ibid., 1:216).

⁴⁸Practical considerations also set the limits for the scope of the staff which was determined by the range of the vocal melodies: "Le chœur des voix en fixa les dimensions générales" (ibid., 2:624). It is surprising that Emmanuel viewed staff notation not as a result of the needs created newly by the upcoming polyphony, as he did with mensural notation. The *Enchiriadis* treatises had already related parallel organum with early notation (see *Musica Enchiriadis* and *Scholica Enchiriadis*, in Gerbert, *Scriptores* 1:152-212). For Emmanuel, the process worked rather the other way around: "Les premiers essais de la polyphonie suivirent d'assez près la création de la portée" (ibid., 2:623).

the contrary, Emmanuel explains the emergence of mensural notation by the same quest for more precision which had characterized the advent of staff notation.⁴⁹

The whole development of notation, with its ultimate emergence into staff notation and mensural notation, is represented by Emmanuel as a struggle between the artificial and purely didactic principles proposed by the theorists, and the original and empirical solutions found by the practical musician, who generally has the last word. When the practical musician predominates, and thus new ideas flash, the need for an adaptation of the musical language to the newly acquired or discovered elements will be filled more rapidly. When the theorist predominates, a conservative atmosphere will hold back any advancement of the musical language.

The Role of Language

Language played a definite role in the shaping of medieval music, from the simple transfer of textual form to musical form, to the more complex elaboration of notation and rhythm.

⁴⁹The great impact of mensural music was to ultimately bring the restoration of the denatured Greek rhythms, which Emmanuel sees happen at the end of the fourteenth century (ibid., 1:299). He thus once more affirms the supremacy of the classical world and closes the circle by confirming the continuity of musical language.

In agreement with the Greek original concept of *Mousikê*, which included both music and words,⁵⁰ Emmanuel emphasizes that musical form in the Middle Ages was tributary to action form or text content.⁵¹ He mentions that until the fourteenth century, poet and musician were indeed one and the same person, and that this unity of conception was reflected in the unity of content and form. There were three basic formal patterns: symmetry for the prosaic texts; strophic form for the versified genre; and a few attempts at free forms, such as continuous form or melodic variation. According to Emmanuel's principle of continuity, all three formal genres were in fact but a prolongation of the three principles of repetition, succession, and symmetry, already found in antiquity.⁵² While symmetry was the rule, continuous form was "better adapted to the flexible and expressive forms of the thought," such as in antiphons.⁵³ Melodic variation was simply an amalgamation of the two

⁵⁰See Isobel Henderson, "Ancient Greek Music," in *Ancient Oriental Music*, ed. Egon Wellesz, vol. 1 of *The New Oxford History of Music*, ed. J. A. Westrup (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 340.

⁵¹In the prosaic genres of chant, for instance, "il y a corrélation du plan musical . . . avec les habitudes et les fonctions liturgiques" (ibid., 1:243-44).

⁵²On the other side, he saw in these three formal patterns forerunners of the suite (symmetrical form, ibid., 1:246), the classical phrase structure (motets, ibid., 1:319), the passacaglia (motet, ibid., 1:315), and even opera (he calls the *Jeu de Robin et Marion* "un véritable opéra comique" (ibid., 1:321).

⁵³"Il s'adapte mieux aux formes mobiles et expressives de la pensée" (ibid., 1:250; see also ibid., 1:248).

principles of repetition and succession.⁵⁴ The contribution of the medieval musician occurred precisely in the field of melodic variation. With this formal process, the medieval composer broke away from the standard patterns of repetition and symmetry, and thus contributed to the development of form.⁵⁵ A characteristic example of medieval variation were the polyphonic motets; he speaks about their composers as the creators of variation, and admires their skillfulness at formal innovation, as displayed by the motet tenors.⁵⁶ The basic principle of tenor construction resides in the preoccupation with order, the love of paired motifs, and the quest for recall of motifs. They all serve as unifying factors of the whole work. Their purpose and role are already contained in their etymology. At the time of high antiquity, the word *tenor* meant "continuous movement, uninterrupted march."⁵⁷ Emmanuel finds this meaning and role confirmed and expanded in the medieval use of the motet tenors: (1) It is the principal and leading melody

⁵⁴Ibid., 2:635.

⁵⁵Emmanuel considers such works as early attempts at text expression. See his footnote commenting on the *melisma* on the words *Libera me de ore leonis*: "The word *me* carries an admirable vocalise which expresses the anguish of the celebrant" (ibid., 1:248, note 1).

⁵⁶Ibid., 1:313. Emmanuel is, however, quick to make it clear that only the formal structures of these ensembles are worthwhile being studied; the sound of these constructions was intolerable to his ear (ibid.).

⁵⁷"Mouvement continu, marche ininterrompue" (ibid., 1:307).

which determines the course of action of the other voices, and its continuity is assured through its incessant repetition; (2) it assures a rhythmic equilibrium characterized by a carefully structured organization; (3) it is the exclusive bearer of the theme it carries; and (4) it forms the foundation of the vocal edifice.⁵⁸ The reason which made it possible for the tenors to don this particular role resides in the medieval understanding of the liturgical text.

At those times, the liturgical text is considered as a kind of amorphous theme, capable of receiving the most diversified rhythms. As many rhythms, as many different tenors.⁵⁹

It is Emmanuel's understanding that the various ways of formal structuring in medieval music are applied to detail rather than to the whole work itself, especially that of larger dimensions. This great preoccupation with detail bears witness to the talent and richness of invention of the thirteenth-century musician, and elevates his effort to the level of a great work.⁶⁰ The variety of forms found in the motets brought him to the conclusion that "the preoccupation with form was an obsession with the composers."⁶¹

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹"Tout texte liturgique est, en ce temps là, considéré comme une sorte de thème amorphe, capable de revêtir les rythmes les plus divers" (ibid., 1:308).

⁶⁰"Ce sont là de subtiles recherches, parfaitement stériles si un souffle d'art ne les vivifie, mais qui ont leur raison d'être, pourvu qu'un principe de beauté se dégage de leurs combinaisons" (ibid., 1:311).

⁶¹"Le souci de la forme hante les compositeurs" (ibid., 1:318).

And indeed, he sees in their formal inventions one of the most important contributions of the Middle Ages to musical language.

Still in the perspective of *Mousikê*, in considering the relationship between language and the development of medieval music, Emmanuel devoted an important part of his work to the study of medieval notation, especially neumatic notation. With regards to the latter, he thus demonstrates with many illustrations, detailed descriptions, and examples of Greek and Latin accentuation,⁶² to what extent it came as a direct outgrowth of the accents of the classical language.⁶³ Emmanuel dates the first attempts at neumatic notation back to the time when the melodic accentuation of language changed into a dynamic one:

At the time when verbal metamorphoses occurred under the influence of the dynamic accentuation, the medieval musicians organized a "semeiography" founded on the proprieties of classical prosody accentuation. The latter was of melodic character and did not contain stress accents.⁶⁴

⁶²Likewise, Richard Wagner's reverence for music of the future is derived from "the splendid art of the Greeks" (*Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft*, in *Sämtliche Schriften und Dichtungen*, 6th ed. [Leipzig, 1912-1914], ch. 1:6, quoted by Strunk, 879).

⁶³"Cette sténographie . . . avait son origine dans de très anciennes habitudes de langage" (ibid., 1:206).

⁶⁴"C'est au moment où ces métamorphoses verbales dues à l'accent dynamique s'établiront, que les musiciens médiévaux organiseront une séméiographie fondée sur les antiques propriétés de l'accent "prosodié," qui était chanté et non appuyé" (ibid., 1:228).

These changes go back to a very early period, sometime after the fourth century A.D.⁶⁵ He sees a confirmation of his theory in the affirmation of ninth-, tenth-, and eleventh-century theorists who qualified neumatic notation as a "common" and "old" practice. In later times, and in spite of the change which had occurred in the meaning of the accent signs, those same signs were used, not to mark the inflections of the prosody (elevation or lowering of the voice),⁶⁶ but "the contours of a melody definitively liberated of the verbal accent."⁶⁷

As a specialist of classical language and rhythm, Emmanuel naturally would devote a major section of his work to the development of medieval rhythm in relationship to the development of verbal language.

During the Middle Ages as in antiquity, the verbal language dictated the durations of the musical language. Words command the musical rhythm.⁶⁸

To judge by the importance of the chapter Emmanuel devoted to the study of rhythm, this was one of his favorite topics. According to him, the key to the understanding of medieval rhythm is furnished by the process of natural evolution of

⁶⁵Ibid., 1:227-228.

⁶⁶Emmanuel informs his reader that the elevation of voice covered the interval of either a fourth or a fifth; see *ibid.*, 1:206.

⁶⁷"Les contours d'une mélodie définitivement libérée de l'accent verbal" (*ibid.*, 1:208).

⁶⁸"Au Moyen Age, comme dans l'Antiquité, c'est la langue verbale qui dicte ses durées à la langue sonore. Les mots commandent aux rythmes musicaux" (*ibid.*, 1:233).

language from classical Latin to vulgar Latin and French. An examination of this evolution will point to the major differences existing between the rhythmic concepts and practices of the classical and medieval worlds. Classical Greek and Latin were both characterized by (1) a melodic accent (actual raising of the voice on accented syllables; and (2) differences in duration on the various syllables. The melodic accentuation did not necessarily go hand in hand with the durational accentuation. The result was a very supple and freely patterned rhythm in speech and poetry. Emmanuel explains how, under the influence of the Germanic dialects which impacted the Latin language during the barbaric invasions, both the melodic accent and the durational accent—typical of classical Greek and Latin—were lost and gave way to the tonic (dynamic) accent. This happened approximately during the fourth century. The vowel which used to carry the melodic accent carries now the dynamic accent which becomes the vital part of the word. This new tonic accent (qualitative) was in conflict with the duration of the syllables (quantitative accent). Within the evolutionary process of the language, usage provided the solution with a compromise: all syllables became equal in duration.⁶⁹ Instead of being distinguished by various durations, they are now differentiated by tonic accents. A

⁶⁹See *ibid.*, 1:228 and 239. "Le prosateur musicien du Moyen Age jalonne les durées égales des syllabes par le ministère de l'accent appuyé" (*ibid.*, 1:232).

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new system was born: syllables of unequal intensity but equal in duration. The musician is now free to embellish, reinforce, or modify those syllables in his own manner.⁷⁰

According to Emmanuel, this new system of verbal accentuation was to influence the rhythm of the medieval

⁷⁰See *ibid.*, 1:239. Emmanuel is very adamant against recognizing any explanation other than the evolution of language as the source of medieval rhythm. He is particularly critical of theoretical or theological speculations, or the argument of a specific *esprit du siècle*. He strongly refutes the two types of medieval *a posteriori* argumentation, namely, (1) classification or interpretation of new phenomena according to old labels ("Malheureusement les théoriciens sembleront trop souvent ne tenir aucune compte des faits nouveaux de la langue parlée, et ils s'obstineront à tout expliquer, à tout cataloguer suivant les rubriques des Anciens, dorénavant déclassées. . . . Que si, par aventure, ces groupes correspondent à des apparences de "pieds" antiques, voilà les théoriciens médiévaux satisfaits" [*Histoire*, 1:233, 243]), and (2) theological justification of the number three. Emmanuel explains the appearance of ternary rhythm as a spontaneous phenomenon which the theorist "s'ingénie à sanctionner après coup par des raisons dogmatiques: la Trinité étant la pure et vraie et seule Perfection, le rythme ternaire est le rythme par excellence, on peut dire par essence" (*ibid.*, 1:294). With regards to the use of three rhythmic modes (I-III), Emmanuel explains them as a "simplification toute pratique, que l'on justifia après coup par des considérations transcendantales" (*ibid.*, 1:267). The subject of rhythmic modes is treated by Emmanuel only in relationship to monophonic music. He does not include, indeed, a study of the modes in a polyphonic context, except for a short reference to the necessity to consider the relationship between rhythmic modes, syllabism, accent, and consonances (*ibid.*, 1:300). It appears as if he wanted to ignore the topic altogether. See Aubry's comment: "Quand, au cours de la discussion, il me fallut vous expliquer les relations du deuxième mode rythmique avec le troisième et le quatrième, j'ai constaté . . . avec une légitime stupeur que la théorie, fondamentale de la *convenientia* était une chose dont vous entendiez alors parler pour la première fois. Je vous renvoie à l'*Anonymous VII* publié par De Coussemaker (*Scriptores*, I, 379). Le latin en est facile et clair, lisez-le!" (Aubry, "Lettre ouverte," 263-64).

musical language on two different levels, that of chant, and that of versified texts. With regards to plainchant,

neither homogeneous organization of the dynamic accents, nor equivalence of the number of syllables . . . nor measured versification as in classical times, nor verses of same 'length'; . . . it is nothing else than sung prose, with logical intermittencies, which are well regulated in the interest of the general meaning.⁷¹

Emmanuel's approach to chant rhythm reveals again his affinities with pragmatic methods. The determining factor for a sound theory of chant rhythm should not be sought in theoretical treatises, but should be determined by the

⁷¹"Ni organisation homogène des accents dynamiques, ni équivalence du nombre des syllabes . . . ni vers mesurés à l'antique, ni vers de même "longueur"; . . . c'est de la prose chantée, rien de plus, avec des intermittences logiques, bien réglées, dans l'intérêt du sens général" (ibid., 1:236). Emmanuel criticizes the theories advanced by Hucbald (*Commemoratio Brevis*, in Gerbert, *Scriptores*, 1:213-29) and Guido (*Micrologus*, in Gerbert, *Scriptores*, 2:2-24) who both allude to the different durations of the *longa* and *brevis* as found in Greek classical versification (*Histoire*, 1:236). He explains their error by a fundamental misconception of the Greek rhythmic patterns, and an unjustified transfer of those patterns to early medieval plainchant. On one hand, Greek versification features the various groupings of different rhythmic meters (called measures) in pairs (that is, glyconian meter); those meters were interpreted by medieval theorists as a mysterious assemblage of heterogeneous meters, leaving an impression of irregularity. On the other hand, we have the free and irregular rhythm found in early plainchant, which sprang from the irregular succession of the tonic word accents in patterns of two and three syllables, a new and spontaneous organism created through the usage of language. The medieval theorists, in their preoccupation to connect everything to the past and tradition, wrongly established a connection between those two irregular types of rhythm which actually were independent of each other (see ibid., 1:237-38). Far from contributing positively to the development of the rhythm of the musical language, medieval music theorists impoverished the knowledge inherited from their predecessors, by means of basic misinterpretations or erroneous reinterpretations of the ancient materials.

practical needs of the Church, namely, a truthful rendering of the meaning of the text.

In a similar way, the key to the rhythmic interpretation of versified texts must be looked for in the rhythmic patterns of the text. In his demonstration, Emmanuel relies very heavily on Jean Beck's theories and explanations.⁷²

[Beck's solution] is based on philological considerations. It consists in finding the musical rhythm with the help of the versified text.⁷³

From there, he often forms his own hypotheses on the basis of Beck's conclusions. One can easily understand why this

⁷²Beck's extensive research on the rhythmic modes was published in *Die Melodien der Troubadours* (Strasbourg: K. J. Truebner, 1908; *La musique des troubadours* (Paris: H. Laurens, 1910). In the controversy which sprang up between Beck and Aubry, the latter defended his primacy in the discovery of a correct interpretation of the rhythmic modes (see "Lettre ouverte," 261-70). Emmanuel was violently attacked by Aubry for being favorable to Beck. Aubry's appreciation of Emmanuel's knowledge on medieval rhythm is rather blunt: "Il est vrai, Monsieur, que la musique mesurée du moyen âge sortait exagérément du cadre habituel de vos occupations, toutes pédagogiques, et vous était alors aussi peu familière que la physionomie du Grand Lama, si j'ose dire" (*ibid.*, 262). The dispute between Beck and Aubry came to a sad and tragic end with the accidental death of Aubry while preparing for a duel which should have settled the matter (*New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Aubry, Pierre"). Beck's theory is presented by Emmanuel on pp. 251-264 of the *History*. For a short summary of that theory, see also *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Beck, Jean."

It is noteworthy that Emmanuel, in spite of his aversion for the medieval theorists, refers to Beck as someone who "chercha dans les théoriciens du moyen âge les raisons d'édifier une explication nouvelle empruntée, dans ses éléments, à ces théoriciens mêmes" (*Histoire*, 252).

⁷³"[La solution de J. Beck] s'appuie sur des considérations philologiques. Elle consiste à dégager le rythme musical par le secours du texte verbal versifié" (*ibid.*, 1:251).

theory must have appealed at once to Emmanuel. First, the philological approach is genuine to his own perception of things. Second, Beck's theory stating that the latest source is the most authoritative one, since it contains the sum of all, is akin to Emmanuel's postulate that all earlier musical phenomena must be seen and interpreted in the light of their ultimate development. Thus, the close relationship between the verbal rhythmic patterns and the musical ones, namely, the rhythmic modes, brought both authors to the conclusion that the rhythmic modes "mirror the organic texture of the verse."⁷⁴

⁷⁴"Les formules rythmiques, miroirs de la contexture organique du vers" (ibid., 1:254). This theory has received much criticism in more recent scholarship. See Janet Knapp, *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Conductus"; Hans Tischler, "Versmass und musikalischer Rythmus im Notre-Dame Conductus," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 37 (1980): 292-304; Ernest H. Sanders, "Conductus and Modal Rhythm," *Journal of The American Musicological Society* 38 (1985): 439-69. In his discussion of the rhythm of versified texts, Emmanuel is primarily concerned with the genesis of the modern measure. The rhythm of versified music introduced the concept of an accented beat and regularly recurring rhythmic formulas. "C'est dans les poésies de l'art profane que l'usage de la mesure, à tendances modernes va être constaté" (*Histoire*, 1:250). "A priori les monodies de ces poètes-musiciens, appliquées à des vers qui, de deux en deux ou de trois en trois syllabes, portaient des renforcements accentués, impliquent la mesure" (ibid.). Similar argumentation can be found in his chapter on the motet (which he considers as liturgical music): "Il est remarquable que les périodes de 8 mesures sont dès maintenant fréquentes. Elles annoncent ces doubles carrures sempiternelles . . . dont l'art sera postérieurement envahi, sous l'influence des airs dansés" (ibid., 1:308). Emmanuel's conclusions on regular groupings by units of two, three, or four seem somewhat farfetched and entirely arbitrary, in consideration of the great variety of rhythmic divisions generally found in motet tenors; see, for instance, the groupings of Vitry's *Garrit Gallus-In nova fert-Neuma* alternating between twelve and thirteen units

Emmanuel joins Beck in his hypothesis of a very early origin of the rhythmic modes. He traces their usage back to the seventh century, that is, long before a written medium had been found to represent them, a time where Latin versification had been determined by a new kind of accentuation, namely, of dynamic or tonic character:

One must indeed look for the initial usage of modal rhythms in Latin versification. In a logical manner, Beck goes back as far as the seventh century when the Latin dynamic accentuation was still very vigorous.⁷⁵

The earliest examples of medieval music which display these patterns are seen by Emmanuel in the oldest liturgical hymns which show characteristics of pseudo-trochaic, pseudo-iambic, and pseudo-dactylic rhythms,⁷⁶ where "the quantity of syllables has no significance and the explosive tonic accents form the essential structure."⁷⁷ This implies that Emmanuel dates the use of rhythmic modes back to a

(Richard H. Hoppin, *Anthology of Medieval Music* [New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1978], 120-25). Aubry sharply criticized Emmanuel on his misinterpretation of the rhythmic modes, as seen from a modern perspective: "Deux notions distinctes se sont perpétuellement confondues dans votre raisonnement: le premier élément de la formule modale et le temps fort de la mesure moderne" ("Lettre ouverte," 264).

⁷⁵"C'est bien dans la versification latine en effet qu'il faut chercher l'emploi initial des modes. Beck remonte logiquement jusqu'à l'époque lointaine (VIIe siècle au moins) où l'accent dynamique latin [était] très vigoureux encore" (ibid., 1:267).

⁷⁶The prefix "pseudo" refers to a wrong interpretation, by medieval theorists, of the true Greek rhythmic patterns of versification. Emmanuel sees the rhythmic modes but as an appearance, a dim shadow, a denaturation of the Greek patterns (see ibid., 1:254-55; 257).

⁷⁷Ibid., 1:267-68.

period before the beginnings of polyphonic music, when written symbols to express rhythmic patterns appear for the first time. As a consequence, Emmanuel agrees with Beck that the rhythmic modes were typical also of early monophonic music and were used in all types of versified poetry, sacred or popular.⁷⁸

Among the six existing rhythmic modes, Emmanuel acknowledges only the use of modes I-III because all three were characterized by ternary patterns. His argument is again based on philological considerations alone, that is, a subtle shift found in verbal accentuation. The initial binary accent patterns of low Latin were based on an alternation of strong and weak accents (principal and secondary stresses). By means of an imperceptible shift from intensity to duration, the strong accent will gradually receive a longer duration:

Duration and stress are related: in primitive rhythm, this principle is a kind of necessity. In rhythmic versification, the stress calls for duration.⁷⁹

The status of the rhythmic modes is seen by Emmanuel as that of "crutches," a concept which implies the idea of deficiency.

Considering the way theorists describe these universal formulas, or by the omissions in their explanations,

⁷⁸Ibid., 1:267.

⁷⁹Ibid., 1:256.

Beck understood that these modes . . . were old rhythmic devices, in the manner of crutches.⁸⁰

They cannot be seen as an original contribution, since they were a mere copy of already existing verbal patterns. Their value lies solely in their practical utility; and this only as long as more advanced practices replace their obscure existence. For Emmanuel, the rhythmic modes have the same significance as the "Guidonian hand," or the invention of the staff. They are tools devised for a better assimilation of the musical language. This confirms an earlier impression that the author sees the contribution of the medieval musician not so much in the invention of new structures, but in the elaboration of systems that facilitate the comprehension and utilization of the musical material available. The contribution lies then not so much in the discovery or innovation, but rather in the apprehension and domestication of universal knowledge for practical purposes.

Obstacles in the Shaping of Medieval Music

For Emmanuel, the idea of development carries also a negative connotation: development may be hindered by several factors. Ignoring the many changes which took actually place during more than one thousand years, Emmanuel blames, among others, the dogmatic attitude of the church. The

⁸⁰"A la façon dont les théoriciens décrivent ces passe-partout, aux omissions de leurs exposés, Beck s'avisa que ces "modi" . . . étaient un béquillage rythmique déjà vieux" (ibid., 1:253).

medieval musician who exercised his art within the limits of this institution, was then bound to resist innovations. The dogmatic spirit was demonstrated by a holding on to tradition, and the predominance of mathematical speculation or manipulation over and against the spontaneous inspiration by nature. When Boethius corroborates the errors of the Greek theorists, he does so because of his veneration for the past masters. When the medieval theorists proclaim the privileged status of ternary rhythm over binary rhythm, they anchor their rationale to a theological and mathematical foundation. Even as binary rhythms reach again equal status with ternary rhythms, theorists still consider them as tributary to ternary rhythms. When binary rhythms were reintroduced in thirteenth-century mensural notation, the theorists were far from perceiving this as a return to nature. They rather interpreted it in terms of a deviation from the established ternary patterns, an *imperfection*:

The idea of perfection was so intimately related to the number three that this terminology survived into the new art: "Two" must be satisfied with the label "imperfection" which reveals its theoretical depreciation.⁸¹

⁸¹"L'idée de Perfection était si étroitement liée au nombre Trois que la terminologie ternaire survivra dans l'Art Nouveau. . . . Deux devra s'y satisfaire de l'étiquette Imperfection, qui marque sa tare théorique" (ibid., 1:299). Still today, the symbol used for binary division, C, represents the idea of imperfection, as it suggests an incomplete circle, the symbol of perfection. Emmanuel deplores the survival of such a prejudice: the term "imperfect" continued to reign for three centuries, and has until our day fixed in the minds of musicians the "croyance dogmatique que Deux et Trois, nécessaires, sont suffisants" (ibid.).

Both the dependence on tradition and the mathematical spirit worked as obstacles to the perception of "nature's voice," that is, inspiration and intuition, thus holding back the natural evolution of the musical language. The negative influence of the theoretical mind may also be observed in what Emmanuel sees as one of his greatest grievances: the tyranny of the major mode on C over all the other modes by destroying their particular character.⁸² The work of the theorists who do not listen to the voice of nature and do not act out of practical necessities, but out of artificial mathematical speculation, tears down the musical language, alters and impoverishes it, and hinders its advancement, rather than building it up. As a consequence, progress in musical language has found a channel primarily through secular art or barbaric art, as illustrated by the example of the major third,⁸³ and the return to binary rhythms.

Since the musical language disposes of a limited number of elements, it implies a moment where the development comes to an end (that is, achievement of tonality). The continuation of the development process is then assured by the return to materials already used. According to the cyclic principle, renewal is achieved through the reinterpretation

⁸²See *ibid.*, 1:289-91.

⁸³See *ibid.*, 1:187, 189.

of old elements by a new epoch, and "continuity of the musical language is maintained."⁸⁴

⁸⁴Ibid., 1:15.

III. THE AESTHETICS OF MEDIEVAL MUSIC

Emmanuel does not comment on the medieval aesthetic view of music. Nor does he furnish any information on his own view about the aesthetics of medieval music. He is more concerned with the development of the musical language, rather than the understanding of the nature or purpose of music within the medieval society. He does, however, give his own appreciation of the impression medieval music creates on his ear. With the exception of plainchant, his comments are very negative. Throughout his work, he struggles to reconcile his appreciation for the accomplishments of the medieval artists, and his aversion to the unpleasant sound produced by their innovations. The Middle Ages have pervaded the musical world with shallow harmonies and rebuke our ears with barbarian sounds. Affirmations about "hideous discant"⁸⁵ abound and are cast into most picturesque speech:

During the eleventh century, polyphony stammers its crude chords. . . . The superimposition of three melodic lines results here only in a rude harmonization, sometimes intolerable, always shallow. . . . Taken individually, the melodic parts are supple and very charming, but their aggregation remains barbaric.⁸⁶

⁸⁵*Histoire*, 1:198.

⁸⁶"Au XI^e siècle, la polyphonie balbutie ses informes accords. . . . La superposition des trois lignes mélodiques n'engendre ici qu'une harmonisation rude, parfois intolérable, presque toujours creuse Individuellement, les parties mélodiques ont de la souplesse et beaucoup de charme, mais leur agrégation reste barbare" (*ibid.*, 1:170, 301-2).

These strong statements witness to a blatant rejection of the medieval "harmonies." Emmanuel's problem arose from the conflict between his understanding of the latent ability of the medieval musician to perceive tonality, and the latter's appreciation of the parallel fifths of early polyphony. In his understanding, the entire musical language was potentially present at all times and to everybody.⁸⁷ What today is clearly conceived and analyzed, was already present yesterday, in the form of a foreboding, a presentment, and prescience.⁸⁸ Even though the primary thrust of the medieval musician was linear,⁸⁹ he had a notion of the latent phenomenon of tonality. Emmanuel cannot accept, then, how the latter's ear could have been so strongly misled in a succession of parallel fifths or fourths: "One wonders . . . how a musician like Guido of Arezzo could accept such formulas."⁹⁰ The aesthetic content of

⁸⁷See *ibid.*, 1:107.

⁸⁸See *ibid.*, 1:279-80; 283; 285; 197.

⁸⁹"Ce grand art là est linéaire" (*ibid.*, 1:198).

⁹⁰"L'on se demande . . . comment un musicien tel que Gui d'Arezzo a pu accepter de pareilles formules" (*ibid.*, 1:284). He is speaking about parallel fourths. It is interesting to observe how Emmanuel completely ignores medieval statements about the perception of the sound of early polyphony. Thus, for instance, John of Salisbury, in writing in his *Policratus* (1159) about the "sweet effect" of polyphonic music, complains that "the ears are almost completely divested of their critical power, and the intellect, which pleasurableness of so much sweetness has caressed insensate, is impotent to judge the merits of the things heard" (quoted by William Dalglish, "The Origin of the Hocket," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 31 [1978]: 7). Similarly, the *Musica Enchiriadis* comments

medieval music may then not necessarily reside, for Emmanuel, in an attempt to "please," but rather in the pragmatic elaboration of technical and mechanical procedures. Though this approach certainly corresponds to one particular aspect of medieval aesthetics, it cannot be considered as the only one. The fondness of the medieval artist for embellishment transpires abundantly in the products of other artistic activities, such as architecture, and the illumination of liturgical texts.

on the sound of parallel fourths: "The voices sound agreeable together" (Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, 191); cf. also the *Scholica Enchiriadis*: "There will be a most admirable smoothness of harmony" (in Strunk, 128).

IV. SUMMARY OF MAURICE EMMANUEL'S CONCEPT OF MEDIEVAL MUSIC

Emmanuel's perspective on medieval music is that of a classical scholar. He considers the medieval musical language against the background of the Greek musical system, on one hand, and in the light of philology, on the other hand. The focus of his interest is directed especially towards those elements of the medieval musical language which are closely connected to these two disciplines, namely, tonality, rhythm, and notation. The origin and development of medieval music revolve around two poles, nature and language. The first pole is represented by the principle of tonality which forms the central element of music; it is seen by Emmanuel as the law furnished by nature in form of natural resonance, which governs the whole development of the musical language. On the basis of the intimate correspondence of nature existing between language and music, medieval music will closely follow the transformations and stages of development undergone by language during this period. This can especially be observed in the development and changes undergone by rhythm and notation during the Middle Ages. Progress of the musical language depended on the happy reunion of three factors: the permanent soliciting action of nature on the musician; the ability and readiness of the artist to respond to this stimulation; and the existence of a situation of need (crisis) which would incite the artist to search for new solutions through a pragmatic and empirical approach.

According to Emmanuel, with very few exceptions these conditions were generally met by musicians active outside the established institutions, namely, of popular or even barbaric origin. The principle applies to the adoption of the major third, as well as to the rehabilitation of binary rhythms. Both elements are indeed seen by Emmanuel as the major contribution of the Middle Ages to the development of the musical language. On one side, the medieval artist presented the future with practical tools for learning and performance (notation, rhythmic variety). On the other side, the spontaneous perception of the major third, which took place precisely during the Middle Ages, was to become an epoch-defining event. Emmanuel used it as the criterion for the division of the historical course into two major periods, antiquity and modern times. This classicist perception of historical epochs indicates Emmanuel's reluctance to attribute a separate period to the Middle Ages themselves. It also underlines his theory of continuity. In fact, in Emmanuel's view, the Middle Ages did not produce anything new; they simply continued, reworked, reinterpreted, and transformed, materials which existed before. With regards to the appearance of the major mode, he sees it simply as a transformation by inversion of an existing Greek modal pattern, and the establishment of the binary division as a return to a previous state. The medieval musician is, as it were, caught between two epochs, hesitating and oscillating between past and future, inhabiting an indefinite

epoch, which belongs partially to antiquity (Middle Ages I), and partially to modern times (Middle Ages II). The medieval musician built on the past and transformed the past. It is here that Emmanuel sees the significant and original contribution of the medieval musician to the advancement of musical language, namely, in the reinterpretation of past material in a new spirit. In this way, the Middle Ages were a transition between antiquity and modern times; if not of a new language, they were certainly harbingers of a new spirit.

PART TWO

VINCENT D'INDY
THE CONSERVATIVE SCHOLAR

CHAPTER 1
THE *SCHOLA CANTORUM*

The historical and aesthetic roots of the *Schola Cantorum* reach down to the heart of the Middle Ages. The name of the institution, *Schola Cantorum*, refers to the original school founded in the sixth century by Gregory the Great. The choice of the name establishes its historical link with the past; it also points to the purpose and goal of the school, namely, the protection and preservation¹ of plainchant. Gastoué, who taught plainchant at the *Schola*, explained this particular aim:

To adopt the name of *Schola Cantorum*, in 1895, in order to designate a society of religious music, meant to unfold a flag which implied the energetic will for a commitment to the culture and the defense of "plainchant," that is, "Gregorian" chant.²

¹Vincent d'Indy speaks of this action in terms of "restauration du chant religieux" ("La Schola Cantorum," in Lavignac, pt. 2, 6:3622).

²"Relever le nom de *Schola cantorum*, en 1895, pour désigner une société de musique religieuse, était donc déployer un drapeau, impliquant l'énergique volonté de se consacrer à la culture et à la défense du "plain-chant," du chant "grégorien" (Amédée Gastoué, "La 'Schola Cantorum' et le chant grégorien," in Vincent d'Indy, *La Schola Cantorum: son histoire depuis sa fondation jusqu'en 1925* [Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1927], 127). See also Vincent d'Indy, "La Schola Cantorum," in Lavignac, pt. 2, 6:3622.

Plainchant does indeed occupy a central place in the *Schola's* chart of foundation. The first article stipulates "the study and propagation of Gregorian chant as restored by the Benedictines."³ The close relationship which existed between the *Schola* and the abbey of Solesmes speaks for the successful realization of this program.⁴ This distinctive perspective was broadened in 1900, when the school adopted the name of *Ecole supérieure de musique*, to include the study of past masterworks in general.⁵ According to Louis Combes, "the veneration of the Middle Ages became one of the fundamental rules of the institution."⁶ The *Schola* was, in France, the first and most important institution to deal with ancient music.⁷

³"L'étude et la propagande du chant grégorien restauré par les Bénédictins" (Gastoué, "La 'Schola Cantorum' et le chant grégorien," 128).

⁴Ibid., 130. See also Charles Bordes, "La Schola: première année d'études—Voyage à Solesmes," *Tribune de Saint-Gervais* 3 (1897): 100-101. Through Gastoué, who taught plainchant at the *Schola* and was a member of the pontifical commission for the Vatican edition, the school was indirectly connected to the official reform movement.

⁵Marnold, 105.

⁶"L'adoration du moyen-âge est un des dogmes fondamentaux de la maison" (Louis Combes, "La Schola et le Conservatoire, *Le Monde Musical* [1909]: 276).

⁷"Die [Schola] ist die erste und im Jahre 1907 bedeutendste Institution, die sich der alten Musik annimmt" (Ursula Eckart-Bäcker, "Die Pariser Schola Cantorum in den Jahren um 1900: Eine Skizze unter besonderer Berücksichtigung historischer und pädagogischer Aspekte," in *Ars Musica, Musica Scientia: Festschrift Heinrich Hüschen zum 65. Geburtstag am 2. März 1980*, ed. Detlef Altenburg, Beiträge zur Rheinischen Musikgeschichte, no. 126 [Köln: Gitarre und Laute Verlagsgesellschaft, 1980], 91). Among

The aesthetic trend of the school found its justification in historical considerations. The study of past masterworks was essential to the *Schola's* philosophy of teaching. In his inaugural address of 1900, d'Indy, then academic director of the school, makes this very clear:

I intend to have my pupils follow the same progression as did art itself, so that during their study time they undergo the same transformations which music underwent through the centuries, and therefore get better equipped for the modern fight.⁸

In any art, before one is able to produce an art work, it is necessary to pass like an apprentice through all the operations which belong to it, from the most common and simple to the most sophisticated and complex. Such

the pioneers in the restoration of plainchant, credit must be given to Alexandre Choron's school of liturgical music (1818-1848), and the writings of Joseph Louis d'Ortigue (1802-1866); see especially his *Dictionnaire liturgique, historique et théorique de plainchant et de musique religieuse* (Paris: Migne, 1860); idem, *La musique à l'église* (Paris: Didier, 1861). D'Ortigue was also the founder of the journal on church music *La Maîtrise*. Louis Niedermeyer (1802-1861) continued Choron's educational work with the *Ecole de musique religieuse* opened in 1853 (Karl Gustav Fellerer, "Zur Choral-Restauration in Frankreich um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 58/59 [1924-25]: 136). The scope of his school, however, was limited to the study of religious music and did not include secular medieval music (Gustave Doret, *Musique et Musiciens* [Lausanne: Foetisch, 1915], 52ff.). The same comment applies to the work started in 1833 by the Benedictine monks of Solesmes, whose interest was primarily the restoration of plainchant.

⁸"Je prétends faire suivre aux élèves la marche même que l'art a suivie, en sorte que subissant en leur période d'étude, les transformations subies par la musique à travers les siècles, ils en sortiront d'autant mieux armés pour le combat moderne" (Vincent d'Indy, "Une école d'art répondant aux besoins modernes," *Tribune de Saint-Gervais* 6 [1900]: 305-6).

were those admirable artists of the Middle Ages whom we have already quoted as examples.⁹

The emphasis on historical study was pushed to such extremes that it was perceived from the outside as the study of "history for its own sake."¹⁰ The value of a work seemed to be established on the sole grounds of its historicity. This pronounced interest in history is congenial with the spirit of the age and may be explained from two different angles. In the second half of the nineteenth century, especially under the influence of German romantic historians such as Wilhelm von Schlegel (1767-1845), history had come to be recognized as one of the highest forms of knowledge. Beyond the philosophical argument, however, a more immediate and existential concern was addressed, namely, the problem of an authentic liturgical music.¹¹ This issue may be

⁹"Ainsi, en toute sorte d'art, faudrait-il, avant de produire une oeuvre, avoir pratiqué comme un simple apprenti toutes les opérations qui s'y rattachent, depuis la plus vulgaire et la plus simple, jusqu'à la plus raffinée et la plus complexe. Tels, ces admirables artistes du moyen âge, que nous avons cités déjà comme modèles" (*Cours de Composition Musicale*, 3 vols. [Paris: A. Durand, 1902-1909], 2:15-16).

¹⁰D'Indy's approach was met with sharp criticism: "La Schola voulut aussitôt faire reposer toute son esthétique sur des considérations historiques. . . . A la Schola, le mépris de tous les modernismes est pratiqué avec ferveur, car l'adoration du moyen-âge est un des dogmes fondamentaux de la maison" (Vuillermoz, 236).

¹¹The same concern was also at the root of Johann N. Forkel's *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik*, 2 vols., *Die grossen Darstellungen der Musikgeschichte in Barock und Aufklärung*, 8, ed. Othmar Wessely (Leipzig: Schwitzertschen Verlag, 1788, 1801; reprint, Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1967); see his preface to vol. 2, iv (vol. 2 is mainly devoted to the history of church music).

seen as a significant factor in establishing the importance of historical studies in music. The ensuing revival movement had so far found expression in two parallel, though rival, institutions, the Cecilian society and the Benedictine abbey of Solesmes. As the nineteenth century came to its end, it was championed by a new proponent, the *Schola Cantorum*. Interest in historical investigation made the *Schola* stand out with respect to other contemporary schools, especially the Conservatory, which regarded the study of music history as a mere accessory. A real "war" over this issue broke out between the two institutions. Time and again, the originality of the *Schola's* specific interest in music history was acknowledged in the polemics which raged between the defenders of the Conservatory and the *Schola*.

The historical inclination formed the kernel of concern of the *Schola's* founders, Charles Bordes (1865-1909), and especially Vincent d'Indy. The challenge of this historical enterprise was not only that of two individuals. It was endorsed by the *Schola Cantorum* as a school, a community; a community which cannot simply be seen as an association of teachers and pupils devoted to the study of music. It was rather a social group which closely patterned its values and ways of life after earlier nineteenth-century utopian communities, such as those of Saint-Simon, or Dom Prosper Guéranger's Benedictine monastery. The great mind behind this twofold philosophy of history and communitarianism was

Vincent d'Indy. It would be very difficult to dissociate his name from the *Schola*, and his ideals from those of the school. The institution was his brainchild, and it embodied his ideas and philosophies. Although the *Schola* was actually founded by Charles Bordes in 1894, d'Indy had been the driving force behind it and was to remain its spiritual father for more than thirty years, until his death in 1931. As principal of the *Schola* from 1904 until 1931, he actually conceived and defined the philosophical guidelines of the school¹² and made it internationally known.¹³

¹²Before realizing them actually within the *Schola Cantorum*, he had nurtured those ideas for several years, since in 1892 he had received the commission to participate in the teaching reforms for the Conservatory.

¹³Sérieyx enumerates places as far as Bucarest, Poznan (Poland), Buenos Aires, and Bogota, where d'Indy's methods were known and taught (August Sérieyx, "Vincent d'Indy éducateur musical," in Vincent d'Indy, *La Schola Cantorum: son histoire depuis sa fondation jusqu'en 1925*, 54).

CHAPTER 2

VINCENT D'INDY (1851-1931)

I. THE AUTHOR

D'Indy's motivation for the study of medieval music must be seen in the light of two masterminds of romanticism, who exerted a considerable influence on his understanding of music, namely, Franz Liszt and César Franck (1822-1890). Furthermore, it should be interpreted as the result of a combination of his political and religious convictions.¹ There was too much political involvement in d'Indy's career not to consider it as an active part in the philosophy behind his life's work.

The influence of Franz Liszt was capital in d'Indy's emphasis on historical studies. In his master classes at Weimar which d'Indy attended in 1873,² Liszt taught great respect for historical works.³ In addition to this general interest in historical music, Liszt was actively involved in

¹Charles B. Paul has underlined the importance of political presuppositions in historical writing ("Music and Ideology: Rameau, Rousseau, and 1789," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 32 [1971]: 410).

²See d'Indy's article "Liszt à Weimar en 1873," *Revue Musicale S.I.M.* (15 November 1911), quoted in Léon Vallas, *Vincent d'Indy*, 2 vols. (Paris: Editions Albin Michel, 1946), 1:147.

³See Vallas, *Vincent d'Indy*, 1:154.

the revival and reform of Church music—he was a member of the Cecilian society—and promoted chant as the basis of Church music.⁴ On the occasion of a lecture on his *Stabat Mater*, Liszt expressed his conviction about the important role of Gregorian chant in future music.⁵ D'Indy acknowledged Liszt's direct influence on his project of a study of musical art in its successive historical stages, which was to become his *Cours de Composition Musicale*.⁶

According to Romain Rolland (1866-1944), d'Indy's contemporary, "none has felt Franck's power, both morally

⁴Liszt possessed several works on chant, among which was a copy of Niedermeyer's and d'Ortigue's treatises on the accompaniment of plainchant (Paul Merrick, *Revolution and Religion in the Music of Liszt* [New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987], 89, 91, 98). Liszt also was a personal friend of d'Ortigue and Lamennais, and wrote two pamphlets on church music, under the direct influence of the latter (see *ibid.*, 10, 16, 19-20): "Ueber die Kirchenmusik," and "Ueber zukünftige Kirchenmusik," in *Gesammelte Schriften*, by Franz Liszt, 2:48-50; 55-57 (Leipzig: Druck & Verlag von Breitkopf & Härtel, 1881; reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1978).

⁵"Quant au *Stabat Mater*, ce fut l'occasion d'une vraie conférence à l'improviste sur le rôle que dans la musique des temps futurs devaient jouer les mélodies liturgiques; là aussi l'indication fut féconde pour Vincent d'Indy, futur grand employeur de chants grégoriens" (Vallas, *Vincent d'Indy*, 1:152-53).

⁶"Vincent d'Indy a reconnu que les conversations de chaque jour avec Liszt, même émaillées de sacrilèges, lui furent d'un précieux enseignement. Il a dit souvent ou même fait imprimer que ces vives causeries de Liszt professeur lui donnèrent l'idée première et le plan de son *Cours de Composition* qu'il devait réaliser un quart de siècle plus tard à la *Schola Cantorum*. Le système qui consiste à présenter aux élèves les développements successifs de leur art pour que, avant de s'engager dans des chemins inconnus, ils parcourent eux-mêmes ou reconnaissent les routes sillonnées par leurs prédécesseurs, ce système, Liszt l'appliquait à l'enseignement du piano" (*ibid.*, 1:154).

and musically, more than M. Vincent d'Indy."⁷ In his address to the students on the inauguration day of the *Schola* in November 1900,⁸ d'Indy referred to Franck as being "to some degree the grandfather of this *Schola Cantorum*; for it is his method of teaching that we shall strive to continue and apply here."⁹ César Franck's organ class at the Conservatory (1872) was more a class in composition than in instrumental technique. It was regularly attended by composition students for the benefit of Franck's historical approach,¹⁰ because he was known for his "strong ties with the past."¹¹ Franck's teaching

⁷"Nul n'a subi davantage l'ascendant moral et musical de Franck, que M. Vincent d'Indy" (Romain Rolland, *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*, 6th ed. [Paris: Hachette, 1914], 104).

⁸D'Indy had become academic director of the school in 1900; Charles Bordes was to remain principal of the school until 1904 when d'Indy took over this responsibility.

⁹"Franck, qui est, nous pouvons le dire, un peu le grand-père de cette *Schola Cantorum*, car c'est son système d'enseignement que nous nous efforçons de continuer et d'appliquer ici" (D'Indy, "Une école d'art," 312).

¹⁰"Cette classe d'orgue, dont je conserve toujours un souvenir ému, fut, pendant longtemps, le véritable centre des études de composition" (Vincent d'Indy, *César Franck*, 5th ed. [Paris: Félix Alcan, 1910], 225). It was indeed attended by "toutes les forces sincèrement artistiques qui se trouvaient éparses dans les diverses classes du Conservatoire" (ibid., 226). In addition, Franck also taught privately in his home (ibid.). Charles Bordes, the cofounder of the *Schola Cantorum*, was also among Franck's students.

¹¹Pierre Lalo, "De quelques évolutions récentes de la musique française," *Le Courrier Musical* 12 (1909): 302. One of those ties was with Gregorian chant. Part of an organist's liturgical responsibility was to be thoroughly acquainted with plainchant and to be able to extemporize on it, a task Franck excelled in at Sainte-Clotilde.

then stood out from the traditional approach favored by the *Conservatoire*, in which music history started after the Revolution, and teachers focused their attention primarily upon opera. D'Indy reveals some of the aspects of Franck's teaching in his biography on the great master.¹² What set Franck's teaching apart from the general approach of the Conservatory was his continuous pointing back to techniques applied by past masters in the learning process of composition.¹³ Franck was not among those contemporary voices who feared that reference to old masters would be a hindrance to the blossoming of an artist's individuality.¹⁴ In the same way, d'Indy believed that the purpose of historical teaching was, on the contrary, a means of rejuvenating modern music, especially through the contribution of the melodic and rhythmic language of plainchant. Several of Franck's principles of instruction had a significant impact on d'Indy's own teaching. This was true for the

¹²Vincent d'Indy, *César Franck*.

¹³*Ibid.*, 223.

¹⁴D'Indy comments on this attitude: "Il n'entre pas dans mon sujet de gloser sur la culture des élèves de composition du Conservatoire à cette époque, culture qui était un peu, il faut bien l'avouer, le fait de leurs professeurs; qu'il me suffise de dire que, radicalement ignorants de toute la musique des XVI^e et XVII^e siècles, voire même d'une grande partie de celle du XVIII^e, ils regardaient généralement Bach comme un gêneur et l'écriture de Gluck était l'objet de leurs plus spirituels quodlibets. . . . Tels autres, enfin, se refusaient délibérément à lire de la musique, fût-ce des chefs-d'oeuvre, de peur, disaient-ils, 'd'altérer leur personnalité'" (*ibid.*, 229-30).

general layout of the *Schola's* curriculum, as well as for the philosophy behind d'Indy's *Cours de Composition*.

Nationalism was another determining factor in d'Indy's interest in the past. During the early 1870s, the nationalistic movement had started condemning all interior or exterior foreign influence. On the political side this philosophy found its proponents in the *Action française*, on the cultural side, in the *Société Nationale de Musique*. In 1871, in reaction to the German victory of the Franco-Prussian war, Franck together with Saint-Saëns founded the *Société Nationale de Musique*.¹⁵ Under the motto *ars gallica*, the society was exclusively reserved for contemporary French musicians whose interest lay in a national tradition.¹⁶ D'Indy was one of the first to join the society in 1871. After his reaction against Saint-Saëns' narrow concept of *ars gallica* and the latter's resignation, he took over its leadership in 1886 in the manner of a *coup*

¹⁵The short span of time which separates the date of the German victory and the foundation of the society (May to November 1871) certainly allows the assumption of a relationship between nationalistic feelings and the genesis of the society. This hypothesis is furthermore reinforced by the strong nationalistic principles which characterized especially the young society, such as banning foreign artists from being played at concerts. This stipulation later led to a division within the Society, as d'Indy and other young composers wanted to include also foreign artists. At that time, Saint-Saëns resigned from his position as president of the Society (*ibid.*, 2:11-12).

¹⁶Charles B. Paul, "Rameau, d'Indy, and French Nationalism," *Musical Quarterly* 58 (1972): 50; see also Vallas, *Vincent d'Indy*, 1:11.

d'état.¹⁷ He promoted the introduction of pre-Revolutionary French music and, in a paradoxical manner, showed a favorable attitude towards Wagner's works. D'Indy's participation in the Society marks the beginnings of a fervent political action.¹⁸ His purpose within the society was evidently of a nationalistic order: to counteract, and if possible prevent, the influence of foreign musical elements, and especially of musical romanticism which was associated both with Germany and revolutionary ideas. A few years later, his Italo-German antipathies were augmented by his outspoken aversion to Jewish influences. These principles and values indicate that the *Société Nationale de Musique* was probably but a branch of its contemporary political counterpart, namely, the *Action française* of which d'Indy was a member.¹⁹ For the *Action française*, nationalism meant the protection of the fatherland against the enemy from both outside and inside France, and the defense of its moral and spiritual

¹⁷See Vallas, *Vincent d'Indy*, 2:12-13; Paul, "Rameau, d'Indy, and French Nationalism," 50.

¹⁸D'Indy's close collaborator, Auguste Sérieyx, pays tribute to the impact of Vincent d'Indy as "le coopérateur à l'oeuvre de restauration de la pensée française" ("Vincent d'Indy éducateur musical," 49, 56); see also idem, *Vincent d'Indy* (Paris: Société des Trente, 1913), 60.

¹⁹Vallas, *Vincent d'Indy*, 2:42-43. D'Indy was also an active participant of *La Ligue de la Patrie Française*, a leading counterrevolutionary committee (Paul, "Music and Ideology," 409).

values.²⁰ The *Action Française* was known for its antiromanticism, its anti-Protestantism, and its anti-Semitism, all three values embodied in German culture and seen as agents of decadence.²¹ Romanticism in particular was described as proposing an aesthetic of ugliness and obscurity, and of exalting the Rousseauist values of passion and instinct. D'Indy's affirmations and actions reflect in a striking manner these ideas of the *Action Française*.²²

²⁰Charles Maurras, *Mes idées politiques* (Paris: A. Fayard, 1937), 264.

²¹See Michael Curtis, *Three Against the Third Republic: Sorel, Barrès, and Maurras* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1959; reprint Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1976), 123; 209, 83; 210.

²²Paul, "Music and Ideology," 404. While in the romanticist perspective, ugliness was but another expression of the sublime in art (see Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, ed. J. T. Boulton [New York: Columbia University Press, 1958], 119), these values were unacceptable to d'Indy, the classicist and conservative. He was the defender of such standards as clarity and static symmetry, authority and dignity, as well as morality, and he utterly hated irregularity. In spite of this aversion to romanticism, however, and his fierce defense of the classical ideal, d'Indy remained a product of his time as demonstrated through his admiration for Wagner. His ideas and actions reveal in reality a diversity of traits which are indisputably of romantic influence. The very limitation to French music and musicians is but another expression of the historicist understanding of art as the expression of a cultural soil, an idea which had been strongly advocated by the German Herder. Beyond the historicist element, the communitarian ideal as it had been supported by Lamennais, realized by the Saint-Simonians, and closer to d'Indy, the Solesmes community and his own institution, was a product of romantic socialism. The same romantic filiation can be observed in d'Indy's concept of the artist as a prophet, and the educational and spiritual roles of art within society. D'Indy's reaction against the romantic interpretation of the sublime is understandable when one considers the importance of the Classical ideals of form, order, and clarity upon

As an unconditional admirer of Wagner, and due to his great respect for Beethoven, he did not take an explicit stand against German romanticism, but he criticized the Protestants for their "excessive individualism."²³

According to Romain Rolland, d'Indy argues that Bach is worth our admiration not "because, but *in spite* of the dogmatic and withering spirit of the Reformation."²⁴ As for the Jews, d'Indy expressed his anti-Semitic attitude in his oratorio *Légende de Saint-Christophe*. In a letter to his friend Pierre de Bréville, he explains how this work was meant to demonstrate "the nauseating Judeo-Dreyfusard influence"²⁵ with its budding flowers of pride, lust, and

which his whole work was built; his ideal of beauty was founded upon a religious understanding of the sublime which was anchored in the principle of spiritual beauty and morality.

²³In later years, d'Indy felt compelled to retract from his earlier admiration for Wagner, in order to reassure his fellow French colleagues.

²⁴Vincent d'Indy, "L'oratorio moderne," *Tribune de Saint-Gervais* (Mars 1899), quoted in Rolland, "Vincent d'Indy," *La Revue de Paris*, 15 January 1903, 406. See a similar comment on Bach by a friend of the *Schola*, Edgar Tinel: "Cet artiste si profondément chrétien—protestant par erreur, sans doute, puisqu'en son immortel 'Credo' il confesse sa foi en l'Eglise une, sainte, catholique et apostolique" ("La musique figurée à l'église," *Tribune de Saint-Gervais* 8 [August-September 1902], 249).

²⁵D'Indy was a member of the anti-Dreyfusard *Ligue de la Patrie Française* (Paul, "Rameau, d'Indy, and French Nationalism," 53; Vallas, *Vincent d'Indy*, 2:42). A case of false accusation of high military treason, the Dreyfus affair was to rock the French political and social scene for many years. In 1894, Alfred Dreyfus, a high officer in the French army and of Jewish origin, had arbitrarily been accused of treason, arrested, and deported. The defamatory campaign had been orchestrated by the nationalist and anti-

greed contending against the flowers of goodness—faith, hope, and love."²⁶ D'Indy's great concern for order, discipline, conformity, and respect of form, which were considered as paramount within the framework of the *Schola Cantorum*, may certainly be seen as another reflection of the values and principles of the *Action française*.²⁷

As a corollary to its antiforeign stance, the nationalistic movement professed the value of the French heritage. D'Indy indeed showed a very acute interest in the revival and restoration not only of folk but also of historical music in order to encourage his compatriots' pride in the national heritage.²⁸ The revival and

Semitic right wing mainly composed of monarchist bourgeois like d'Indy who felt threatened by the strong ascendance of a socialist middle class. Dreyfus was finally rehabilitated in 1906.

²⁶"La nauséabonde influence judéo-dreyfusarde avec sa floraison, les fleurs *Orgueil, Jouissance, Argent*, en conflit avec les fleurs du bien, *Foi, Espérance, Charité*" (letter to Pierre de Bréville, 17 September 1903, *Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*, quoted by Vallas, *Vincent d'Indy*, 2:327; see also Paul, "Rameau, d'Indy, and French Nationalism," 53).

²⁷See Curtis, 100. The military approach of d'Indy was described by his son-in-law, Jean de la Laurencie, in the following terms: "His were military principles, applied with military rigor, on the level of the administration organization, and especially in forming the students' mind: comradeship, discipline, unselfishness" (Jean de la Laurencie, "Le visage militaire de Vincent d'Indy," *Revue du Vivarais* [1933], quoted by Vallas, *Vincent d'Indy*, 2:58).

²⁸See Paul, "Music and Ideology," 409. The "rural myth" was one of the cornerstones of the idea of tradition in the *Action française* (Curtis, 229-30). D'Indy also spent some time collecting the chansons of his native province (*Chansons populaires du Vivarais* [Paris: Durand et fils, n.d. [1900]]).

restoration of plainchant, especially, was to become a target interest, because it incorporated the traditions and values of the Catholic church. In these political or politicized factions, the spirit of national pride was closely linked with the Church, which represented order and national interest. Catholicism took on a double meaning, that of faith, but also that of patriotism.²⁹ Both tendencies were indeed represented among the members of the *Action française* whose driving motivations often remained ambiguous.³⁰ The issue must be considered within the context of the strong neo-Catholic current which characterized this particular era in France.³¹ The movement had been principally fostered by a widespread reaction to the secularizing attitudes and actions of the Third Republic and

²⁹For Maurras, Catholicism embodied all his favorite ideas: order, tradition, discipline, hierarchy, authority, continuity, unity, work, and corporation (Curtis, 223-24); Barrès saw French nationality and Catholicism as inseparable; nationalistic feelings could only develop within a catholic atmosphere. Therefore, Catholicism was a force to be treasured and protected (ibid.).

³⁰See Eugen Weber: "It is important to distinguish between the officially fostered Catholic revival, whose interest was peculiarly Catholic, and those political tendencies or parties, which, whether by interest or conviction, sought the support of the Catholic masses and the approval of the Catholic hierarchy" (*The Nationalist Revival in France, 1905-1914* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968], 82); see Curtis on Barrès, Sorel, and Maurras: "All were interested in the political and social role that the Church played" (Curtis, 222).

³¹Curtis, 223. This renewed interest in Catholic action must to a great extent be credited for the success of the *Schola Cantorum*, in form of a steadily increasing enrollment.

represented a protest against the intellectual atmosphere of the last two decades of the nineteenth century.³²

Numerous statements in d'Indy's writings speak of a genuine spirituality which cannot merely be attributed to his political convictions. They must rather be seen as an outgrowth of a deeply rooted faith. Many of these affirmations are found in his *Cours de Composition Musicale*:

The principle of all liberal art is faith. . . .
Without faith there is no art.³³

It is only natural that such an outlook would lead d'Indy to attribute a primary place to the study of medieval music, the cradle of the music of the Church. D'Indy cannot be called a precursor in matters of revival of medieval music, or an initiator of research in this field of study. Among early supporters, we have already mentioned Gerbert,³⁴ Alexandre-Etienne Choron,³⁵ Louis de Niedermeyer,³⁶ and Coussemaker (1805-1876).³⁷ Dom Prosper Guéranger³⁸ and

³²Curtis, 3-4.

³³"Le principe de tout art est d'ordre religieux. . . . Sans la Foi, il n'est point d'Art" (*Cours*, 1:83, 10; see also *ibid.*, 1:11, 12, 16).

³⁴*Scriptores*.

³⁵*Considérations sur la nécessité de rétablir le chant de l'église de Rome dans toutes les églises de l'empire français* (Paris: Courcier, 1811).

³⁶His *Ecole de musique classique et religieuse* opened in 1853.

³⁷*Scriptorum*, and *L'art harmonique au XIIe et XIIIe siècles* (Paris: A. Durand, 1865).

Dom Pothier (1835-1923) of Solesmes³⁹ begun their work in the 1840s and 1850s.⁴⁰ So far, however, interest in medieval music had been restricted to ecclesiastical circles. Now it had found, in the person of Vincent d'Indy, a propagator who made this music available to a large public and musical circles in general. Regular contact with Solesmes ensured the safeguard of the Benedictine ideal.

³⁸Dom Prosper Guéranger, *Institutions liturgiques* (Le Mans: Fleuriot, 1840-53). On the work of Solesmes in the restoration of plainchant, see Dom Paul Cagin, and Dom André Mocquereau, *Plainchant and Solesmes*.

³⁹The earliest publications of *Paléographie musicale* (1889) dealt with medieval notation. The impact of the Solesmes research was of considerable importance. As Combarieu noted, even though the work of the Benedictine monks was primarily intended for the benefit of the Church, it greatly contributed to future research in the general history of music, namely, by introducing objective methods of research. "La science du plain-chant s'est, pour ainsi dire, sécularisée. Les éditeurs de la *Paléographie musicale* ont eu l'idée excellente (dont nous, profanes, ne saurions trop les remercier) d'appliquer à l'étude des mélodies grégoriennes les principes de la méthode historique, tels que les suivent, dans leurs plus sévères travaux, les maîtres de l'Ecole des Chartes et du Collège de France. Pour rétablir dans toute sa pureté la tradition grégorienne, et pour protéger cette tradition contre tout scepticisme, ils se sont faits grammairiens, philologues, paléographes, photographes. . . . Ils ont appliqué à l'étude de ces monuments les principes de la grammaire comparée. . . . Une telle oeuvre marque un progrès pour la science française, . . . et ouvre à l'histoire générale de la musique un avenir qui promet d'être fécond" (Jules Combarieu, *Théorie du rythme dans la composition moderne d'après la doctrine antique, suivie d'un essai sur l'archéologie musicale au XIXe siècle et le problème de l'origine des neumes, Etudes de philologie musicale* [Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1897], 179-81).

⁴⁰The names of two other contributors in the research of medieval music should not be overlooked, namely, Clément in the field of the liturgical drama ("Le drame liturgique du moyen-âge"), and Gevaert on the chanson (*Chansons du XVe siècle*).

Both Dom Pothier and Dom Mocquereau (1849-1930) were assigned teaching positions at the *Schola*, on the subject of plainchant.⁴¹ A close collaboration between the two institutions, the *Schola* and the abbey of Solesmes, began in 1897 when for the first time the students of the *Schola* spent a whole week at the abbey. These visits were to become a yearly tradition. Furthermore, throughout the country centers for the study of Gregorian chant were opened.⁴² D'Indy was the first in France to require the study of medieval music, based on the examination of historical documents, as a compulsory class in a school curriculum. Still more, it became the very philosophy of his historical and pedagogical approach. These principles were set forth in his composition class at the *Schola*, and were summarized in his monumental work *Cours de Composition Musicale*.⁴³ The title of d'Indy's three-volume work does not reveal the central historical focus of the book. But since its first appearance, it was considered as a music

⁴¹"Successivement, Dom Pothier et Dom Mocquereau nous tenaient en communion avec l'idéal bénédictin" (Gastoué, "La Schola Cantorum et le chant grégorien," 130). Charles Bordes expressed the purpose of those lessons: "Nous comptons sur ces réunions pour avancer la restauration archéologique et pratique du vrai chant de l'église" (Bordes, "La Schola: première année d'étude-Voyage à Solesmes," 101).

⁴²*Ibid.*, 130-31.

⁴³Hereafter this work will be referred to as *Cours*.

history.⁴⁴ The genesis of the book may best be described as a thirty-year-long maturation process. Its beginnings go back to 1871 when d'Indy came under the lasting influence of Liszt and Franck, who had consolidated his conviction of the necessity for a reform in the official teaching of music. Subsequently, his *Cours* was the fruit of a deep and sincere personal reflection about a philosophical foundation of music. When, finally, the opportunity was given to d'Indy to realize his philosophy of music in a concrete way, the book was ready to be conceived. In 1892, he was appointed by the French government as part of a commission in charge of the reorganization of the teaching methods of the Conservatory.⁴⁵ This investigation enabled him to test, materialize, and shape ideas which had been stimulated earlier. Though his proposal had been found interesting, it was opposed by those who felt threatened by his critiques; the project was rejected.⁴⁶ His efforts had not been in

⁴⁴Norman Demuth recognized it as "a technical history of music" (*Vincent d'Indy 1851-1931: Champion of Classicism* [London: Rockcliff, 1951], 22). Vallas furthermore mentions that d'Indy's *Cours* was perceived as "a summary of his teaching philosophy, a musical, ethical and moral *summa*, and indeed the Gospel and catechism of the Schola" (Vallas, *Vincent d'Indy*, 2:54); Rolland also referred to it as "une histoire de la composition musicale" (*Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*, 99).

⁴⁵Renate Groth, *Die französische Kompositionslehre des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, ed. Hans-Heinrich Eggebrecht, no. 22 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1983), 199.

⁴⁶When, after the death of the former composition teacher, Guiraud, d'Indy was offered that same position by the government, he refused rather than having to compromise

vain, however; the report submitted by d'Indy was to become the model for the *Schola* and his composition class at that institution.⁴⁷ His main thoughts and principles on music history formed the core of his composition class, and were systematized and published in the *Cours*.⁴⁸

From the outset, d'Indy had intended his *Cours* to become available to the largest possible public.⁴⁹ For lack of time, he asked one of his most fervent students and disciples to write the book from class notes. This particular way of production is announced on the title page of the *Cours*: "Written with the collaboration of August Sérieyx according to notes taken during the class of composition at the Schola Cantorum in 1897-98."⁵⁰ In

his principles of teaching (Louis Borgex, *Vincent d'Indy: Sa vie et son oeuvre* [Paris: A. Durand & fils, 1912], 12-13). This did not prevent him, however, from accepting a few years later the conducting class at the same institution, which he was to hold until his death in 1931.

⁴⁷Groth, 199.

⁴⁸As basis for our quotations, we are using the 5th ed. (Paris: A. Durand, 1912).

⁴⁹Vallas, *Vincent d'Indy*, 2:54. The *Schola Cantorum*'s international renown was indeed established in a short time. See Michel d'Argoeuves, "La Schola et la composition musicale," in Vincent d'Indy, ed., *La Schola Cantorum en 1925*, 120; Vallas, 2:37.

⁵⁰"Rédigé avec la collaboration de Auguste Sérieyx, d'après les notes prises aux classes de composition de la Schola Cantorum en 1897-98." Book 1 is based on notes taken during 1897-98; book 2, part 1, on notes taken 1899-1900; book 2, part 2, on notes taken during the years 1901-02; and book 3 on notes taken during the year 1907 (see title pages of the 1902, 1909, and 1933 editions, published by A. Durand).

fact, Sérieyx was responsible only for the writing of books 1 and 2 (in three volumes). Book 3 was written by Guy de Lioncourt after Sérieyx's death in 1949.⁵¹ Sérieyx himself had asked Guy de Lioncourt to take over the project and finish the series with this last volume. De Lioncourt expressed his conviction that this decision certainly corresponded to the "master's" will, since d'Indy himself had charged him with "the important mission of continuing the oral teaching."⁵² Concerning the issue of updating the content of the book after d'Indy's death (musical illustrations, classifications), and due to the great span of time which had elapsed since d'Indy had taught it, namely, forty years, de Lioncourt decided to keep it in the state in which d'Indy had left it, in order to respect the unity of the whole and to assure a faithful rendering of the thoughts and opinions of its real author. According to de Lioncourt,

This is the very text d'Indy himself dictated to me. . . . I have preferred to respect the author's thought. . . . This course may then be considered as indeed Vincent d'Indy's, such as he had conceived it himself.⁵³

⁵¹Demuth, 21. See also Guy de Lioncourt, "Avant-propos" to the 3rd volume of Vincent d'Indy's *Cours*, 3:5.

⁵²*Cours* 3:5.

⁵³"Ce texte [est] celui-là même que d'Indy nous dicta. . . . Nous avons préféré respecter absolument la pensée de l'auteur. . . . On peut donc considérer qu'il s'agit bien ici du *Cours* de Vincent d'Indy, tel qu'il l'a conçu lui-même" (ibid., 3:5, 6). Personal additions were made in footnotes only.

In his preface to the first volume (1902), d'Indy credits Sérieyx not only with the writing process, but also with the logical coordination of the work. In fact, certain ideas seem to stem from Sérieyx himself and d'Indy makes it clear that he fully agrees with those:

[The author] attributes the paternity, that is, the responsibility of some demonstrations and ideas, to his student and friend Auguste Sérieyx. They deserved to be collected in this work because of their particular value.⁵⁴

The first volume of the *Cours* was published in 1902 by A. Durand & fils in Paris. Parts One and Two of volume Two came out respectively in 1909 and 1933. In 1950 the work was finally complete with Guy de Lioncourt's volume Three.⁵⁵

The *Cours* received a passionate response, both from its supporters⁵⁶ and its detractors.⁵⁷ A commendatory book

⁵⁴"[L'auteur] tient aussi à lui laisser la paternité, disons même la responsabilité, de certaines démonstrations et de certaines idées qui méritaient, en raison de leur valeur, d'être recueillies dans cet ouvrage" (ibid., 1:7). Such passages are systematically labeled as stemming from Sérieyx; see ibid., 1:62-63 (a new notational system), and ibid., 105-106 (exposition of the circle of fifths). In fact, Sérieyx was teaching, at that time, the material of Part One at the *Schola* (ibid.).

⁵⁵Over the years 1902-50, the first three volumes had already seen six editions, all of them published by Durand. An English translation exists in the form of a 1946 dissertation presented by Merle Montgomery at the University of Rochester: "A Comparative Analysis (and Translation) of Vincent d'Indy's 'Cours de Composition Musicale'."

⁵⁶Borgex, 93.

⁵⁷Camille Saint-Saëns, *Les idées de M. Vincent d'Indy* (Paris: Pierre Lafitte, 1919), 5.

review appeared in the *Tribune de Saint Gervais*,⁵⁸ a publication of the *Schola*. According to Romain Rolland,

We have not paid enough attention to this work. This is a monument to the spirit of contemporary art, not to speak of its technical value.⁵⁹

Rolland rightly established a relationship between the *Cours* and the philosophy behind the *Schola*. According to him, the *Cours* expressed the very ideas which had powerfully inspired d'Indy's speech at the inauguration of the *Schola Cantorum* in 1900.⁶⁰ This inaugural address in which d'Indy expounded the philosophy of the *Schola*, unleashed a hot battle of penmanship in the musical world which was to last more

⁵⁸*Tribune de Saint Gervais* 9 (1903): 110-111.

⁵⁹"On n'a pas assez pris garde à cet ouvrage. Sans parler de sa valeur technique, il est un monument de l'esprit de l'art contemporain" (Romain Rolland, "Vincent d'Indy," 404). D'Indy kept close contact with several contemporary musicologists, such as Romain Rolland, André Pirro, Michel Brenet, and Jules Ecorcheville, from whom he did not hesitate to solicit frequent advice (Henry Prunières, "Vincent d'Indy," *Revue Musicale* 122 [1932]: 4). Rolland rightly perceived in d'Indy's *Cours* "un monument de l'esprit de l'art contemporain." In many points, d'Indy's ideals coincided with those of Rolland, who played an important role as a transitional figure between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Both men, indeed, proposed idealistic solutions (moral integrity and heroism, and qualities of character and the heart) to combat the widely prevailing materialism, corruption, and disillusionment. They also crusaded against the excessive sentimentality and shallowness of contemporary works, characteristic respectively of German and French art. The two men diverged, however, on the question of nationalism. As opposed to d'Indy, Rolland actively advocated the international ideal of European brotherhood (see Romain Rolland, *Jean-Christophe*, trans. by Gilbert Cannan [New York: The Modern Library, 1913]).

⁶⁰Rolland, "Vincent d'Indy," 404.

than a decade.⁶¹ The arguments turned mainly around the pedagogical approach of the *Schola* versus that of the Conservatory. In fact, d'Indy's theses were diametrically opposed to those taught by the Conservatory. At its very roots, the whole issue was one of "classicism against academism."⁶² His supporters praised d'Indy's focus on history. His detractors reproached him for his obsession with history, his nationalistic approach,⁶³ his accent on spiritual leadership, and his particular aesthetics. As controversial as it was, however, d'Indy's method of composition was to have a wide influence, both on the continent and abroad.⁶⁴

The *Cours de Composition Musicale* is organized in three books according to three great eras: (1) the rhythmic-

⁶¹See, in particular, Louis Laloy, "Promenades et visites musicales—III. Une nouvelle école de musique: Le cours de M. Vincent d'Indy," *Revue d'Histoire et de Critique Musicales* 1 (1901): 393-8; Ed. Ceria, "La 'Scola' contre l'art officiel," *Tribune de Saint-Gervais* 7 (1901): 347-8; Marnold, 105, 112-13; Mauclair, 335-40; Sorel, 192; Vuillermoz, 234-43; Combes, 276-8; see also Claude Debussy, "A la Schola Cantorum," in *Monsieur Croche et autres écrits*, by Claude Debussy (Paris: Gallimard, 1971), 87ff. Debussy's article is dated February 2, 1903. It is ironical, and perhaps significant, that this ultraconservative school was situated in the heart of the Quartier Latin, neighbouring the progressist and liberal institutions of the Sorbonne and the *Collège de France*.

⁶²The expression is borrowed from Mauclair's article, 335-40.

⁶³The political engagement of the *Schola* in general was not well perceived by its detractors (Vallas, Vincent d'Indy, 2:78).

⁶⁴See Sérieyx, "Vincent d'Indy éducateur musical," 51.

monodic era, from the third to the thirteenth centuries; (2) the polyphonic era, from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries; and (3) the metrical era, from the seventeenth century up to his times. Book One deals with rhythm, melody, notation, and musical forms related to the rhythmic-monodic period; the origin and theory of harmony and its related subjects of tonality and expression; finally, the history of harmony and its application in the simultaneous melodies of the polyphonic period. It ends with a short essay on the progressive evolution of art. Book Two, contained in two volumes, deals with symphonic music as related to the rhythm of "gesture"⁶⁵ or as the author calls it, "pure music."⁶⁶ The first part discusses the symphonic genres descending from the motet or the madrigal; the second part deals with the orchestral forms of symphonic music. Book Three is a study of the genres of dramatic music, based on the rhythm of words.⁶⁷ Each of these three periods is treated according to the chronological

⁶⁵In the present study, the word "gesture" is understood as physical movement (dance, walking, etc.), or graphic representation of physical action.

⁶⁶*Cours*, 2:7. "Pure music" should be understood here as opposed to music applied to words: "Pièces instrumentales, consistant uniquement dans le groupement esthétique des sons, sans aucune intention d'application à des paroles" (ibid., 2:6).

⁶⁷"Toute espèce de musique ayant pour but l'expression d'un sentiment déterminé, par la juxtaposition, effective ou sous-entendue, d'un texte littéraire, aux sons musicaux" (ibid., 2:7).

principle. Our study will focus on the material of Book One of the *Cours* which deals with medieval music.

II. HISTORICAL VIEWPOINT

D'Indy's interest in medieval music appears to have been closely related to his reaction against the predominant intellectual atmosphere in France, marked by secularism and individualism. His historical investigation unfolds under the influence of two driving forces: an acute sense of the spiritual impact of the historical process as well as of his own spiritual duty as an artist and historian; and the political traditionalism which characterized many of his activities. His spiritual outlook determined the limits of the medieval period. Although d'Indy understood the past and present as forming a unity⁶⁸—the past becomes present, the new must be seen and created against the background of tradition⁶⁹—he also saw the Middle Ages as a completely self-contained and separate period.⁷⁰ The boundaries of this epoch were not understood by d'Indy as the result of

⁶⁸He summarized this continuity between past and present in his address to the students of the *Schola* in 1901: "Est-ce que l'artiste moderne ne voudrait pas dire: créateur apportant au vieil édifice artistique, éternellement en construction, des matériaux nouveaux, solides, cohérents avec les anciens" (Vincent d'Indy, "L'artiste moderne," *Tribune de Saint-Gervais* 7 [November-December 1901], 343).

⁶⁹Rolland, *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*, 101.

⁷⁰"Ici se termine, en effet, le *moyen âge*, sorte de *cycle historique*, entièrement parcouru désormais, et nettement séparé aussi bien des âges antérieurs que de l'époque contemporaine" (*Cours*, 1:211). As was customary at his time, he includes the whole polyphonic era in the Middle Ages, placing the end of the Middle Ages around the seventeenth century, from where he starts the musical Renaissance (*ibid.*, 1:216).

the contributions and innovations of great personalities, or the evolution of musical styles or genres. The beginning and end of this age were rather the consequence of a change in thought patterns, in this case the influence of humanism and its subsequent clash with traditional religion. Not only did humanism bring about the Reformation—a "deviation" of the Catholic faith—but it also became synonymous with individualism and its ill-fated fruits of pride, profit, and personalization of the work of art.⁷¹ The criteria of distinction between the Middle Ages and the following age are here established on spiritual, moral, and ethical grounds. These ideas form the very center of d'Indy's philosophy of history. He sees the history of music as the history of the world in its moral achievement; its goal is to serve humanity and nourish the progressive life of humanity. The idea of history as the servant of humanity and its role in the education of humanity was an important theme in the historical understanding of the romantics. It can be observed in the shift in terminology from *Heilsgeschichte* to *Bildungsgeschichte*, as revealed in the

⁷¹ "A partir du XVII^e siècle, l'art marque une double évolution: du côté de l'artiste, c'est l'esprit de personnalité et de particularité qui se manifeste: les désirs de gloire, et plus tard de profit sont les principaux mobiles qui le font agir, et remplacent en lui, peu à peu, la foi robuste et simple de ses devanciers" (*Cours* 1:215; see *ibid.*, 1:216). The Saint-Simonians as well as Choron had already established a relationship between the Renaissance and cultural decadence (Locke, 46, 53-54).

titles of several writings of those times.⁷² While these theories generally exclude the reference to religion as representative of a higher authority, d'Indy repeatedly emphasizes the religious element as the foundational force of his philosophy of history: "The principle of all liberal art is faith."⁷³ In his eyes, the high ideal of history could be achieved only if the source of art lay in religion. The discovery and study of music history becomes then a moral duty: "No artist has the right to ignore the shaping process of his art."⁷⁴ In saying so, d'Indy refers directly to the beginnings of religious music, namely, Gregorian chant and the medieval liturgical melodies.⁷⁵ He required the study of these subjects from every student at the *Schola*; the rule applied both to the performance

⁷²See Gotthold E. Lessing (1729-81), *Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts* (Berlin: C. F. Voss und Sohn, 1780); Georg W. F. Hegel (1770-1831), Preface to *The Phenomenology of the Mind*, trans. J. B. Baillie, Library of Philosophy, ed. J. H. Muirhead (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1910), 1-72; and Friedrich von Schiller (1759-1805), *On the Aesthetic Education of Man in a Series of Letters*, trans. R. Snell (Leipzig, 1801; New York: Frederick Ungar, 1980). Significantly, Schiller acknowledges his debt to Rousseau by introducing his letter "On the Aesthetic Education of Man" with a quotation from the latter: "Si c'est la raison qui fait l'homme, c'est le sentiment qui le conduit" (ibid., 21).

⁷³"Le principe de tout art est d'ordre religieux" (*Cours*, 1:83); see also "Une école d'art," 310, and the introduction to his *Cours*: "Le principe de tout art libre est incontestablement la foi religieuse" (1:10).

⁷⁴"Nul artiste n'a le droit d'ignorer le mode de formation de son art" ("Une école d'art," 309-10).

⁷⁵Ibid.

student and the composition student. In the Introduction to his *Cours*, d'Indy further elaborates on the religious foundation of all creative production. He mentions the three theological virtues, faith, hope, and love, as the basic attributes of the artist.⁷⁶ Faith, in particular, is the first and most important of all, for "it is faith which incites the artist to *know*,"⁷⁷ that is, to search for existing knowledge, hence historical knowledge. With this statement, d'Indy superimposes the concept of "faith" on the Hegelian concept of "spirit." The role of the spirit in the Hegelian scheme of education was to provide insight into what constitutes knowledge.⁷⁸ In d'Indy's view, this role is taken over by faith. It is this knowledge which will enable the artist "to climb higher and higher on the ladder of Being."⁷⁹ The same image of an ever-ascending movement comes back more explicitly in the metaphor of the ascending spiral which d'Indy used in his inaugural address to the *Schola* in 1901:

I do not see progress as a straight road extending into a plain, but on the contrary . . . as a spiral whose twists are related and consolidated by struts and buttresses: the immutable human feelings on which each

⁷⁶*Cours*, 1:16.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*

⁷⁸Hegel, Preface to *The Phenomenology of Mind*, 1-72.

⁷⁹"S'élever de plus en plus sur l'échelle de l'Etre" (*Cours*, 1:16).

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one of the twists leans in passing while extending the spiral always higher to the infinite.⁸⁰

This image was a familiar figure in romantic philosophy of history;⁸¹ it combines both the ideas of circular return and linear progress in an evolutionary perspective, representing the recovery of the original unity, but on a higher level.⁸² According to d'Indy, the stable and central element around which all the spirals evolve is the "immutable human feelings." Only the artist who is able to build on the "ancestral foundations," and holds on to these fundamental values, will be able to climb up on the spiral. Holding on to the past, that is, to the original elements of medieval music, is the condition for the artist, not only to reach forward into the future, to create a lasting work, but

⁸⁰"Je ne me figure point le progrès comme une route droite . . . mais . . . comme une spirale dont les volutes seraient reliées et consolidées par des étais, des contreforts: les immuables sentiments humains, sur laquelle chacune des volutes s'appuie au passage, tout en allongeant la spirale toujours plus haut vers l'infini" (*L'artiste moderne*, 343; see also *"Une école d'art"*, 305).

⁸¹See Hegel, Preface to *The Phenomenology of Mind*; see also the use of this metaphor by Hugo von Hoffmannsthal (1874-1929) and Wilhelm F. Goethe (1749-1832) (M. H. Abrams, *Natural Supernaturalism: Tradition and Revolution in Romantic Literature* [New York: W. W. Norton, 1971], 184).

⁸²D'Indy uses the same image of emanation and return in his *Cours*: "L'Art est un, en soi. . . . La raison de cette unité de l'Art est d'ordre surnaturel: au-dessus de tous les besoins humains plane l'aspiration vers la Divinité. . . . Et c'est dans l'Art, sous toutes ses formes, que l'âme cherche le moyen de rattacher sa vie à l'Etre qui en est le principe" (*Cours* 1:11).

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also to make the history of music progress.⁸³ The most important element in this process is not of technical order, but resides in the spiritual attitude of the artist. In other words, adopting the spiritual attitude of the Middle Ages is as essential a factor for the survival of the artwork as are the artist's technical abilities. As professed by d'Indy, the fundamental building blocks of the spiral of artistic development are "the immutable human feelings."⁸⁴ In his *Cours*, d'Indy defines the nature of those feelings as indispensable to guarantee the artist a lasting and valid work; they are the three theological truths of faith, hope, and love.⁸⁵ D'Indy was aware that historical knowledge must be earned through incessant effort and striving for growth and development.⁸⁶ The study of the history of music becomes a spiritual discipline required to elevate one's soul towards God,⁸⁷ a path to redemption.

⁸³"L'artiste moderne," 344. D'Indy explains that the revolutionary artists, or those who cling to one isolated point of the spiral, will never be able to remain in the system. The first category will be drawn out by the centrifugal force because they refused to hold on to traditional values. The second category will be wiped out because of their unusefulness to society. To this group belong the academics, eclectics, success seekers, Jews, and imitators.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*

⁸⁵*Cours* 1:16.

⁸⁶"Le vrai progrès doit être lent" (*Cours*, 1:63).

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, 1:16. This role of historical study was already put forth by Lessing, Schiller, and especially Hegel, who understood history as a "self-realization and self-education of the spirit" (Abrams, 189). D'Indy himself

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In addition to the spiritual application of the spiral metaphor, d'Indy considers the historical lesson carried by the image, namely, a cyclic vision of the developmental process of music history. He illustrates the idea of a cyclic progression by means of the "Gregorian cycle," in which he applies the cyclic theory to plainchant.⁸⁸ Starting with the *primitive* genre (syllabic psalmody), plainchant moved to the *ornamental* genre (melismatic antiphons, *alleluias*), and finally reverted back to the *metric-syllabic* hymns and sequences of the *popular* genre. The three stages are analyzed as a successive development, from simple to complex and back to simple, forming a cyclic pattern.⁸⁹

was a living example of the realization of this ideal. He was known to spend a great amount of time in libraries in search of manuscripts and documents written by the most ancient masters (Borgex, 17). Many of these researches resulted in scholarly editions of past masters, for example, Arcadelt, Janequin, Rameau, Destouches, Salomone di Rossi, Monteverdi's *Orfeo* (see Rolland, *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*, 98-99). Certain reservations have been made, however, on the quality of d'Indy's editorial practices (Camille Saint-Saëns, *Les idées de M. Vincent d'Indy*, 16).

⁸⁸"Les trois états de la cantilène monodique nous apparaîtraient de la sorte comme les phases d'une évolution lente" (*Cours* 1:73; see *ibid.* 1:74).

⁸⁹D'Indy was aware that the theory of a successive development was still under debate: "La question de savoir si ces trois états sont vraiment apparus *successivement*, dans cet ordre déterminé, est encore très controversée, et de savants travaux sur la date de nos chants liturgiques sembleraient même infirmer cette opinion" (*ibid.*, 1:74). This awareness does not prevent him, however, from defending the thesis of a chronological relationship. He tries to justify his opinion by philosophical and cosmological argumentation: "Quoiqu'il en soit, notre hypothèse d'une sorte de *cycle grégorien* n'a rien d'inadmissible. Elle serait même tout à fait conforme à l'évolution du génie humain, laquelle repasse d'ordinaire, après des périodes

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Beyond the religious motivation in d'Indy's historical perspective, the political argument occupies an important position. His political preferences came with a distinct tendency towards values of the past. The nationalistic revival in France at the end of the nineteenth century was marked by a strong affirmation of traditional and corporate values, such as institutionalism, monarchism,⁹⁰ and Catholicism. Those were considered the ideal forms of institution; they all belonged to a remote past, situated before the Revolution and before the Renaissance. According to d'Indy, the emphasis on individualism, characteristic of the Renaissance, had started the breakdown of those institutions. Revolution and romanticism had brought the process

plus ou moins longues, par un point voisin de son point d'origine, mais jamais par ce point lui-même: telles les orbites planétaires dans leurs révolutions successives à travers l'espace" (ibid.). According to recent scholarship (Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, 84), more elaborate forms of chant do not necessarily point to more advanced times, but should rather be explained in the light of different types of liturgies, or different usages in liturgy. More elaborate liturgies would call for more elaborate settings; more simple situations would call for simpler settings. Furthermore, the Christian hymn can indeed be traced back to the very beginnings of the liturgical tradition in the fourth century. In the same way, it would be difficult to maintain that the shift in Latin language from qualitative to quantitative accentuation did not happen before the tenth century. D'Indy's determination to maintain his thesis in spite of historical evidence grows out of his presupposition that the history of music should be explained by the principle of the development of humankind, thus placing the development process of music into the broader and more general perspective of the human universe.

⁹⁰By his origins, d'Indy belonged to the French nobility who had lost many of their privileges and honors during the Revolution.

to further fruition and caused the weakening or disappearance of those values, to be replaced by anarchy, nonconformity, and absence of discipline. Going back to the past meant then to reaffirm and to reinstitute the values of these ancient institutions. In reaching back to plainchant, which represents the very beginnings of Catholic art and the source of the Christian musical tradition, d'Indy anchored his entire value system in the more or less distant past, and affirmed the historical importance and status of the Catholic Church.⁹¹ The latter institution became the symbol of conservative, that is, religious, values as opposed to the officially recognized liberal, secular values. The privilege which belongs to the Catholic artist, namely, of being the sole true and authentic musician, must be seen as an implication of this theory.⁹² Fulfillment could only happen within the framework of the Catholic faith.

D'Indy's influence as a historian played an important role in the establishment of the conservative values which were confirmed, a few years after his death, by August

⁹¹"Ces bienfaisantes institutions qui, depuis les origines du Christianisme, avaient élevé notre influence à l'apogée, n'avaient cessé d'imprimer aux arts, y compris la musique, leur caractère propre" (Sérieyx, *Vincent d'Indy*, 62). The reaffirmation of the strength and value of the Catholic faith during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century was a main factor in the success of the *Schola*. Groth sees a parallel between the opening of d'Indy's school and that of several Catholic universities at about the same time (Groth, 200).

⁹²Sérieyx, "Vincent d'Indy éducateur musical," 53-54.

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Sérieyx, a former student of d'Indy and one of his earliest and closest collaborators in the *Schola*:

The passing of time allows us to recognize to some degree of certitude the part the *Schola* and its leader played in this converging movement of the minds towards the general ideas of order, hierarchy, discipline and doctrine which characterized the beginning of the twentieth century in every sphere of thinking.⁹³

D'Indy's dual perspective on history, spiritual and political, was to shape the various roles music history assumed in three directions. The purpose of the study of music history was to produce a didactic, a spiritual, and a renewing experience.

The Didactic Role of History

The role of history as a didactic tool is seen by d'Indy as probably its most important and essential asset. This principle is made clear at the very beginning of his *Cours*: "At the basis of all art we shall always find an essentially didactic preoccupation."⁹⁴ This didactic perspective of history was basic to romantic thought. History was understood as a means of progressive education of the mind of man through ever-expanding knowledge

⁹³"Le recul permet de situer avec quelque assurance la part qui revient à la *Schola* et à son chef, dans ce mouvement convergent des esprits vers les idées générales d'ordre, de hiérarchie, de discipline et de doctrine, qui caractérise l'aurore du XXe siècle, dans tous les domaines de la pensée" (Sérieyx, "Vincent d'Indy éducateur musical," 49).

⁹⁴"C'est toujours la condition essentielle d'enseignement que nous allons retrouver à la base de tout art" (*Cours*, 1:10).

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(*Bildungsgeschichte*), an educational journey from childhood to maturity. D'Indy illustrates this point by means of the Hegelian image of the spiral—the revolving and ever-ascending movement around a central column, which he associates with the masterwork.

I do not see progression as a straight road extending into a plain, but I see, on the contrary, the art monument . . . as a spiral whose twists are related and consolidated by struts and buttresses.⁹⁵

The artwork is thus presented as an embodiment of the historical process. In the romantic scheme of this process, art occupied indeed a primary position; it was considered as an expression of the cultural ground, and furnished man with the instrument which would enable him to grow from a physical into a social and moral being.⁹⁶ The artwork then becomes a form of historical logic, the artist a participant in the realization and shaping of the historical process. When d'Indy speaks about the "student gaining logical knowledge of his art,"⁹⁷ he does not refer solely

⁹⁵"Je ne me figure point le progrès comme une route droite se prolongeant dans une plaine, mais je vois, au contraire, le monument-Art . . . comme une spirale dont les volutes seraient reliées et consolidées par des étais, des contreforts" ("L'artiste moderne," 343).

⁹⁶See Friedrich Schiller, "It is through Beauty that we arrive at Freedom" (*On the Aesthetic Education of Man*, 27; see also *ibid.*, 55-56; 131-140. Lamennais equally supported the role of art as "de satisfaire des besoins de l'ordre moral, de seconder les efforts de l'humanité pour atteindre sa fin, de la soulever de la terre et de lui imprimer un mouvement perpétuel d'ascension" (*Esquisse d'une philosophie*, 3:134).

⁹⁷"La connaissance logique de son art" (*Cours*, 1:5); see *idem*, "La Schola Cantorum," in Lavignac, pt. 2, 6:3624.

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to "chronological" knowledge. The latter would deal with the acquisition of such values as logic, order, and clarity, especially through the study of the various forms.⁹⁸ He rather alludes here to the organic development undergone by musical history in the same way the human organism develops in an organic way. To study the history of music means to relive the life and development of art, that is, to follow the path undertaken by humanity itself.

In its journey through the ages, art may be related to the theory of *microcosm*. Just like the world, peoples and civilizations, just like man himself, it goes through successive periods of youth, maturity, old age. . . . My goal is to have my students follow the same progression as did art itself.⁹⁹

The historical study of masterworks becomes an important and indispensable act in the spiritual training of the student: the reliving of the dynamic course of history will act as a transforming power,¹⁰⁰ and will shape his thoughts and

⁹⁸"Le but du présent ouvrage est de faciliter à l'élève . . . la connaissance logique de son art au moyen de l'étude théorique des formes musicales" (*Cours*, 1:5).

⁹⁹"L'art, dans sa marche à travers les âges, peut être ramené à la théorie du *microcosme*. Comme le monde, comme les peuples, comme les civilisations, comme l'homme lui-même, il traverse de successives périodes de jeunesse, de maturité, de vieillesse. . . . Je prétends faire suivre aux élèves la marche même que l'art a suivie" ("Une école d'art," 305).

¹⁰⁰Many of d'Indy's ideas on the role of art within the educational process of society, as, for example, its relationship to moral order, its regenerating power, and its purpose to raise society to higher levels, had already been promoted by the Saint-Simonians (Locke, 17, 35; see also Donakowski, 143).

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values, his own history.¹⁰¹ Hence the notions of duty and virtue attached to the study of the history of masterworks, which presents itself as a long road toward perfection.

History as a Spiritual Force

Beyond the didactic and intellectual benefit of the study of history, lies then a higher dimension. History acts also as a spiritual force, and historical study has an impact on the level of the personal development of the student, the artist, and, on a broader level, humanity in general. This goal is particularly reached through art as an expression of history.

From an objective standpoint, we shall define art as a means of life for the soul, that is, a means to nurture the human soul and to foster its progress. . . . By human soul we do not only mean the individual soul but the collective soul of all the generations designed to benefit from the teaching provided by the art works.¹⁰²

This purpose of art is made especially explicit in d'Indy's understanding of the concept of form. Beyond the aesthetic dimension of the study of forms, d'Indy considers them in the perspective of their spiritual and moral value. The notion of form occupies a primordial role in his work. The whole *Cours* was built on this principle and is related

¹⁰¹*Cours*, 1:16. "Je prétends faire suivre aux élèves la marche même que l'art a suivie, en sorte que subissant en leur période d'étude les transformations subies par la musique à travers les siècles, ils en sortiront d'autant mieux armés pour le combat moderne" ("Une école d'art," 305-6).

¹⁰²*Cours*, 1:9.

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directly or indirectly to the study of forms.¹⁰³ The study of the historical development of music is actually undertaken by d'Indy in the perspective of the development of form. Form becomes the law which governs historical development. Form, first of all, comes out of nature itself:

All movement, regardless of its nature, is the result of an effort which, sooner or later, must resolve itself into relaxation.¹⁰⁴

Pushing this thought a step further, d'Indy refers to a higher power which governs the various forms, as expressed by the idea of a "subordination of the historical order to a superior logical order."¹⁰⁵ While commenting, by means of a genealogical metaphor, on the uninterrupted continuity in the development of musical forms, he alludes to the same superior force:

Whether we want it or not we succeed to them [our predecessors], we proceed from them, we are called to prolong them, as successive generations of the same family or the same nation survive and go on under the impact of this superior power called avenging tradition which no one can violate with impunity.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³See Montgomery, "A Comparative Analysis of Vincent d'Indy's *Cours de Composition Musicale*," 106-107.

¹⁰⁴"Tout mouvement, de quelque nature qu'il soit, est le résultat d'un effort qui, tôt ou tard, doit se résoudre en une détente" (*Cours*, 1:39).

¹⁰⁵"Soumettre l'ordre historique lui-même à un ordre logique supérieur" (*ibid.*, 2:7).

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*, 2:16. See his diagram of the "genealogical" development of the musical forms and genres (*ibid.*, 2:13).

Commenting about d'Indy's approach to formal aspects in composition, Argoeuves remarks that

these laws were not invented here and we do not possess exclusive rights for them. They have been naturally elaborated in the course of the evolution of the musical language, responding to the necessities of a constant movement in a forward direction.¹⁰⁷

The foregoing statements reveal how d'Indy understood form explicitly and implicitly as an expression of natural law, namely, a law higher than all others, universally valid, and discoverable by reason and effort, namely, careful study. Form is invested with meaning of law; form and law become synonymous. The study of the development of music through its forms is then equivalent to studying the laws which govern this development, which govern history itself. Form as an expression of natural law takes on a character of universality and immutability, and is related to virtue and goodness, to logic and order. The study of form becomes meaningful not only on the technical level, but foremost on an ethical one. The ethical and spiritual values of the study of form or the development of form reside in the properties which form possesses in its quality of natural law. The study of form will bring one in touch with the

¹⁰⁷"Ces lois n'ont pas été inventées ici et nous n'en avons nullement le monopole. Elles se sont élaborées d'elles-mêmes au fur et à mesure de l'évolution musicale, suivant les nécessités d'une marche constante en avant" (Argoeuves, 114).

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Supreme Being; it will restore unity.¹⁰⁸ Hence, it is invested with the qualities of promoting good and avoiding evil; it deals with the common good rather than the individual one; and finally, the study of form becomes a moral necessity, a duty. All these values were fundamental to d'Indy's philosophy; they must, indeed, be seen as the "immutable qualities" of his spiral. The importance of the study of forms resides then in the fact that it will augment the student's "knowledge" in the metaphysical sense of the term, that is, will bring him in contact with the essential truths and teach him how to make his work a lasting work. It keeps the student within the limits of experienced standards which have been sanctioned by history, and prevents him from falling prey to individual ideas and from searching around in an empirical fashion. The discipline required by form contributes to the upholding of the moral values of the artist. An example of relaxation in the formal requirement is given by the Renaissance and

¹⁰⁸D'Indy refers to the Neoplatonic concept of unity in speaking about the fundamental and essential unity of art which lies in its supernatural origin. He also explains how, through art, the human soul is able to regain its original unity in reuniting its life to the Supreme Being: "L'art est un. . . . La raison de cette unité de l'Art est d'ordre surnaturel. . . . Dans l'art, . . . l'âme cherche le moyen de rattacher sa vie à l'Etre qui en est le principe" (*Cours*, 1:11).

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Reformation, where the disintegration of moral values resulted in the disintegration of form.¹⁰⁹

On a more particular level, the study of the music of the Middle Ages has a beneficial effect on the personal qualities of the artist.

It is propitious and even necessary for the development of the artist's personal qualities that he knows and studies all the previous works, thus following the example of the wonderful art workers of the Middle Ages, who were particularly concerned with imitating, in a dogmatic manner, the plastic types which were already established by their predecessors.¹¹⁰

D'Indy places his discussion on the level of the ongoing debate with the Conservatory, concerning the danger for the artist to lose his personality in consulting other artists' works. In his inaugural address, he argues how, on the contrary, the study of the works of the great masters will contribute to "elevate the mind [of the students] through the development of the idea of beauty."¹¹¹ Earlier in the

¹⁰⁹"Bien que toutes ces innovations, plus ou moins regrettables, datent seulement du XVII^e siècle, elles sont dues très certainement à l'esprit de la Renaissance (XVI^e siècle), dont les tendances pleines de prétention et de vaine personnalité firent subir au développement de tous les arts un arrêt dont nous souffrons encore" (ibid., 1:89; see also ibid., 1:215).

¹¹⁰"Il est non seulement favorable mais même indispensable au développement des qualités personnelles chez l'artiste de connaître et d'étudier toutes les productions antérieures à son époque, en prenant pour modèle les admirables ouvriers d'art du Moyen-Age, qui ne songeaient qu'à imiter, dans leurs oeuvres, les types plastiques établis, pour ainsi dire dogmatiquement, par leurs prédécesseurs" ("Une école d'art," 310).

¹¹¹"Contribuer à l'élévation de l'esprit par le développement de la notion du beau" (ibid.).

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The methodical study of musical forms will

awaken [in the heart of the students] feelings of love, wonder and enthusiasm for the highest manifestations of the human mind and will raise their soul thus strengthened by this sound and substantial food unto the summits of philosophy and art.¹¹²

This idealistic understanding of art demonstrates d'Indy's affinities with nineteenth-century transcendentalism, according to which the idea in art dominates the medium and is embodied in sensuous form. His statement on the elevation of the mind through the idea of beauty may be interpreted as a corollary of Hegel's definition of beauty as an embodiment of reason.¹¹³ The rational and critical study of works will have an impact on the role of the artist: it will elevate his mind and soul to the highest levels, and "will promote the blossoming of the genres,"¹¹⁴ all the more so as these masterworks carry within them the cognitive revelation of truth, that is, natural law. The inspiration received from the study of

¹¹²"Eveiller . . . en eux des sentiments d'amour, d'admiration, d'enthousiasme pour les hautes manifestations de l'esprit humain et élever leur âme fortifiée par cette saine et substantielle nourriture jusqu'aux sommets de la philosophie de l'art" (ibid, 306).

¹¹³"Artistic beauty stands *higher* than nature. For the beauty of art is the beauty that is born—born again, that is—of the mind" (Georg W. F. Hegel, *Introductory Lectures on Aesthetics*, trans. B. Bosanquet, ed. M. Inwood [New York: Penguin Books, 1993], 4).

¹¹⁴*Cours* 1:16.

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past masterworks, rather than resulting in mere emulation or copying, becomes, on the contrary, a source of renewal.

History as a Factor of Renewal

In discussing the artificial search for originality characteristic of his contemporaries, d'Indy proposes to find a solution in the return to ancient forms of music.

From where shall we draw the vivifying sap which will provide us with really new forms and formulas? . . . Let us not go and look for it elsewhere than in the decorative art of plainchant. . . . For that purpose, I require from all the students of the school the careful study of the ancient forms because they only are able to give our music the elements of a new life based on sure, sound and solid principles.¹¹⁵

The study of medieval music becomes thus the primary source for modern music.

The contact with [plainchant] will be a vivifying and regenerating element preventing [the artist] from falling into . . . conventional academism.¹¹⁶

In plainchant, musical language is presented in its infancy, its becoming, and the artist is given direct insight into the formative stages of the musical development. Going back

¹¹⁵"Où donc irons-nous puiser la sève vivante qui nous donnera des formes et des formules nouvelles? . . . N'allons pas la chercher autre part que dans l'art décoratif des plain-chantistes. . . . C'est dans ce but que je prescris à tous les élèves de l'Ecole l'étude attentive des antiques formes, parce qu'elles seules sont susceptibles de donner à notre musique les éléments d'une nouvelle vie fondée sur des principes sûrs, sains et solides" ("Une école d'art," 311).

¹¹⁶"La fréquentation [du plainchant] ne peut être pour le compositeur qu'un élément vivifiant et régénérateur qui le gardera de . . . l'académisme conventionnel" (Vincent d'Indy, "Chant grégorien et art moderne," unpublished manuscript, Bibliothèque Nationale, R 76997:12068, 12).

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to the beginnings of Christian art meant having access to the veritable cradle of music in its purest state.

Furthermore, only plainchant could provide this genuine source, since it had sprung from a communal situation and out of a religious action, thus being able to satisfy the criteria of authentic music. Beyond the lessons on how the present was formed, the artist also receives instruction on how to prepare for the future: the past provides the artist with models and key elements, both technical and ethical, for the renewal of contemporary music. The historical investigation becomes an agent for the shaping of the future generations.

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III. METHODS AND TECHNIQUES OF HISTORICAL INVESTIGATION

Vincent d'Indy was an articulate writer who made it a duty to clearly express his thoughts and philosophy. There are several statements which define his method with regards to the *Cours*, such as his preface, addresses published in the *Tribune de Saint-Gervais*, and declarations made by his contemporaries, especially his close collaborators. In the descriptions of the methods which form the basis of his *Cours* and his teaching method, the accent is put on logic, laws, and critical analysis, as related to musical form.¹¹⁷ With the help of the example of architecture—a technique taken over from Franck¹¹⁸—d'Indy demonstrates the principles of formal construction which reside essentially in harmonious and logical disposition, and a solid and well-balanced structure.¹¹⁹ The basic procedure adopted by d'Indy is to follow in the footsteps of the great predecessors. This is done in the manner of a *summa*, namely, by studying systematically all the musical forms encountered throughout history. The various forms are

¹¹⁷"Le développement si logique des formes musicales" ("La *Schola Cantorum*," in Lavignac, pt. 2, 6:3624. D'Indy further uses the terms "connaissance logique," and "ordre chronologique" (preface to *Cours*, 1:5); Sérieyx speaks of the "loi et logique rigoureuse de la langue musicale" ("Vincent d'Indy éducateur musical," 52); Argoeuvres mentions "l'étude raisonnée et critique des oeuvres" (116); and Combes refers to an exclusive interest in form and structure (276).

¹¹⁸*Cours*, 2:14-17.

¹¹⁹Vincent d'Indy, *César Franck*, 240. See also Argoeuvres, 113.

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investigated in the perspective of their evolution, with the endeavor to reveal especially their origins. These findings will in turn determine their classification. D'Indy is indeed very keen on arranging, classifying, and combining. His inclination towards order and classification had led Rolland to compare the *Cours* to a product of the gothic spirit: "This book seems to be of the Middle Ages by reason of a sort of scholastic spirit of abstraction and classification."¹²⁰ The ultimate goal of this process of classification is to fit all the forms encountered into the two fundamental categories of sacred and secular. This is achieved by determining whether a particular music was initially based on the rhythms of the words, or on the rhythms of gesture.¹²¹ In this way, d'Indy will be able to determine the preexistence or predominance of one type of music over another.

The reference to primary sources is one of d'Indy's key principles in his historical investigation. It had been taught to him by Franck, who constantly referred to the past masters. It had also been confirmed by the practice of great composers such as, for instance, Beethoven, who modeled his early works on those of Mozart and Clementi; and J. S. Bach, who copied the works of Vivaldi and the French

¹²⁰"Du moyen-âge, ce livre semble être encore par une sorte d'esprit scolastique d'abstraction et de classification" (Rolland, *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*, 101).

¹²¹Eventually, this classification process leads into the distinction between dramatic and symphonic music.

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clavecinists.¹²² The medieval sources he explicitly refers to are the *Musica Enchiriadis*, the works of Hucbald, Guido's *Micrologus*, Hermannus Contractus, and Monachus Guilielmus. He also mentions Romanus, Perotin, Franco of Cologne, Jerome of Moravia, Philippe de Vitry, Jean de Muris, Walter Odington, and Franchinus Gafurius. His main works of reference were of course the volumes by Coussemaker and Gerbert,¹²³ but he also often referred to secondary sources, as, for instance, Gevaert¹²⁴ in reference to the origins of chant, and Tiersot (1857-1936)¹²⁵ with regards to the chanson. As a starting point, d'Indy adopts the most ancient musical texts which are sufficiently well known and trustworthy.¹²⁶ This method confirms his philosophy of the most ancient state of things as being the most original, the closest to the sources, hence the most authentic. In spite of his emphasis on historical documents, d'Indy actually very seldom explicitly quotes a text or gives a specific reference. Most of his remarks remain vague or general and are made in passing. Furthermore, his consultation of primary sources is often found lacking in

¹²²"Une école d'art," 310.

¹²³Coussemaker, *Scriptorum*; Gerbert, *Scriptores*.

¹²⁴Gevaert, *Les origines du chant liturgique*; id., *La mélopée antique dans le chant de l'Eglise latine*.

¹²⁵Julien Tiersot, *Histoire de la chanson populaire en France* (Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit, 1889).

¹²⁶*Cours* 1:5, n. 1.

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thoroughness and, in some instances, is even erroneous. Even though there might have been an intent to use a historical-critical approach, in consonance with the German and Benedictine models, the actual subject matter of d'Indy's *Cours* was more akin to the philosophical than the critical approach.

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CHAPTER 3

MEDIEVAL MUSIC IN VINCENT D'INDY'S *COURS DE COMPOSITION MUSICALE*

I. THE ORIGINS OF MEDIEVAL MUSIC

To determine the origins of medieval music was of prime importance to d'Indy's study of the history of music. The Middle Ages were the time of the birth of Christian religion, and therefore, medieval music represented the cradle of Christian music.¹ It was then indispensable to study the sources of this music because of its "original" nature, because it carried the spirit of primitive, authentic faith which endowed it with all the elements necessary to generate future forms. In dealing with medieval music, d'Indy comments on the origins of three types of music, sacred, popular, and polyphonic, paying special attention to the relationship between sacred and popular music. He proposes three sources for the origins of music, that is, of philological, sociological, and religious order.

¹*Cours*, 1:84.

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The Philological Argument

Like the ancients and like his romantic contemporaries, d'Indy explains that music initially grew out of literature. He establishes a definite relationship between the origins of plainchant and the rhythm of language: "Religious music takes its source from the art of the rhythm of spoken language."² In other words, plainchant grew directly out of the prosody of the liturgical texts.

The Sociological Argument

The sociological process at work in the beginnings of music is explained by d'Indy in terms of music being the product of a national expression. In effect, his suspicion towards romanticism does not keep him from echoing Rousseau's ideas.³ The reason for this paradox can be explained by the fact that both Rousseau and d'Indy attributed great value to the moral and emotional forces of the collectivity, namely, the primitive "folk" for Rousseau, and the primitive "community of faith" for d'Indy. The latter remarks, indeed, that simple song or primitive poetry sprang up from feelings of admiration for heroes, or for the beauty of nature. This stage, however, does not yet belong to the musical domain. Music is born only when the artist,

²"Le chant religieux provient de l'art du rythme parlé" (ibid., 1:84).

³See Rousseau, *Essay on the Origin of Languages*, 50-51; cf. our chapter Vincent d'Indy: The Author, note 22.

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in response to the natural human desire for union, associates the whole people with his own thoughts and makes them sing with him. This collective song, or rhythmic monody, is seen by d'Indy as standing at the origins of music.

By giving heed to the desire of union inherent to human nature, the poet wanted to have the people participate in his thoughts and make them sing with him. This marks the beginning of collective song or rhythmic monody, the origins of *music*.⁴

From the outset, then, d'Indy affirms the corporate character of musical art over and against any individualistic approach. Music is seen as the expression of a collective sensitivity, as the representation of a whole nation, and not of an individual's emotions.⁵ The ideal representative which fulfills this communal requirement is plainchant, since it grew out of the same circumstances, namely, as the expression of a community of believers. It thus alone possesses the required qualities to function as originator and progenitor of all music.

⁴"Le poète, obéissant au désir d'union inhérent à la nature humaine, voulut associer tout le peuple à ses pensées et le faire chanter avec lui. Alors apparut le chant collectif, la monodie rythmée, origines de la *musique*" (*Cours*, 1:10).

⁵In spite of d'Indy's ardent antiromantic stance, his communitarian outlook represents a strong romantic value as exemplified particularly by the Saint-Simonians and the great impact they had on religious, social, and political thinking of the nineteenth century.

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The Religious Argument

The other important source for the origins of music is seen by d'Indy in religion.

The idea of art appears to us as being intrinsically connected with the idea of religion, adoration, and divine worship.⁶

According to him, music takes its origins in God, it is an "emanation of God."⁷ Authentic music is found only in sacred music, which becomes the source of all other music. The latter is subordinated to it, and can only be a result of it. Seen from this perspective, plainchant can be said to contain "the principle of all music,"⁸ and it becomes, on a chronological level, the "uncontested ancestor of our musical art."⁹ Both monophonic popular music and polyphonic liturgical music will take their origin in plainchant. To study the origins of modern music means then to study the origins of medieval music. In his address to the *Schola* in November 1900, d'Indy compares chant to "a

⁶"L'idée de l'art nous apparaît donc, dès l'origine, indissolublement liée à l'idée religieuse, à l'adoration ou au culte divine" (*Cours*, 1:11).

⁷"L'art, émanation divine" ("L'artiste moderne," 346).

⁸"Le chant grégorien est le principe de toute musique" ("Chant grégorien et art moderne," 2).

⁹"L'ancêtre incontestable de notre art musical" ("Chant grégorien et art moderne," 2). In discussing the origins of music, d'Indy does not include a study of the music of antiquity since no musical documents have been preserved from those times. He mentions that the only materials extant on ancient music are either criticisms or appreciations which would not allow the researcher to go beyond a formulation of hypotheses (*Cours*, 1:65-66).

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primitive stock onto which the branches of modern social art will be grafted later."¹⁰

I will argue that Gregorian chant comes not only very close to our musical art, but it is even its undisputable forefather, since almost all the symphonic or dramatic forms which succeeded one another through the centuries, and whose invention has been attributed to such and such a composer, did in fact already exist in a very characteristic manner in the beautiful Gregorian pieces which constituted the whole of music during a thousand years.¹¹

Before d'Indy, Gevaert had already dealt with the origins of the liturgical monodies. He saw them as a chronological successor to earlier music, namely, "a more or less faithful reproduction of pagan melodies from times before Christianity."¹² D'Indy, of course, did not subscribe to this theory. Though he showed respect for Gevaert as a scholar, he countered the latter's argument with two considerations. The first brings out the nonrelevancy of the issue: "It is of little significance to know if these liturgical monodies are really Christian creations, which is

¹⁰"La souche primitive sur laquelle viendront plus tard se greffer les rameaux de l'art social moderne" ("Une école d'art," 310).

¹¹"Je soutiendrai que non seulement le chant grégorien touche de près à notre art musical, mais qu'il en est même l'ancêtre incontestable, puisque presque toutes les formes, symphoniques ou dramatiques, qui se sont succédées au cours des siècles et dont l'invention a été attribuée à tel ou tel compositeur, existait déjà, et d'une façon très caractérisée, dans les belles pièces grégoriennes qui, durant un millier d'années, ont été, en somme, toute la musique" ("Chant grégorien et art moderne," 2).

¹²"La reproduction plus ou moins fidèle de mélodies païennes, antérieures au christianisme" (*Cours*, 1:66). See Gevaert, *Les origines du chant liturgique de l'église latine*, 25-26.

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possible." The second affirms the primary principle of a religious origin of all music: "Is not the principle of every art essentially of religious order; was not the first musical manifestation a prayer, a sacred song?"¹³ It appears that d'Indy did not place his discussion of the origins of sacred music (*plainchant*) on a chronological level, but considered the issue from a philosophical point of view. He, therefore, completely overlooked the question of possible anterior influences on Gregorian chant.¹⁴

With regards to the origins of popular music, d'Indy does not believe it took its roots from within the people,

¹³"Il importe peu de savoir si ces monodies liturgiques sont vraiment de création chrétienne, ce qui nous semble très admissible. . . . Le principe de tout art n'est-il pas, du reste, d'ordre purement religieux, et la première manifestation musicale ne fut-elle point une prière, un chant sacré?" (*Cours*, 1:65-66).

¹⁴D'Indy was reluctant to consider both Greek and Hebrew influences on chant. The presence of Greek texts in parts of the Mass (*Kyrie*) did not convince him any further. As for the relationship between early Christian and Jewish synagogal liturgy, his views were rather consistent with his political tendencies. It is significant that several French and German scholars had already acknowledged, at that time, a close connection between the two systems. See Monseigneur Louis Duchesne, *Christian Worship: Its Origin and Evolution*, 5th ed. (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1937), 7, 46, 447 (the first English edition is dated 1903); see also Peter Wagner, *Einführung in die Gregorianischen Melodien: Ein Handbuch der Choralwissenschaft*, Part 1: *Ursprung und Entwicklung der liturgischen Gesangsformen bis zum Ausgange des Mittelalters* (Freiburg: Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1895; reprint Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1962), 6, 8, 16, 17. Furthermore, Gastoué, who taught *plainchant* at the *Schola*, had established a very clear relationship between the two traditions (see *Les origines du chant Romain*, 3-24).

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the tendencies of the people being too "simplistic."¹⁵ He presents the people as "naive and unconscious imitators," who had to be taught their art.

The people imitates rather than creates. . . . They are, on the contrary, marvelous adapters.¹⁶

D'Indy's interest in the people was tinted with aristocratic prejudice. His desire to enlighten and to teach was of a patronizing nature.¹⁷ His royalist upbringing and outlook certainly played a role in his understanding of the origins of popular music.¹⁸

According to d'Indy, the great teacher who taught the people of the Middle Ages was plainchant.¹⁹ Medieval popular music finds its source in the liturgical melodies:

¹⁵*Cours*, 1:83. The term people should be understood here in the sense of "folk," "common people" as distinguished from an elitist class.

¹⁶"Le peuple imite plutôt qu'il ne crée. . . . Il est au contraire un merveilleux adaptateur" (*ibid.*, 1:185; 1:84).

¹⁷According to Rolland, "M. d'Indy a le sentiment profond de la solidarité humaine, et il aime le peuple; mais il le traite avec une bonté affectueusement protectrice, et un peu dédaigneuse; il le regarde comme un enfant, qu'il faut guider. L'art populaire qu'il préconise n'est pas un art du peuple, mais d'une aristocratie qui s'intéresse au peuple. Il vaut l'éclairer, le former, le diriger, au moyen de l'art" (*Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*, 115).

¹⁸Royalistic tendencies were typical for sympathizers with the *Action Française* (see Vallas, *Vincent d'Indy*, 2:42). In his youth, d'Indy had been a Bonapartist; but soon he had renounced that ideal to return to his aristocratic sources (Paul, "Rameau, d'Indy, and French Nationalism," 52).

¹⁹His fundamental statement, "Le principe de tout art est d'ordre religieux," forms the opening lines of his chapter on the *chanson* (*Cours*, 1:83).

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The primitive melodies which are authentic popular melodies, those which survived throughout the ages, . . . almost all of them are without doubt interpretations of liturgical monodies. It is completely natural, then, to think that the people who were then religious, knowing no other music but the one they heard in churches, came to use the elements gathered in their memory to adapt them to their own needs, changing them and molding them to their own image.²⁰

D'Indy eliminates the music of the *troubadours* and *trouvères* as a possible source of popular music. He admits that the courtly musicians might be at the origin of some of the popular melodies; however, their music may not really be considered as popular, since socially speaking they did not belong to the people.²¹

The transfer from liturgical to popular music was the work of cultural agents. In keeping with the medieval practice of troping, d'Indy explains, secular words were

²⁰"Les mélodies primitives vraiment populaires, celles qui ont subsisté à travers les âges . . . sont presque toutes, il est difficile d'en douter, des interprétations de monodies liturgiques. Il est tout naturel, en effet, de penser que le peuple, alors religieux, ne connaissant d'autre musique que celle qu'il entendait dans les églises, profita des éléments réunis dans sa mémoire pour les adapter à ses propres besoins, en les modifiant, en les pétrissant pour ainsi dire à son image" (ibid., 1:84). The same development process from liturgical to popular can be verified later for the polyphonic chanson, which d'Indy dates from the fifteenth century. In an earlier statement, d'Indy contradicts himself with regards to this filiation. As he establishes a connection between the *alleluia jubilus* and the popular chanson, he mentions an influence in the opposite direction, namely, that of popular music on Gregorian chant: "In the tonal formula of the tract as well as in the *jubilus melisma* of the *alleluia*, one cannot ignore the influence of popular music which sprang up from the old art of dance" (ibid., 1:70).

²¹Ibid., 1:84, n. 1.

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applied to "the long rhythmic vocalises of the *jubilus*" so that they became "true popular refrains."

The oldest examples of popular song borrow their melodic patterns from the Gregorian monodies, such as the *alleluia* and *tract*, etc.; with these ornamental forms we witness the appearance of long rhythmic vocalises, which are true popular refrains, perfectly apt to receive secular words.²²

This means then that the liturgical melodies were modified and adapted according to local characteristic customs and traditions, in order to fit the particular needs of dance.²³ Indeed, d'Indy understood the function of the

²²"Les plus anciens spécimens du chant populaire empruntent leur forme mélodique aux monodies grégoriennes du genre des *alleluia*, traits, etc.; c'est, en effet, avec ces formes ornementales qu'apparaissent les longues vocalises rythmées, véritables refrains populaires tout désignés pour recevoir une application à des paroles profanes" (ibid., 1:85). It is not clear what kind of rhythm d'Indy refers to when he speaks of "rhythmic vocalizations." With regards to the rhythm of chant, at another place, he clearly advocates the close interdependence between the rhythm of the music and the free and flexible rhythm of the words. But in this particular case, d'Indy deals with vocalizations, that is, wordless sections of chant. In speaking about the rhythm of the *jubilus* vocalises we must assume, then, that he refers to specific rhythmic and metrical patterns which made them particularly apt and suitable as dance songs.

²³This theory contains an implicit rejection of the principle of *contrafacta*. According to d'Indy, when new words are applied to existing music, words with completely different connotations, for example, from a sacred to a secular content, it becomes imperative to totally change the character of the music, its melody and its rhythm. The passage from sacred to secular brings with it a transformation of the initial character of the music: it loses its dramatic content. The refrain is a typical example of such a transformation since its primary qualities are the neutrality of its melody, rhythm and meters, which follow a regular pattern. Such music is no longer dependent on words; it is what d'Indy calls "symphonic music."

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medieval chanson primarily as a dance song.²⁴ Dance rhythms, therefore, became the second source of the medieval chanson. Those rhythms had been lost after Greek antiquity²⁵ but reappeared during the Middle Ages, though in a much simplified manner, in the form of secular dance.²⁶ It appears, then, that although the popular *chanson* takes its source in chant, both genres are very different from each other, according to the purpose for which they were used. Chant is a dramatic form of music; it very closely espouses the rhythm and accents of the word. The *chanson*, on the other hand, by means of its refrain, is an early form of symphonic music, since its rhythms are not dictated by the words, but rather by the movements of the body.²⁷

The origins of polyphony must be found in similar principles: the two sources of polyphonic music are found in chant, and the impact of cultural forces. Both factors are to be considered in a religious perspective. At first, the

²⁴Ibid., 1:83. He refers on this matter to Tiersot's work, *Histoire de la chanson populaire en France*, 324.

²⁵*Cours*, 1:27-28; cf. also 1:18-19; 1:83-84.

²⁶Ibid., 1:84. D'Indy characterizes these simplified rhythms as "common": "La danse antique subsiste seulement dans le peuple, mais elle s'y transforme, s'y vulgarise, et perd en grande partie son caractère artistique" (ibid., 1:28).

²⁷"Les premières formes de la musique instrumentale, c'est-à-dire symphonique, sont directement issues du chant profane, tandis que le chant sacré sert de point de départ à notre art de l'expression vocale ou dramatique" (ibid., 1:84).

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cultural influence on the rise of polyphony must be seen in the combative and apologetic spirit of the Crusades. Up to then, the Christian faith had been confined to the Church—as expressed by its interior art. With the Crusades, it spills over its walls and starts proclaiming its message outside. There is a distinct purpose behind the loud proclamation of the Christian faith, and art is very active in this enterprise, since its purpose is henceforth to attract people from the outside. Art is given a "national" significance. This can readily be seen by the change in architectural style (from Romanesque to Gothic) and the great activity in cathedral-building which characterizes this era in general. Music follows the same trend; its purpose becomes a decorative one, that is, to attract and to seduce the masses. This trend found an expression, among others, in the addition of supplementary voices in order to enhance the splendor of religious ceremonies:

Then one single melody will no more be sufficient to the active and militant faith. The spirit of combativeness will penetrate even into the art of sounds, through polyphony and vocal counterpoint, where the superimposed parts are in continuous conflict, a sort of musical tournament proper to enhance the glamour of religious ceremonies.²⁸

²⁸"Un seul chant ne suffira plus désormais à la foi agissante et militante. L'esprit de combativité pénètre jusque dans l'art des sons, par la polyphonie et le contrepoint vocal, où les parties superposées sont en perpétuel antagonisme, véritable tournoi musical, bien fait pour rehausser l'éclat des cérémonies religieuses" (ibid., 1:214).

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The music itself has become a reflection of the historical event; polyphony may justly be considered as a child of its times.

Parallel to this political influence, d'Indy sees an explanation of the origins of the polyphonic phenomenon in the changes which took place, out of utilitarian reasons, in the custom of liturgical singing.²⁹ He explains how the practice of *magadizing*³⁰ too often resulted in barbaric sounds due to the ill-trained voices of the people who tried to find a "personal accommodation" to the melody.³¹

Some voices which hardly reached the high or low pitches because of little training, quite instinctively substituted for them in the melody with intermediary notes, which were more accessible to them. . . . Some followed closely the melody of the cantors, others doubled it at the octave; still others wavered between the two, because of the limitations of their voices, thus creating a new part.³²

²⁹Ibid., 1:92.

³⁰Magadizing refers to the singing in parallel octaves due to physiological conditions of voice registers between men and women or children, a practice already known to the Greeks (see Hoppins, *Medieval Music*, 192).

³¹Vincent d'Indy shares d'Ortigue's concept of chant as democratic music, as appears from the latter's presentation of liturgical chant as being performed by the community of faithful, rather than a professional choir (see Donakowski, 150).

³²"Certaines voix peu exercées, atteignant difficilement les notes trop aiguës ou trop graves pour elles, leur substituèrent instinctivement dans la mélodie des sons intermédiaires plus accessibles. . . . Les uns suivaient rigoureusement la mélodie des chantres, d'autres la doublant à l'octave, d'autres enfin hésitant entre les deux, en raison des limites étroites de leur voix, et créant ainsi une sorte de partie nouvelle" (*Cours*, 1:92).

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The direct result of this situation incited musicians to "recognize the usefulness of determining and writing down these intermediate parts, by regulating their juxtaposition according to the principal melody."³³ The *organum* was born. D'Indy believed that this latter phenomenon antedated the impact of the political situation with regards to the beginnings of polyphonic music. The trend towards increasing embellishment only took advantage of an already existing practice of singing in multiple voices, the primitive *organum*, which led to the invention of descant.³⁴

D'Indy's theories on the origins of medieval music reveal a mindset very much steeped in the thought patterns of the Middle Ages. In attributing the origins of all music, and especially of medieval music, to a divine power and religious events, he follows closely in the footsteps of the Middle Ages which had applied the same universal argumentation to its understanding of the origins of music.

³³"[Certains musiciens] reconnurent l'utilité de déterminer et d'écrire ces parties intermédiaires, en réglementant leur juxtaposition avec la mélodie principale" (ibid).

³⁴Ibid.

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II. THE SHAPING OF MEDIEVAL MUSIC

In his discussion of the origins of medieval music, d'Indy shows that the primary level of art is constituted by the theological argument. His theory of the shaping of medieval music can be contained in terms of an organic development:³⁵ plainchant is the mother plant out of which will grow both popular (secular) music and polyphony. Chant forms the stable element in the evolutionary process, the one which will hold together and govern the movements of two other elements which played an active role in the shaping of medieval music, that is, language and the intellectual environment, the *esprit du siècle*. The contribution of these two factors happened in concordance with the progressive evolution of the human mind and the changes taking place in a given civilization, of which both are an expression. The actual progress achieved is measured in terms of an ever-increasing degree of expressivity which becomes the criterion for evolution.³⁶

³⁵The term organic should be understood here in the sense of an entity unified by a single set of values. In d'Indy's perspective, then, and with regards to music, organic takes on the meaning of "religious" and applies particularly well to the Middle Ages, which he saw as an epoch unified by the religious principle.

³⁶D'Indy's concept of expressivity will be examined more in depth in our chapter on his aesthetic understanding of medieval music. Expressivity becomes with d'Indy a symbol of progress and elevation, capable of counteracting the effect of humanism and liberalism. A higher degree of expressivity was seen as a means to inculcate in the people stronger feelings for good in society, those feelings being understood as a necessary precondition for action and thought. Expressivity, then, contributed directly to moral

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The Role of Religion

During the first stages of its development, music was taken from its condition as a utilitarian art to that of a liberal art. In each stage, music corresponded to a specific need of man. While its initial purpose had been to answer a physiological need of the human body, in its second stage music fulfills a vital necessity of the human soul. The role of the religious dimension was essential in this development. The transmutation from the "utilitarian" stage into the "spiritual" stage occurred with the help of religion: what used to be a popular recreation has now become prayer, collective celebration.

Utilitarian art which addresses the needs of physical life was transformed by faith, that is, by religiosity, into liberal art, that is, a way of life for the soul.³⁷

In d'Indy's eyes, it is only from this stage on that one can speak of art. The religious element furnishes the starting point and the key to the development and continuity of the musical language. Hence, the importance placed upon Gregorian chant as a factor of continuity in the development of medieval music and all music to come. By virtue of the "intimate fusion of all music with the immortal Gregorian

education. The importance of the expressive element in music as a factor of social progress had formed an essential part of Saint-Simonian thought (see Locke, 46-48).

³⁷"C'est par la foi, et même, si l'on veut, par la religiosité que l'art utile, répondant aux besoins de la vie du corps, se transforme en art libéral, moyen de vie pour l'âme" (*Cours*, 1:10-11).

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melodies,"³⁸ past and present are connected by a continuous line of development. The idea of the continuity of art throughout the ages is indeed a key thought in d'Indy's *Cours*. Sérieyx, in his biography of d'Indy, describes the latter's outlook on the development of music as

a long, uneven path which reaches in an uninterrupted line back to the fourth century, possibly even beyond.³⁹

The relationship between medieval and modern music illustrates "the sure and slow artistic evolution,"⁴⁰ the long journey back to the original state, represented by plain-chant. The progress which was achieved during this endeavor is represented by the higher level of expressivity acquired at the end of the journey.

The Role of Language and Rhythm

There exists, for d'Indy, a definite relationship between language and the development of medieval music, in terms of expressivity, form, and rhythm. In this respect, the Middle Ages occupy a special place in music history,

³⁸"L'intime fusion . . . avec toute la musique, de ces immortelles cantilènes grégoriennes" (Sérieyx, *Vincent d'Indy*, 25; see idem, "Vincent d'Indy éducateur musical," 53).

³⁹"L'aboutissement du long sentier accidenté dont le parcours ininterrompu remonte certainement jusqu'au IV^e siècle de l'ère chrétienne et peut-être au-delà" (Sérieyx, *Vincent d'Indy*, 61).

⁴⁰"La sûre et lente évolution artistique" ("L'artiste moderne," 343).

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because major changes in this sense occurred precisely during this era. Three facets of language played a major role in this process of evolution. By its very nature, that is, as a vehicle for passions and emotions, language had an effect on the expressive character of music. Then, its literary forms will have an influence on the shaping of musical form. And finally, the accentuation of language, or rather the changes undergone by language accentuation during the Middle Ages, were to have a determining effect on the shaping of musical rhythm.

D'Indy basically distinguishes between the two categories of dramatic and symphonic music. The highest degree of expression is found in dramatic music, because of its close relationship to language, the carrier of emotions. Symphonic (instrumental) music,⁴¹ being deprived of words, carries a much lesser expressive content, because it has lost any dramatic preoccupation and fulfills simply a decorative role. According to d'Indy, both the dramatic and symphonic categories are present in plainchant. The dramatic types are found in all the genres associated with words, such as psalmody, recitation, antiphonal verses, alleluia verses, and so forth. The dramatic character of these genres is further validated by their sacred origin. The symphonic types appear in the textless parts of chant. They include the vocalises of highly melismatic antiphons,

⁴¹D'Indy understands "symphonic" in the sense of instrumental music (*Cours*, 1:85; 2:5-8).

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the *alleluia jubila*, and the tonal formulas separating the verses of tracts.⁴² Being textless, the expressivity of these genres decreases and they become more neutral. D'Indy shows how these textless passages lie at the crossroads between sacred and popular (secular) music, and share common qualities. He compares the textless passages of chant to "genuine refrains," similar to those of the popular *chanson* which do not carry any dramatic role, but whose sole purpose is to "arrest the attention of the audience."⁴³ The neutral character of the refrain is illustrated by the *chanson* refrain. Its poor expressivity is confirmed by the nature of its text, which is either very simple or has no meaning at all:

It is a simple shout, a vocalise, an onomatopoeia, or some indefinite words that the people repeat in dancing, without understanding.⁴⁴

The nondramatic character of the refrain is further demonstrated by the absence of any formal pattern. Very often, the refrain simply adopts the melodic pattern of a previous period. D'Indy is also reluctant to attribute a status of dramatic music to the texted sections of the *chansons*. He sees in the strophic arrangement of the

⁴²Ibid., 1:66-71.

⁴³"Ces formules sont de véritables refrains, destinés . . . à reposer l'attention de l'auditoire" (ibid., 1:70; see also ibid., 1:68).

⁴⁴"C'est un simple cri, une vocalise, une onomatopée, ou bien quelques paroles sans suite, que le peuple répète en dansant, sans chercher à comprendre" (ibid., 1:90).

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chansons an indication of moving away from the dramatic genres due to the repetition of similar musical patterns to different words, a technique which necessarily implies a very strong independence of music and words. The role of popular music—represented by the *chanson* refrain and, by extension, the textless chant passages—was then to announce and prepare the way for symphonic, instrumental music.⁴⁵

The movement away from the dramatic genre towards the symphonic one is accompanied, in d'Indy's eyes, by a progressive decrease and loss of expressiveness.⁴⁶ The expressive stage of symphonic music is qualified as merely decorative and inferior to the dramatic genre. However, d'Indy does not necessarily oppose the two genres. He rather sees them in an evolutionary relationship: dramatic music is the source of all genres, and it encompasses all the other genres. This is very much in keeping with his outlook on sacred and popular music. The dramatic genre is the highest expression of musical art, and it can only be attributed to its noblest kind, namely, sacred music.⁴⁷

⁴⁵D'Indy especially gives it credit for opening the way to such future forms as the *Rondeau*, or the *tutti/solo* alternations.

⁴⁶"A mesure que la date des chansons populaires devient plus récente, l'intention expressive disparaît de plus en plus dans le couplet, qui prend le caractère d'un simple dessin purement instrumental ou symphonique, auquel ces paroles viennent se juxtaposer, sans nul souci du sentiment, ni même de l'accentuation" (*Cours*, 1:86).

⁴⁷D'Indy's preference for the dramatic genre over the symphonic one is made plain in comparing the number of works he wrote to words. Out of a total of 120 works, 61 are

Language as a literary form would also have an effect on the development of medieval music, namely, in the shaping of its formal patterns. D'Indy makes it clear that those patterns were originally contained in the various genres of plainchant, which provides indeed the source of all modern musical form. Thus, for instance, the single melodic period takes example from chant genres like the *Gloria*; the binary forms from the psalm versets; and the ternary forms grew out of the *Kyrie* or *Alleluia* sections of chant.⁴⁸ Musical phrases were closely patterned after their poetic models. D'Indy sees the development of musical form as a progression from a simple to a more complex stage, a process which

purely dramatic pieces (13 operas, 9 sacred vocal works, 21 songs). The symphonic pieces total 59 (24 orchestral works, 20 chamber works, 24 keyboard works). Out of these 59, 25 were written specifically on a story, a legend, a song, or a popular theme (in his orchestral works, 19 out of 24 are on such specific subjects). If we classify those works together with the dramatic genres, since they are explicitly connected either with a text or a specific subject matter, the final proportion yields 86 dramatic works vs. 49 symphonic works. (The numbers have been taken from the list of works given in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Indy, Vincent d'"). This penchant for dramatic works was also noticed by his biographer Vallas: "Partisan de la musique pure, il ne pouvait se passer d'un support sentimental, littéraire, dramatique; même dans les sonates, quatuors, symphonies il traduisit un sujet soit déclaré, soit caché, ou tout au moins la lutte de deux éléments mélodiques, représentatifs l'un du bien, l'autre du mal. En somme, ennemi de la musique à programme, il n'écrivit guère, sous les titres les plus significatifs, que de la musique descriptive" (Vallas, *Vincent d'Indy*, 2:350).

⁴⁸*Cours*, 1:41-42. In the same way, the untexted parts of chant are the forerunners of our modern symphonic genres. The *jubili*, for instance, will bring forth "le principe de la variation ornée," and must be understood as "l'état primitif de la grande variation amplificatrice," especially as found in Beethoven (*ibid.*, 1:68).

occurred parallel to the modifications taking place at the same time in literature. In speaking of the chanson, d'Indy demonstrates how the growing complexity of the musical phrases was a consequence of the increasing length of the poetic verses.⁴⁹ While literary strophes consisting of one verse made of two decasyllables were current practice in the eleventh century, during the twelfth century the length of the strophes had increased progressively to four verses, and in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, to eight verses. In the same way, the musical phrases increased over the centuries from a single period to binary and ternary periods, with various repetition patterns and alternation with refrains.⁵⁰

Still a different relationship between language and music is revealed when d'Indy examines the effect of language accentuation on the development of medieval music. When, during the tenth century, qualitative accentuation, characteristic of rhymed verse, replaced prosody, regular square and symmetrical rhythms were introduced into music and took the place of the free rhythms found in syllabic and melismatic chant.⁵¹ The highly melismatic forms were

⁴⁹Ibid., 1:86-87.

⁵⁰Ibid., 1:86.

⁵¹These new rhythmic patterns also impacted art music and became forerunners of *ars mensurabilis*. "A partir du Xe siècle, on voit peu à peu le vers rimé remplacer l'ancien nombre prosodique; par là s'introduit dans la mélodie le rythme cadencé et symétrique, précurseur de l'*ars mensurabilis*" (ibid., 1:73).

replaced by simple settings of hymns and sequences. Both regular meters and simple syllabic settings were considered by d'Indy as "truly popular expressions."⁵² These qualities were characteristic of the two types of popular music during the Middle Ages, namely, the dance songs, and the proses, hymns, and sequences,⁵³ which d'Indy calls "the true type of popular religious song of the Middle Ages."⁵⁴ The late date listed by d'Indy for those changes (tenth century)⁵⁵ may be explained by his desire to accommodate his theory of posteriority of the hymns and sequences (popular genre) in relationship to the ornamented types of chant (sacred genre). His argumentation shows a definite intent to demonstrate the precedence and superiority of religious music over popular music. He does not deny the great age of the first hymns, but in spite of this contradiction, he holds on to his postulate that the popular genres grew out of religious music, and thus must be posterior to it. He argues that on the basis of their regular meters, these liturgical pieces belong to more

⁵²"Le genre vraiment populaire" (ibid., 1:73).

⁵³"De ce genre sont les *proses* ou *séquences*, destinés, dit-on, à remplacer les formules jubilatoires des *alleluias*, devenues trop compliquées pour le peuple" (ibid.).

⁵⁴"Le vrai type du chant religieux populaire médiéval" (ibid., 1:73).

⁵⁵Compare, for instance, with Emmanuel who presents these changes as taking place between the fourth and the seventh centuries.

recent times, closer to the epoch of mensural theories.⁵⁶ In doing so, he excludes the theory of a coexistence of both traditions, with mutual influence, and affirms again the evolutionary relationship between sacred and popular music.

The Role of the *esprit du siècle*

According to d'Indy, the same elements which were active in forming the thought patterns of the Middle Ages were also at work in the development of medieval music. They belonged to the theological and sociological realms, and were to influence the shaping of medieval music in directions which show different kinds and degrees of expressiveness. As a result of these cultural influences, d'Indy distinguishes among dramatic, ornamental, utilitarian, collective, and abstract genres of music.

D'Indy shows how during the early Middle Ages, the theological element was predominant in the shaping of culture. In the musical domain, it influenced music, that is, chant, in two directions and brought about two distinct genres, namely, dramatic and ornamental. The early Middle Ages were a time of "interior art,"⁵⁷ predominantly turned towards adoration and contemplation. The pure lines of music with their almost geometric clarity are like the pendant of the unadorned Romanesque architecture and the

⁵⁶*Cours*, 1:73.

⁵⁷"Art intérieur" (*ibid.*, 1:212-13).

plastic arts of that time. Music's only purpose was "prayer, the teaching of the eternal truths, and the humble proclamation of God's glory."⁵⁸ These are the times of psalmody and recitation, and some of the older, simpler antiphons, when the music was molded to the body of the words in the same way as mosaics and reliefs were an integral part of church walls and floors.⁵⁹ The word is supreme ruler, and music is governed by *dramatic* expression. The greatest example of this dramatic art is found in plainchant. In a following stage, the "interior" quality of the theological dimension is expanded under the influence of political factors. This is a period of expansion and proclamation. Music becomes an "exterior art," interested in "proclaiming its faith and attracting the people into the house of God."⁶⁰ This is the time of the great Gothic cathedrals, the time also of the Crusades, and in music, the time of the "most complicated ornaments of jubilation and symbolism."⁶¹ Music is governed by the *ornamental* expression.

⁵⁸"La prière, l'enseignement des vérités éternelles, et l'humble proclamation de la gloire de Dieu" (ibid., 1:213).

⁵⁹Ibid., 1:66. D'Indy explains those early antiphons as "exposé de doctrine, sorte de petit drame mélodique, sublime d'expression vraie et de concision" (ibid.).

⁶⁰"Proclamer hautement sa foi, et attirer le peuple dans la maison de Dieu" (ibid., 1:213).

⁶¹"Les ornements jubilatoires et symboliques les plus compliqués" (ibid., 1:214).

Within the ornamental genres of chant, d'Indy distinguishes two groups: the decorative and the symbolic. The decorative group is constituted by the antiphons, the *alleluia vocalises (jubili)*, and the melismatic *organum*.⁶² Their decorative nature is also revealed in their notation, which is characterized by greater complexity: these chants are not syllabic; they use compound neumes: accent neumes, expressive neumes, and decorative neumes.⁶³ In spite of their appurtenance to the decorative genre, however, d'Indy feels the need to affirm the fundamentally dramatic character of the *alleluias*, namely, by virtue of their *versets*.⁶⁴ Because of their close connection to word accentuation, the *versets* are solidly anchored in the dramatic genre. Furthermore, even if the richly ornamented melismatic lines make it more difficult to perceive the dramatic expression of the text, d'Indy affirms that the latter "still subsists, at least in the general spirit of the piece, and, more often, in the adaptation of the melodic line to the meaning of the most important words of the text."⁶⁵ Melismatic *organum* is classified with the

⁶²D'Indy labels *organum* as "descant."

⁶³*Cours*, 1:67.

⁶⁴"Ce verset est . . . d'ordre dramatique, tandis que la vocalise jubilatoire du mot *alleluia* est d'essence purement symphonique" (*ibid.*, 1:68).

⁶⁵"[L'expression dramatique] subsiste tout au moins dans l'esprit général de chaque pièce, et, le plus souvent, dans l'appropriation de la ligne mélodique au sens des mots importants du texte" (*ibid.*).

ornamental genre because of the artistic concern of its creators.⁶⁶ It was the product of specialists and grew out of a desire for decoration. Even though d'Indy connects the creation of *organum* with an elite, he explicitly implies the congregation in its performance.

Around the main chant (*cantus firmus*) which the voices of the crowd were *holding*, . . . trained singers improvised all kinds of embroideries in dialog form which were called *descant* or *cantus supra librum*.⁶⁷

The symbolic types of chant form a separate category in the ornamental genre. Their ornamental value resides in their use of conventional musical formulas to express symbolisms.⁶⁸ Symbolism constituted a basic principle in medieval thinking, and its practice can be verified in all the medieval arts, including music. Such an example of theological symbolism is found in the formal pattern of the *Kyrie*, where the tripartite structure represents the concept of trinity.

⁶⁶"Les premières tentatives de déchant et de contre-point vocal sont, comme on a pu le voir, exclusivement appliquées à la liturgie par de véritables spécialistes, par des novateurs hardis, par une élite, en un mot, seule capable de créer des formes nouvelles" (ibid., 1:185).

⁶⁷"Autour du chant principal (*cantus firmus*) que les voix de la foule tenaient, . . . des chantres exercés improvisaient des sortes de broderies, en forme dialoguée, qu'on appela *déchant* ou *chant sur le livre*" (ibid., 1:92-93).

⁶⁸In order to demonstrate the expressive qualities of symbolism, d'Indy shows how in the antiphon *Ad te levavi* different melodic formulas bring out various aspects of the "eyes": the eyes of the human body (*oculi servorum, oculi ancillae*), or the spiritual eyes (*oculos meos, oculi nostri*) (ibid., 1:72).

The impact of sociological factors on music during the Middle Ages can be observed on three levels, first, those of the utilitarian force, second, those of the collective spirit, and third, those of the evolution of human thought patterns, which is a characteristic of the later Middle Ages. Both simple *organum* and dance music must be classified as utilitarian genres, for they emerged as an answer to specific needs or desires, rather than out of artistic preoccupations. With regards to the *organum*, he assumes that the common people who participated in the *organum* singing accommodated their voices to their most natural and comfortable pitch; and as a result, this practice led to singing in fifths or fourths apart from the main voice (diaphony).⁶⁹ Out of this situation developed

⁶⁹While discussing *organum*, d'Indy does not refer to any source materials. He deals mainly with modified parallel *organum*, but gives also an example of free *organum* (ibid., 1:144). As to modified parallel *organum*, he presents it as parallel motion of the voices, with occasional movement to unison or the octave on the final note (ibid., 1:143). In explaining the different types, d'Indy unfortunately introduces erroneous concepts about *organum*. According to his exposition, parallel movement in fourths is rightly seen as featuring the organal voice below the *cantus firmus*; parallel movement in fifths is, however, seen as the opposite, with the organal voice above the *cantus firmus*. This confusion is strange, since the *Enchiriadis* treatises are very explicit on this subject, in word and example: "The composite symphonies of the diatessaron are made in the same ways as were those of the diapente" (Gerbert, *Scriptores* 1:188; trans. by Strunk, 130). The original illustrations clearly show the organal voices at both the fourth and the fifth below the principal voice (Gerbert, 1:184-91). D'Indy's error is all the more surprising as he was familiar with this treatise (see his reference to the *Musica Enchiriadis* in the chapter on "Notation," *Cours*, 1:55).

the need to write down the intermediary voices. As d'Indy observes,

It was undoubtedly the observation of such a situation which brought certain musicians of the tenth century to recognize the utility of determining and writing down these intermediary voices, and to regularize their juxtaposition with the principal voice.⁷⁰

As for the secular genres, the chanson and dance music, d'Indy shows how the secular desire for entertainment, hence for easiness and simplicity, were influential in reestablishing the importance of the rhythm of gesture "which commands the beautiful attitudes of the body,"⁷¹ and governs popular music and dance. D'Indy explains how the rhythm of gesture almost disappeared under the Christian teaching of the superiority of the soul over the body. While rhythm held a considerable place in Greek antiquity, it declined under the general philosophical trend of the Middle Ages towards "a multiplicity of the arts of reasoning."⁷² It follows that these rhythms could only be given existence and flourish in a secular context. They were finally revived during the Middle Ages in form of the

⁷⁰"C'est sans doute en observant cet état de choses que, dès le Xe siècle, certains musiciens reconnurent l'utilité de déterminer et d'écrire ces parties intermédiaires, en réglementant leur juxtaposition avec la mélodie principale" (*Cours*, 1:92).

⁷¹"Qui réglait les belles attitudes du corps" (*ibid.*, 1:28).

⁷²"Les arts du Raisonnement se multiplient à l'excès, reléguant le rythme dans la seule musique qu'on enseigne non comme un art, mais comme science" (*ibid.*, 1:18).

popular *chanson*, which was basically a dance song. In the *chanson*, the rhythmic expression of the text is generally overruled by the metrical patterns of the melody.⁷³ In its quality of popular music, that is, music geared towards the people, the rhythm of the *chansons* had to be easy to catch and to retain, which led to the invention of periodic recurrence: repeated patterns and simple symmetry are the hallmark of the *chanson*.⁷⁴ The rhythms of gesture, during the Middle Ages, were then basically governed by pragmatic reasons. This explains why the originally intricate rhythms of gesture of Greek antiquity were reduced during the Middle Ages to such a "popularized" state.⁷⁵ The repetitive rhythms of the *chansons* were the active agents in the development of the strophic form, which is characterized by regular and recurrent metric patterns.⁷⁶ D'Indy maintains that these patterns came in ternary divisions, herewith reacting against the general agreement that those patterns were laid out in groupings of four or multiples of four (square patterns), to suit the necessities of dance.⁷⁷

⁷³Ibid., 1:186. The same rule is verified in the polyphonic *chanson*.

⁷⁴The same reason formed the basis of hymn and sequence composition.

⁷⁵*Cours*, 1:85.

⁷⁶D'Indy sees the symphonic forms as coming out of the rhythms of movement (ibid., 2:5-8).

⁷⁷According to d'Indy, these "square" rhythmic patterns are of much later invention, contemporary with the introduction of the bar line. They should not be seen as typical

His outlook on rhythm is actually very medieval. For him, medieval music both in its sacred and popular expressions was dominated by the triple division. Without explicitly stating a theological reason for it, d'Indy still establishes the religious connotation: duple rhythmic organization came into existence as a product of heresy, and thus must be considered as "common."

A further sociological agent which impacted the shaping of medieval music is seen by d'Indy in the collective spirit which characterized the Middle Ages. Time and again he refers to the qualities of the collective spirit over and against the weaknesses of individualism, which he abhors so much as an outgrowth of humanism. One of the flowers of the collective spirit of the Middle Ages was polyphonic music: this took its source within the collectivity of the people, and the collective idea was embodied in the concept of

of popular simplicity, but rather as the result of the common and vulgar taste which was introduced during the Renaissance. "Cette forme carrée qu'on croit souvent populaire, alors qu'elle est seulement vulgaire, était à peu près inconnue avant le XVII^e siècle: elle est donc postérieure à la Renaissance, et doit certainement une grande partie de son succès au mauvais goût prétentieux de toute cette époque" (ibid., 1:89). See also his commentary in a corresponding footnote: "Bien que toutes ces innovations, plus ou moins regrettables, datent seulement du XVII^e siècle, elles sont dues très certainement à l'esprit de la Renaissance (XVI^e siècle), dont les tendances pleines de prétention et de vaine personnalité firent subir au développement de tous les arts un arrêt dont nous souffrons encore" (ibid., 1:89, n. 1). It is noteworthy to mention that in his illustrations, d'Indy takes great pains to present all his musical examples in metrical groupings of three or multiples of three, or other irregular patterns.

simultaneity,⁷⁸ that is, multiplicity governed by a unifying principle. D'Indy had already made clear his affinities with the medieval mind through his fervor for plainchant. Now, he carries the similarities further, so as to contemplate the evolution of the musical language exclusively through a linear perspective.

Musical phenomena must always be apprehended, graphically speaking, in a horizontal direction and not vertically as it is done by the science of harmony as taught today.⁷⁹

This brings him ultimately to the point where he negates harmony altogether and assimilates it with counterpoint. It is certainly on this subject matter that d'Indy most reveals his originality. Speaking about harmony and chords, he makes revolutionary statements:

Since music is the art of *movement* and *succession*, chords (as combinations of sounds) appear only as the result of a *cessation of movement* of the melodic parts. . . . Musically speaking, chords do not exist and harmony is not the science of chords. Seen from a musical standpoint, the study of chords for their own sake is an absolute aesthetic error, since harmony derives from melody and must never be separated from it in its application.⁸⁰

⁷⁸Ibid., 1:92-93; 91.

⁷⁹"Les phénomènes musicaux doivent toujours être envisagés, graphiquement, dans le sens *horizontal* . . . et non dans le sens *vertical*, comme le fait la science harmonique, telle qu'elle est enseignée de nos jours" (ibid., 1:91).

⁸⁰"La musique étant un art de *mouvement* et de *succession*, les accords, en tant que combinaisons de sons, n'apparaissent que par l'effet d'un arrêt dans le mouvement des parties mélodiques. . . . Musicalement, les accords n'existent pas, et l'harmonie n'est pas la science des accords. L'étude des accords pour eux-mêmes est, au point de vue musical, une erreur esthétique absolue, car

Though it is strange to read such statements from the pen of a fervent disciple of both Franck and Wagner, d'Indy's position may certainly be explained in the light of his unconditional admiration for the monodic genre of plainchant which to him represents the highest achievement in musical matters. It can also be interpreted as the result of his aversion to individualistic elements which could enter the process of composition, such as harmony. One of his detractors summarized this position in a very adequate manner:

Vincent d'Indy . . . tried to tie his art and his convictions closely together. . . . From this perspective, everything in his teaching program can be explained easily: his love of the Middle Ages, his hatred for the Renaissance, his terror of individualism which characterizes harmony, and his inclination towards counterpoint. The latter becomes a pedagogical tool which levels out juvenile ambition, and protects the neophyte from forbidden sensuality and greediness of the ear, from shameful materialism, from voluptuous seeking for sound for the sake of sound, that characterize contemporary art.⁸¹

l'harmonie provient de la mélodie, et ne doit jamais en être séparée dans son application" (ibid., 1:91). One can imagine the effect those statements had in musical circles of d'Indy's time which considered harmony as "the flesh and blood of music" (Saint-Saëns, *Les idées de M. Vincent d'Indy*, 17; see also Combes, 276-77; Vuillermoz, 242).

⁸¹"Monsieur Vincent d'Indy a voulu . . . enchaîner étroitement son art et ses convictions. . . . Tout s'explique aisément dans son programme d'enseignement en partant de ce point de vue: son amour du moyen âge, sa haine de la Renaissance, sa terreur de l'individualisme favorisé par l'harmonie et son goût pour le contrepoint, instrument pédagogique nivelant les ambitions juvéniles et préservant les néophytes de cette sensualité coupable, de cette gourmandise d'oreille, du honteux matérialisme, de la recherche voluptueuse du son pour le son qui caractérisent l'art contemporain" (Vuillermoz, 242).

It is furthermore certain that the contrapuntal genre was more akin to his personality as an artist.⁸² For him, melodic motifs or lines became significant only in their relationship to other melodic motifs in combination. Vallas relates a comment d'Indy made to Gastoué on the subject of melodic writing and counterpoint:

I do think polyphonically. When I hear a melodic motif, I hear it only surrounded by counterpoint; sometimes I happen to ask myself which one is the principal motif.⁸³

⁸²This strong propensity towards linear writing may be counted as another reason for d'Indy's inclusion of the complete polyphonic period (up to the seventeenth century) in the medieval era of music history. It is also significant that he dates the beginnings of the science of chords as "generators" of harmony from the seventeenth century (*ibid.*, 1:93). He never acknowledged chords as a purpose towards harmony. In doing so, he implicitly indexed harmony as a phenomenon of decline and degeneration, as he already did other musical characteristics. It is then not surprising that d'Indy's discussion on medieval harmonic development is almost nonexistent.

⁸³"Moi, c'est polyphoniquement que je pense. Je n'entends un motif mélodique qu'entouré de contreponts; j'en arrive parfois à me demander quel est le motif principal" (Vallas, *Vincent d'Indy*, 2:147). D'Indy did not write extensively about the various genres of medieval polyphonic music. He basically skips from plainchant to fifteenth-century polyphony: "L'art du motet, comme celui du déchant, paraît avoir pris naissance en Flandre et dans le nord de la France, vers le XVe siècle" (*Cours*, 1:153.) What little he wrote of the music in between these two periods had to be gleaned here and there in his writings. Furthermore, the information given is very incomplete and often erroneous. One thing is certain: he derives the motet directly from medieval monody (*ibid.*, 1:147). The only references to the early or thirteenth-century motet mention that these primary stages must be considered as "preparatory works" and "more or less successful attempts" sketched out over a lengthy period of incubation (*ibid.*, 1:151-52). As a reason for his omission he mentions the absence of scholarly studies on the subject, with a few rare exceptions. But his silence on the early motet is difficult to justify. Pierre Aubry had already been working on his edition of thirteenth-

D'Indy's advocacy of the linear principle in musical writing stands again as a witness to how highly he valued the norms of medieval musical art, such as to make them intimately his own. He refuses in fact to go beyond this stage and to follow the evolution of the musical language into a domain which to him means individualism and sensuality, that is, decadence.

A last illustration of the impact of the medieval *esprit du siècle* on the musical development is given by d'Indy by means of a discussion on how the evolution of human thought affected the musical language of the Middle Ages. One prominent feature of the development of later medieval thought was the progression of the human mind towards increased abstraction.⁸⁴ A musical example which illustrates this development is offered by the shaping process of medieval notation, and especially of rhythmic

century motets, which was to be published in 1908 (*Cent motets du XIIIe siècle*). Some of his conclusions on the motets were already published partially in 1904, "Lettre ouverte," 267). It also happened that from 1900-1903 Aubry had been teaching the class of medieval musicology at the *Schola* (see d'Indy, ed., *La Schola Cantorum*, 198). It seems thus highly improbable that some of his information on the motet would not have leaked through to the public. Furthermore, his edition of the *Roman de Fauvel* was published in 1907. On account of these facts, it is therefore difficult to imagine that d'Indy could have been completely ignorant of the early motet.

⁸⁴As an illustration, one might refer to a parallel phenomenon, namely, the systematization of grammatical studies during those times.

notation.⁸⁵ While the primary cause of musical notation lies in a theological reason, the "fall of the human mortal and the imperfection of his intellectual faculties,"⁸⁶ its elaboration appears to follow the same stages of development as found in human existence in general. D'Indy's discussion

⁸⁵Unfortunately, d'Indy's discussion of rhythmic notation is very sketchy and incomplete. No mention is made, for instance, of rhythmic modes or the later and more complex fourteenth- and fifteenth-century rhythmic practices. Ligatures are only briefly touched upon in mentioning Franco's note values (*Cours*, 1:61).

⁸⁶"La déchéance de l'homme mortel et l'imperfection de ses facultés" (*ibid.*, 1:47). By placing the origins of the practice of writing in a theological perspective, d'Indy connects himself to an old tradition (*La Grande Encyclopédie Larousse*, 1973, s.v. "Ecriture"). He does not go so far, however, as to consider writing as the product of divine revelation, as it was considered in many ancient civilizations (*Encyclopaediae Universalis*, 1990, s.v. "Ecriture"). After man's "fall" from his perfect to his imperfect condition, his memory broke down as a result of sin, and he had to find a way to correct this state: "L'identité d'origine de ces deux manifestations de l'esprit humain ne saurait être mise en doute: la déchéance de l'homme mortel et l'imperfection de ses facultés ont entraîné pour lui, dès les premiers âges, la nécessité de recourir à des signes conventionnels, tracés de sa main, afin de subvenir aux défaillances de sa mémoire, et de transmettre à ses semblables ses propres connaissances, aussi bien dans le domaine de l'art que dans celui de la pensée" (*Cours*, 1:47). Writing and, by extension, musical notation, are seen by d'Indy in the perspective of the Hegelian theory of the fall and the ensuing search for the recovery of the original, now lost, union. Hegel's idea that this can be achieved through the work of culture and the mind (*The Phenomenology of the Mind*, 4-5) is picked up by d'Indy, who interprets writing and notation as a channel to realize this culture of the spirit: notation is "the logical result of a natural and progressive evolution of the graphic representation of the human mind" (*Cours*, 1:49; see also *ibid.*, 1:55). This very thesis was sustained by several linguists of d'Indy's own time (see A. Meillet, in *Scientia* (December 1919), quoted in *La Grande Encyclopédie Larousse*, s.v. "Ecriture;" and *Encyclopaedia Universalis*, s.v. "Ecriture").

of notation unfolds primarily on a philosophical level rather than a technical one. As a starting point, he establishes a clear parallel between writing and musical notation. Both share the same need and same procedures; they also are of the same nature, governed by the common laws of "movement, cessation of movement, and accentuation."⁸⁷ He perceives an interesting relationship between the various stages encountered in the development of the writing process and musical notation, and postulates that "the identity of origins between these two manifestations of the human mind cannot be questioned."⁸⁸ The development of musical notation is presented in three stages, each one characterized by an increasing faculty of abstraction: the ideographic, the syllabic, and the alphabetic stage.⁸⁹ This type of classification reveals

⁸⁷"Des lois communes de mouvement, de repos et d'accentuation" (*Cours*, 1:47). D'Indy acknowledges Pierre Aubry as his source for the discussion of the relationship between language and notation (*ibid.*, 1:49).

⁸⁸"L'identité d'origine de ces deux manifestations de l'esprit humain ne saurait être mise en doute" (*ibid.*, 1:47). It is somewhat disappointing that d'Indy does not attempt any explanation for the late appearance of notation in comparison to writing. Neither does he discuss the relationship between musical notation and the renewed interest, during the Carolingian era, in grammatical treatises (see in particular Priscien's treatise *De accentibus*, quoted by Michel Huglo, in *Dictionnaire de la Musique*, 667). It seems that the common interest in codification of writing should have given strength to d'Indy's thesis of an interrelationship between musical notation and writing.

⁸⁹The eminent nineteenth-century philologist Littré had used the same type of classification: "Littré, lui, distingue déjà plusieurs sortes d'écriture: l'idéographique, la

the author's underlying idea of an evolution in the thinking process of man. Starting with a lesser degree of exactitude, he progressively tends towards a greater degree of logic. Thus, earlier stages of notation were guided by instinct and tradition, and a later stage was characterized by an analytical mind.⁹⁰ The first group of signs, labeled as "ideographic," corresponds to the primitive stage which shows predominance of gesture: the actual object is graphically represented. In musical notation these are graphic signs suggesting the lifting or lowering of the voice.⁹¹ The second group, which he calls "syllabic," is dominated by the word. As far as writing is concerned, rather than depicting objects, the signs here represent ideas or symbols. They are of a grammatical order and are meant to clarify the logic of the text through intonation. In notation, this is translated by a simplification of the graphic lines, in splitting the *neumes* into smaller elements. D'Indy calls them "musical syllables."⁹² Though he does not refer to it, his terminology is taken straight from Guido's *Micrologus*:

la syllabique, l'alphabétique, définies par leur nom même" (*Encyclopédie Universalis*, s.v. "Ecriture").

⁹⁰*Cours*, 1:48.

⁹¹"Les sinuosités figuraient les inflexions de la voix" (*ibid.*, 1:48).

⁹²"Les premières formes des *neumes* médiévaux résultent sans doute de la fragmentation progressive de cette ligne *idéographique* en véritables *syllabes musicales*" (*ibid.*).

Just as in verse there are letters and syllables, "parts" and feet and lines, so in music there are *phthongi*, that is, sounds, of which one, two, or three are grouped in "syllables"; one or two of the latter make a neume, which is the "part" of music.⁹³

Further abstraction in the thought process brings about the third group, namely, "alphabetic" notation. Here, the process of abstraction results in the simplification of syllables or *neumes* into separate letters, that is, into separate notes, as found in Aquitanian notation. At this stage, the meaning of a particular sound is determined by its relationship to a given fixed sound.⁹⁴ We have reached diastematic notation, the final stage of analytical thinking.

The notational systems so far described were all related to the figuration of word accentuation and thus characteristic of dramatic music. Since, according to d'Indy, the notation of symphonic music is not subject to the evolution of language, or the writing associated with this evolution, its source must be found elsewhere than in word accentuation. He also observes that these notational systems, namely, tablatures, are based on gesture, that is, the pictorial representation of the instrument and the exact finger position on it,⁹⁵ and are thus related to the

⁹³Guido d'Arezzo, *Micrologus*, in Claude V. Palisca, *Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), 70.

⁹⁴*Cours*, 1:48-49.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, 1:57.

early, less developed, ideographic type of notation. This, of course, confirms his theory of the inferior status of symphonic music. He further affirms that tablature is an outgrowth of the various nontraditional notational systems that were contemporary with the beginnings of staff notation. He particularly refers to the different systems of letter notation, featured in the *Musica Enchiriadis* or proposed by Romanus and Hermannus Contractus.⁹⁶ As for

⁹⁶Ibid., 1:55-56. D'Indy's elaborations on tablatures call for several remarks. (1) There seems to be a contradiction between the time of appearance of the tablatures which belong to a later, hence more progressive stage, and the ideographic type of notation which uses pictorial representation, characteristic of earlier stages of development. (2) With regards to the tablatures depicting actual finger position, while this is true for the Spanish, Italian, and French lute tablatures, it cannot be confirmed for the German lute tablatures. The alphabetical letters used in German lute tablatures did not give a pictorial representation of the strings and the respective finger positions. Each sign was an abstract symbol which represented, not depicted, the placement of the fingers on the fingerboard. Not only are we here in presence of a very abstract system, but in addition, of a very awkward one. It was in fact so impractical and illogical that both Agricola and Neusidler tried to substitute other systems for it (*The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Tablature"). The advanced abstract stage of this notational system was neither synonymous with more clarity, nor did it point to a more recent system. On the contrary, its awkward and primitive features rather point to a more ancient origin (see Willi Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music 900-1600*, 5th ed. [Cambridge, MA.: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1953], 74). (3) A last remark must deal with d'Indy's affirmation that the tablatures grew out of some of the lesser known notational systems. A closer look at those systems reveals that both Romanus and the *Enchiriadis* treatises present a system based on the diastematic principle, namely, both are built on the physical representation of interval height (*Cours*, 1:55-56). Following a similar principle but using a different approach, Hermannus Contractus proposed a system where intervallic differences are indicated by means of significant letters. Though his system does not actually

the principles which govern the survival of one particular system over and against another, d'Indy draws again a parallel between the ordinary writing process and notation. The requirement for a system to survive resides in its universal character.⁹⁷ Some systems disappeared because

use visual representation, the intervallic differences are clearly indicated. His system belongs then to the diastematic genre of notation, which is more advanced in abstraction than the pictorial one. In a sense, Hermannus' notational system uses a procedure similar to the German tablatures, but to a completely different purpose. While the former uses letters (s, t, ts, etc.) to indicate specific intervallic changes (diastematic principle), the latter employs letters to indicate specific finger positions, without a diastematic connotation. All three notational systems listed by d'Indy as forerunners of the tablatures are in fact much closer to staff notation than to the various derivations of letter notation featured in the different tablatures. They are indeed the true forerunners of staff notation. D'Indy's attempt to derive the notation of symphonic music from these three systems seems unsatisfactory. Not only is there no apparent connection, but his rationale seems schematic, trying to derive the notational systems of symphonic music from secondary systems which never reached beyond the experimental stage. It is unfortunate that d'Indy left no indication as to the origins and *raison d'être* of the tablatures. The pragmatic argument generally present in his discussion is completely omitted here. The issue would have been all the more interesting, since especially the lute tablatures seem to indicate a return to a more primitive stage of writing, namely, the early ideographic type where the object itself was depicted. This fact challenges d'Indy's conclusion that the more abstract a system is, the more logical and advanced it seems. In their very simple way, the Spanish, Italian, and French systems of lute tablature were indeed much more logical than the German with its more abstract nature.

⁹⁷He illustrates this principle with the example of the predominance of ternary rhythm. As long as the principle of ternary rhythm was based on a universal theological argument, the trinity, it maintained its sovereignty. As the theological concept of the universe was replaced by a scientific one, the binary theory supplanted the ternary one, which never could regain its universal status. Until today, ternary rhythm is still expressed as a function of the binary division, that is, by means of the dot (*Cours*, 1:61).

they were used only by a small or local group of individuals.⁹⁸ The key to the survival of a particular system does not necessarily reside only in the excellence of the idea itself; it must also respond to pragmatic principles.⁹⁹ The survival of a notational system is then assured by its adaptation to the constant changes occurring in the development of language—which follows the fluctuations of thought patterns—and the appropriateness of the proposed solutions to a given context. Both language and pragmatism were propulsive agents in the construction of a written musical language.

Obstacles in the Shaping of Medieval Music

Contrary to Emmanuel and Combarieu, d'Indy does not make any comments on possible factors which would have hindered the development of medieval music. In his view, those obstacles only appeared after the medieval period, namely, with the Renaissance age and the humanist values of individualism and the ensuing negative consequences. Even when he considers the "barbaric" sound of early *organum*,

⁹⁸Ironically, the same fate awaited Sérieyx' proposal of a new notational system which is reproduced in the *Cours* (ibid., 1:62, n. 1).

⁹⁹D'Indy explains the survival of Guido's notational system, and its widespread acceptance, as a combination of different factors which happened at the right time and at the right place. Guido sensed the general need for a more specific notation, and he knew how to combine various already existing elements into a sythesis of practical solutions (see ibid., 1:50-51).

justification, he tries to explain. He thus advances the "little-trained voices" of the people who participated in its performance, and admits—probably out of his high regard for medieval liturgical music—that one can still find a "certain charm" in it, even though the sound of the *organum* is "incompatible with our musical customs"¹⁰⁰ and "unacceptable for the modern ear."¹⁰¹ Furthermore, if one considers d'Indy's *Cours* as an apologetic work in favor of chant and medieval music,¹⁰² one understands that the author would have been more concerned with demonstrating, in a dogmatic manner, the positive aspects of medieval music, rather than with defending it against possible enemies. For d'Indy, the Middle Ages presented the ideal environment for musical development, since it constituted the "original," the "primitive" stage of Christian era. As long as the fundamental Christian values governed the arts, there was no danger of degeneration or hindrance to the progress of musical art.

In trying to summarize d'Indy's understanding of the development of medieval music, the theological and religious perspective appears to occupy a central and dominant place.

¹⁰⁰"Ces superpositions, incompatibles avec nos habitudes musicales contemporaines, pouvaient n'être pas sans charme" (ibid., 1:143).

¹⁰¹"Tout à fait inacceptables pour notre entendement moderne" (ibid., 1:92).

¹⁰²It was indeed perceived as such by Vuillermoz, 234; Combes, 276; and d'Indy himself ("Une école d'art," *passim*).

perspective appears to occupy a central and dominant place. The driving force which orients the artist's contribution in this development is faith, a faith intimately linked to the traditional Church. Within the organic system formed by music, sacred music is the beginning of all music and contains all other genres to come. Any other forces which were influential in the shaping of music are only subordinate to the first one. The impact of language upon music was related to the religious dimension insofar as the texts carrying the original chant were of liturgical nature, and thus contained in themselves all the principal elements of influence. The sociological factor which brought about utilitarian art was not able to produce music until it was sublimated by a religious dimension. In a similar way, the effect of medieval culture and civilization on the shaping of medieval music was marked by a strongly religious dimension, since medieval thought was characterized by its theological foundation.

III. THE AESTHETICS OF MEDIEVAL MUSIC

In dealing with questions related to the aesthetics of medieval music, d'Indy mainly focuses on two topics: namely, the role of music, that is, chant, as a conveyor of expressivity; and the place and role of the artist in the medieval world.

In matters of expressiveness, d'Indy demonstrates a romantic reading of the term: he does not understand this term in a decorative or symbolic sense, as generally assumed for the Middle Ages, but in a dramatic sense. For d'Indy, the *raison d'être* behind every art work is to communicate expressiveness. Music, more than any other art, is bound to express feelings.

The force which pushes the artist into the act of creating is the need to express his feelings and to communicate them to others by works, in a lasting fashion.¹⁰³

The term "feelings" must be understood here not merely in the sense of passive emotions, but as definite ethical and moral values to be stimulated and provoked in the people within the context of the educational role of art.¹⁰⁴

D'Indy was particularly eloquent on the issue of musical expressivity in dealing with plainchant. He was in

¹⁰³"La force qui pousse l'artiste à créer, c'est le besoin d'exprimer ses sentiments et de les communiquer aux autres d'une façon durable par des oeuvres" (*Cours*, 1:12).

¹⁰⁴This could happen within the narrower limits of the well-being of a society, as had been proposed by the Saint-Simonians (Locke, 17), or on the larger level of the course of history in general.

fact an ardent defender of the expressive qualities of chant. Within a system that measures progress in terms of expressiveness, it was of utmost importance for d'Indy to establish the reality of the expressive qualities of plainchant, since he saw in it the cradle and source for all music to come. In his chapter on "Expression," he makes the following statement:

The search for expressiveness is inherent to the art of all times, but certainly even more so to the art of the Middle Ages; we have already encountered it in the art of plainchant.¹⁰⁵

In saying so, d'Indy stood almost alone facing widespread opposite opinion.¹⁰⁶ In the traditional musical world around him, chant was generally regarded as a musical genre devoid of all expression.¹⁰⁷ He attributes this judgment

¹⁰⁵"La recherche expressive, inhérente à l'art de tous les temps et plus encore sans doute à l'art du moyen âge, nous est apparue déjà dans l'étude de la cantilène monodique" (*Cours*, 1:123).

¹⁰⁶See Saint-Saëns' reaction to d'Indy's emphasis on expressivity in music: "Vincent d'Indy ne voit dans l'art que l'expression et la passion" (Saint-Saëns, *Les idées de M. Vincent d'Indy*, 7).

¹⁰⁷See *ibid.*, 160-61. See also d'Indy's reply: "Beaucoup de musiciens, parfois illustres, ignorent tout de l'art saint Saint-Saëns lui-même, qui passait pour un érudit, a pu écrire quelque part: 'Le chant dit grégorien, est une musique spéciale qui n'a rien de commun avec notre art musical. Quant à l'art palestrinien, il est inexpressif par essence et doit être chanté sans la moindre expression.' . . . De plus, il serait simplement absurde de soutenir qu'un art puisse être inexpressif sans perdre, par cela même, sa qualité d'art. Ils raisonnent donc faussement, ceux qui prétendent que les pièces . . . écrites dans le style du contrepoint vocal (ce style qui n'est, harmoniquement, que la paraphrase de la mélodie grégorienne) ont pu être pensées et doivent être exécutées sans souci de l'expression" ("Chant grégorien et art moderne," 1-2).

to the poor quality in which plainchant was generally performed, and which was mainly due to the neglect of correct word accentuation.¹⁰⁸ To d'Indy, "everything in plainchant is expressive."¹⁰⁹ His main argument is the principle which he places at the origins of all music, namely, the human being; hence, the importance of emotions. His principle is based on a living criterion rather than on abstract rules (mathematical proportions), as was the case in Greek culture, which brought about an inexpressive art.¹¹⁰ D'Indy defines expressiveness in chant as a faithful musical translation of the "feelings" expressed by the words:

Undoubtedly . . . the creators of the monodic cantilena were concerned with translating musically the feelings expressed by the sacred texts, either in general, or on the level of specific words.¹¹¹

This affirmation could have been drawn directly from Guido's *Micrologus*:

Let the effect of the song express what is going on in the text, so that for sad things the neumes are grave, for serene ones they are cheerful, and for auspicious texts exultant, and so forth.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸"Chant grégorien et art moderne," 8.

¹⁰⁹"Dans le chant grégorien, tout est expressif" (ibid.).

¹¹⁰*Cours*, 1:20, n. 1.

¹¹¹"Il est . . . hors de doute que les créateurs de la cantilène monodique ont eu la préoccupation de traduire musicalement, dans leur ensemble, sinon dans le détail des mots, les sentiments exprimés par les textes sacrés" (ibid., 1:74; cf. 1:75).

¹¹²Guido d'Arezzo, *Micrologus* 15:174, in Palisca, 72.

This dramatic interpretation of expressiveness leads d'Indy to reject the medieval practices of centonization, troping, and *contrafacta* altogether.¹¹³ It seems unacceptable to him to attribute different expressions to the same formula, and he condemns those theories which defend the free use of a given melodic formula for any text, regardless of its content.¹¹⁴ According to d'Indy, each melodic formula possesses a specific expressive content. Though it could have happened, in practice, that the same melody was used for different texts, he affirms that it was modified in each instance so as to fit the new meaning or the new accentuation of the words.

¹¹³D'Indy does not discuss at all the practice of *contrafacta*. As for troping, he refers to it only very briefly in his chapter on popular music (*Cours*, 1:85).

¹¹⁴D'Indy demonstrates his theory with several examples illustrating the use of the same melodic formula in different chants. For example, the artist would cut out passages of the melody in such a way that the important embellishments still corresponded to important words (*ibid.*, 1:79). Or the composer would apply the same melody only to texts which dealt with the same general idea, for example, glory and splendor (*ibid.*, 1:78-79). When in an adaptation the melody does not adequately fit the meaning of the text, he dismisses it as a bad or careless arrangement (*ibid.*, 1:80). As an apparently bad example, d'Indy quotes the use of the same melodic formula in the gradual for the wedding mass and the mass for the dead. He finds, however, a correspondance between the two occasions in the common motif of an entry into a new life: in one case, the entry of the souls into eternal life; in the other, the entry of the spouses into their common earthly life (*ibid.*). But such cases are rare, he says, and cannot be used as an argument against the expressive character of plainchant.

The music of the timbre¹¹⁵ which is used is most of the time submitted not only to the meaning but also to the accent of the words, when the feelings or accents of those words change: this is where all the *dramatic principle* lies. Furthermore, the use of the same timbre is most often limited to texts which even though they may be different, refer to the same general feeling.¹¹⁶

In affirming the expressive dimension in medieval music, d'Indy went beyond the traditionally accepted view of medieval aesthetics as lying in metaphysical truth and moral and symbolic beauty.

When speaking about the qualities of the medieval artist, which he stipulates as the ideal model for the modern artist, d'Indy comes very close to the medieval aesthetic ideal. The qualities of impersonality and spirituality especially,¹¹⁷ made of the medieval artist a spokesman for generations of people to come. The "impersonal" qualities of the artist are demonstrated in his modesty, sincerity, and innocence, his complete absence of

¹¹⁵The term "timbre" is used here by d'Indy in the sense of "melodic formula" (ibid., 1:78, n. 2c).

¹¹⁶Ibid., 1:78. Emphasis supplied. In addition to the dramatic interpretation of expressiveness in medieval music, d'Indy also acknowledges the decorative and symbolic ones. "On y trouve encore une sorte d'expression qu'on pourrait qualifier de logique parce que l'intelligence et l'interprétation symbolique y viennent en aide au sentiment" ("Chant grégorien et art moderne," 8). He finds confirmation for these two genres in other medieval arts. Examples of decorative genre can be seen in the calligraphic embellishments of medieval manuscripts (*Cours*, 1:75, 76-77); the symbolic genre is illustrated, for example, by the ternary divisions of the *Kyrie* settings. These additional categories of expressiveness must, however, be considered as subordinate to dramatic expressiveness (ibid.).

¹¹⁷*Cours*, 1:211-15.

self-awareness. He remains anonymous but at the same time acts as the spokesman for generations of people. His faith is robust and sincere, and he shows an attitude of strict submission and docile acceptance of the received tradition. He creates his work for a specific purpose, an attitude which bears witness to his collective consciousness.¹¹⁸

The great number of descriptions of, and comments on, the medieval artist demonstrate the importance of the spiritual and moral argument in d'Indy's vision of the artist, to such a point that these qualities, rather than genre considerations, become the determinants of musical epochs. D'Indy's discussion of the spiritual qualities of the artist occurs against the background of the romantic concept of the "genius." The predominant factor in the romantic understanding of genius was that of inspiration and divine

¹¹⁸Ibid., 1:215. "C'est donc par ce caractère d'impersonnalité que l'art médiéval se différencie profondément de celui des époques subséquentes" (ibid.). The medieval artist is presented at the antipodes of the Renaissance artist, and a description of the latter will reveal, by opposition, the characteristic traits of the medieval artist. The work of the Renaissance artist is entirely directed towards his own person. The desire for glory and profit replaces the original sincere faith. There is no more modest devotion or Christian subordination of the artist to the work. His art work is created in the perspective of appreciation and success. The Renaissance brought forth "les faux artistes, les imitateurs sans génie, les habiles, dont la notoriété prodigieuse et éphémère est due principalement à l'ignorante fatuité de quelque mécène, qui tient à leur succès comme à la supériorité de tout ce qui lui appartient" (ibid., 1:216).

instinct.¹¹⁹ D'Indy also speaks of art as "divine emanation,"¹²⁰ and admits the "innate qualities" of the genius which he defines as "all the faculties of the soul raised to their highest expression."¹²¹ However, he appears to share the medieval suspicion of the *instinctus naturalis*.¹²² His understanding of creative activity implies, in addition to the concept of genius, a rational, cognitive activity. When speaking of the human faculties animated during the creative process, he mentions imagination, heart, mind, intelligence, memory, will, and conscience. In doing so, he again points out that the real qualities of the artist are of moral and spiritual order, and reminds the reader of the Neoplatonic ideal of effort and striving, characteristic of the journey along the

¹¹⁹A survey of various early romanticist writings about the artist reveals a whole palette of nuances of this concept. Rousseau, who was the first to discuss the term, spoke of "enthusiam, fire, and imagination" (Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "Génie," in *Dictionnaire de la musique*). A similar image was used by Christian F. D. Schubart (1739-1791), in *Ideen zu einer Aesthetik der Tonkunst* (Vienna: Van Degen, 1806; reprint, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969), 370; Jean-Paul (1763-1821) spoke about the importance of the "unconscious" in the creative act: "Das Mächtigste im Dichter . . . ist gerade das Unbewusste" (*Vorschule der Aesthetik*, ed. Wolfhart Henckmann, Philosophische Bibliothek, no. 425 [Hamburg: Felix Meiner Verlag, 1990], 60).

¹²⁰"L'art, émanation divine" ("L'artiste moderne," 346).

¹²¹"Le génie est inné. . . . [Il] est l'ensemble des facultés de l'âme élevées à leur plus haute expression" (*Cours*, 1:15).

¹²²Edward Lowinsky, "Musical Genius: Evolution and Origin of a Concept," *Musical Quarterly* 50 (1964): 478.

ascending spiral. In order to make an artist complete, talent and taste must be added to genius.

It is through talent and only by its aid that the genius can grow, be instilled with life, and finally manifest himself through the artwork.¹²³

The condition of genius has not simply been given to the artist; he must earn it through strenuous effort along the path of the vertical spiral, using materials from the "quarry of the heart" and "hewn by intelligence."¹²⁴

Beyond the artist's duty toward his conscience and the work of art, d'Indy also presents the latter's obligation towards humanity in terms of service. By his works, the artist "wants to contribute to the teaching and life of generations to come."¹²⁵ The artist becomes the servant of humanity, someone who works "on behalf of" (*leiturgia*), who inspires and points the way in the journey of human history. With this image, d'Indy appropriated the romantic vision which had invested the artist with a priestly function.¹²⁶ However, for him, the salvation process

¹²³"C'est par le talent et seulement avec son aide que le génie peut croître, grandir, se vivifier, et enfin se manifester d'une façon complète par des oeuvres" (*Cours*, 1:15).

¹²⁴"Extraits de la carrière de son coeur et taillés par son intelligence" ("L'artiste moderne," 343).

¹²⁵"Contribuer par ses oeuvres à l'enseignement et à la vie des générations qui viendront après lui" (*Cours*, 1:16).

¹²⁶See especially the Saint-Simonian view of the artist as a priest (Locke, 47-52).

occurs on a spiritual and moral level, rather than on aesthetic and philosophical grounds.

D'Indy's conservative stance comes to light in his attitude towards the genius' freedom with rules. The value which d'Indy places in traditionalism was already expressed in his emphasis on the ancestral foundations of music, and his injunction to the artist to move within the boundaries of traditional musical language. He makes it now very explicit that

the artist cannot be a *revolutionary*, since *revolution* means *destruction*, and the artist's mission is to create and not to destroy.¹²⁷

Rather than overthrowing established rules, the artist must see himself only "in the perspective of the unfailing and slow artistic evolution."¹²⁸ In this matter, d'Indy deviates from the romantic view of the artist as enjoying freedom from rules. By virtue of the high origin of his inspiration, the romantics saw the genius as endowed with the power to transcend rules.¹²⁹ The medieval artist, who possessed these strong moral qualities that enabled him to

¹²⁷"L'artiste ne peut pas être révolutionnaire, car qui dit révolution dit destruction, et la mission de l'artiste n'est point de détruire mais de créer" ("L'artiste moderne," 343).

¹²⁸"Il n'est . . . qu'une fonction de la sûre et lente évolution artistique" (ibid).

¹²⁹This idea had already been put forth by Kant (1724-1804), who saw in the genius "the talent (natural endowment) which gives the rule to art. . . . Genius is a talent for producing that for which no definite rule can be given" (Immanuel Kant, *The Critique of Judgment*, trans. J. Creed Meredith [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964], par. 46, 168).

remain in constant contact with the fundamental feelings, was presented by d'Indy as the complete artist. Without these qualities, the artist will not be able to stay anchored to the spiral by lack of a touching point and will be eliminated by centrifugal force; he will become a revolutionary, or he will belong to the imitators, eclectic success-seekers, or "academics"¹³⁰ who turn infinitely around the same point without ever ascending to higher levels.¹³¹

D'Indy felt very much at home with medieval aesthetics. To him, the value of an art work was produced by its moral attributes; it was made durable only if created in the spirit of self-denial and for the good of a community. The same is true for his affinities with the medieval artist or scholar. Many of his contemporaries perceived these qualities in him. They speak of his ardent and profound "gothicism,"¹³² his "extraordinary symbolism,"¹³³ and above all, his strong attachment to religious criteria which come as an echo to his theory on the origin of all things in religion.

¹³⁰D'Indy uses the term in the sense of "academicism," namely, a return to "dogmatic classicism" rather than "natural classicism" (Mauclair, 336).

¹³¹"L'artiste moderne," 343-44.

¹³²See Vallas, *Vincent d'Indy*, 2:106, 334; Mauclair, 335.

¹³³Rolland, *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*, 101.

IV. SUMMARY OF VINCENT D'INDY'S CONCEPT OF MEDIEVAL MUSIC

One must probably agree with Vallas that d'Indy presented "history in a way he would have liked it to happen."¹³⁴ It indeed appears that d'Indy was not so much interested in discovering the spirit of the Middle Ages or the essence of medieval music. He rather reads medieval music through the glasses of his personal faith, within the framework of a strong tradition and institution, and in the perspective of his political convictions. There is certainly in d'Indy's interest in medieval music something of the romantic nostalgia for the freshness and authenticity of the remote past. His reference to the past can be seen as a means to affirm and uphold the traditional values of France, but, most of all, as an expression of his sincere spirituality and his loyalty to the Church and its music. His understanding of medieval music can be summed up by his endeavor to demonstrate the authority and superiority of sacred music (*plainchant*). Consequently, he wishes to demonstrate its modernity and the primary role it should play in the renewal of the musical language. The particular origin of *plainchant* in a religious and communitarian setting, and its universal character, confirm its relevancy throughout the course of history. Beyond his technical considerations, which mainly deal with *plainchant*'s contribution to the development of musical form, d'Indy is

¹³⁴Vallas, *Vincent d'Indy*, 2:119.

particularly interested in the philosophical implications behind the study and use of plainchant. He sees it as a dispenser of values which will help to stem the tide of degenerating influence exercised by modern music, and a means to restore the original role of music as an instrument in the building process of history. It appears as if the value and contribution of medieval music does not only reside in the music itself, its organization and intrinsic value, but also—and maybe foremost—in the act of studying it which, beyond expanding the artist's intellectual faculties, provides him with spiritual qualities essential to the development of his mind and soul.

PART THREE

JULES COMBARIEU
THE POSITIVIST SCHOLAR

CHAPTER 1
THE COLLEGE DE FRANCE

The *Collège de France* is an institution of higher learning where eminent professors delivered public lectures and classes to large and appreciative audiences. Its role in the education of a liberal and intellectual public was essential and cannot be underestimated. By 1894, the French liberal institutions of higher learning had not yet introduced music history into their curriculum. Music history was a part neither of the historical disciplines nor of the artistic ones.

[Music] is obliged to hide behind related subjects which have a much broader scope and follow different methods. Nowhere does music have its own place, a legitimate and total right for citizenship, a chair of its own, by virtue of an official decision.¹

Combarieu openly addressed the problem in the preface to his dissertation (1893):

¹"[La musique] est obligée de s'abriter derrière un enseignement voisin qui la dépasse et dont la formule n'est pas la sienne. Nulle part elle n'a une place distincte, un droit de cité régulier et complet, une chaire où elle soit chez elle, en vertu d'une mesure officielle" (Jules Combarieu, "Cours du Collège de France," *Revue Musicale* 6 [1906]: 558, hereafter simply referred to as "Cours"). The same situation may be verified in general histories of art which hardly ever touch upon the subject of music while including information on the other branches of art: "Chez nous, le mot 'Art' signifiait, hier encore, architecture, sculpture, peinture, et rien de plus" (ibid., 473).

How is it that music is not a part of the curriculum of our "universities"? . . . We need an extensive history of music; . . . what we really need to offer at the *Collège de France* or at the Sorbonne is a curriculum in music history and in music theory such as already exists in other European countries.²

The general attitude toward music history as a scientific discipline may be illustrated by an incident which happened at the *Collège de France* in 1898. On the general recommendation of the professors of the *Collège de France* to open a chair of music history for Maurice Emmanuel, the chemist Berthelot responded with the threat to "leave the College if music entered it."³ The situation became even more acute with regards to the study of medieval music. Combarieu comments on its absence from the curriculum:

In France, musicians and music critics consider Palestrina as the final point of any musical exploration; . . . beyond, there is of course plainchant, . . . but the era between plainchant and Palestrina is virtually ignored, with its descant, diaphony, the early forms of polyphony, and all the

²"Pour quelles raisons la musique ne figure-t-elle pas dans les programmes de nos 'Universités'? . . . Il nous manque une histoire largement traitée de la musique; . . . mais il nous manque surtout, au Collège de France ou à la Sorbonne, un enseignement historique et théorique de l'art musical tel qu'on le donne chez nos voisins" (Jules Combarieu, *Les rapports de la musique et de la poésie*, vii, ix). The same observation is made a few years later in the avant-propos to his opening lecture on Music History at the *Collège de France*, on December 19, 1904: "Pendant très longtemps, les Universités françaises, qui, dans toutes les sciences, ont pour fonction de créer les méthodes, sont restées absolument fermées à tout esprit musical" ("Cours," *Revue Musicale* 6 [1906]: 558).

³Stevenson, 156-57.

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developments which prepared the ground for the great polyphonists of the fourteenth century.⁴

Lack of scientific knowledge in music, and a certain nonchalance to remain in this state of affairs, played their role as well in the slow development of music history as a scholarly discipline. In historical as well as in philological research, the musical aspect was generally either totally ignored or lightly put aside. This is particularly true for historical research dealing with pre-sixteenth-century music. In Combarieu's eyes, the reason must be found, on the musician's side, in his ignorance of philology; on the side of the philologist, it is due to ignorance of music.⁵ Still another reason for the lagging behind of French higher education in matters of music history may be found in the absence of a collective effort on the part of French scholarship. Combarieu attributes the quick advance of musical scholarship in other European countries precisely to their teamwork method. Those groups were often sponsored

⁴"Le musicien ou le critique musical français considère Palestrina comme le point terminus des voyages d'exploration; . . . au delà, il y a bien le plain-chant, . . . mais entre le plain-chant et Palestrina, est considérée à peu près comme non existante la région qui comprend le déchant, la diaphonie, les premières formes de la composition à plusieurs parties, et tout le développement qui a préparé les grands polyphonistes du XVe siècle" (Jules Combarieu, "La musique et la notation musicale au moyen âge," *Revue Musicale* 3 [1903]: 508).

⁵"Telle est la situation de l'art musical, pour la partie antérieure au XVIe siècle, entre les philologues qui dédaignent d'être musiciens, et les musiciens qui ne sont pas philologues" (ibid., 509).

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to establish national collections of music serving as source material for historical investigation.

In all Western countries except our own, monuments of ancient music have been brought to light as the result of a collective effort inspired by a national awakening; as such, they were financed and sometimes conducted by the state itself.⁶

The absence of music history from the curriculum of higher education must also be ascribed to a lack of information within the primary sources themselves. Though historical documents made it clear that music was taught at the universities, they did not furnish any details as to how this was done. Furthermore, the traditional university curriculum in the arts focused on the Greek and Latin periods, and documents of those periods dealt with fine arts in terms of plastic arts. As a consequence, only those particular groups of works received attention. In addition, university professors, not being musicians, preferred to ignore the topic.⁷ Finally, and more particularly in the field of medieval music, which consisted mainly in the study

⁶"Dans tous les pays occidentaux, sauf le nôtre, la mise en lumière des anciens monuments de la musique est aujourd'hui l'objet d'un travail collectif, inspiré par un sentiment national, et, à ce titre, entretenu, quelquefois dirigé par l'Etat" ("Cours," *Revue Musicale* 6 [1906]: 472).

⁷"Cours d'histoire générale de la musique. Avant propos: leçon d'ouverture, le 19 décembre 1904, au Collège de France, par M. Jules Combarieu," *Revue Musicale* 5 (1905): 5; idem, "Cours," *Revue Musicale* 6 (1906): 559.

of plainchant, it was considered as a field of investigation belonging to the Church.⁸

Combarieu deplores the situation all the more as he is convinced that music history can be taught in a scientific manner only at the university, whose purpose consists precisely in establishing research and study methods.

The role of French universities, . . . in every science, is to create methods.⁹

He believed that the study of music history required a very broad education which, by definition, cannot be dispensed by professional schools like the Conservatory, which emphasize primarily the training of the practical musician. The subject belongs to the larger context of a university

⁸"D'où venait, dans les régions de l'enseignement supérieur et du haut savoir académique, cette indifférence, plus fâcheuse qu'une hostilité ouverte, à l'égard de la musique du moyen âge? Sans doute, elle tenait en grande partie à l'insuffisance de notre éducation musicale, insuffisance qui se fera sentir tant que l'histoire de la musique ne sera pas enseignée dans nos Universités, comme en Allemagne. . . . Au moyen âge, tout l'art musical est dominé ou absorbé par l'Eglise. L'Eglise seule a une doctrine; l'Eglise seule a un art. . . . Il en résulte que, pour aborder la musique du moyen âge, il fallait d'abord connaître la liturgie à laquelle elle est incorporée; pour cette raison, cette partie de l'histoire musicale a été le plus souvent étudiée par des hommes d'Eglise qui, dans une sorte de province réservée, poursuivaient un but tout pratique en vue d'une clientèle spéciale" (Jules Combarieu, "Histoire de l'art: la musique au moyen âge," *Revue de Synthèse Historique* 1 [July 1900]: 85-86).

⁹"Les universités françaises, . . . dans toutes les sciences, ont pour fonction de créer les méthodes" ("Cours," *Revue Musicale* 6 [1906]: 558).

curriculum. Within a Conservatory, historical study can only be a "discrete complement to pure art."¹⁰

The need for a very broad and at the same time very precise education has always been and will continue to be a stumbling block in such attempts undertaken by schools exclusively dealing with music. . . . Incidentally, I must point out that there is a distinct difference between music history as taught at the Conservatory and the same course as taught in one of our universities or at the *Collège de France*. Music history . . . requires the knowledge of ancient languages, and also more generally, some training in this very complex discipline called "classical philology."¹¹

It was Combarieu's aim to develop a field of study where "art is considered only in its relationship to science and social life:"¹²

We should pay more attention to music theory, to questions of origin, and to the discussion of the various systems, to history itself; in other words, to the philosophy of music.¹³

¹⁰"Où l'histoire n'est qu'un complément discret de l'art pur" (ibid., 505).

¹¹"La nécessité d'une culture très étendue et très précise a été et sera l'écueil des tentatives de ce genre dans des écoles purement musicales. . . . Je dois, au passage, marquer aussi nettement que possible la différence nécessaire qui sépare les études d'histoire musicale faites au Conservatoire et les mêmes études faites dans une de nos Universités ou au Collège de France. L'histoire musicale . . . exige la connaissance des langues anciennes, et, en général, cette culture très complexe que l'on désigne sous le nom de 'philologie classique'" (ibid., 504).

¹²"Où l'art n'est envisagé que dans ses rapports avec la science et avec la vie sociale" (ibid.).

¹³"Nous devons nous appliquer davantage à la théorie, aux questions d'origine, à la discussion des systèmes, à l'histoire proprement dite, en un mot à la philosophie de la musique" ("Cours d'histoire générale de la musique," 5-6).

The first years of the new century proved fertile for such an enterprise; music history found its way into the curriculum of higher education. This might well have been the result of the patient and relentless efforts of French music scholars who had received a broader training in Germany, such as, for example, d'Indy and Combarieu. It is very probable that more extensive public contact with other European scholars, and particularly German musical scholarship, especially on the occasion of the first Congress for Music History held at Paris in July 1900, played a decisive role in the establishment of modern French musical scholarship.¹⁴ In 1904, finally, Combarieu's wish was realized. Both the Sorbonne and the *Collège de France* saw the opening

¹⁴This was precisely one of the purposes of this congress, as stipulated in the following terms: "Le but des organisateurs est de vouloir créer un rapprochement entre les musiciens d'Europe, et de leur fournir un terrain de discussions communes, ou seraient agitées à la fois des questions d'ordre historique et d'ordre pratique. Nous sommes persuadés que de ces études en commun pourraient sortir, non seulement des lumières nouvelles pour l'histoire de la musique, mais une entente d'une utilité immédiate pour l'exécution des réformes pratiques, nécessaires au développement de notre art" (Jules Combarieu, "Un congrès d'histoire de la musique à Paris, du 23 au 30 juillet 1900," *Tribune de Saint-Gervais* 6 [March 1900]: 88). The membership list of the organizing committee includes the names of Jules Combarieu, Maurice Emmanuel, and Vincent d'Indy (*ibid.*, 89). Jules Combarieu was appointed editor of the congress report: *idem, Congrès international d'histoire de la musique, Paris, 1900. Congrès international d'histoire de la musique tenu à Paris à la bibliothèque de l'Opéra du 23 au 29 juillet 1900 (VIIIe section du Congrès d'histoire comparée). Documents, mémoires et vœux, publiés par les soins de M. Jules Combarieu* (Solesmes: Imprimerie Saint-Pierre, 1901).

of a chair of music history, with Romain Rolland at the Sorbonne, and Combarieu at the *Collège de France*.¹⁵

¹⁵Combarieu was to occupy the position which had been refused six years earlier to Emmanuel.

CHAPTER 2

JULES COMBARIEU (1859-1916)

I. THE AUTHOR

There was a great concern in Combarieu's life for the just recognition and place of music in higher education. The establishment of music history as a scientific discipline was one of his primary concerns. He was the first French scholar to present a doctoral dissertation on music at the Sorbonne.¹ His research led him to Berlin, where he spent five years (1888-93) studying under such eminent masters as Philipp Spitta (1841-94), and Ernst Curtius (1814-96).² The German school of musicology, especially the teaching of Spitta, was an important agent of influence in his interest in music history.³ It also was to play a role in his elaboration of a method of scientific approach, especially with regards to music prior to the sixteenth century. Combarieu's position as professor of

¹*Les rapports de la musique et de la poésie considérées au point de vue de l'expression.* There is a discrepancy as to the date of publication between the one indicated by Combarieu in the preface to the "Cours d'histoire générale de la musique" (1894) published in the *Revue Musicale* 5 (1905): 3, and the one printed on the title page of the dissertation (1893).

²"Cours d'histoire générale de la musique," 4.

³*Ibid.*

music history at the *Collège de France* gave him the opportunity to realize this ideal, namely, the teaching of a method of music history. It was the impact of this "long sojourn in Germany" which influenced him, back in his homeland, to campaign actively for the introduction of music history as a discipline of higher learning.

Since those days, and each time the occasion was given me to do so, I have asked that the study of the history of musical arts be joined in our universities to that of the plastic arts.⁴

The *Histoire de la Musique* is arranged in three parts covering respectively music from the origins to the sixteenth century; from the seventeenth century to the death of Beethoven; and from the death of Beethoven to the beginnings of the twentieth century.⁵ Volume One, on early music, is

⁴"Depuis cette époque, toutes les fois que l'occasion s'en est présentée, j'ai demandé que l'histoire de l'art musical fût jointe, dans nos Universités, à celle des arts plastiques" (ibid., 5). Combarieu not only promoted music history in higher education, but also set up a complete program for teaching music in secondary schools (*The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Jules Combarieu"). In addition, Combarieu was the founder of the *Revue d'histoire et de critique musicales* (1901), later called *Revue Musicale* (1904), which was to be the principal channel for his numerous articles and publications.

⁵Jules Combarieu, *Histoire de la musique des origines à nos jours*. Vol. 1: *Des origines à la fin du XVIe siècle*; vol. 2: *Du XVIIe siècle à la mort de Beethoven*; vol. 3: *De la mort de Beethoven au début du XXe siècle*. The third volume was completed by René Dumesnil (joint authorship) who augmented the series with vol. 4: *L'aube du XXe siècle*, and vol. 5: *La première moitié du XXe siècle* (1960). In subsequent editions, the first three volumes were published under the title *Histoire de la musique des origines à nos jours* (Paris: A. Colin, 1919). The 1950-60 edition by A. Colin, Paris, brought out all five volumes. The first volume received nine editions, vol. 2, seven editions. (Hereafter, this work will be referred to as *Histoire*).

divided into four parts dealing with primitive music, Greek music, medieval music, and music of the Renaissance period.⁶ The author's interest in medieval music is demonstrated in the proportion of materials devoted to this epoch, namely, approximately forty percent of the volume on early music.⁷

A number of works published by Combarieu before the *Histoire de la Musique* must be seen as milestones in the preparation of his last work.⁸ After his 1893 dissertation, he published a series called *Etudes de philologie musicale* which comprises two works related to Greek music,⁹ and a study on music and magic.¹⁰ His lectures on music history, delivered at the *Collège de France*, were made available on a larger scale through publication in the *Revue*

⁶Combarieu makes a clear distinction between medieval and Renaissance music. He includes the seventeenth century under the label of "Renaissance" (vol. 2).

⁷One third of the space dealing with medieval music is occupied by counterpoint alone, which Combarieu considers as the most important contribution of the Middle Ages to musical language.

⁸The *Histoire de la Musique* was indeed his last major publication. Combarieu died in 1916, three years after the publication of the first two volumes.

⁹Jules Combarieu, *Théorie du rythme dans la composition musicale moderne d'après la doctrine antique, suivie d'un essai sur l'archéologie musicale au XIXe siècle et le problème de l'origine des neumes*; idem, *L'Enéide en musique d'après un manuscrit inédit*, *Etudes de philologie musicale* (Paris: A. Picard, 1898).

¹⁰Idem, *La musique et la magie: Etude sur les origines populaires de l'art musical, son influence et sa fonction dans les sociétés* (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1909; reprint, Geneva: Minkoff, 1978).

Musicale (1905-1907).¹¹ In 1907, he published *La musique, ses lois, son évolution*,¹² which was followed six years later by *Histoire de la musique*. In general, there is much agreement between the various publications, such as his articles and lectures, the *Cours du Collège de France*, and the *Histoire de la Musique* which appears like a culmination of his ideas and research about music history. In fact, many ideas contained in the *Histoire*, especially with regards to the nature of music, its origins and development, were taken, often verbatim, from his *Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, and integrated into a broader historical perspective. In the course of our exposition, we shall then primarily draw on both these works as major sources.

¹¹Jules Combarieu, "Cours d'histoire générale de la musique," 3-23; idem, "Cours du Collège de France," *Revue Musicale* 6 (1906): 471-82, 500-505, 558-65; 7 (1907): 405-11, 461-66, 485-91, 508-12.

¹²In our study, we shall use the English translation *Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, The International Scientific Series, vol. 93, ed. F. Legge (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1910).

II. HISTORICAL VIEWPOINT

The idea of history as a whole, and music history as being part of that whole, forms the center of Combarieu's historical viewpoint. In the background of his investigation one distinguishes two dynamics of thought, namely, a positivist and an evolutionary perspective. Combarieu sees the history of music as a complete, all-encompassing ensemble which belongs directly to the general history of civilizations. Its place within the general history is not exceptional or intermittent, but it forms an integral part of it, and must be studied within this general context.

Music history [is an] annex of the history of civilizations.¹³

With this approach, Combarieu follows in the footsteps of the early nineteenth-century French school of historiography, particularly as represented by Jules Michelet (1798-1874),¹⁴ who had devoted much of his earlier work to the history of the Middle Ages. What Combarieu particularly appreciated in Michelet, and adopted for his own investigation, was the former's "most acute feeling for what history should be," namely, a "resurrection of the integral life," a constant interaction of economical, political, social, and moral factors. The historian's responsibility

¹³"L'histoire musicale [est un] annexe de l'histoire de la civilisation" (Jules Combarieu, "L'histoire de la musique," *Revue Musicale* 11 [1911]: 369).

¹⁴Jules Michelet had exposed his philosophy of history in his *Introduction à l'Histoire universelle* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1831).

was to penetrate the past and to "grasp the soul of past ages."¹⁵ While Combarieu agrees with Michelet on the concept of history as a whole, he strongly disagrees with him on the way he apprehends this history. Michelet proceeds subjectively, by means of imagination and sympathy, generalization and prejudice, spontaneously associating the past and the present.¹⁶ Combarieu, on the contrary, bases his approach on the objective observation of facts and logical deduction thereof, always careful to avoid seeing the past through the eyes of the present.¹⁷ In this respect, he is much closer to the objective method of Fustel de Coulanges (1830-1889), who shaped French historiography of the later nineteenth century.¹⁸

¹⁵"Le sentiment le plus vif de ce que doit être l'histoire. . . . L'histoire est la résurrection de la vie intégrale. . . . L'historien . . . veut . . . ressaisir l'âme des siècles passés" ("Cours d'histoire générale de la musique," 14, 15).

¹⁶"De quoi l'histoire s'est-elle faite, sinon de moi? De quoi l'histoire se referait-elle, se raconterait-elle, sinon de moi?" (Jules Michelet, quoted in Robert Marichal, "La critique des textes," in *L'histoire et ses méthodes*, ed. Charles Samaran, Encyclopédie de la Pléiade, no. 11 [Paris: Gallimard, 1961], 1350).

¹⁷"L'histoire musicale est une science d'observation" ("Cours," *Revue Musicale* 7 [1907]: 461).

¹⁸Fustel de Coulanges pointed out that the reconstruction of the past is only possible through "the patient study of the literature and documents which each century has left behind. There is no other way which allows our mind to free itself sufficiently from our immediate concerns and from every kind of partisanship so that it can depict with some exactitude the life of men of times gone by" (N. D. Fustel de Coulanges, *Introduction to Histoire des institutions politiques de l'ancienne France* [Paris: Hachette, 1891], 1:xi).

Combarieu's historical writings must be differentiated from earlier music histories, which were mainly built around the principle of accumulation and enumeration of facts, centering around personalities or anecdotes, isolated from the broader historical study.¹⁹ His holistic view of history calls for and justifies the relationship between music history and other disciplines,²⁰ especially sociology and philology which, according to Combarieu, form the two keys to the understanding of music history: sociology, because it furnishes the living context of music; language, because it represents the other natural channel of human expression.

Music is a natural and universal phenomenon like language . . . it is connected . . . to the deep and permanent laws of social life.²¹

¹⁹"Cours d'histoire générale de la musique," 22.

²⁰The following disciplines were considered by Combarieu as related to the study of music history: acoustics, physiology, psychology, aesthetics, general history, philology, palaeography, and sociology (*Music, Its Law and Evolution*, 3-5).

²¹"La musique est un fait naturel et universel comme le langage . . . pouvant être rattaché . . . aux lois profondes et permanentes de la vie sociale" ("Cours d'histoire générale de la musique," 16). Cf. "Music is neither an exceptional nor an intermittent fact in history, a chance auxiliary to religious ceremonies, a passing expression of joy, or sadness; . . . not yet is it an art of luxury, a pastime invented by men of leisure. It is a fact as natural and universal as language itself . . . ; and it can be attached, if the forms in which it manifests itself are considered, to the deep and permanent laws of social life" (*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 13); see also "L'histoire de la musique," 369.

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With regards to the sociological context, Combarieu affirms:

Musical art . . . is a sociological phenomenon, which means that whenever it appears, it supposes and expresses a society without which it could not exist.²²

The status of the new science of sociology accounts for Combarieu's emphasis on the sociological background of music, and explains his interest in Comtean positivism, where the "phenomena"—what is *positive*—the facts *per se*, are observed and analyzed on their own level.²³

The Positivist Perspective

According to Comte, "in every view, social science offers the attributes of a completion of a positive method."²⁴ Sociology,²⁵ then, became at that time the

²²"L'art musical . . . est un phénomène sociologique, c'est-à-dire que, partout où il apparaît, il suppose et exprime une société sans laquelle il n'existerait pas" ("Cours d'histoire générale de la musique," 18). See also the following statement: "The forms of composition, as well as the expressive parts of music and the elements of its grammar, are tributaries of social life; they owe to it their *habitus* and their intelligibility" (*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 206).

²³Mead, 452.

²⁴Comte, *The Positive Philosophy*. Language, Man and Society: Foundations of the Behavioral Sciences (New York: AMS Press, 1974), 816.

²⁵August Comte (1798-1857) is generally considered as the founder of sociology, that is, the science of society which aims at studying society with "all the resources of the anterior sciences" (Comte, *The Positive Philosophy*, 816). The positivist methods of investigation used in this new science were not solely based on observation, experimentation, and comparison of natural phenomena; they also included an examination of the human mind in its social, cultural, and historical contexts (*ibid.*). Major

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"queen of all sciences,"²⁶ including such branches as social psychology, history, ethics, and so forth.²⁷ At the *fin de siècle*, it had found two great proponents in the persons of Gabriel Tarde (1843-1904) and Emile Durkheim (1858-1917), both considered as the most outstanding sociologists of nineteenth-century France; they were respectively teaching the discipline at the *Collège de France* (1892) and at the Sorbonne (1902). Undoubtedly, their theories and ideas were not without impact on Combarieu's thinking, especially since Tarde and Combarieu were teaching at the same institution. Combarieu shared a number of their views which transpire continually in his writings, together with a certain number of their principles. Following the line of the Comtean view of sociology, one of Combarieu's constants in his historical approach is the stress he places on the practical side of things rather than the abstract side. This principle can be

ideas of Comte had a significant impact on Combarieu, especially with regards to his theory of the unification of all sciences and their classification (*ibid.*, 788, 39); the division of human history into three stages (theological, metaphysical, and positive) (*ibid.*, 25-26); and the creation of a religion of Humanity (Auguste Comte, *Système de politique positive ou traité de sociologie, instituant la religion de l'Humanité*, 4 vols. [Paris: 1851-1881; reprint, Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, 1967], 321-5). It is also significant that during his early years, Comte was Saint-Simon's private secretary, an association which lasted for seven years.

²⁶Carlton J. H. Hayes, *A Generation of Materialism 1871-1900. The Rise of Modern Europe*, ed. William L. Langer (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941), 118.

²⁷Stromberg, 90.

traced like a leitmotif in his historical writings. Another basic principle, namely, the individual's subordination to society, found its expression in Combarieu's theory of the "great man" as subordinated to the general opinion.

In music . . . the great creator who conceives and invents in the first place, is the people. . . . The educated and self-conscious artist comes only later.²⁸

By extension, the sociological role of imitation, a theory advanced by Tarde,²⁹ is essential in the development of musical language:

We see the mind of the composer becoming formed in the same way as that of the writer who uses the verbal language. He assimilates information; he forms part of a school . . . ; he reads or hears much music; he stores in his memory a number of formulas which are unconsciously in his mind, and cause him, unknown to himself, to imitate or counter-imitate. He is always the follower of some other composer.³⁰

The primary role of religion in a given society was another milestone in Comte's system of thought.³¹ The same trend

²⁸"En musique . . . le grand créateur, celui qui d'abord conçoit et invente, c'est le peuple. . . . L'artiste instruit et conscient de lui-même ne vient qu'après" ("Cours d'histoire générale de la musique," 19).

²⁹"Invention and imitation are, as we know, the elementary social acts" (Gabriel Tarde, *On Communication and Social Influence: Selected Papers*, ed. T. N. Clark, The Heritage of Sociology, ed. Morris Janowitz [Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969], 178). See also idem, *Les lois de l'imitation* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1895; reprint, Paris: Kime, 1993).

³⁰*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 207.

³¹See Comte's "Religion of Humanity," in *Système de politique positive ou traité de sociologie, instituant la religion de l'humanité*, 4 vols. (Paris: 1851-1881; reprint, Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, 1967), 321-99. Comte regarded religion as a necessary element in society. Considering the

can be found with Combarieu.³² Together with political life, religion will have a determining impact on the products of a society. He thus recommends "to show, for every era, the connection between [music] and the religious ideas . . . of a social group."³³ The subordination of truth to utility is another positivist principle adopted by Combarieu,³⁴ here in the context of aesthetics:

It would be easy to show that all the categories of melodies which are used in the liturgical drama . . . originally pertained to magic ceremonies. Thus, having been used initially for strictly practical purposes, they shifted to the domain of pure enjoyment. This is an example of the evolutionary law which, according to Spencer, generates the beautiful out of the useful.³⁵

concept of revelation as unacceptable in a positivist context, he suggested a "social" religion, a "religion of humanity" where men would be uplifted above their selfishness by the great moral principle of brotherly love and social concern, and be encouraged to dedicate their life to the other.

³²Combarieu's concept of religion must be understood in a perspective similar to Comte's.

³³"A montrer, pour chaque époque, la connexité [de la musique] avec les idées religieuses . . . du groupe social" ("L'histoire de la musique," 369). See also: "La religion et le langage sont les phénomènes sociologiques par excellence" ("Cours d'histoire générale de la musique," 20).

³⁴See his statement in speaking about the formation of the different intervals: "It ought to be primordial, since it translates a need" (*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 112).

³⁵"Il serait facile de montrer que tous les genres d'airs usités dans le drame lyrique . . . se rapportent à des cérémonies magiques désappropriées, c'est-à-dire que les mélodies, après avoir eu un but d'utilité pratique, sont passées dans le domaine du pur agrément. C'est un exemple de la loi d'évolution qui, d'après Spencer, fait sortir le beau de l'utile" (Jules Combarieu, "Conférence de M. Jules Combarieu sur la musique et la magie," *Revue Musicale* 7 [1907]: 258). See also Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), especially his chapter "Use and Beauty," in Herbert Spencer,

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Like Comte, so also does Combarieu look for rules and laws to determine the relationship between successive stages of evolution.³⁶ The concept of laws was of such importance to Combarieu that it formed the title of one of his works.³⁷ Combarieu did not agree, however, in all respects with Comte's theories. He especially deviated from the latter in his interest in the nature of things, a concern absent from the positivist approach.³⁸ He found still other models for his thought in the surrounding community of thinkers who were instrumental in the renewal of traditionally accepted theories, such as, for example, Bergson (1859-1941). Bergson, who had inaugurated a course in aesthetics at the *Collège de France* in 1900, reacted against the mechanistic approach of positivism and restored the value of instinct and intuition.³⁹ Similarly, in Combarieu's philosophy of history, the importance of instinct is essential. It was within this fertile context

Literary Style and Music: Including Two Short Essays on Gracefulness and Beauty (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1970), 114.

³⁶"In the final, the positive state, the mind . . . applies itself to the study of their laws—that is, their invariable relations of succession and resemblance" (Comte, *The Positive Philosophy*, 26).

³⁷*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*.

³⁸According to Comte, "the mind has given over the vain search after . . . the origin and destination of the universe and the causes of phenomena" (Comte, *Positive Philosophy*, 26).

³⁹Henri Bergson, *Creative Evolution*, trans. Arthur Mitchell (New York: Henry Holt, 1911), 137-53.

of tradition and new ideas that Combarieu constructed his historical approach to music.

Combarieu's classification of the different periods of music history likewise reveals a strong positivist background. In his article on music history,⁴⁰ he proposes different criteria of division for historical periods and trends which share two constants: they are based on the principle of triune division, and the hinge periods are situated around the years 1200 and 1600.⁴¹ Among his various theses, three types of classification have retained our attention. All three correspond to positivist criteria insofar as they follow the three stages proposed by Comte, namely, the "primitive theological stage," the "transient metaphysical stage," and "the final positive stage."⁴²

Music also has had its three ages. It has known a theological age, with plain-song; a metaphysical age, with the great symphonists . . . ; and the present, with composers so preoccupied with realism, we might term the positive age.⁴³

⁴⁰Combarieu, "L'histoire de la musique," 367-372.

⁴¹Combarieu extends the period of antiquity up to the twelfth century, where he starts the medieval period which lasts until the end of the fifteenth century. He mentions, however, that several scholars consider the fourteenth century as the end of the Middle Ages, on account of the importance and the extent of change which occurred during this time (*Histoire*, 1:383).

⁴²Comte, *The Positive Philosophy*, 522; see also 25-26.

⁴³*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 201. An illustration of this evolutionary scheme is given by the liturgical drama: "Après s'être organisé dans une liturgie déterminée, il se développe hors de cette liturgie et s'enrichit d'éléments profanes. Il est d'abord une partie à peine distincte du culte; il devient ensuite un acte social où

Furthermore, they respond to the positivist requirement of objective observation of physical facts.

The first classification of historical periods is built on the concept of a development of music from a religious to a profane stage, parallel to the evolution undergone by the human mind. The lay spirit, initially governed by religion, progressively detached itself from this influence to differentiate itself more and more from it, finally to organize itself apart from any religious influence.

From magical practices, song passes into those of organic religions (the religions of antiquity, the Christian religion of the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and modern times); . . . following the general movement of progressive emancipation of the human mind, it passes from religion into secular life.⁴⁴

Combarieu demonstrates how, in its first stage, music had started out as a ritual function which took on various expressions through the ages. Each of these different expressions were in their own way the demonstration of an act of faith, be it as magical incantation or within an organized cult.⁴⁵ This stage lasted from antiquity through the twelfth century, which marks a turning point. The new period, encompassing the Middle Ages, is

apparaissent et entrent en jeu les organes principaux de la cité" (*Histoire*, 1:311).

⁴⁴"Des pratiques de la magie, le chant passe dans celles des religions organiques (cultes antiques, culte chrétien du Moyen Age, de la Renaissance et de la période moderne). . . . De la religion, suivant le mouvement général qui, peu à peu, émancipe l'esprit humain, il passe dans la vie profane" (*Histoire*, 2:698).

⁴⁵"L'histoire de la musique," 370.

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characterized by the coexistence and interpenetration of religious and profane elements, as demonstrated by the madrigal and the motet. Complete secularization takes over with the eighteenth century. Even though religious music is still a genre cultivated by composers, it is now done in a spirit of aesthetic motivation or as an expression of natural religion.⁴⁶ The purpose of this liberation from the church is explained as a way "to secure the expression of the natural feelings outside of dogmas,"⁴⁷ rather than as a means for greater enjoyment of worldly freedom.

A second type of division of the historical periods is based on a comparative study of the development of music and the development of the language families through the ages.⁴⁸ In music, the *parent language* is represented by antiquity. It was followed by a period (the Middle Ages) where it split into four types of *cognate languages* (Ambrosian, Gregorian, Gallican, and Mozarabic rites) which, in their turn, gave birth to modern music (*derived languages*), starting with the twelfth century:⁴⁹

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 201-2.

⁴⁸The application of philological methods to the study of music assured the historian of the "positive" character of his investigation.

⁴⁹"L'histoire de la musique," 371. Combarieu gives credit for this theory to the Benedictines; it represents their "hypothesis" in the examination of manuscript sources ("Histoire de l'art: la musique au moyen âge," 88). Combarieu's article "Histoire de l'art" is built around this principle of division.

An accurate and complete study of any given idiom . . . must cover a threefold knowledge which is achieved through a threefold comparison: a comparison with the parent language from which it descends, in order to know the origins and the filiation links; a comparison with dialects and cognate languages, in order to evaluate how related they are to each other, or how they differ from each other; lastly, a comparison with the derived languages throughout the generations up to our time.⁵⁰

A third categorization of historical periods is proposed in the perspective of the gradual development of expressivity in music.⁵¹ During antiquity, music was but the servant of poetry, having no expression of itself. During the Middle Ages (beginning with the twelfth century), music starts constituting its own grammar and conquering its technique without having yet acquired any emotional meaning. With the sixteenth century, music begins to be interested in the "conquest of the soul"; it proceeds to an objective and decorative treatment of the ideas proposed by literary lyricism. With Beethoven, music finally acquires the capability of expressing the musician's character.⁵²

⁵⁰"L'étude exacte et complète d'un idiome donné . . . doit embrasser une triple connaissance à laquelle on arrive par une triple comparaison: comparaison avec la *langue mère* que cet idiome continue, afin d'en connaître les origines et les liens de filiation; comparaison avec les dialectes et avec les *langues soeurs*, afin de reconnaître les degrés de consanguinité qui les unissent et les différences qui les spécifient; comparaison, enfin, avec les *langues filles* jusqu'aux générations les plus proches de nous" ("Histoire de l'art: la musique au moyen âge," 89).

⁵¹Again, the positivist character of such an investigation is demonstrated by the close relationship between expressivity and language.

⁵²"Histoire de la musique," 371-72.

In his classification, Combarieu also uses the romantic metaphor of the three ages of humankind put forth by Victor Hugo (1802-1885), namely, childhood, manhood, and old age:⁵³ medieval music is presented as the adolescent stage between childhood and maturity.⁵⁴

Whatever classification was adopted, the Middle Ages occupy a major part in these different schemes of division. Its role may already be perceived as central and predominant in forming the bridge between antiquity and the modern times. As to the relationship between, and the developmental process, within each of these epochs, Combarieu explains them according to the general laws of evolution.

The Evolutionary Perspective

By the end of the nineteenth century, the great-man theory had to a large extent fallen into disuse as a historical approach, and had been replaced by the evolutionary theory. The latter had played a determining role in the moving away, in historiography, from a chronicle approach to men and events, towards a concept of history as a dynamic organism which was constantly unfolding

⁵³See Hugo's "Preface to Cromwell," in *Prefaces and Prologues to Famous Books*, The Harvard Classics, 39, ed. Charles W. Eliot (New York: P. F. Collier & Son, 1910), 356.

The same image had also been used by Forkel, 1:1, 12.

⁵⁴*Histoire*, 1:411.

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itself.⁵⁵ In his writings, Combarieu adopts this vision and uses the Darwinian terminology of organic evolution to explain the development of music history.⁵⁶

The essential laws of organized matter are rediscovered in art. The musical work appears, develops, and perpetuates itself like the living being: escaping, like it, all complete and qualitative definition, it is in a like manner an organism formed of complex elements brought into unity; it evolves, for numerous reasons, of which many escape our notice (for the *primum movens* remains unknown), but one of which is the struggle for life, and the resulting selection.⁵⁷

Within the framework of this evolutionary philosophy of history, Combarieu articulates his argumentation around three points: (1) evolution from simple to complex, implying a cyclic structure of history; (2) evolution wherein the new grows out of the old; and (3) the theory of natural selection.

Combarieu perceives the nineteenth century as the highest peak in the development of music history, a development which was continuous since the early beginnings.⁵⁸ He adopts the idea of a gradual progression toward more precision and realization, of an evolution from

⁵⁵See Allen, 110.

⁵⁶Often, he likens the object of his study to the development of the human organism, that is, from embryo to child, to adulthood, to old age: "The second characteristic of living beings, the most remarkable of all . . . is evolution. . . . The individual . . . repeats and often exemplifies the evolution of the species" (*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 302-3).

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, 315.

⁵⁸*La musique et la magie*, 24.

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simple to complex, from homogeneity towards diversity, from Spencer, who understood things as growing more complex from a diffused, indeterminate stage, to a concentrated, determinate one.⁵⁹ In comparing musical evolution to that of living beings, he notes that

the succession of the various embryonic stages shows that the living being is at first indeterminate. It does not possess all its organs at once: some are wanting or are merely rudimentary. The individual is formed by degrees, passing from the simple to the compound, from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous.⁶⁰

The development from simple to complex engenders a cyclic pattern:

When an artistic activity has reached its climax and some kind of plateau in terms of skillful ability and exploration of difficult and complex forms, it habitually returns to some kind of systematic and even exaggerated simplicity.⁶¹

⁵⁹"The matter passes from an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a definite, coherent heterogeneity" (Herbert Spencer, *First Principles* [New York: The De Witt Revolving Fund, Inc., 1958], 394).

⁶⁰*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 305. Combarieu makes this process very explicit by means of the example of the development of the orchestra: "The orchestra experienced, at first, the indeterminate stage. . . . In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a specialization of the functions begins to appear. . . . At the present day . . . the orchestra has reached the adult age, in possession of all its organs, which are clearly differentiated" (ibid.).

⁶¹"Quand un mode d'activité artistique est arrivé à un maximum d'adresse et à une sorte de limite dans la recherche de la difficulté ou de la complication, il est habituellement suivi d'une réaction marquée par un retour à une simplicité systématique et volontiers exagérée" (*Histoire*, 3:641). Combarieu illustrates his point with the example of polyphony: "Ainsi, après avoir poussé jusqu'à l'abus la science du contrepoint et de la polyphonie vocale, la musique du XVIIe siècle a eu ce point terminus: l'invention ou la remise en honneur du récitatif" (ibid.).

This cycle appears not only once through the history of music, it repeats itself during each separate epoch, thus creating, so to speak, miniature evolutionary series. In the course of the different stages of evolution (from magic to organized religion, to the emancipation of the human mind), this cycle of improvement recommences constantly:

In the course of this evolution, of course, there is an endless and a strictly formal technical effort whose goal it is to polish and to vary the resources of song, to extend it to the instruments, and to establish rules for its practical use. These three facts represent the pattern of an evolution which repeated itself in ancient as well as in modern times, and which encapsulates in itself the whole history of music.⁶²

In Combarieu's philosophy of history, there is no place for spontaneous generation, but only for new generation; the new is seen as coming out of the old. He speaks in terms of continuity, of addition to preexisting material. The past and heredity play a major role in the continuity of history. Thus, a composer must be studied with regards to his inheritances, his antecedents, and within the perspective of the link he forms between his progenitor and his successor.

⁶²"Au cours de cette évolution, bien entendu, il y a un incessant travail technique, purement formel, dont le but est de perfectionner, de varier les ressources du chant, de l'étendre à l'usage des instruments et d'en trouver les règles pour l'usage pratique. Ces trois faits représentent le schéma d'une évolution qui s'est répétée dans les temps anciens comme dans les temps modernes, et où se résume toute l'histoire de la musique" (ibid., 2:698). Combarieu sees in his own age one of those final stages. He interprets the state of music in the late nineteenth century as a progress in terms of degradation. But even this state of dissolution represents already the beginnings of a fruitful regeneration (*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 204).

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The belief in spontaneous generation is now classed among errors championed by nobody. A musical work is a spontaneous creation, but this spontaneity could not exist had it not proceeded, and, as it were, been called forth by a more or less distant heredity.⁶³

Continuity means also metamorphosis. Combarieu follows the Darwinian thesis of natural selection, that is, a continuous struggle from which only the strongest emerge.⁶⁴ In that sense some extinct species do not reappear.

In music, as in all else, the strongest triumph, only to recommence the struggle, and to be overcome in their turn. . . . Species once extinct never reappear (Darwin). In music also, in which there is continuous evolution, we may speak of "extinct species."⁶⁵

Natural selection thus becomes a necessity, not an accident, as in the theory of spontaneous generation. This explains also, according to Combarieu, why only masterpieces survive and are apt to generate new works. The concept of progressive growth, where one species grows out of another, is of particular significance with regards to medieval music. This specific epoch in music history represents an important stage of evolution through the two processes of heredity and metamorphosis, namely, the passage from monody to polyphony and counterpoint.

Combarieu's interest in the study of medieval music is not only geared towards the observation of the different stages the musical language of the Middle Ages reached in

⁶³*Music, Its Law and Evolution*, 308; 207-8.

⁶⁴This thesis had already been popularized before Darwin (1809-1882), namely by Spencer (Stromberg, 107).

⁶⁵*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 308, 314.

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the course of time. His efforts are primarily directed towards finding the general principles or laws which governed those changes. In this respect, he notes several points:

1. The law of nature. Things come into being naturally, by instinct. Following the Spencerian thesis, nothing should be done to interfere with the natural process. Any such attempt would only prevent evolution from taking its course.

2. The law of expressivity. From the primitive rites of magic up to the "unlimited power of the romantic orchestra,"⁶⁶ the principle of the expressive power of music remained identical.⁶⁷

3. The musical work exists as a living "organism" formed of complex elements brought into unity.

4. The evolution of an organism takes place under the pressure of the struggle for life, resulting in natural selection.⁶⁸

5. The sociological factor plays a determining role in this process of struggle and selection. It furnishes the

⁶⁶"L'histoire de la musique," 372.

⁶⁷"The first use . . . made of song is found in the rites of magic, which presupposes a conception of the expressive power of music, at bottom identical with that possessed by the great German metaphysicians Schelling, Hegel, and Schopenhauer, and the great composers down to Richard Wagner" (*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 11).

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, 315.

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background and environment, that is, the *milieu* essential for these changes to take place.

These laws will govern the course of medieval music, and become the source and reason for change, agents which will guide its elements into a specific direction of development, and thus contribute to the shaping of medieval music.

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III. METHODS AND TECHNIQUES OF HISTORICAL INVESTIGATION

Combarieu's writings show a constant concern with methods and techniques of historical investigation. His books and articles abound with reminders of the importance, not only of a sound method in dealing with the history of music, namely, a scientific method, but also with finding a method specific for research in music history.⁶⁹ He made it his duty and responsibility to establish music history as a science and to insure its status as such in the world of research. Without doubt, Combarieu had received his methodological training in Germany and it was in that direction that he pointed for models and examples.⁷⁰ Spitta, who had been Combarieu's professor at Berlin for five years, was a representative of the ideas and theories of Ambros, who had continued in the path opened up by Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886), characterized by careful

⁶⁹The importance of developing a specific method for each science had formed a key thought of the positivist theory (see Comte, *Positive Philosophy*, 48-49).

⁷⁰He sketches a picture of the model researcher by describing the qualities of Gustav Jacobsthal (1845-1912): "[Il] est un de ces savants consciencieux, pénétrants, qui veulent se rendre compte de tout par eux-mêmes et vont au fond des choses. . . . C'est le pur esprit allemand, avec son admirable puissance d'investigation, et aussi quelques-uns de ses inconvénients pour le lecteur français" ("Histoire de l'art: la musique au moyen âge," 102-103). In the "Cours du Collège de France," he gives a whole list of names representing exemplary scholarship: "Aidez-nous de connaître les travaux de Pohl . . . de Wasilewski, . . . d'Otto Jahn, de Guido Adler, de Haberl, de Sandberger, de Schwartz, de tant d'autres qui sont ignorés chez nous, et dont nous avons intérêt à profiter, tout en réservant l'indépendance de notre jugement" ("Cours," *Revue Musicale* 6 [1906]: 501).

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scientific work free from prejudice.⁷¹ The objective attitude towards historical research, characteristic of the German school, was also finding its way into the French school of historiography. Fustel de Coulanges' accent on objectivity, the danger of bias and preconceived ideas, the importance of primary sources, and the necessity to find the exact meaning of each word in its proper context, pays tribute to the same concerns that characterized the German school.⁷² In addition to those more recent trends in historiography, Combarieu also displayed some of the French classical traits of historical writing. His concern for clarity and precision, but also his interest for the reader, point back to more traditional forms of French historiography.⁷³

More than once, Combarieu brings out the weaknesses of more-or-less-recent French historical scholarship in

⁷¹Ranke together with Berthold-Georg Niebuhr (1776-1831) had been instrumental in developing a scientific historical method based on careful criticism of archival documents (Stromberg, 65).

⁷²Fustel de Coulanges gives a clear outline of his historical approach in the preface to *Questions historiques*, and the two chapters "De la manière d'écrire l'histoire en France et en Allemagne depuis cinquante ans," and "Questions Romaines: Comment il faut lire les auteurs anciens," (*Questions Historiques* [Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1923], xv-xvi, 3-16, 405-9).

⁷³See the famous saying by Nicolas Boileau (1636-1711): "Ce que l'on conçoit bien s'énonce clairement" ("L'art poétique," chant 1, in Nicolas Boileau, *Oeuvres complètes*, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, no. 188 [Paris: Gallimard, 1966], 160).

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music.⁷⁴ Some of the strongest critiques he addresses to past French music histories deal with the catalogue-style approach, "strangely superficial" and "incomplete," which takes the form of

a dry and more or less complete listing of book titles, of names and dates along with some songs, a collection of anecdotes or an exercise in rhetoric.⁷⁵

He also deplores the absence of a critical mind as encountered, for example, in Fétis' writings which he taxes as "adventure novels full of puerilities and folly."⁷⁶ Beyond this criticism, Combarieu was aware that a change had started to occur during the past ten years, and already became apparent in some excellent recent histories of music.⁷⁷

Among the prerequisites for a sound historical method, Combarieu advocated certain intellectual and moral

⁷⁴*Histoire*, 1:391.

⁷⁵"Une sèche nomenclature, une liste plus ou moins complète de titres d'ouvrages, de noms et de dates, illustrée par quelques chansons, un recueil d'anecdotes ou un exercice de rhétorique" ("Histoire de l'art: la musique au moyen âge," 99).

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, 85. Though Combarieu actually gives some credit to Fétis in the elaboration of a historical method in music, he directs very sharp criticism against him. Speaking about the wealth of his writings, he mentions that "il a énormément rédigé; il n'a rien écrit" ("Le charlatanisme dans l'archéologie musicale au XIXe siècle," 191). He also reproaches Fétis for his lack of objectivity, especially in the way he uses facts to condone his preconceived ideas and theories (*ibid.*, 189).

⁷⁷He considered as such Mocquereau's *Paléographie musicale*; Gevaert's *La mélodie antique dans le chant de l'Eglise latine*; and Aubry's *La musicologie médiévale*.

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qualities. Historical study should be an act of free investigation,⁷⁸ and not of superstition. Freedom of mind in turn presupposes the possibility of doubt even where certitude seems acquired, as, for instance, when dealing with manuscripts.

If the love for manuscripts is the beginning of wisdom, freedom of critique and skepticism towards those manuscripts represent the mature stage of this very wisdom.⁷⁹

Doubt plays a primordial role in Combarieu's methodology, so much, in fact, that he considers it more important to raise doubts than to solve problems.

It may happen that the scholar's merit lies less in solving questions than in raising them on good grounds, and in showing that there are reasons to doubt in what normally seemed to rest on certainty.⁸⁰

Among the most important factors in historical research are the ability of observation and the discipline of verification:

⁷⁸"Un act de libre examen" ("Histoire de l'art: la musique au moyen âge," 100).

⁷⁹"Si l'amour des manuscrits est le commencement de la sagesse, la liberté de la critique et la méfiance à l'égard des manuscrits est la maturité de cette même sagesse ("Cours," *Revue Musicale* 7 [1907]: 509).

⁸⁰"Il peut arriver que le mérite du savant consiste moins à résoudre les questions qu'à les poser en connaissance de cause et à montrer qu'il y a des raisons de douter là où l'on croyait pouvoir se reposer sur une certitude" ("Histoire de l'art: la musique au moyen âge," 108).

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Today, instead of starting from reason and ideas, one begins with the observation of social life from which one tries to infer the rest.⁸¹

We claim never to stray outside observation and to defend only a thesis that can be verified.⁸²

True observation requires an objective mind devoid of bias and prejudice. Time and again, Combarieu insists upon objectivity of the mind, emancipated from preconceived theories.⁸³ Another quality of the historical researcher lies in his approach to past events. Following in the footsteps of Fustel de Coulanges, Combarieu warns against the procedure of interpreting the past in the light of the present day.

To a system which would interpret manuscripts in an arbitrary manner in order to meet our usual modern requirements, we may prefer the modest recognition of being unable to penetrate this music in all its details.⁸⁴

⁸¹"Aujourd'hui, au lieu de poser d'abord la Raison et les Idées, on commence par observer la vie sociale, et on s'efforce d'en déduire tout le reste" ("Cours," *Revue Musicale* 6 [1906]: 562; see also "L'histoire de la musique," 369).

⁸²*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 19.

⁸³Jules Combarieu, "Conférence de M. Jules Combarieu sur la musique et la magie," 249.

⁸⁴"A un système qui interpréterait arbitrairement les manuscrits pour satisfaire à une exigence de nos habitudes modernes, on peut préférer le modeste aveu de l'impuissance où nous sommes de pénétrer cette musique dans tous ses détails" (*Histoire*, 406). See also his injunction with regards to the study of the medieval chanson: "Quand on aborde l'étude de la chanson au moyen âge, il faut se défaire de certaines habitudes de l'esprit moderne" ("Cours," *Revue Musicale* 7 [1907]: 487). Combarieu applied the same principle to the appreciation of medieval music: "Il faut savoir oublier son temps et comprendre la psychologie des primitifs. L'histoire de l'art serait une

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The technical aspects of historical investigation form the heart of Combarieu's method. It comprises two elements: the consultation of documents,⁸⁵ and the ability to formulate a hypothesis based on the study of those documents. The first principle is illustrated by the example of plainchant:

oeuvre vaine et même funeste, si elle prenait pour point de départ une certaine définition de la Beauté et tirait de là un critérium applicable à tous les temps. Nous devons nous faire un esprit assez large et assez indépendant pour goûter à la fois, sans sacrifices d'un côté ou de l'autre, des types d'art qui paraissent contradictoires, et une musique dont on peut dire qu'elle est à la fois admirable et, d'après nos idées modernes, anti-musicale" (*Histoire*, 1:269). He is, however, conscious of certain difficulties inherent in the application of such a principle: "Il nous est très difficile aujourd'hui de goûter la valeur musicale d'un tel art. Les pièces, publiées dans le livre de Coussemaker et dans l'*Oxford History of Music*, sonnent à notre oreille musicale un peu comme la lecture du fameux serment de Strasbourg" (*ibid.*, 1:366). Speaking about Perotin, he qualifies his music as possessing a "strangely harsh sound" (*ibid.*).

Combarieu seems to contradict himself when he recommends to observe music in its advanced, mature stages, in order to better understand earlier forms and types: "To understand the nature of an art such as music, which has passed through its various phases slowly . . . , it must perhaps be observed in its state of maturity and of development, when it becomes real in a complete way, and not in its embryonic stage" (*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 10). The contradiction seems to grow out of a clash between his evolutionary and historicist approaches.

⁸⁵In his writings, Combarieu takes great care to quote the primary sources directly, followed by a French translation. He differs in this respect from Emmanuel and d'Indy, whose references to primary sources generally consisted in secondhand information. Furthermore, his citation of sources is often accompanied by criticism, or correction of errors made by the medieval theorists. His concern for objective information is also reflected in the extensive index found in his *History*, as well as in the up-to-date bibliographies the reader can find at the end of each chapter.

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Any theory of plainchant which would not withstand the confrontation with manuscripts, does not deserve to be taken into consideration.⁸⁶

The positivist origin of Combarieu's emphasis on a scientific basis of investigation is made plain in the following statement:

A "scientific basis" is a well established fact directly accessible to experience, and which is of such general character that it appears to be necessary.⁸⁷

If history is a science of observation, it requires the availability to the researcher of source materials. It also implies an objective examination of those sources, the practice of comparison, and the skill to understand them.⁸⁸ By having recourse to sources, one remains on the "solid terrain of experience" and lets the documents speak for themselves.⁸⁹ In other words, there will be no need to defend one's thesis. Combarieu gives direct credit to the Benedictines of Solesmes for pioneering this method in their historical research on chant.⁹⁰ Rather than working

⁸⁶"Toute théorie sur le plain-chant qui ne supporte pas la confrontation avec les manuscrits, ne mérite pas d'être prise en considération" ("Histoire de l'art: la musique au moyen âge," 88).

⁸⁷"Une 'base scientifique,' c'est un fait bien constaté, directement accessible à l'expérience, et ayant en outre un tel caractère de généralité qu'il apparaît comme nécessaire" ("Cours d'histoire générale de la musique," 12).

⁸⁸"Cours," *Revue Musicale* 7 (1907): 461-2.

⁸⁹"Cours d'histoire générale de la musique," 23.

⁹⁰*Histoire*, 3:3. This was a powerful argument used by the Benedictines with regards to their research done on plainchant, in comparison to similar studies conducted in Germany at the same time, which were mainly based on

primarily on theoretical treatises⁹¹ as Coussemaker and Gerbert had done, they focused their attention instead on the musical manuscripts themselves. In doing so, they adopted the critical methods practiced at the *Ecole des Chartes* in the disciplines of philology⁹² and archeology.⁹³ Combarieu adopts their method as a primary method

speculation: "Comment combattre l'erreur sans entrer en conflit avec l'autorité de la Cour romaine? Un seul moyen s'offrait: publier les manuscrits, s'effacer derrière eux, leur laisser faire eux-mêmes la démonstration" ("Cours," *Revue Musicale* 7 [1907]: 410). Combarieu points out, in this respect, the Solesmes monks had simply continued an old Benedictine practice: the great musicographers of the Middle Ages had already been Benedictine monks ("Histoire de l'art: la musique au moyen âge," 87).

⁹¹Combarieu refers to the "deplorable state" of those treatises: copists' mistakes, problems of authenticity, and so forth (*ibid.*, 108).

⁹²In spite of all his criticism against Fétis, Combarieu acknowledged the latter's role in widening the field of investigation in music history by relating it to philology: "Dans l'oeuvre touffue de ce polygraphe . . . il y a une belle idée, une idée féconde qui, nous le verrons plus tard, ouvre aujourd'hui une voie nouvelle et définitive aux investigations des archéologues. Cette idée est celle du rapport étroit qu'il convient d'établir entre l'histoire de la musique et celle du langage. Fétis a eu le pressentiment de cette connexion qui fait des études musicales une branche de la philologie; il a compris que les faits musicaux ne doivent plus être considérés à l'état d'isolement, mais prendre place dans une large synthèse, à côté de phénomènes de linguistique et de paléographie qui les complètent et les éclairent (Combarieu, "Le charlatanisme dans l'archéologie musicale au XIXe siècle," 196). Combarieu mentions that Fétis was prevented from implementing this new method of research at his time, by the lack of scientific resources available (*ibid.*, 197).

⁹³"[Les Bénédictins] ont appliqué à l'histoire de la musique la méthode scientifique usitée à l'Ecole des Chartes en matière de philologie et d'archéologie" ("Cours," *Revue Musicale* 7 [1907]: 461). It appears that the model for their work was the publication by the Society of the *Ecole des Chartes* in 1887, of a collection of medals called the

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of investigation in music history: "The history of musical art is a branch of philology."⁹⁴ He presents the various steps in this method as

the study of original documents, the deciphering of old writings, the comparison of testimonies, the classification of works, and here and there, some discrete hypotheses to fill in the gaps.⁹⁵

In discussing the issue of manuscript authority, Combarieu adopts the theory of Solesmes, namely, the most authoritative being the oldest one, that is, the one closest to the life of the composer.⁹⁶ In attempting to understand the original document, the researcher has to keep two precepts in mind: to be faithful not only to the letter, but also to the spirit of the document. In other words, it is

Album ("Histoire de l'art: la musique au moyen âge," 87). In a final instance, however, he gives credit to a handful of earlier scholars who, before the Benedictines, had already introduced into music research the methods applied in philology: "Cet énergique appel à l'étude attentive et directe des 'sources' n'est pas l'innovation la plus originale des Bénédictins. Sur ce point, ils n'ont fait qu'étendre et améliorer . . . l'oeuvre de musicistes antérieurs, tels que Lambillotte, Raillard, Hermesdorff" ("Histoire de l'art," 88).

⁹⁴"L'histoire de l'art musical est une branche de la philologie" (*Histoire*, 1:viii).

⁹⁵"Etude des documents originaux, déchiffrement des vieilles écritures, comparaison des témoignages, classement des oeuvres, et ça et là, quand il faut combler des lacunes, conjectures discrètes" (*Histoire*, 1:viii; see also "L'histoire de la musique," 369).

⁹⁶"Quand il existe plusieurs manuscrits d'une même oeuvre, il faut s'attacher à celui qui est le plus rapproché du compositeur par sa date. . . . Quand le manuscrit authentique, ou une transcription, n'existe pas, il faut recourir à la dernière édition publiée du vivant de l'auteur" ("Cours," *Revue Musicale* 7 [1907]: 509-10). For a critique of this theory, see Donakowski, 355, n. 53.

not only important to find the exact meaning of each term, but also the meaning a particular word was given in a specific time.⁹⁷ With regards to the difficulty of an "absolute" interpretation, Combarieu opts for a middle path somewhere between mathematical precision and indetermination:⁹⁸

We should perhaps free ourselves altogether from the modern musical ways, and recreate within ourselves the primitive genius whose song was often floating and wavering between verbal language and genuine music.⁹⁹

In speaking about the second principle of sound historical investigation, namely, the ability to formulate a hypothesis, Combarieu recalls that observation, in order to be fruitful, has to be accompanied by logic. Without it, it would be a sterile undertaking prone to end up in the type of historical works criticized earlier, such as nomenclatures, incoherent juxtapositions, or simple products of the fantasy of the author. In speaking of logic, however,

⁹⁷See Fustel de Coulanges, *Questions historiques*, 407. Speaking of Machaut's works, for example, Combarieu points out the difficulty of the task: "Ce n'est pas sans une grande difficulté qu'un lecteur du XXe siècle, même s'il est archéologue et spécialiste, peut pénétrer la lettre et l'esprit de ses oeuvres" (*Histoire*, 1:393).

⁹⁸To illustrate his point, he uses the example of engraving art: in the process of interpretation, the researcher would more often have recourse to methods of toning down (*estomper*) rather than carving out (*graver*) (*Histoire*, 1:274).

⁹⁹"Il faudrait peut-être s'affranchir d'une manière absolue des habitudes du sens musical moderne, et refaire en soi le génie des primitifs, dont le chant flottait souvent sur la limite encore indécise qui séparait le langage verbal de la vraie musique" ("Histoire de l'art: la musique au moyen âge," 108).

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Combarieu is not looking for a logical sequence between the various causes of historical development.¹⁰⁰ He is, rather, in keeping with the Comtean idea of finding a system which runs through all the various facts of history and lends them unity.

What a science needs from the very beginning is a hypothesis which leads all its works.¹⁰¹

His own hypothesis is defined in terms of magical incantation, "the initial form of art"¹⁰² whose existence precedes the arts or sciences, and whose power is to become "master of all passions and spirits, master of life and

¹⁰⁰Indeed, history being an organic entity, it would be far too complex to determine all the causes of its happenings. It is for this reason that Combarieu does not believe in the necessity for the historian to unveil the clear and logical linkage of the different facts. This would be an artificial undertaking, a need of the mind rather than reality: "Un historien n'est pas obligé de mettre un clair enchaînement logique entre toutes les parties du sujet qu'il traite et où les innombrables causes qui déterminent le mouvement de la civilisation introduisent une complexité inextricable. Il semble même qu'une tentative de ce genre ait quelque chose de très artificiel et réponde moins à la réalité des choses qu'à un besoin de notre esprit" (*Histoire*, 2:696). Comte already had spoken against the "vain search of the causes of phenomena" (*The Positive Philosophy*, 26).

¹⁰¹"Ce qu'il faut à une science, dès le début, c'est une hypothèse qui dirige tous ses travaux" ("Histoire de l'art: la musique au moyen âge," 88). It is here that Combarieu places the originality of the Benedictines' contribution, namely, in forming a hypothesis with regards to the correspondence of the different types of chant (*ibid.*).

¹⁰²"La forme initiale de l'art" (*Histoire*, 2:698).

death, of the whole nature."¹⁰³ He explicitly refers to Richard Wagner (1813-83)¹⁰⁴ and Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860)¹⁰⁵ to show the preeminence of music over all other principles and reality of the senses. The transcendental aspect of this hypothesis carries Combarieu beyond Comtean positivism, understood as mere observation of phenomena,¹⁰⁶ into a realm which allows for speculation about

¹⁰³"Maîtres de toutes les passions, maîtres des esprits, maîtres de la vie et de la mort, maîtres de la nature entière" (ibid., 2:697).

¹⁰⁴Ibid., 2:697-8; cf. Albert Goldman and Evert Sprinchorn, eds., *Wagner on Music and Drama: A Compendium of Richard Wagner's Prose Works*, trans. H. Ashton Ellis (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1964), 153-4.

¹⁰⁵*Histoire*, 2:697-8; see Arthur Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Idea*, trans. R. B. Haldane and J. Kemp, 3 vols. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, n.d. [1907]), 333, 339, 340. He also quotes Nietzsche (1844-1900): "La musique donne à l'auditeur une impression analogue à celle qu'il éprouverait en assistant à la création du monde par Dieu" (ibid.; see Friedrich Nietzsche, *Menschliches Allzumenschliches: Ein Buch für freie Geister* [Leipzig: A. Kröner, 1930], 242). The phrase "intuition of the laws of the world" calls for a remark on Combarieu's concept of historical truth. The question is formulated in terms of whether truth is contained in the actual documents, or if it should be found elsewhere. According to Combarieu, historical truth is not contained in theoretical documents which are but a later analysis of already created and existing materials: "The order in which musical theory presents the facts is precisely the converse of the historical and real order" (*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 122). The real truth lies in natural law, the "intuition of the invisible reality," the "intuition of the laws of the world" (*Histoire*, 2:696).

¹⁰⁶"In the final, the positive state, the mind has given over the vain search after absolute notions, the origin and destination of the universe, and the causes of phenomena" (Comte, *Positive Philosophy*, 26).

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the unknowable.¹⁰⁷ Here then lies the common factor which runs through music from prehistoric times up to the present day and which explains "all the various facts which connect these two extremes:"¹⁰⁸

If primitive people believed in the magic power of the songs, it is because they had this obscure and unconscious feeling that music could help reach an unseen reality and provide man directly with the power to govern everything. The German philosophers did not say otherwise when they set up the aesthetics of music and when they tried to explain Beethoven. They simply took over this idea on which they built a whole dogmatic system.¹⁰⁹

Evidence of the relationship existing between these two remote periods may be established by means of the same

¹⁰⁷See Spencer, *First Principles*, 99-100 (principle no. 26). This would solve the apparent dichotomy between Combarieu's strongly positivist approach, and the transcendental principle which lies at the center of his philosophy of history: "En matière d'histoire, il y a des vérités qui sans être contrôlables, et tout en échappant à l'observation, sont pourtant un objet de certitude. Je les comparerais volontiers au soleil de Londres dont on ne peut pas, en somme, nier l'existence, alors même qu'il ressemble à une veilleuse dans une chambre de malade ou qu'il se dissimule derrière un voile de légers brouillards" ("Conférence de M. Jules Combarieu sur la musique et la magie," 250.)

¹⁰⁸"Toute la série des faits qui relie ces deux extrêmes" (*Histoire*, 2:697).

¹⁰⁹"Si les primitifs croyaient au pouvoir magique du chant, c'est qu'ils avaient ce sentiment obscur et inconscient que la musique peut atteindre à une réalité invisible et mettre l'homme en possession directe des Principes qui gouvernent tout. Les philosophes allemands, lorsqu'ils ont fait de l'esthétique musicale et voulu expliquer Beethoven, n'ont pas fait autre chose que reprendre cette idée et l'ériger en système dogmatique" (*ibid.*).

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procedures that were used at Combarieu's time in the discipline of archeology:¹¹⁰

It is a matter of leaving modern civilization and mounting as far as possible into the past, and, having arrived at a limit, to get an idea of what is beyond, according to the agreement and the convergence of all that is on this side. . . . One of the simplest means of practicing this method . . . is first to analyze the meaning of certain words which we still use today. . . . The philological historian finds there a weakened, but certain evidence of old superstitions. . . . The faith has disappeared; the word, witness to it, has survived, but the word helps us to recover the faith.¹¹¹

Going back in time, and trying to understand the origins of things, furnishes the key to the understanding of the historical process: "In the light of the origins, the whole history may be clarified and organized."¹¹²

¹¹⁰*La musique et la magie*, 24.

¹¹¹"Il s'agit donc, en partant de la civilisation moderne, de remonter aussi haut que possible dans le passé, et, une fois arrivé à une limite, de se faire une idée de ce qui est au delà d'après la concordance et la convergence de tout ce qui est en deçà. . . . Un des moyens les plus simples de pratiquer cette méthode . . . est d'analyser d'abord le sens de certains mots dont nous nous servons encore aujourd'hui. . . . L'historien philologue voit là un témoignage affaibli, mais certain, de ces vieilles superstitions. . . . La croyance a disparu; le mot qui en est le témoin, a survécu; mais le mot nous permet de retrouver la croyance" (*ibid.*, 25).

¹¹²"A la lumière des origines, toute l'histoire s'éclaire et s'ordonne" (*Histoire*, 1:ix).

CHAPTER 3

MEDIEVAL MUSIC IN JULES COMBARIEU'S *HISTOIRE DE LA MUSIQUE*

I. THE ORIGINS OF MEDIEVAL MUSIC

Combarieu conducts his discussion of the origins of medieval music under the scientific angle of organic evolution. Nature, instinct, environment, heredity, mutation, natural selection, are as many terms and concepts in which he articulates the process of the origins of medieval music. The observation of the origins of the musical language of the Middle Ages yields on a small scale the larger picture of the evolutionary process, as it takes place on the level of the macrocosmos.¹ In such a context, it is difficult to talk about the "beginnings" of medieval music, considering that it grew out of an earlier period. Speaking about the beginnings will, in a certain sense, mean to speak about continuation, that is, development. Heredity occupies a privileged position within an evolutionary context; it represents the linking factor between past and future. Likewise, the elements of medieval music must be considered in the perspective of their ties with the past. Combarieu understands medieval music, especially plainchant

¹*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 303.

and the theoretical writings, as first of all growing out of their past roots, namely, Greek and Jewish music.

From the combination of Greek and Hebrew music came out a form of song subject to the law of evolution. . . . The Middle Ages called it "Gregorian chant," then "plainchant." . . . The continuity of the Greek tradition, as attested in the practice of chant, is present as well in music theory and in the ideas which prevail in it.²

Within this continuing scheme of development, it is still possible to distinguish elements referring properly to a beginning of medieval music. They are the common factors which bring about new beginnings in any time. The appearance of new and original elements during the Middle Ages must be attributed to the same "vital instinct" which lies at the very beginning of music itself.

Song and all the rudimentary attempts which preceded it express something very general, a sentiment identical with the vital force itself.³

This force is assimilated by Combarieu with myth or magic:

What do we discover in the very beginning of music history? Myths, ascribing to music divine origins and incantations.⁴

²"De la combinaison de la musique grecque et de la musique hébraïque est sortie une forme de chant soumise à la loi d'évolution. . . . Le moyen âge devait l'appeler le 'chant grégorien,' puis le 'plainchant.' . . . La continuité de la tradition grecque, attestée pour la pratique du chant, est également visible dans la théorie musicale et dans les idées qui la dominent" (*Histoire*, 1: 191, 221). Combarieu refers here to the Hellenistic Greek tradition (see "Histoire de l'art," 95).

³*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 162.

⁴*Ibid.*, 105. Like many romantics, Combarieu saw a close connection between music and magic or myth: "Le chant magique étant posé comme forme initiale de l'art, tout le reste s'explique, s'ordonne de la façon la plus claire"

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This fact can be verified in sacred as well as in secular music. Both types came into being, so to speak, as pure products of nature, as yet unorganized, and were grasped on an unconscious level. With regards to plainchant, Combarieu situates its beginnings at a "period of naive unconsciousness," long before theorists attempted to organize and contain it within a system.⁵ Similar language is used in dealing with the courtly chanson, which was generated by the "natural instinct" of the musician:

The precise origin . . . of the courtly art song . . . is to be found in the natural instinct of the musicians, or rather, of men of all ages.⁶

Combarieu's reference to "men of all ages" indicates that he embraces the romantic vision of "the people at large."⁷

The originating stage in music is not the work of an individual, but of a group. The concept of instinct must hence be interpreted in terms of "collective instinct," and not as the prerogative of an individual.

(*Histoire*, 2:698; see Donakowski, 161). The bridge between prehistoric music and Wagner's music is situated at this place, which forms the heart of the principal law of musical evolution.

⁵"Comme la langue verbale, la langue musicale semble, après une période de naïve inconscience, s'être organisée sous l'influence des grammairiens qui ont voulu l'adapter à des théories d'école (*"Histoire de l'art: la musique au moyen-âge,"* 104-105).

⁶"L'origine précise de . . . la chanson savante et courtoise . . . on peut la chercher dans l'instinct naturel des musiciens, ou, pour mieux dire, de l'homme de tous les temps" (*Histoire*, 1:330).

⁷Donakowski, 153ff.

In music . . . the great creator who conceives and invents, is the people. In order to find exquisite melodies and original rhythms, the people only needs its voice and its heart. The educated artist, well aware of himself, comes only *a posteriori*; he borrows from the people its ideas which he molds, imitates, develops, and then sends them back to them in the form of finished works.⁸

Nature and instinct are then associated with sociological entities, and in matters of the origins of music, society becomes the prime factor.

Musical language, as well as verbal language, would hardly be the work of one single man: it is always the result of slow transformations and deformations. . . . Its genesis springs from the combination of social facts, circumstances, traditions, causes and effects; any individual action, as intelligent and powerful as it may be, cannot comprehend it.⁹

As social groups are characterized by language, thought structures, and geographical location, all these elements

⁸"En musique, . . . le grand créateur, celui qui d'abord conçoit et invente, c'est le peuple; pour trouver des mélodies exquises et des rythmes originaux, il n'a besoin que de sa voix et de son coeur. L'artiste instruit et conscient de lui-même ne vient qu'après; il emprunte au peuple ses idées, les façonne, les imite, les développe, et les lui renvoie sous forme d'oeuvres définitives" ("Cours d'histoire générale de la musique," 19). Rather than diminishing the role of the artist, he has in reality been elevated from artisan to priest. In composing, he performs a religious act, that is, in the sense of a public service.

⁹"Une langue musicale, pas plus qu'une langue verbale, ne saurait être l'oeuvre d'un homme: elle est le résultat de transformations et de déformations toujours lentes. . . . Sa genèse résulte d'un complexe de faits sociaux, de circonstances, de traditions, de causes et d'effets qui échappent à l'action individuelle la plus intelligente et la plus puissante" (*Histoire*, 1:209). The same idea is expressed in his "Cours," *Revue Musicale* 6 (1906): 561: "L'art dépend toujours d'un certain état de la société, d'une certaine forme de la religion, de l'industrie, des institutions politiques, des moeurs. Il est force dans un concert, peut-être une résultante." See also *Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 183, 206.

will play their role in the various originating processes encountered throughout the course of medieval music. It is finally in the ever-changing nature of those sociological components, that is, in their development, that the origins of medieval music lie embedded. The study of the origins of medieval music becomes then synonymous with the study of its development.

II. THE SHAPING OF MEDIEVAL MUSIC

As a microcosm, music is bound to submit to the same laws of growth and development as the macrocosm, and to undergo the same changes and transformations, be it in the sense of an advancement, or of a hindrance. Combarieu proposes to uncover the mechanisms of change in the development of medieval music (evolution), and to find the principle, the force which causes this change (nature). He further demonstrates the role of the environment in the process of change (language; society).

The Role of Evolution

The terminology used by Combarieu situates medieval music directly within the evolutionary framework:

This genesis characterizes the art of the Middle Ages which rarely performs definite acts of original, personal, and complete invention, but rather *slowly elaborates* new forms on the basis of ancient material: an art of troping and centonization which proceeds little by little and grows from naive plagiarisms and disparate constructions.¹⁰

The compositional process itself is presented in similar technical terms. Speaking about the composer, Combarieu remarks that

his evolution continues unceasingly, either continuing the line of heredity—or the mysterious impulsion of

¹⁰"Cette genèse est caractéristique de l'art du moyen âge qui procède rarement par actes d'invention franche, originale, personnelle et complète, mais qui, avec des matériaux anciens, *élabore lentement* des formes nouvelles: art de "farciture," de "tropes," de centon, qui avance peu à peu en s'étayant sur de naïfs plagiats et des constructions disparates" (*Histoire*, 1:364). Emphasis supplied.

nature—or adapting himself (necessarily, but as far as in him lies) to outside conditions.¹¹

He compares the evolutionary process of the musical language to that of living beings in general:

The formation of a musician's talent, influenced both by the principle of heredity and by quantitative or qualitative acquirements from outside, brings clearly to mind the formation of a living being. In lieu of studying it in history, it can be viewed in the individual, who repeats and often exemplifies the evolution of the species.¹²

Combarieu proceeds to observe the physical manifestation of the evolutionary mechanism as demonstrated in use and practice. He sees it happen in three stages: adaptation, normalization, and standardization. Then, he applies himself to show the laws which govern these mechanisms.

The three phases of evolution can be observed in many aspects of medieval music, as for example in *musica ficta*:

An *obscure and instinctive development* [adaptation] of the musical sense has brought about a *progressive increase in use* [normalization] of these licenses, which very soon have *become rules* [standardization].¹³

According to Combarieu, the process of adaptation always happens over a more or less extensive period of time, but it may occur along various lines, especially alteration and deformation, or transformation. A first example can be

¹¹*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 303.

¹²*Ibid.*, 303.

¹³"Un développement obscur et instinctif du sens musical a provoqué néanmoins l'usage de plus en plus grand de ces licences qui, bientôt, sont devenues des règles" (*Histoire*, 1:388; emphasis supplied).

found in the alteration and deformation of traditional ideas.

The alteration and deformation of traditional ideas—provided that we do not abuse it—is almost always a source of progression in the history of the arts of rhythm. In that respect, the Middle Ages have highly contributed to the development of music.¹⁴

The importance attributed by Combarieu to the "old and ancient," as a basis for renewal through alteration, has already been observed. As applied to medieval music, Combarieu sees this type of action as characteristic of the development of rhythm and notation in particular, and in the developments of the *ars nova* in general. In matters of notation, "medieval theorists used old materials in order to constitute a new language."¹⁵ In similar fashion, proportional or figural notation was not

shaped from scratch by a theorist. . . . [It] sprang, little by little, empirically, from the necessities of counterpoint.¹⁶

¹⁴"L'altération et la déformation des idées traditionnelles—pourvu qu'on n'en abuse pas—est presque toujours dans l'histoire des arts du rythme, une des sources du progrès. A ce compte, le moyen âge aurait apporté au développement de la musique une contribution singulièrement féconde" (ibid., 1:232-3).

¹⁵"Les théoriciens du moyen âge, en cette matière, utilisaient de vieux matériaux en voulant les faire servir à la constitution d'une langue nouvelle" (ibid., 1:385).

¹⁶"[La] notation . . . proportionnelle ou figurée . . . [n'a pas] été formée de toutes pièces par un théoricien. . . . [Elle] est née peu à peu, empiriquement, des nécessités du contrepoint" ("La musique et la notation musicale au moyen âge," 510).

And even though the *ars nova* is characterized by the rejection of tradition,¹⁷ innovation, originality, and addition, it also "contains . . . many old things"¹⁸ which will be subjected to alteration.

The process of adaptation through transformation is demonstrated in the development of counterpoint. Combarieu illustrates the evolution of the medieval composer's musical talent towards counterpoint, comparing him to the tadpole "which, first adapted for the aquatic life of ponds, afterwards fits himself for life on land."¹⁹

Among the various agents working within the adaptation process, attraction and inhibition play a constant role: "Everything in music is done by attraction or inhibition."²⁰ Thus, for example, an important agent which determined the evolution of the musical materials during the Middle Ages, such as scales, tonality, rhythm, and so forth, was "the enjoyment of the ear."²¹

¹⁷Combarieu quotes a statement by pope John XXII, dated from 1322, in which the latter complains about numerous innovations and changes: "Certains disciples d'une nouvelle école, mettant toute leur attention à mesurer les temps, s'appliquent, par des notes nouvelles, à exprimer des airs qui ne sont qu'à eux, au préjudice des anciens chants qu'ils remplacent par d'autres" (*Histoire*, 1:383).

¹⁸"L'*Ars nova* [est une] nouveauté qui, comme il arrive assez souvent, contient plusieurs choses anciennes" (*ibid.*, 1:385).

¹⁹*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 303.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 119.

²¹"L'agrément de l'oreille" (*Histoire*, 3:639; see also *Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 118).

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With the emphasis on enjoyment and gratification as agents of progress, Combarieu imparted his philosophy of development a utilitarian direction, according to which the motive of all conduct resides in the notions of pleasure, satisfaction, appropriateness, and the greatest good of the greatest number.²²

This leads to the next stage in Combarieu's evolutionary scheme, namely, normalization. The latter was described by him as a custom practiced during a certain time until it becomes second nature. This stage, again, was obtained not through science, but by instinct. Normalization is not reached through the achievements of an individual, but can rather be observed when some element "has obtained the approval and sanction of the whole community."²³ When Combarieu spoke about enjoyment, he had in mind "the enjoyment of the collective ear, that is, the ear of everybody, whose structure determines average impressions, and from which are later on drawn general rules of composition."²⁴

²²See Mead, 202, 205.

²³*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 118, 119.

²⁴"La raison d'être de ces 'matériaux', c'est l'agrément de l'oreille, de l'oreille commune, de celle de tout le monde, dont la structure détermine des impressions moyennes, d'où on tire ensuite des règles générales de composition" (*Histoire*, 3:639; see also *Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 118). Combarieu alludes here to Rousseau's theory of the general will where the right for individual freedom is relinquished in favor of the common good of the whole community (see Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Du contrat social, ou principes du droit politique* [1762], bk. 1, ch. 6, in *The Political Writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau*, 2:33).

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After a general majority has adopted an element of the musical language, the next step in the evolution of this language is standardization, the formulation of rules, which marks the recognition of its universal value.

Musical language seems to have developed, after a period of naive unconsciousness, under the influence of grammarians who wanted to adapt it to specific schools of theory.²⁵

Combarieu makes it clear that this step happens much later than the normalization process, that is, the actual use of a new element.

We must once for all take into account that the order in which musical theory presents the facts is precisely the converse of the historical and real order. . . . The artists . . . who created music were ignorant of the scholastic process. . . . Later on appeared the theorists, the men of the laboratory and the study; they analysed.²⁶

This theory is particularly well illustrated by the emergence of English polyphony. Combarieu places its appearance much further back in history than the actual publication of the treatises which speak about it.

An English writer who taught at Oxford in the thirteenth century, and whose writings are earlier than 1275, informs us . . . that in his time the use of the third in England was considered ancient, and that his countrymen put practice before theory.²⁷

²⁵"La langue musicale semble, après une période de naïve inconscience, s'être organisée sous l'influence des grammairiens qui ont voulu l'adapter à des théories d'école" ("Histoire de l'art," 104-105).

²⁶*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 122-123.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 116.

He thus establishes the superiority of actual practice over theory, and does so by showing that this theory was in reality an old truth. Combarieu refers to the early sixteenth-century theorist Glarean who had already made a similar statement about the artist:

[He] draws his principal argument from use; he opposes the use to the theory and desires simply that the latter, always behind the times, should put itself in accord with the former.²⁸

Combarieu did not content himself with a mere observation of the phenomena of change which happened in music during the Middle Ages. He was interested in discussing the rules and laws which governed these changes and inflected the musical language in one direction or another. Behind these changes he perceived a higher, universal law, expressed through the ideas of nature and instinct.

The Role of Nature

Combarieu wanted to convey the idea that many phenomena judged by the theorists as "irregularities" of the musical language were in fact natural developments obeying the laws of instinct in spite of the interdictions and limitations imposed by science. Within the palette of factors which propelled and shaped medieval music in its development, nature, instinct, and intuition occupied a primordial place in Combarieu's mind.

²⁸Ibid., 125. See Clement A. Miller, "The Dodecachordon of Heinrich Glarean," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1950, 1:46-47.

Musical thought is the manifestation of a general and deep instinct, more or less hidden, but everywhere recognizable in humanity.²⁹

He characterizes the work of the musician as originating as "an obscure instinct which by degrees becomes precise and realized."³⁰ In times of change, at the crossroad of two distinct paths, the composer will instinctively obey a higher law. This law is translated here by Combarieu into a "positive" state, namely, as a social and physical law.

The musical composer, standing at the point where two groups of influences meet, obeys instinctively laws which at one and the same time may be referred both to social life and to physics.³¹

The role of this law as it applies to medieval music can be observed on two levels, metaphysical and physical: the "voice of nature," and the physiological laws which govern the human voice, namely, the natural manner of speech. The voice of nature is apparent, for instance, in the emergence of polyphony: it sprang from natural instinct. The author builds his argument on a statement made by the twelfth-century English theorist Giraldus Cambrensis, on the ancient practice of polyphony in northern England:

"The English who dwell in this country (the regions of North Britain beyond the Humber) have not reached this special practice by art—read for this science—but by following customs of very ancient date, which in time have become second nature." Polyphony is "instinctive

²⁹*Music, Its Language and Evolution*, 16.

³⁰*Ibid.*, 208.

³¹*Ibid.*, 19.

with them; the very children, marvellous to relate, practise it."³²

The same principle is true for the instinctive use of the third in England. Combarieu referred to an anonymous medieval English author who shows how it was considered "ancient, and that his countrymen put practice before theory."³³ Its use is explained in terms of a "free development of a natural and general instinct in nations who were strangers to the scientific theory."³⁴

The British seem to have been fortunate in that their music was not affected by the Greco-Latin tradition, and thus remained closer to popular practices. They set up the third as the basis of their songs because they followed their instinct rather than scientific principles.³⁵

By extension, the "natural" use of the interval of the third announces the "natural" origin of harmony. The English practice of faburden—also promoted by instinct, with its concept of inversion of intervals (the lower third actually performed at the higher octave, thus forming the interval of a sixth)—"already announces the concept or the intuition of

³²Ibid., 116. Combarieu borrowed this idea directly from Fétis (*Résumé philosophique*, in *Biographie universelle des musiciens*, 1st ed., cxxx-cxxxiii).

³³Ibid.

³⁴Ibid., 117. Combarieu alludes here in particular to the Pythagorean theory as well as to other theorists.

³⁵"Les Anglais paraissent avoir eu la bonne fortune d'échapper, en musique, à la tradition gréco-latine, et de rester plus près des usages populaires. Ils faisaient de la tierce la base de leurs chants, parce qu'ils suivaient l'instinct, non la science" (*Histoire*, 1:353).

the inversion of a chord."³⁶ The same law of "instinct," but here in the form of a physiological law, can be verified with regards to the development of the scale. According to Combarieu, the choice of only a few notes among the very large number available,

may be termed "natural," because it is the work of a collective instinct subjected to common physiological conditions.³⁷

This limited capacity of interval perception must be explained by the "state of the ordinary ear" of "people with limited powers."³⁸ The importance of the natural physiological laws of the human being is also apparent in the role language played in the development of medieval music.

The Role of Language

The role of language formed a major argument in Combarieu's demonstrations and received extensive treatment in his writings. He considers language and music as two natural expressions of man.

³⁶"Le faux-bourdon indique déjà la notion ou le sentiment instinctif du renversement d'un accord" (ibid., 1:354).

³⁷*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 119. The same phenomenon is observed in the development of the minor scale: "The minor mode is not a system set up by the authority of a scholar but . . . it has its origin in the instinctive and the social life" (ibid., 130). As illustration, Combarieu mentions how it "is found everywhere in popular music . . . and is inherent in oriental music" (ibid.). See also the development of the chanson: "On peut la chercher dans l'instinct naturel des musiciens, ou, pour mieux dire, de l'homme de tous les temps" (*Histoire*, 1:330).

³⁸*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 120.

[Music] is a fact as natural and universal as language itself, characterized, like it, at first by incoherent efforts, but appearing wherever there are men.³⁹

This idea, of course, was not new. Rousseau had already drawn attention to the relationship existing between language and music.

All voices speak under the influence of passion, which adorns them with all their éclat. Thus verse, singing, and speech have a common origin. . . . The periodic recurrences and measures of rhythm, the melodious modulations of accent, gave birth to poetry and music along with language.⁴⁰

The similarity goes, however, beyond a mere generality; there are many elements in both expressions which make them akin to each other. "From language," he says, "music borrows its inflections, its cadences, . . . movement and timbres."⁴¹ In view of its strong connections to musical expression, language was to become a major factor of influence in the development of medieval music which, at

³⁹Ibid., 13.

⁴⁰Rousseau, *Essay on the Origins of Languages*, 50. It is also probable that Combarieu had been introduced by Spitta to the ideas of Forkel, who followed a similar line of thought with regards to the connection between music history and language: "Die Aehnlichkeit, die sich zwischen der Sprache der Menschen, und ihrer Musik findet, eine Aehnlichkeit, die sich nicht bloss auf den Ursprung, sondern auch auf die vollkommene Ausbildung derselben, vom ersten Anfang an bis zur höchsten Vollkommenheit erstreckt. . . . Musik ist in ihrer Entstehung, eben so wie die Sprache, nichts als tonleidenschaftlicher Ausdruck eines Gefühls. Sie entspringen beide aus einer gemeinschaftlichen Quelle, aus der Empfindung. . . . Die Musik [ist] ein eben so notwendiger Teil unsers Wesens, als unsere Sprache" (Johann N. Forkel, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik*, 1:2, 69).

⁴¹*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 206.

that time, was still on the search for an expressive language.

Medieval music has followed the same evolution as verbal language and has also reflected, just like it, the most delicate features of psychological phenomena.⁴²

The influence of language was indeed significant and was to bring forth major innovations during the Middle Ages. One such example can be observed in the formation of melody, and more specifically, the formation of the melodic intervals. The starting point of this process resided in the common ability of music and language to accentuate the emotional expressions which accompany speech.⁴³

These cries, these stammerings, these explosions, and even these inhibitions result from the interior force of the feeling which, in each particular case, produces a special adjustment of the vocal organs. . . . The opinion which considers music to have collected, accentuated, and idealized all the emotional accompaniment of articulated and logical speech is a theory of French origin.⁴⁴

⁴²"La musique du moyen âge a suivi la même évolution que le langage verbal, et reflété, comme lui, les faits psychologiques les plus délicats" ("Histoire de l'art: la musique au moyen âge," 85).

⁴³In this matter, Combarieu himself refers directly to Spencer's theories on language: "Nous savons . . . comme l'a dit Spencer, que le chant n'est qu'une parole renforcée, plus vive et mieux organisée que le langage ordinaire" ("Conférence de M. Jules Combarieu sur la musique et la magie," 255; see Spencer's chapter on "The Origin and Function of Music," in *Literary Style and Music*, 45-106, especially 60).

⁴⁴*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 165-66. Combarieu gives credit especially to Diderot and Rousseau, Lacépède, Condillac, and Villoteau (ibid., 166-67). See also *Histoire*, 1:248 where he speaks about the beginnings of neumatic notation: "Elle est un document admirable attestant l'évolution naturelle qui a fait sortir la musique tout

From here, it was but one step to establish the relationship between the natural speech inflections and the musical intervals of the diatonic system.

Everyone has recognized that first of all, the spoken word should contain the beginnings of melody, a *cantus obscurior*.⁴⁵

This thesis was current at Combarieu's time. He explicitly refers to Aristoxenus, Martianus Capella, Euclid, Denys of Halicarnassus, Quintilian, Diderot, and Spencer, who had already seen in language a source of melody.⁴⁶

The transfer process between language and music happened along two lines. Music would either borrow certain elements directly from the verbal language, or it would be submitted to the effects of the same evolutionary process which happened simultaneously in verbal and musical language, and brought forth similarities in the two expressions. From verbal and written language, music borrowed several specific elements which are common to both expressions, such as pitch, intensity, inflection, absence or multiplicity and magnitude of intervals, cadences and caesuras, rapidity or slowness of movement, pauses, timbres, *staccato* or *legato* sounds, and its affinity for images.⁴⁷

entière des modulations les plus simples de la voix, peu à peu développées."

⁴⁵"Qu'il y ait d'abord dans la parole un commencement de mélodie, un *cantus obscurior*, c'est ce que tout le monde a reconnu" (*Histoire*, 1:246).

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 1:246-47.

⁴⁷*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 168, 188, and 206.

The impact of spoken language can be observed in the establishment of consonances. Several interval patterns were modeled after the natural speech inflections. The simplest example would be the octave, suggested by the natural placement of the voices of various age and gender groups.⁴⁸ The interval of the fifth appeared in the speech inflections of "oratorical music."⁴⁹

The interval which appears most frequently in the inflections of ordinary speech is the interval of the fifth. It is that which the voice has covered at the end of an interrogative phrase. . . . It has been noticed that if an interrogative phrase ended on an ascending interval of the fifth, the reply usually terminated on a descending interval of the fourth. . . . We must add that the excess of the fifth over the fourth gives the interval of tone which is the basis of the diatonic system.⁵⁰

In a similar way, the tonic accentuation of the spoken language is present in the melodies and rhythms of plainchant, and musical cadences are patterned after the literary *cursus*.

The Latin tonic accent and the *cursus* have actively influenced the melodic and rhythmic formation of the Gregorian phrase; these are the bases on which the whole structure of chant rests.⁵¹

⁴⁸Ibid., 192.

⁴⁹Combarieu locates the beginnings of "oratorical" music in the southern countries of Europe, especially Greece. He adds, however, that this phenomenon was, in addition, "charged with Pythagorean speculation" (ibid., 117).

⁵⁰Ibid., 112, 114.

⁵¹"L'accent tonique latin et le *cursus* ont exercé une influence active sur la formation mélodique et rythmique de la phrase grégorienne; ils sont les bases sur lesquelles repose tout l'édifice du chant" ("Histoire de l'art: la

An example of borrowing in written musical language can be observed in the appearance of neumatic, and later diastematic notation. Both must be seen as a natural takeover from contemporary writing practices.

One may then search for the origins of notation in the common written language, as one may search for the origins of melody in the oral language. This neumatic notation . . . is an admirable document which attests to the natural evolution of music entirely springing from the most simple modulations of the voice, and then evolving little by little.⁵²

Simultaneous and parallel developments between music and language during the Middle Ages are noticeable in the existence of a plurality of liturgical rites, namely, Ambrosian, Gregorian, Gallican, and Mozarabic.⁵³ According to the author,⁵⁴ these rites mirror the four Romance sister languages which had grown out of the initial mother language, that is, Latin.

musique au moyen âge," 95; see also *ibid.*, 96-97). In this statement, Combarieu gives direct credit to the then recent research done by the authors and collaborators of *Paléographie musicale* (*ibid.*).

⁵²"On peut donc chercher dans l'écriture usuelle l'origine de la notation, comme on peut chercher dans le langage oral l'origine de la mélodie. Cette notation neumatique . . . est un document admirable attestant l'évolution naturelle qui a fait sortir la musique tout entière des modulations les plus simples de la voix, peu à peu développées" (*Histoire*, 1:248). Combarieu establishes the same relationship between language and music with regards to Greek alphabetic notation: "La musique fut d'abord si étroitement unie à des paroles, que l'idée de représenter les sons par les éléments de l'écriture ordinaire sembla toute naturelle" (*ibid.*, 1:243).

⁵³"*Histoire de l'art*," 89.

⁵⁴Combarieu gives credit for this thesis to Dom Mocquereau (*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 187).

Music history could be conceived differently because music is a language. Would it be possible, after having distinguished the four medieval "dialects" of plainchant (Ambrosian, Gregorian, Gallican, Mozarabic), to treat them like cognate Romance languages, to search in Antiquity for the parent language from which they derive, and lastly, to show how modern music comes in fact from them?⁵⁵

The identification of the musical and the verbal language becomes an important argument in Combarieu's proposal to apply scientific methods to the study of musical documents. Since the two objects of study are identical, the methods also should be identical. The scientific approach to the study of verbal language was well developed at Combarieu's time. It formed the method that had been adopted by the Solesmes monks for their work on chant. He presents it in terms of a comparative method:

Comparison with the *parent language* from which they descend . . .; comparison with *dialects and cognate languages*; . . . comparison, lastly, with the *derived*

⁵⁵"La musique étant une 'langue', son histoire peut être conçue tout autrement. Serait-il possible après avoir distingué, au moyen âge, ce qu'on a appelé les quatre 'dialectes' du plain-chant (ambrosien, grégorien, gallican, mozarabe), de les traiter comme les langues romanes soeurs, de rechercher ensuite dans l'antiquité la musique mère d'où ils dérivent, de montrer enfin comment la musique moderne leur doit sa naissance?" ("L'histoire de la musique," 370). Combarieu explains how the diversification of dialects had been triggered by a change in the declension pattern: "Ce qui a donné naissance aux langue romanes, c'est la transformation des désinences féminines des mots latins en désinences masculines. . . . Ce chassé-croisé s'est reproduit dans le chant (ajoutons aussi: dans la musique instrumentale, faite à l'imitation du chant)" ("Histoire de l'art," 98).

languages throughout the generations up to our time.⁵⁶

Combarieu proposes the same method, using the same terminology, for the study of the musical language:

We could apply the same principles of comparative grammar to the four dialects of plainchant (*cognate languages*), which are attached both to the music of antiquity (*parent language*) and to modern music (*derived language*).⁵⁷

A similar correspondence between language and music can be observed in the reduction of the eight church modes to only two modes, the major and minor. It paralleled a process which had occurred simultaneously in the ancient French language, namely, the reduction of the original six cases found in Latin, to the two cases found in modern French:⁵⁸

The ancient modes got mixed up and were lost . . . and ultimately ended up as a somewhat simplistic duality, that is, our two modes, major and minor (the same evolution is noted in Latin declension whose nuances were reduced in old French to two cases: the subject case and the object case).⁵⁹

⁵⁶"Comparaison avec la *langue mère* que cet idiome continue . . .; comparaison avec les dialectes et avec les *langues soeurs*; . . . comparaison, enfin, avec les *langues filles* jusqu'aux générations les plus proches de nous" (*Histoire*, 3:489).

⁵⁷"On pourrait appliquer les principes de la grammaire comparée aux quatre dialectes du plain chant (*langues soeurs*) rattachés à la musique antique (*langue mère*) et à la musique moderne (*langue dérivée*)" (*ibid.*). Emphasis supplied.

⁵⁸*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 133.

⁵⁹"Les modes antiques se sont brouillés et perdus . . . pour aboutir à une dualité un peu grossière: celle de nos deux modes, majeur et mineur (cette évolution ressemble à celle de la déclinaison latine dont les nuances se sont réduites, dans l'ancien français, à deux cas: le cas sujet et le cas régime)" ("*Histoire de l'art*," 95).

Elaborating further on the parallel developments between verbal and musical language, Combarieu perceives a significant link between polyphony and the evolution of grammar. While during the ninth and tenth centuries verbal language and music were still in a "crude stage,"⁶⁰ the twelfth century witnessed the double advent of grammar and modern music, the latter characterized by the introduction of rhythm and polyphony.⁶¹ At the basis of both innovations Combarieu sees a common concern and interest for logic, precision, and classification.

French language took on its specific syntactical features in the twelfth century; it was then, as the *Litttré* strangely puts it, that "the grammatical flower blossomed." If, from a secular and strictly artistic standpoint, we recognize musical art only when there is rhythm and combinations of parts, we may conclude that music, according to modern criteria, has also been

⁶⁰"Le neuvième et le dixième siècle, nous disent les historiens littéraires, sont des périodes dépourvues, où la langue se montre rude, peu sûre d'elle-même et inhabile. Cette appréciation peut s'appliquer à l'enfance du contrepoint, qui jusqu'à la mort de Gui d'Arezzo (1050?) se bornait à doubler les mélodies à l'octave, la quinte ou à la quarte" ("La musique et la notation musicale au moyen-âge," 510).

⁶¹Combarieu considered the advent of counterpoint (polyphony) as the major contribution of the Middle Ages to the development of the musical language. He spoke of counterpoint as "the great and original creation of the Middle Ages . . . the cradle of harmony" (*Histoire*, 1:350). He did not attribute this privileged position to chant, because of the limitations chant had imposed on itself, and thus had become "une musique sans avenir, condamnée à l'immobilité" (*ibid.*, 1:259). Combarieu spoke of chant as "un art qui se prive d'un si grand nombre de ressources, que tout renouvellement organique lui est interdit" (*ibid.*). Among those limitations, he mentioned particularly the rejection of popular elements, the exclusion of instrumental music, and monophony (*ibid.*). Counterpoint was then the only possibility for progress to occur.

constituted at that time. . . . In the middle of the eleventh century, the *novum organum* appears and in a bold manner gives to the associated melodies different rhythmic movements.⁶²

The contemporaneous appearance of grammar and polyphony seems indeed as a significant event which hardly could fail to strike a historian's sense of observation. At first, the analogy between the normative and logical character of grammar, and the intuitive and instinctive development of medieval polyphony, may strike one as contradictory. It can be resolved, however, by considering Combarieu's theory in the light of the "anomalist school" of grammarians⁶³ who "denied general rules of any kind except in so far as they were consecrated by custom."⁶⁴ In the light of this

⁶²"C'est au douzième siècle que la langue française a pris tous les caractères de syntaxe qui lui sont propres et que, selon la curieuse expression de Littré, "la fleur de la grammaire s'est épanouie." Si—nous plaçant à un point de vue profane et purement artistique—nous ne reconnaissons l'art musical que là où il y a rythme et combinaisons de parties, nous pouvons dire que la musique, telle que les modernes la comprennent, a été également constituée à la même époque. . . . Au milieu du XI^e siècle apparaît le *novum organum*, qui, par une hardiesse décisive, donne aux mélodies associées des mouvement différents" ("La musique et la notation musicale au moyen-âge," 509-10).

⁶³The "anomalist" school was opposed to the "analogist" school which was only interested in logical principles, to the exclusion of scientific observation. Even though these two schools date back to the Greeks, both tendencies were still in effect at Combarieu's times: "Les traces de cette double filiation (philosophique et philologique) n'ont cessé de marquer la grammaire occidentale jusqu'au XX^e siècle" (*La Grande Encyclopédie Larousse*, s.v. "Discours [parties de]").

⁶⁴*Encyclopedia Britannica*, s.v. "Grammar." Notice the similarity of terminology between this statement and Combarieu's exposition of the principle of the artist who establishes a custom which only later will be confirmed by rules (*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 122-23). Still

connection between grammar and polyphony, Combarieu's theory takes on particular significance. Within the Comtean scheme of the three stages of evolution, the Middle Ages occupy a central and determining place, since they represent the period which was to make the transition from the theological to the metaphysical age. The preoccupation with grammar represents the evolution of the mind away from the supernatural towards abstraction. The invention of counterpoint becomes thus a symbol for the passage from one age to the other, and confirms the role of music as a carrier of culture and civilization.

Several remarks can be drawn from the foregoing elaborations on Combarieu's understanding of the role of nature and language in medieval music. They all emphasize the organic relationship which exists between the human being and nature. This can be verified, on a first level, by reason of the physiological laws which govern the human voice. In this respect, life as a physiological process contains all its constituent elements at every stage of its

another parallel may be noted between medieval grammar and music theory, namely, confusion on the level of terminology. Combarieu pointed out that "le moyen âge a suivi les idées antiques . . . sans esprit critique, en altérant et en brouillant souvent les idées, les faits et le langage" (*Histoire*, 1:224). A similar situation had taken place in the field of grammar: "The zeal with which the Romans threw themselves into the study of Greek resulted in the school grammar of Dionysius Thrax. . . . Latin grammars were soon modelled upon it, and the attempt to translate the technical terms of the Greek grammarians into Latin was productive of numerous blunders which have been perpetuated to our own day" (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, s.v. "Grammar").

development, be it simple or complex. It further can be observed on the level of the spoken and musical language, both of which obey the same common law, as was demonstrated by their parallel development. On a deeper level, however, Combarieu alludes to the principle of natural law itself. In comparing primitive music with modern music, he explains the common element between the two types of music as the "invisible reality," an "intuition of the laws of the world."⁶⁵ It is here that the common denominator of magic song and music lies which, in Schopenhauer's terms, "is superior and anterior to any reality perceptible to the senses."⁶⁶

It follows that beyond his positivist approach to music history, Combarieu's philosophy of the development of the musical language must also be understood in the light of the transcendentalist theory of instinct, intuition, and nature. To the romantics, the creative genius was not something

⁶⁵"Ces deux conceptions de la musique: celle des sauvages primitifs, et celle des esthéticiens allemands commentateurs de Beethoven, *sont identiques l'une à l'autre; et leur identité explique toute la série des faits qui relie ces deux extrêmes. Si les primitifs croyaient au pouvoir magique du chant, c'est qu'ils avaient ce sentiment obscur et inconscient que la musique peut atteindre à une réalité invisible et mettre l'homme en possession directe des Principes qui gouvernent tout. Les philosophes allemands, lorsqu'ils ont fait de l'esthétique musicale et voulu expliquer Beethoven, n'ont pas fait autre chose que reprendre cette idée et l'ériger en système dogmatique*" (*Histoire*, 2:697).

⁶⁶"Ce qui est supérieur et antérieur à toute réalité sensible" (Combarieu is quoting here, *ibid.*).

made, but rather something that rises and grows spontaneously, under the influence of a higher power.⁶⁷ The artist partakes of the infinite spirit and works intuitively.⁶⁸ Art grows out of nature like a living being; the artist gives himself to nature and finds in it the very ideas which he himself is trying to bring to consciousness. While the German romanticists endowed this higher power with a spiritual dimension, not so Combarieu.⁶⁹ His positivist outlook strongly compels him to affirm his religious emancipation:⁷⁰ "I need no such metaphysical 'bias,' which is absolutely repugnant to the method followed in this work."⁷¹ To him, this higher power must be found in what

⁶⁷Combarieu explains this condition by quoting Nietzsche (1844-1900): "Thy true nature is not in thee: it is infinitely above thee" (*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 10).

⁶⁸See the many statements in the writings of early German Romantic literati, such as, for instance, Wilhelm H. Wackenroder ("The Remarkable Musical Life of the Musician Joseph Berglinger," in Strunk, 750-63), and Ernst T. A. Hoffmann ("The Poet and the Composer," *ibid.*, 782-97), who vividly attest this view. Even though the name of Rousseau comes naturally to mind when speaking about instinct and the artist, an influence much closer to Combarieu is found in Henri Bergson's theory of the organic function of instinct (Bergson, 165-76).

⁶⁹He did, however, recognize that there is a moral element in the work of art: "Toute musique est constituée [par un] élément intellectuel et moral qui est l'expression de la personnalité des compositeurs" (*Histoire*, 3:637).

⁷⁰He points out the "danger" that lies behind Malebranche's statement, "to know man, another line than direct observation must be taken, and God must be contemplated" (*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 10).

⁷¹*Ibid.*, 10.

forms the source of art itself, in what brings about magical incantation, the originator of all musical art, namely, the faculties of imagination, feeling, and secret harmony with the universe.

I see in the use of incantation in its original stages, the work of imagination, even a sort of secret sympathy and feeling, which is the real origin of all poetry and metaphysics, the source of art itself.⁷²

Genuine in this theory is also the admiration of primitive stages of civilization as representative of the original genius. This concept is also present in Combarieu's writings, in the concept of magical incantation. Ingenuity, expressivity, and charm are all characteristics of primitive works.⁷³ In agreement with the romantic concept of artistic creativity, Combarieu places imagination over reason, and creativity over theory.⁷⁴

Even though Combarieu seemed to espouse the lines of romanticism with regards to the nature of the creative act,

⁷²"Dans l'usage de l'incantation, je vois, à l'état rudimentaire, une oeuvre d'imagination, même de sympathie secrète et de sentiment, le germe réel de toute poésie et de toute métaphysique, la source de l'art lui-même" (*La musique et la magie*, 10).

⁷³Some of the qualities attributed by Combarieu to primitive music are "sa naïveté qui est sa grande force d'expression et de charme . . . un peu gauche . . . cette fleur d'ingénuité qui est la grâce des oeuvres primitives" (*Histoire*, 1:268). He establishes a difference between the modern understanding of "charm" in its aesthetic sense, and the "charms" obtained by primitive incantation, namely, "necessary effects, determined by specific laws" (*La musique et la magie*, 10).

⁷⁴Proof are his numerous allusions to the detrimental effect of theory or technical demonstration on expressivity (*Histoire*, 1:222, 224, 241, 327, 329).

there was a major difference between the two approaches. While he acknowledged the intuitive nature of the creative instance, he did not see it in form of an individual contribution. The romanticists had pictured the artist as an individual alienated from society, remote from it and misunderstood by it. Combarieu, on the contrary, interpreted the creative force as society itself.

This delicate act, by which a syntax of sounds develops into a very expressive language, is not the privilege of any special artist refined by centuries of civilization, but has its affinity in humanity itself, of all ages and of all latitudes. Everywhere mankind is sentimental, imaginative, and superstitious; it is therefore a musician, at bottom.⁷⁵

The criterion of "natural" is here tied to the concept of collectivity:

A fact . . . may be termed "natural," because it is the work of a collective instinct subjected to common physiological conditions.⁷⁶

In the final analysis, it appears that the aforementioned developments observed in musical language were traced back by Combarieu to sociological factors. He made this clear while speaking about the development of the modes in relationship to the evolution of language. He remarks that "a like evolution has taken place, though somewhat more tardily, in the musical modes . . . due to reasons of a social order."⁷⁷ This signifies that the development of

⁷⁵*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 208.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, 119.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, 133.

musical language, that is, melody, rhythm, modes, consonance, polyphony, notation, and so forth, must be seen, in the last instance, as the result of a sociological influence. Ultimately then, for Combarieu, though the philological factor might be called a sociological factor par excellence, it is not the prime agent in development and change. In order to find this agent, one must return to the very source of language, namely, society itself.

The Role of Society

Combarieu saw his unique contribution to the field of music history in a sociological approach to the topic. He mentioned how earlier music histories were written in catalogue style, as biographies, in the form of anecdotes, or as a study of genres. What was still missing was

a history of art which explains its forms in relationship to social life, starting with its humble beginnings and following the evolution of musical thought.⁷⁸

He explained the history of music as an organic process which happened within the context of a given environment (society).

Musical art . . . is a sociological phenomenon, which means that whenever it appears, it implies and

⁷⁸"Ce qui reste à faire, c'est une histoire de l'art qui, en suivant les humbles commencements et l'évolution de la pensée musicale, explique ses formes en les rattachant à la vie sociale" ("Cours d'histoire générale de la musique," 22).

expresses a society without which it could not exist.⁷⁹

The sociological factor was by far the most important element of influence in the development of medieval music. Social factors at work were indeed of various orders. Beyond the physiological particularities of a society (for instance, different voice registers), its structures, continually subjected to change, affected the development of the musical language. This can be readily seen in a society's dances, games, religious song, and so forth, which are reflected in various musical forms.⁸⁰ Further agents include the values cherished by a social group, changes in public and political life, the progress of mind and science, progress of public wealth and the development of international relations.⁸¹ Combarieu gave a wealth of examples on how these different manifestations of society brought about important changes in the musical language of the Middle Ages, not only in its structure, its grammar, but also in its expressive character. The element of

⁷⁹"L'art musical . . . est un phénomène sociologique, c'est-à-dire que, partout où il apparaît, il suppose et exprime une société sans laquelle il n'existerait pas" ("Cours d'histoire générale de la musique," 18; see also *ibid.*, 22; "Cours," *Revue Musicale* 6 [1906]: 562).

⁸⁰"[Music] can be attached, if the forms in which it manifests itself are considered, to the deep and permanent laws of social life" (*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 13; see also 206).

⁸¹"From one end of its history to the other, [music] has an evolution parallel to that of society by reflecting all the changes of public life, the progress of the lay mind, of science, and of industrial labour" (*ibid.*, 206).

collectivity, in particular, made music become a sociological phenomenon.

As it appears in history, music has always been united to the manifestations of social life, or, more accurately, to the working of its essential organs. It has never been, as philosophers put it, "an end in itself," for we have always subordinated it to some important act of public life.⁸²

The theory of collectivity holds a primary role in Combarieu's philosophy of music. He demonstrates how music, especially in the ancient times, was never represented, in plastic arts, by itself, but always as "part and parcel of a group, performing a particular ceremony."⁸³ Change and new developments were determined and sanctioned by society alone.

In music . . . there is not organic change excepting where an innovation has obtained the approval and sanction of the community.⁸⁴

In adopting the romantic concept of the organic character of society, Combarieu shows how music, as an integral part of that society, underwent the same fluctuations as society. In the "organicist" view, society was no longer understood as a static or unchanging entity, but—in the light of the biological principle of life—as an ever-changing, growing, and unfolding organism obeying natural impulses. Under this

⁸²Ibid., 14.

⁸³Ibid., 14. "No one ever dreamt of discussing a mass, a cantata, a motet, or an oratorio, and of characterizing them by an aesthetic judgment, because such works formed part of the acts of a community, and these acts were the principal thing" (ibid., 15).

⁸⁴Ibid., 118.

principle, an innovation was only acceptable if it corresponded to the "general will" of this organism, which, as a whole and sacred entity, determined the appropriateness of a new element for survival.

Combarieu considered especially two sociological phenomena which were at work in the shaping of medieval music: that is, religion; and various social structures, values, and thought patterns. Religion, "the sociological phenomenon *par excellence*, must be considered as the most important factor of influence."⁸⁵ For that matter, nothing could better portray the synthesis between social life and a common faith than the medieval liturgical drama.⁸⁶ What gave this drama its grandeur, according to Combarieu, was the fact that it represented a synthesis of social life: "It came directly out of a common faith, a collective and sincere momentum."⁸⁷ Yet, the effect of the sociological phenomenon of religion on music, during the Middle Ages, may best be summarized in the observation of

⁸⁵Ibid., 14-15.

⁸⁶*Histoire*, 1:319. Combarieu sees the liturgical drama in many respects as a demonstration of the evolutionary process as it was characterized during the Middle Ages: the passage from a religious to a profane age. This progress is visible in its transformation from a liturgical act to a social act; in the substitution of the vernacular language for Latin; and in its performance, namely, the gradual replacement of the clergy, first by the people, then by professional actors. The same observation is valid for the mystery plays, where religion little by little became infused with politics (ibid., 1:311, 312, 314, 318).

⁸⁷"Il sortait directement d'une foi commune, d'un élan collectif et sincère" (ibid., 1:319).

plainchant. Combarieu demonstrated how several characteristics of medieval religion were reflected in it. The medieval Church represented the "perfect or nearly perfect type" of a society, a result achieved by means of two instruments, namely, dogma and chant. As a corollary, Combarieu concluded that "all the characteristics of plainsong are of a sociological order."⁸⁸ Chant reflects various aspects and facets of religion. It embodies the image of a *community*, standing as a sign of the homogeneous group represented by the assembly of the people.

[Chant] is the "common voice" of the religious society which chants. . . . Through chant, the whole of lay society, interwoven with the religious, becomes a collective body which concentrates its feelings, its thoughts, and its words, into one act in common.⁸⁹

As a collective work, chant becomes a "social bond, an instrument of . . . deep penetration and of discipline."⁹⁰ Plainchant also represents the holding on to a *tradition*. It expresses the desire to "revive the ancient spirit" characteristic of religious activities.⁹¹ Rather than being an artwork, chant is understood as having a "socio-religious function."⁹² It becomes "an object of faith," a "sign of faith," its prototype being seen in the choir of

⁸⁸*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 184.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, 185.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, 184.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, 186.

⁹² It is "not used by reason of its beauty," but "forms part of the things prescribed" (*ibid.*, 188).

angels. It furthermore reflects the "great sociological law of imitation," as exemplified by the progressive generalization of Gregorian chant, which proved detrimental to the other rites by almost completely obliterating them. It displays great *simplicity* (plain-song) in order to serve a mnemonic function and to be "within the reach of all."⁹³ Chant is also an expression of the *religious idealism*⁹⁴ of the Middle Ages:

Plainchant lies beyond any expression of secular art because it is akin to an expression of the soul which is itself above those feelings from where musical expression usually takes its material.⁹⁵

With regards to the impact of social structures on musical language, it is best illustrated by the invention of counterpoint within the Flemish community. Municipal freedom and corporate existence as found in the Flemish guilds, associated with the love for a quiet and private lifestyle, and an industriousness characteristic of their particular trade, brought about the flourishing of polyphony. Combarieu explained its emergence among those

⁹³Ibid. It excludes anything which belongs to the art of the professional, such as expression, the "powerful intensity of sounds, rapid movements, pathetic inequality of rhythm" (ibid.).

⁹⁴"Les états d'esprit dont se dégage le sentiment religieux lorsqu'il s'élève vers un idéal très pur" (*Histoire*, 1:263).

⁹⁵"Le plain-chant est au-dessus de toutes les formes d'expression de l'art profane parce qu'il est connexe à une disposition d'âme qui est elle-même au-dessus des sentiments où l'expression musicale prend habituellement sa matière" (ibid.).

societies by "the wholly natural desire to adapt music to the differentiations of the collective life and to present an image, in the choral chants, of the social groups:"⁹⁶

Framed by the double influence of their French and German neighbors, the Flemish were very much attached to their professional and communal corporations where individual inclinations were grouped and linked together. They had also inherited a rich and beautiful patrimony of popular melodies, and led an intimate and calm life. They, therefore, possessed every quality required by the science of counterpoint which socializes the monody and makes of the fugue a sort of image of the *guild* in sounds. The motto "one for all and all for one" could be the motto of the singer in a polyphonic choir. . . . Indeed, the Flemish were elite workers in musical craftsmanship. They were patient, meticulous, and admirably honest in their elaboration of a technique. Skillful in weaving threads, they were used to earnest and persevering work and were, therefore, designed to excel in the art of polyphony.⁹⁷

It was essential to Combarieu to make it clear that the origins of counterpoint lay in a natural principle, since he considered it as the most original contribution of the

⁹⁶*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 192.

⁹⁷"Encadrés par le double voisinage de l'influence française et de l'esprit allemand, très attachés à leurs associations professionnelles et communales où les tendances individuelles étaient groupées et solidarisées, riches d'un très beau fonds de mélodies populaires, aimant la vie intime et calme, les Flamands avaient toutes les qualités nécessaires à cette science du contrepoint qui socialise la monodie et fera de la fugue une sorte d'image sonore de la *Ghilde*. La devise: *Chacun pour tous et tous pour chacun*, pourrait être celle de l'exécutant dans un chœur à plusieurs parties. . . . Les Flamands furent des ouvriers d'élite pour le travail musical. Ils étaient patients, attentifs au détail, d'une probité admirable dans la mise en oeuvre de la technique. Tisserands habiles à entrecroiser les fils, habitués aux tâches sérieuses et obstinées, ils devaient exceller dans la polyphonie" (*Histoire*, 1:420).

Middle Ages.⁹⁸ The development of polyphony in Venice is explained by a similar desire of a society "to adapt music to the differentiations of the collective life." Only here, the "image" presented by polyphony was that of the extreme "luxury and pomp of aristocratic assemblies."⁹⁹

The development of the mind, of social values, ideas, and thought patterns, may also be seen in several innovations and transformations which occurred in medieval music. The variety of examples given by Combarieu is telling about the important role of this particular expression of a society. The social law of imitation, for example, must be considered as fundamental in its impact on the development of music.¹⁰⁰ As for medieval music, this law was crucial in the development of polyphony, and the canon in particular.

⁹⁸Unlike d'Indy, Combarieu sees no relation between chant and the development of counterpoint. He is very affirmative in declaring that chant cannot under any circumstances be considered as the ancestor of modern music: "On dit communément qu'il a donné naissance à la musique moderne. C'est une thèse qu'on ne peut accepter sans réserves! Notre musique a pour origine une création géniale du moyen âge: le contrepoint dont les premiers essais de construction sont un peu antérieurs au XIIe siècle" (ibid., 1:259).

⁹⁹*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 192.

¹⁰⁰Combarieu refers in particular to the imitation, by man, of birdsong: "We must then register a first sociological fact, that is, imitation, as dating from the very birth of music" (ibid., 158).

Music history (since plainchant) . . . strives to introduce imitation among the various parts of the same piece.¹⁰¹

Combarieu acknowledged Tarde's "law of imitation" as a constituent factor in a community. He defined community as "persons who imitate one another and yet are individually distinct."¹⁰² He then draws a parallel between this sociological particularity and polyphonic music, "in which the problem consisted in reconciling multiplicity with unity; imitation became the general law of composition."¹⁰³

Still another example of the effect of social structures on music may be seen in the social law of simplification and least effort, and its results on the formation of the scale, and the emergence of the major and minor modes into primary positions. The creation of the scale, for example, must be credited to the tendency of a society towards oversimplification.

¹⁰¹"L'histoire de la musique (à partir du plain-chant) . . . s'efforce d'introduire des imitations dans les diverses parties d'un même morceau" (Jules Combarieu, "La musique au point de vue sociologique: le canon," *Revue Musicale* 4 [1904]: 57).

¹⁰²*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 192. The composer also falls under the same law of imitation: "We see the mind of the composer becoming formed in the same way as that of the writer who uses the verbal language. He assimilates information; he forms part of a school . . . ; he reads or hears much music; he stores in his memory a number of formulas which are unconsciously in his mind, and cause him, unknown to himself, to imitate or counter-imitate. He is always the follower of some other composer" (*ibid.*, 207).

¹⁰³*Ibid.*, 192.

The organization of the scale has no other principle and no other aim than the following: to form, with a sound arbitrarily selected (tonic) and some of the sounds included in its octave, such relations as may produce those consonances which we have already mentioned, and which the ordinary musical intelligence considers as the easiest to grasp because they are the most agreeable. . . . Thus grew up our musical system, which in great measure is only justifiable by reasons of a social order.¹⁰⁴

Another illustration of this principle can be found in the rise of the major and minor modes to their privileged status. It also was due to such propensities of a society as deformation by use, simplification, or ignorance.

A like evolution has taken place, though somewhat more tardily, in the musical modes, and this is due, as in Latin grammar, to the inevitable deformations of use, to ignorance, and to the spirit of simplification which follows the law of the least effort, in a word, to reasons of a social order.¹⁰⁵

A variety of patterns of thought characteristic of medieval thinking also found their reflection in several musical genres. Combarieu sees the medieval respect for traditional values, religious as well as secular, demonstrated by the courtly chanson. Beyond the level of instinct and nature, or more precisely, by means of a subtle form of expression of this instinct, the origins of the chanson lie in "an education and a frame of mind shaped both by Christian metaphysics and the traditions of ancient

¹⁰⁴Ibid., 121; see also 119.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., 133. Combarieu notes that the connection between sociological factors and modes is not new at all. He particularly refers to the ancient Greek modes, and the sociological origin of their names and traditional ethos (ibid., 132).

thinking."¹⁰⁶ Similarly, the appearance of the liturgical drama is credited to a particular way of translating abstract thought.

The important fact from which drama has sprung, is the effort of religion to make abstract ideas and the memories of the Old and the New Testament become real through images, living scenes, a show.¹⁰⁷

Ultimately, the shift from respect for traditional values to the rejection of those same values will also stimulate and bring forth new developments in the musical language. This phenomenon was interpreted by Combarieu as a natural development of the human mind in the course of its evolution,¹⁰⁸ which would bring about the shift from a predominance of religious music to that of *secular music*.

For a long time we see a predominance of the first; then progress, slow invasion and arrival of the second, which little by little takes the leadership, and, by an evolution alike of the conditions of social life and the progress of the human mind, changes both the direction of the art and its technique.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶"L'éducation et l'état des esprits façonnés à la fois par la métaphysique chrétienne et les traditions de la pensée antique" (*Histoire*, 1:330).

¹⁰⁷"Le fait important, d'où le théâtre est sorti, c'est l'application du culte à réaliser les idées abstraites ou les souvenirs de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament par des images, des scènes vivantes, un spectacle" (*ibid.*, 1:287). See also, "L'art dramatique proprement dit . . . est constitué le jour où celui qui parle, au lieu de raconter les actes d'un personnage réel ou mythique, s'identifie avec ce personnage et agit en se substituant à lui" (*ibid.*, 1:289).

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*, 1:383-84.

¹⁰⁹*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 183.

The effects of the sociological laws on music were thus multiple and varied. However, in the course of these changes which were taking place, musical art was not only stimulated towards progress; it also had to face a series of obstacles that hindered the natural pace of its evolution and delayed its fulfillment.

Obstacles in the Shaping of Medieval Music

Combarieu's main reproach was directed against the Church, her desire for uniformity, and her scholasticism which would hinder the progress of expressivity. A first detrimental effect of the Church may be seen in her desire to level off the elements of diversity characteristic of popular art, and to impose her philosophy upon the latter.

During the Middle Ages, the Church tends to dominate everything, to instill its spirit everywhere, and to absorb the art of singing in its liturgical melodies.¹¹⁰

Melodies were organized around the spoken tongue and followed its peculiar genius. The fundamental scale, modes, rhythms, were determined by local custom. . . . The Church ignored, obstructed, effaced all this. Upon local practices, she superposed a common usage.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰"Au moyen âge, l'Eglise tend à tout dominer, à faire pénétrer partout son esprit, à absorber l'art du chant, dans ses mélodies liturgiques" (*Histoire*, 1:329; cf. *ibid.*, 1:256-60, 261).

¹¹¹"Les mélodies s'organisaient autour de la langue parlée et suivaient son génie propre. La gamme fondamentale, les modes, les rythmes, étaient déterminés par les mœurs locales. . . . L'Eglise méconnaît, refoule, efface tout cela. Aux usages locaux, elle superpose un usage commun" (*ibid.*, 1:258).

A further criticism addresses the Church's proscription of the expressive character of music. While "expressivity is the first preoccupation of music with little or no connection to religion,"¹¹² the Church, on the contrary, tried to impeach such developments by means of the very nature and influence of plainchant.

Gregorian chant conflicts everywhere with the work of the people, liturgy and music: its intent is to undo and to annihilate it.¹¹³

Combarieu was well aware of the great diversity within the corpus of plainchant. In spite of his great admiration, however, he tries to demonstrate how chant was incapable of expressing feelings characteristic of popular music,¹¹⁴ because of the particular nature of its expressiveness.¹¹⁵ According to him, to compare both types of expressiveness would be equivalent to speaking two completely different languages. In order to reach a level of expressivity proper to its function, the Church had proceeded to a mutilation of early plainchant, cutting off all elements which were characteristic of popular music. Out of moral reasons, dance, instruments, and the enharmonic and chromatic modes

¹¹²"La musique peu ou point religieuse songe avant tout à l'expression" (ibid., 3:486).

¹¹³"Le chant grégorien est partout en conflit avec l'oeuvre du peuple, liturgie et musique: il veut la défaire et l'annuler" (ibid., 1:258).

¹¹⁴Ibid., 1:258.

¹¹⁵For a discussion of the two types of expressiveness, see our chapter "The Aesthetic of Medieval Music."

were suppressed; local uses were eliminated for political reasons.¹¹⁶ Combarieu taxes chant as "antimusical" because it does not look for expressivity, it "was not written to be listened to."¹¹⁷ Seen in the perspective of the progress of the musical language, chant did indeed present the perfect expression for the theological age. Because of its particular nature, however, it also became an obstacle in the preparation of the following stage, which belonged to secular music. While Combarieu accepted this impoverishment on the level of plainchant by reason of the particular aesthetics which governed it, he disapproved of its hold on popular music, which was fortunate to liberate itself after ten centuries of domination:

But [the Church] cannot completely triumph over nature. Basic human feelings—especially such as secular love—after having been excluded for more than ten centuries from the expression that the learned discourse of music can provide them with, seems now to catch up and free itself from a long submission, to let firmly be heard voices so far condemned to silence.¹¹⁸

A more radical reproach is addressed to the Church because of her negative influence on the development of music through theoretical writings. In Combarieu's view,

¹¹⁶*Histoire*, 1:256-58.

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*, 1:262.

¹¹⁸"Mais [l'Eglise] ne peut triompher complètement de la nature. Les sentiments humains fondamentaux—l'amour profane au premier rang—après avoir été exclus pendant plus de dix siècles de l'expression que peut leur donner le discours musical savant, semblent prendre leur revanche, s'affranchir d'une longue sujétion, faire entendre enfin des voix jusqu'alors condamnées au silence" (*ibid.*, 1:329).

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theory exemplified the rigidity and weight of tradition. He condemned in particular the medieval association of music with science and morals.

In the Middle Ages . . . people had a view of music which appeared to be quite simple and practical, but was in fact very complex, as it was laden with ideas that were foreign to art since they were encumbered by ancient memories and distorted traditions. . . . The concern to moralize everything and to have religion penetrate even into the field of arithmetic, created a doctrine which was both beautiful and narrow, dangerous for purely musical progress . . . ; this stubborn endeavor to turn music into a science like geometry and astronomy led the theorists into a program which they were not able to achieve considering their actual state of knowledge.¹¹⁹

Combarieu's critique was mainly directed against the scholastic approach which resulted in a sclerotization of the musical language.

It is indeed a pity that the spirit of the Middle Ages has carried into the musical practice the very habits of theology based on the authority of written testimonies, thus depriving itself for centuries of resources of the artistic sense while squabbling over old ideas.¹²⁰

¹¹⁹"Le moyen âge . . . eut une conception de la musique assez simple en apparence et pour la pratique, mais en réalité très complexe, surchargée d'idées étrangères à l'art, embarrassée de souvenirs antiques et de traditions déformées. . . . La manie de moraliser sur tout et de faire pénétrer la religion jusque dans l'arithmétique créa une doctrine à la fois très belle et étroite, dangereuse pour le progrès purement musical . . . ; l'application obstinée à faire de la musique une science comme la géométrie et l'astronomie engagea les théoriciens dans un programme que l'état des connaissances ne leur permettait pas de remplir" (ibid., 1:241; cf. ibid., 1:412).

¹²⁰"On ne saurait trop déplorer cet esprit du moyen âge qui transportait dans la pratique musicale les habitudes de la théologie fondées sur l'autorité des témoignages écrits, et qui allait, pendant plusieurs siècles, se priver des ressources du sens artistique pour ratiociner sur de vieilles idées" (ibid., 1:224).

It was very clear to Combarieu that "the artists, known or unknown, who created music, were ignorant of this scholastic process."¹²¹ The impoverishment of the musical heritage occurred because of a voluntary ignorance of the popular instinct. He blames the theorists for working against nature,¹²² completely ignoring the role of instinct:¹²³

"For centuries, it tyrannized over music, forbidding, in the name of arithmeticians, certain advances which popular instinct would of itself certainly have realized."¹²⁴

He also deplored the absence of critical mind among the medieval scholars,¹²⁵ and their reliance on abstract thinking, rather than observation.

The influence of Pythagoras and his disciples, in spite of the genius of the master, has been the main obstacle to the progress of art. This can be compared, as far as the results are concerned, to Aristotle's influence which has confined philosophy to the use of syllogism

¹²¹*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 122.

¹²²"The order in which musical theory presents the facts, is precisely the converse of the historical and real order" (*ibid.*).

¹²³"En ne tenant aucun compte de cet instinct spécial" (*Histoire*, 1:224).

¹²⁴*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 285; see also *Histoire*, 1:241. He sees an example of this attitude in the erroneous concept that only diatonicism was allowed by nature. The spontaneous "practice of *musica ficta* demonstrates the natural reaction against such contraventions: "Par une erreur naïve, le moyen âge a cru que le diatonique était seul conforme à la nature, et que tout ce qu'on y ajoutait ne pouvait être qu'une licence exceptionnelle. Un développement obscur et instinctif du sens musical a provoqué . . . l'usage de plus en plus grand de ces licences" (*Histoire*, 1:388).

¹²⁵"Le moyen âge a suivi les idées antiques . . . sans esprit critique" (*Histoire*, 1:224).

and has led it astray from the real source of "doctrine," namely, observation.¹²⁶

Combarieu here joins earlier voices which had expressed the same opinion.¹²⁷ In romantic thinking, philosophical reflection was generally regarded as hostile to the Neoplatonic idea of indivisible unity, since analytical thinking was equated with divisiveness.¹²⁸ Not only theorizing proved to be detrimental to the development of medieval music. The advancement of technical skills in general was also to interfere with the progress of music, that is, expressivity. The period which saw the development of counterpoint also witnessed a decline in expressivity, as can be observed in the mystery plays of those times.

As far as the music is concerned, the mystery plays are very inferior to the "liturgical" dramas which came before them. . . . The absence of true music in the drama coincides precisely with the period when the drama coincides precisely with the period when the medieval science of music was very advanced. . . . From the twelfth century on, . . . the Middle Ages began to cultivate the art of contrapuntal

¹²⁶"L'influence de Pythagore et de ses disciples a été, malgré le génie du maître, le principal obstacle au développement de l'art: elle peut être comparée, pour les résultats, à celle d'Aristote, qui a réduit la philosophie au maniement du syllogisme et l'a détournée de la véritable source de la "doctrine": l'observation" (ibid).

¹²⁷See, for example, Emmanuel. Mocquereau had also ruled out—possibly for political reasons—the use of theoretical treatises as source material, considering them as "products of invention" (Bergeron, "A Lifetime of Chants," 188).

¹²⁸See Abrams, 181-82.

construction, and . . . expression was progressively abandoned along the way.¹²⁹

The efforts of the artists, rather than being directed towards increasing expressivity, were now concentrated on "wise and ingenious techniques"¹³⁰ of formal construction. In these early stages, the artist did not yet master the skill of reconciling counterpoint with expressiveness.

It appears, then, that even though counterpoint marked, in Combarieu's opinion, a real advance in the development of the grammar of musical language, it represented, on the other hand, temporarily a step backwards in the evolution of expressivity in music.

In trying to bring together Combarieu's objections, it appears that the various obstacles for the natural development of the musical language all address the issue of expressivity. The progress of the analytical mind, that is, an objective approach to musical language as opposed to natural instinct, did not reveal itself beneficial to the development of the natural heritage. The development of grammar and rhetorics, which went hand in hand with the evolution of the musical language in terms of clarification

¹²⁹"Les mystères sont très inférieurs, pour la musique, aux drames 'liturgiques' qui les ont précédés. . . . L'absence de vraie musique dans le drame coïncide précisément avec la période où la science musicale du moyen âge était poussée très loin Le moyen âge s'est mis, à partir du XIII^e siècle environ . . . à cultiver l'art de la construction en contrepoint, lequel, entre ses mains, s'est de plus en plus écarté de l' 'expression'" (ibid., 1:327).

¹³⁰"Des oeuvres d'une technique savante ou ingénieuse" (ibid., 1:327-28).

and specification, instead of enriching the musical language, contributed to its impoverishment. Rousseau, speaking about a similar problem in the realm of language, had already expressed the ironical character of the situation:

In cultivating the art of convincing, men lost the art of arousing the emotions.¹³¹

From Combarieu's standpoint, expressivity clearly represents the essential ingredient of the musical language. It also forms the center of his aesthetic view on medieval music.

¹³¹Rousseau, *Essay on the Origins of Languages*, 69.

III. THE AESTHETICS OF MEDIEVAL MUSIC

In his discussion of the aesthetics of medieval music, Combarieu demonstrates how the aesthetics of the Middle Ages comprised two currents, the traditional strain, based on theological values, and the "modern" strain, built on criteria of expressivity.

Combarieu is aware of the danger which lies in judging the aesthetic understanding of past periods through contemporary eyes. He thus approaches his discussion in a clearly historicist tradition: he is very careful to make it clear that each period, especially those he considers as primitive, such as for instance the Middle Ages, has its own criteria and must be seen in its own light.

We must forget our time and try to understand the psychology of primitive societies.¹³² The work of art history would be a vain and even harmful enterprise if it started from the standpoint of a certain definition of beauty from which one would infer criteria to be applied at any time. Our mind should be broad and independent enough to let us taste without any sacrifice from either side, every type of art which seems contradictory, as well as music which might be

¹³²Combarieu suggests various meanings for the word "primitive," according to four different perspectives: (a) in a chronological sense: a very early period in history, that is, four to five centuries before the earliest known historical documents; (b) in a sociological sense: people who lived before the establishment of the religious institution; (c) in a psychological sense: beings of pure instinct, guided by their imagination and feelings, and stranger to the scientific and critical mind; and (d) in an aesthetic sense: those who ignore art for its own sake or aimed at a public, and act only out of utilitarian motivation (see *La musique et la magie*, 16).

qualified as both wonderful and antimusical according to our modern ideas.¹³³

He starts out with an affirmation of humility with regards to the possibility of understanding the aesthetics of medieval music.

To a system which would arbitrarily interpret the manuscripts in order to meet a modern requirement, we should rather prefer the modest recognition of our incapacity to penetrate all the details of this music.¹³⁴

An example of the difficulties encountered can be seen in his discussion of fourteenth-century Italian style. He shows a keen conscience of the researcher's limitations, and an awareness of the dangers of judgment:

We feel, or rather we guess, that there is in this art a certain personal spontaneity of the Italian spirit which equals their technical skill. But we cannot totally comprehend its real expression, and we must renounce trying to understand it fully, and first of all, we should refrain from judging it in any way. We can only mark its historical importance.¹³⁵

¹³³"Il faut savoir oublier son temps et comprendre la psychologie des primitifs. L'histoire de l'art serait une oeuvre vaine et même funeste, si elle prenait pour point de départ une certaine définition de la Beauté et tirait de là un critérium applicable à tous les temps. Nous devons nous faire un esprit assez large et assez indépendant pour goûter à la fois, sans sacrifices d'un côté ou de l'autre, des types d'art qui paraissent contradictoires, et une musique dont on peut dire qu'elle est à la fois admirable et, d'après nos idées modernes, anti-musicale" (*Histoire*, 1:269).

¹³⁴"A un système qui interpréterait arbitrairement les manuscrits pour satisfaire à une exigence de nos habitudes modernes, on peut préférer le modeste aveu de l'impuissance où nous sommes de pénétrer cette musique dans tous ses détails" (*Histoire*, 1:406).

¹³⁵"Nous sentons, nous devinons plutôt qu'il y a dans cet art une spontanéité personnelle de l'esprit italien égale au savoir technique; mais sa véritable expression nous

Combarieu attributes the difficulty in penetrating the aesthetics of medieval music to the fact that the Middle Ages were not preoccupied with expressive considerations.

They would not think of analyzing a mass . . . or trying to characterize [it] with an aesthetic judgment, because such works were bound up with the acts of the community and these acts were the main thing.¹³⁶

This general lack of interest in matters of expressiveness was seen by Combarieu as the great weakness of the medieval period. The absence of concern for expressiveness is demonstrated, for example, by the technique of borrowing from other composers or from different styles, as for instance, in Adam de la Halle's play *Robin and Marion*.¹³⁷

The work is not musical in the same sense as a lyrical drama would be. Adam did not operate as a musician.

échappe et nous devons renoncer à la comprendre pleinement comme elle voulait l'être, surtout à la juger sans lui faire tort en quelque façon. Nous en sommes réduits à marquer son importance historique" (ibid., 1:406). Combarieu takes painful care to avoid making aesthetic judgments on medieval music even though he comments on the "harsh" and "barbarian" sounds it imposes on the modern ear (ibid., 1:366, 374). He is, however, quick to add that while primitive aesthetics imply "lacunes et gaucherie," and "inexpérience touchante," those attributes are largely compensated by its other features, such as "sincérité, sérieux, grâce réelle, éloquence rude et savoureuse, et douceur," which certainly may be counted as "l'expression personnelle et juste du sentiment" (ibid., 1:381, 397).

¹³⁶"On ne songeait pas à analyser une messe . . . et à [la] caractériser par un jugement esthétique, parce que de telles oeuvres faisaient corps avec les actes d'une communauté et que ces actes étaient la chose principale" ("Cours d'histoire générale de la musique," 20).

¹³⁷"Aucune des mélodies contenues dans ces manuscrits n'a été écrite pour le *Jeu de Robin*. L'auteur les a empruntées un peu partout, quelquefois même sans se préoccuper de la grande règle de toute adaptation: la convenance" (*Histoire*, 1:308).

He never tried to translate into melody an interesting situation, or an intense feeling—love, jealousy, anger, joy—the particular turn or the grotesqueness of a character. . . . Here, music is all external. Instead of coming out from the subject as an attempt at expression in a particular language, music comes from the outside. It is just an accessory ornament which is not bound up with the action or the feeling of that action; it is merely added on to the literary text.¹³⁸

There is no concern, in this work, for correspondence of music and text; the result is "exterior music" which carries merely an ornamental function.

In Combarieu's aesthetics, the maturation process towards a continuously higher aesthetic understanding—that is, greater expressivity¹³⁹—was essential and formed the center of the artistic occupation. In this perpetual movement¹⁴⁰ towards a higher aesthetic ideal, Combarieu distinguishes three periods: childhood (antiquity),

¹³⁸"L'oeuvre n'est pas musicale, au sens que doit avoir ce mot quand il s'agit de théâtre lyrique. Adam n'a nullement fait oeuvre de musicien. Jamais il ne cherche à traduire, par la mélodie, l'intérêt d'une situation, l'intensité d'un sentiment—amour, jalousie, convoitise, colère, gaîté—le tour particulier ou le grotesque d'un caractère. . . . Ici, la musique est tout extérieure. Au lieu de sortir du sujet comme un essai d'expression dans un langage spécial, elle vient du dehors; elle est un ornement très secondaire, ne faisant pas corps avec l'action ou le sentiment de cette action; elle est plaquée sur le texte littéraire" (ibid., 1:308).

¹³⁹*Histoire*, 1:412.

¹⁴⁰"La musique est un art qui a profondément varié, un art . . . où la réalisation de la beauté . . . n'est nullement déterminée par l'idée d'un type immuable et absolu" ("Cours," *Revue Musicale* 6 [1906]: 561; see also *Histoire*, 1:269).

adolescence (the Middle Ages¹⁴¹), and maturity (modern times).

Combarieu's aesthetics were a combination of romantic idealism and transcendentalism with empiricism. The idealist aesthetics are represented by the understanding of the goal of art as being the embodiment of ideas and thought in sensuous form. The creative act is actually presented as a product of thought: music is "the art of thinking in sounds."¹⁴² The definition of musical thought is expanded by Combarieu, by the introduction of the transcendentalist principle of the intuitive character of the idea: musical thought is "the manifestation of a general and deep instinct, more or less hidden, but everywhere recognizable in humanity."¹⁴³ Combarieu had a romantic view of the organic relationship between nature and the mind; he acknowledged the revelatory process in art, in form of the doctrine of imitation, where the work of art becomes a representation of the idea. While the romantic view interpreted this revelation as belonging to the spiritual realm, Combarieu introduced at this point an additional dimension, that is, an empirical emphasis. The act of artistic creation is not only an intuitive process, it is

¹⁴¹*Histoire*, 1:411.

¹⁴²*Music, Its Laws and Evolution*, 16.

¹⁴³*Ibid.*

also based on observation.¹⁴⁴ In artistic creation, the act of intuition (reason) and observation are fused into one.¹⁴⁵

The whole secret of this art, the principle behind its marvelous power of expression, . . . is the close connection, the total similarity of the musical thought and the imitation or expression of the real world. We shall express this similarity by saying that . . . : *All musical thought is, AT THE SAME TIME, an imitation of the external world or an expression of feeling.*¹⁴⁶

Expressivity, according to Combarieu, is achieved when the work "is both realistic and idealistic, at once imitation and musical thought:"¹⁴⁷

All music contains a double truth; music is the meeting-point of the senses and the reason, fused together into a unity which is the work of art.¹⁴⁸

In the absence of such a philosophy of expressivity, medieval music cannot be considered as having reached

¹⁴⁴See "Cours," *Revue Musicale* 6 (1906): 561-62.

¹⁴⁵"Le musicien crée une oeuvre où l'observation ne fait qu'un avec l'acte de la raison qui la domine" (Jules Combarieu, *Les rapports de la musique et de la poésie*, 169). All English translations for this work have been taken from Bujic, 199-203.

¹⁴⁶"Tout le secret de cet art, le principe de son merveilleux pouvoir d'expression, . . . c'est l'étroite union, c'est l'identité absolue de la pensée musicale et de l'imitation ou expression du monde réel. Nous exprimerons cette identité en disant que . . . : *Toute pensée musicale est, EN MEME TEMPS, une imitation du monde extérieur ou une expression du sentiment*" (ibid., 168).

¹⁴⁷"L'oeuvre est à la fois réaliste et idéale, à la fois imitation et pensée musicale" (ibid., 170).

¹⁴⁸"Toute musique contient une vérité double; elle est le point de rencontre du monde des sens et de la raison fondus en unité qui est l'oeuvre d'art" (ibid., 173).

maturity; it still belongs to the adolescent stage.¹⁴⁹

This idea is confirmed by the attitudes and working patterns of the medieval musician which were rather distinguished by a highly developed interest in form and technique:

Musical art is still (apart from exceptional cases) purely formal and confined to research or to the application of a technique. [The medieval artist] is ignorant of the possibility to represent or express images of the external world, ideas, or precise feelings, by means of sound. He has not yet began the conquest of nature or the soul.¹⁵⁰

Behind this situation, Combarieu perceived a philosophy characteristic of the medieval scholar who "believed that everything could be explained by syllogisms, without having recourse to observation."¹⁵¹

It seems that in the Middle Ages, one believed that the value of a composition did not depend on the feelings or the ideas of the musician, but rather on the application of the laws of music proper. By some kind of autogenesis, music was deemed to evolve through every possible stage, in the same way as an algebraic formula would give, so to speak, by itself a great number of combinations without involving the calculator's personality except for his reading of the formula.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹"Il prépare seulement ses armes. Il est dans une période d'adolescence" (*Histoire*, 1:411).

¹⁵⁰"L'art musical est encore (sauf exception) purement formel, borné à la recherche ou à l'application d'une technique. Il ignore la possibilité de représenter ou d'exprimer, avec des sons, des images du monde extérieur, des idées, des sentiments précis. Il n'a encore commencé ni la conquête de la nature, ni celle de l'âme" (*ibid.*, 1:411).

¹⁵¹"[Ils] croyaient arriver à tout par le syllogisme, sans avoir besoin de l'observation" (*ibid.*, 1:412).

¹⁵²"Le moyen âge semble croire que l'intérêt d'une composition ne vient pas du sentiment ou de l'idée que le musicien y a mis, mais qu'il tient à l'application des lois purement intrinsèques de la musique elle-même, qui, par une

Combarieu does not necessarily condemn this over-developed interest in technicalities. On the contrary, the formal aspect occupied an important role in his aesthetics. Every stage in the development of music is distinguished by

a continuous technical work, strictly formal, whose goal is to improve, to diversify the resources of [the initial] song, to extend them to the instruments, and to find the rules for their practical use.¹⁵³

Formal perfection is not understood merely as a mechanistic undertaking; neither is Combarieu interested (as was d'Indy) in its moral or spiritual value for the artist or society. He considers the formal effort rather as the artist's contribution to the progress of the musical language itself, constantly perfecting it in its course from simple to complex, enabling it to contain ever higher orders of expressivity as it develops through the ages. Form is understood here as a vehicle for expressivity. In this sense, then, the Middle Ages, in contributing to the development of technical aspects, indirectly participated in the evolutionary process of expressivity. In speaking about

sorte d'autogenèse, doit arriver à tous les développements dont elle est susceptible, comme une formule d'algèbre qui donnerait pour ainsi dire d'elle-même un grand nombre de combinaisons, sans que la personnalité du calculateur ait à intervenir autrement que pour dégager ce qui est dans la formule" (ibid.).

¹⁵³"Un incessant travail technique, purement formel, dont le but est de perfectionner, de varier les ressources du chant [initial], de les étendre à l'usage des instruments et d'en trouver les règles pour l'usage pratique" (ibid., 2:698).

counterpoint, Combarieu points out that

this considerable formal effort . . . has prepared the path for the true artists, those who knew how to please and to move the hearts.¹⁵⁴

It was impossible for the medieval artist to make a real work of art out of his formal constructions, because his age was not yet sufficiently advanced in the discovery of expressivity. Without this dimension, his works would always be lacking the unity which makes a work an artwork. Combarieu illustrates this lack of unity with the examples of the early motet and its disparity of languages, or the early masses which were pieced together arbitrarily without the concern for a unifying factor.¹⁵⁵ The real artwork results from the fusion of a generating idea or feeling with a sensible form which perfectly expresses this idea or feeling.¹⁵⁶

There was a genre, however, in medieval music, to which Combarieu attributed expressive qualities, namely, the liturgical drama. It was able to do so because of its close ties to nature and popular art; it represented a synthesis of social life and art. Combarieu saw a particular

¹⁵⁴"Cet énorme travail formel . . . a préparé la voie aux vrais artistes, à ceux qui surent plaire et émouvoir" (ibid., 1:412).

¹⁵⁵Ibid., 1:362, 413.

¹⁵⁶"Il faut que ses diverses parties soient rattachées l'une à l'autre par une idée générale, un sentiment générateur, ou une forme sensible qui leur soit commune" (ibid., 1:412; see idem, *Les rapports de la musique et de la poésie*, 173).

relationship between the expressive character of the liturgical drama and its origin in the early and primitive stages of musical composition,¹⁵⁷ an era which was still untouched by the "Gregorian" reforms of chant. Even though the liturgical drama grew out of the liturgy and was penetrated with chant, Combarieu affirms that the latter had never been able to dominate it.¹⁵⁸ He explains that the reason behind the independence of the liturgical drama from chant lies in its different aesthetic perspective, which was entirely turned towards drama and expressiveness. The aesthetics of plainchant, on the contrary, focused on themes such as faith, peace, or victory over passions; its values belonged to what Combarieu called the "contained sublime."¹⁵⁹ The universal character of this ideal had been achieved precisely through the exclusion of the popular, local element. The music of the liturgical drama in contrast, in keeping with its aesthetics, aimed at the stimulation of the imagination through the dramatic representation of the dogma.¹⁶⁰ Even though it made use

¹⁵⁷"On [doit] reculer les premières manifestations sérieuses du drame lyrique à une époque où l'art de la composition était encore à ses débuts" (*Histoire*, 1:327).

¹⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 1:282.

¹⁵⁹"Les forces créatrices de l'expression se contiennent, . . . leur subordination semble être la condition du sublime" (*ibid.*, 1:265).

¹⁶⁰Combarieu distinguishes several "genres" in the liturgical drama: he mentions symbolic drama, melodrama, fairy tale, lyric comedy, and so forth (*ibid.*, 1:293).

of plainchant melodies, it was the dramatic elements which surrounded those melodies that gave the liturgical drama its expressive content and set it apart from chant. Such elements were, for example, the use of fixed rhythmic patterns, instrumental music, scenery, costumes, and acting, often with the participation of "lay people."¹⁶¹ In addition to those "external" elements, Combarieu also attributed greater expressive content to the music of the drama itself. He saw in the liturgical drama early attempts to depict various characters, or to express certain emotions, such as wrath, hatred, fear, jealousy, maternal suffering; an "attempt to penetrate and to translate the intimate thought of the drama."¹⁶²

¹⁶¹Combarieu's differentiation between the liturgical drama and chant may seem unjustified, considering the drama's close connection to the liturgy (originally responsorial and antiphonal performance of plainchant tropes). However, from its earliest stages, the liturgical drama had been accompanied by dramatic representation as indicated, for example, in Ethelwold's *Regularis concordia* which contains stage indications for the drama *Quem quaeritis* (quoted in Gustave Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages With an Introduction on the Music of Ancient Times* [New York: W. W. Norton, 1940], 194-5; see also Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, 176).

¹⁶²*Ibid.*, 1:293, 323. With regards to character depiction, Combarieu even finds the use of a sort of *leitmotif*, as in the twelfth-century drama *Le fils de Gédron*: "Tous les personnages ont chacun une mélodie propre, qui les caractérise, et qu'ils chantent avec des paroles diverses dans toutes les scènes" (*ibid.*, 1:293). Considering the melodies alone and excluding all the other dramatic elements, it would be difficult to endorse Combarieu's theory of a higher expressive content of the melodies used in the liturgical drama. Chant itself showed a great diversity of style, and certain of its genres, namely, hymns and sequences, featured many parallels with popular music, such as definite rhythmic patterns and

In liturgical dramas, music is associated with every word and acts therefore more or less as an art of expression: it is supposed to follow the text . . . and to give an appropriate expression either to the personal feelings, or to the religious idea which dominates the whole piece.¹⁶³

These qualities were absent from the later mystery plays.

Combarieu explained this "decadence" by means of a new sociological phenomenon, namely, the rise of professionalism which was to push popular participation into the background.

Little by little, a new personage takes over the stage: the professional actor. And although this event is unavoidable, it is deeply regrettable, for it will bring along more specialization which will more and more affect the connection between drama and communal life. . . . This coming of professionalism concurs indeed with the laws of evolution. . . . What has contributed to the grandeur of the lyrical drama in the Middle Ages was that it was at the same time a synthesis of social life as well as of all the arts. It came directly out of a common faith and a collective and sincere momentum. As soon as professionalism came in, technical skills were of course improved, but the work lost its grandeur.¹⁶⁴

strophic form. The basic melodic structure was very similar in the melodies of both chant and the liturgical drama, and does not allow to conclude a greater expressivity of one over the other.

¹⁶³"Dans les [dramas liturgiques], la musique, associée à toutes les paroles, est déjà, relativement, un art d'expression: elle prétend suivre le livret . . . et donner un langage approprié soit aux sentiments individuels, soit à l'idée religieuse qui enveloppe l'ensemble de chaque pièce" (ibid., 1:323).

¹⁶⁴"Peu à peu, on voit apparaître un personnage dont l'existence est profondément regrettable, bien qu'il soit presque inévitable, parce qu'en créant une spécialisation, il favorisera la rupture de plus en plus grande entre le théâtre et la vie communale: c'est l'acteur de profession. . . . Cette apparition du professionnel est conforme aux lois de l'évolution. . . . Au moyen âge . . . ce qui a fait la grandeur du drame lyrique [c'est qu'] il était une synthèse de la vie sociale, en même temps qu'une synthèse de tous les arts; il sortait directement d'une foi commune,

An equally important factor for the disappearance of the expressive qualities is seen in the technical progress of music, which ultimately resulted in the decline of the liturgical drama. The poor expressive quality of the mystery plays which were to follow was the result of the contemporary development of counterpoint.

It seems surprising and contradictory that the absence of true music in the drama coincides precisely with the period when the medieval science of music was very advanced. . . . In the Middle Ages, approximately from the twelfth century on (take Perotin as a starting point), one began to cultivate the art of contrapuntal construction, and . . . expression was progressively abandoned along the way.¹⁶⁵

According to Combarieu, the increased technical activity resulted in a decrease in preoccupation with expressivity. This can be observed in the music of the mystery plays, which appear to fulfill a mere accessory or decorative function.¹⁶⁶ On the other hand, the inferior level of technical "development" that had been reached at that particular time in history was unable as yet to carry or convey expression, and must also be blamed for the low

d'un élan collectif et sincère. Le jour où il y eut des salariés de métier, l'habileté technique y gagna sans doute, mais la grandeur de l'oeuvre fut diminuée" (ibid., 1:318-19).

¹⁶⁵"Il paraît surprenant et contradictoire que l'absence de vraie musique dans le drame coïncide précisément avec la période où la science musicale du moyen âge était poussée très loin. . . . Le moyen âge s'est mis, à partir du XIIe siècle environ (prenons pour point de départ l'époque de Pérotin), à cultiver l'art de la construction en contrepoint, lequel . . . s'est de plus en plus écarté de l'expression" (ibid., 1:327).

¹⁶⁶Ibid., 1:323.

degree of expressiveness.¹⁶⁷ Artistic expression was reduced to experimenting and playing around with forms devoid of expression.

In order to be able to combine polyphony and the language of feelings, they would have needed a superior mastery. They did not even try to do it; they rather strove to play with the forms, to associate them in every possible manner, and to create strange structures of sound. This concept was carried to the extremes of a very subtle manneristic academicism, where the idea of translating human passions with some accuracy was more and more abandoned. . . . It is then to counterpoint, however important it was for the general progress of art, that we owe the fact that the mystery plays have never become genuine lyrical dramas.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷With the beginning of the *ars nova*, Combarieu sees a timid, though still awkward, advance into the realm of expressivity. In analyzing a *Rondeau* by Jehan de Lescurel, he points out how the artist moved away from stereotyped practices and tried to "translate the ideas of gentleness and real grace: "L'auteur ignore les formules: il fait effort pour trouver, à sa manière, l'expression personnelle et juste du sentiment" (ibid., 1:381). The same aptitudes are ascribed to Machaut, equally at home in the learned style and the expressive one. While Combarieu sees in *Ma fin est mon commencement* "l'indice d'un art très avancé, chargé de doctrine, orienté vers les gageures savantes et très difficiles venant plus de la tête que du coeur" (ibid., 1:399), he likens, on the other hand, some passages of Machaut's *Rondeaux* to "une sorte d'image musicale donnant le commentaire de l'idée concrète et du sentiment contenues dans les vers" (ibid., 1:397).

¹⁶⁸"Il lui aurait fallu une maîtrise supérieure pour pouvoir concilier cette polyphonie avec le langage du sentiment. Il n'a même pas songé à le faire: il s'est plutôt appliqué à jouer avec les formes, à les associer de toutes les façons possibles, à créer de bizarres architectures sonores; il a poussé cette conception jusqu'à un pédantisme d'école très subtil où l'idée de traduire les passions humaines avec une exactitude relative était de plus en plus abandonnée. . . . C'est donc [le contrepoint], d'ailleurs si important dans le progrès général de l'art, qui n'aurait pas permis aux mystères d'être vraiment des drames lyriques" (ibid., 1:327-328).

The characteristic medieval compositional approaches so far examined find their counterpart in the role and nature of the medieval artist. Combarieu showed how the medieval musician relied heavily on tradition rather than on originality or individuality. Without conformity to tradition, the medieval artist would consider his work as "a sort of monster";¹⁶⁹ never would he contemplate to "invent" something.¹⁷⁰ An observation of the development of the motet typically illustrates this compositional process.

The art of the Middle Ages . . . rarely performs definite acts of original, personal, and complete invention, but rather slowly elaborates new forms on the basis of ancient material: an art of troping and centonization which proceeds little by little and grows from naive plagiarisms.¹⁷¹

Similar to the Old Testament prophet, the medieval artist "loses his individual qualities, to be absorbed, so to speak, within the general theological truth."¹⁷² The collective, general character takes precedence over the individual. In this sense, Combarieu's concept of the

¹⁶⁹"Sans la conformité à la tradition, son oeuvre serait une sorte de monstre" (ibid., 1:297).

¹⁷⁰Ibid., 1:301.

¹⁷¹"Cette genèse est caractéristique de l'art du moyen âge qui procède rarement par actes d'invention franche, originale, personnelle et complète, mais qui, avec des matériaux anciens, élabore lentement des formes nouvelles: art de "farciture," de "tropes," de centon, qui avance peu à peu en s'étayant sur de naïfs plagiats" (ibid., 1:364).

¹⁷²"[Ils] perdent leur qualités individuelles et s'absorbent, si l'on peut dire, dans une vérité générale et théologique" (ibid., 1:298).

composer as an integral part of society, and subordinate to a collectivity rather than to individual action, is very akin to the medieval ideal of the artist.

The genre which was considered by Combarieu to express an essential value of medieval culture was plainchant. He saw it in a romantic perspective as the embodiment of the quintessence of primitive Christian faith, that is, Christian faith in its very beginnings.¹⁷³

Plainchant is a primitive art which perfectly fits a primitive faith.¹⁷⁴

All the characteristics of plainchant translate this principle, namely, the triumph of the soul which

reflects the inner being, . . . submission to a religious ideal, covenant with heaven, admiration, trust, and assurance (the condition for happiness); . . . this form of expression is specific to the Middle Ages; it is the mark of early Christianity; . . . it finds its equivalent in plainchant.¹⁷⁵

In this context, awkwardness and naiveté are not seen as lesser qualities. On the contrary, they stand for primitivism, instinct and nature. For Combarieu, chant carries

¹⁷³Ibid., 1:266; see also *La musique et la magie*, 17.

¹⁷⁴"Le plain-chant est un art primitif, exactement adéquat à une foi primitive" (*Histoire*, 1:268). Under "primitive," Combarieu understands that it sprang up from the instinct and imagination of the people, to utilitarian purposes (*La musique et la magie*, 17).

¹⁷⁵"On voit transparaître l'être intérieur, et, avec lui, . . . la docilité à un idéal religieux, l'alliance avec le ciel, l'admiration et la confiance, la certitude (condition du bonheur); . . . cette forme d'expression est spéciale au moyen âge; elle est la marque du christianisme primitif; . . . elle a son équivalent dans le plain-chant" (*Histoire*, 1:266).

the "flower of ingenuity which forms the gracefulness of primitive works."¹⁷⁶ Plainchant ignores measure and rhythm, tempo and variations of intensity, because it was not written for the pleasure of the ear. In chant, the medieval artist does not attempt to translate the romantic notion of the sublime, to convey the sensualism of the Renaissance, or to celebrate pure form as did the Greeks.¹⁷⁷ Its aesthetic is one of inwardness, of "contained sublimity."¹⁷⁸ Its purpose was to be a means of expression for the wider community, not to be listened to, but to be performed by that community.¹⁷⁹ Expressivity in plainchant, even though present to a certain extent, is "subordinate, dominated by something more general and more important,"¹⁸⁰ namely, faith.

Plainchant lies beyond any expression of secular art because it is akin to an expression of the soul which is itself above those feelings from where musical expression usually takes its material.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁶"Cette fleur de l'ingénuité qui est la grâce des oeuvres primitives" (ibid., 1:268).

¹⁷⁷Ibid., 1:265-66.

¹⁷⁸Combarieu juxtaposes "le sublime en puissance," and an expressivity where "les forces créatrices se contiennent. . . . Leur subordination semble être la condition du sublime" (ibid., 1:265).

¹⁷⁹Ibid., 1:262.

¹⁸⁰"Cette partie expressive . . . est subordonnée, . . . dominée par un caractère plus général et plus important" (ibid., 1:263).

¹⁸¹"Le plain-chant est au-dessus de toutes les formes d'expression de l'art profane parce qu'il est connexe à une disposition d'âme qui est elle-même au-dessus des sentiments

With plainchant, the Middle Ages were able to present the musical world with a unique contribution testifying to its particular faith. At the same time, chant stands as a symbol for the old order of things, the theological age, the childhood of music. Considered in the light of Combarieu's metaphor of the three ages, the conflict between chant and the liturgical drama can then be resolved. While chant points back in time to antiquity, the liturgical drama with its interest in expressiveness points to the future, the modern times, and represents a step forward in the conquest of expressivity. In this way, the Middle Ages justify the image of a crossroads between childhood and maturity; they appear as a time of holding on, and of breaking away. This perspective also confirms Combarieu's twofold direction, along the historicist and the evolutionist approach. While still defending strong past values (historicist perspective), the Middle Ages showed equally strong signs that they were slowly "evolving" towards a new aesthetics, that of expressiveness.

où l'expression musicale prend habituellement sa matière" (ibid., 1:263).

IV. SUMMARY OF JULES COMBARIEU'S CONCEPT OF MEDIEVAL MUSIC

Combarieu's presentation of medieval music is a demonstration of his philosophy of the three ages, and illustrates the role of music in the bringing about of a new era. Medieval music occupied a center place in this historical scheme, when humanity shifted from the sacred to the secular stage, in the conquest of its expressive power. In closing one door—on tradition, while opening another—on things to come, music played a decisive role during this hinge period. While chant was seen as a characteristic expression of things traditional, the two major contributions of medieval music to the musical heritage were established by Combarieu as the liturgical drama and, especially, counterpoint. Their merit lies in the fact that they made music progress, each in its own way, in its course towards higher expressivity. Under the influence of the popular and progressively secular spirit, the liturgical drama concentrated its efforts on the expressive and dramatic functions of music—even if it was able to do so only temporarily—opening up to the composer a new field of experimentation. On the other hand, under the stimulation of a new intellectual climate, counterpoint brought music to new heights in technical achievements, presenting new challenges for creativity and renewal. Even though these contributions were made in a rudimentary manner, both steps were essential in creating the passage from old to new. The role of society in this undertaking was of prime importance.

All three characteristic expressions of medieval music were closely interwoven with the various facets of the sociological context of their time: chant with the theological values, the liturgical drama with the popular and secular values, and counterpoint with the intellectual values. They originated in those values, they were determined by them, and, lastly, they became an expression of those values. Medieval music was not, in Combarieu's eyes, simply the image of a past, holding a mere transitional position between two ages. It represented, in its own right, an important stage in the development of the musical language, and played an active and essential role in the course of music history towards its ultimate goal, the ideal combination of musical thought and form.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

SYNTHESIS AND PERSPECTIVES

The present study of three historical investigations into medieval music reveals them to be a cross-section of the intellectual atmosphere in France at the turn of the century. The cultural and intellectual climate of those times demonstrates a plurality of approaches and tendencies, often contradictory, many of which can be verified in the three authors under study. History actually projects itself in their demonstrations, ideologies, and values. They were not only voices of the past or of their own time, but also of the future. Their interest for medieval music had grown out of a concern for a comprehensive study of music history, and had been stimulated by a renewed interest in national music, and the ongoing debate around the renewal of church music.

The three historians worked from completely different perspectives: Emmanuel was the liberal classical scholar, d'Indy was the conservative visionary and philosopher, and Combarieu was the liberal positivist scholar. They also pursued different goals: Emmanuel, the training of the performing musician, d'Indy, the spiritual education of the artist, and Combarieu, the liberal education of the larger

public. Yet, the three of them found it essential to include medieval music in their curriculum. The diversity of approach encountered in these three interpretations of medieval music, attests to the plurality of thought currents which shaped their views. Those seemed to arise from the respective temperaments, training, and experience, or out of greater affinity with particular facets of the *esprit du siècle*. Emmanuel's classical training shaped his outlook on medieval music. D'Indy's patriotic, monarchist, and ultra-montane affiliations illuminated his vision of medieval music. And Combarieu's secular and liberal approach lent a particular perspective to his understanding of medieval music. These differences did not affect the key position all three authors attributed to this particular period in history. Whether the Middle Ages were considered as a transitional or hinge period between antiquity and modern times, or whether they were given a primary role in the development of the musical language, medieval music carried the label of "key position" in all three histories. For Emmanuel, the role of medieval music was that of a mediator between two epochs, making sure to transmit and reinterpret the ancient heritage. For d'Indy, it became a manifesto for his educational, religious, and political ideas, a tool in the crusade against the degeneracy of spiritual, ecclesiastical, and political forces and institutions. For Combarieu, medieval music was a symbol, a witness to the progress of humanity from the sacred to the secular world.

The legacy of the Middle Ages to modern musical language stands unmatched. They bequeathed the musical world with essential elements of its vocabulary, which will usher it out of the old, and into a new age. The Middle Ages contributed all the elements which characterize modern music: tonality with the major mode, new technicalities with counterpoint, and rhythmic diversity.

The variances in historical outlook can also be traced in the differences of understanding of the laws which governed the development of medieval music. The study of medieval music revealed the importance of the knowledge of the past, as a source for the understanding of the present. The past takes on different meanings, namely, antiquity for Emmanuel; ancient values, especially of spiritual order, with d'Indy; and heredity with Combarieu. The past elements contain, essentially or potentially, all the ingredients of future music which will unfold slowly along the path of history. All three authors saw these elements governed by a transcendental principle, a higher law; they diverged, however, on the labeling of this principle: what Emmanuel calls nature or people, d'Indy sees in spirituality and religion, and Combarieu places in magic and myth. Each one of these positions falls under the same law of expressivity. The role of the Middle Ages was precisely to develop and further the expressive power of music, a task which it achieved to different degrees, according to the various authors. The artist was to play an important role in this

scheme, within the framework of a community; not as a creator or innovator, but as a servant, guide, or leader. In this sense, medieval music furnished a model for the present time, or it came as a confirmation of the principle of continuity, since such had been the artist's role through all times. The study of medieval music is used to highlight the superior status of practice over theory, a principle which was strongly established by all three historians.

The objective and critical observation of primary sources was declared paramount by each historian, even though only Combarieu actually carried the principle out consistently. In spite of their claim to objectivity, all three authors have verified the principle that historical writing cannot escape its fate of being tied to people's own experiences, values, and environment. It is true that the existential aspect of historical writing lends color to the analysis and makes it come alive and be fecund. Thus, for instance, Emmanuel emphasized those elements of the musical language which show a strong connection to the Greek musical system; his analysis of other elements of medieval music is rather weak or inexistent. His work is then characterized by uneven scientific rigor. D'Indy, on the other hand, was more interested in philosophical analysis than scientific methods. The strength of all three historians must be found in the particular philosophy they brought to their historical understanding, and their contribution resides in

the fact that they opened up new perspectives and insights to the understanding of medieval music.

Beyond projecting an image of the intellectual environment of their time, the three histories also speak of times to come. This can be verified on two levels, namely, the stimulus and influence they exerted on medieval scholarship of the early twentieth century; and the impact they had on the musical language of the early twentieth-century French composers. With regards to early twentieth-century scholarship of medieval music, especially Combarieu and Emmanuel have certainly contributed to take medieval music out of the domain of romantic nostalgia for the "mythical past." Even though all three authors reflect the humanist conviction that "the most ancient is the best," there has been a conscious preoccupation to find objective reasons for the value of medieval music. Especially in the field outside chant—considered the turf of the Solesmes community—namely, the motet and the chanson, the early decades of the twentieth century show increased activity on the level of collecting and cataloguing of sources and their interpretation. Considering the large number of students who sat at the feet of these three teachers, as well as the diversity of their fields of action due to the different directions and perspectives of the three schools, one realizes the extent of impact the teaching of medieval compositional techniques must have left on the early twentieth-century composer. Whereas Combarieu's influence

was felt more within the community of thinkers and the humanities, this is particularly true for the students of the Conservatory and the *Schola Cantorum*. The same general climate of renewal which was felt among scholars on the level of musical thought also agitated the camp of the practical musician, uneasy with and tired of the old heritage. Historical scholarship thus helped to open up new perspectives for the musical language. On examining some of the new compositional techniques which characterize French postromantic music, it is striking to see how many can be traced with a direct line to medieval techniques. It would not be unsafe to affirm that the introduction of medieval elements into the new musical language played its role, to a certain extent, in the emergence of neoclassicism. Some of these features were to become cornerstones of early twentieth-century compositional techniques. The reintroduction of medieval modes and rhythmic variety which found an advocate in Emmanuel, and the prominence of linear writing as promoted by d'Indy, are but a few of the most apparent manifestations of this influence. The application of mathematical principles to musical composition, such as rhythmic complexity, formal outlines, and other characteristics of the early twentieth-century musical language, should be seen in the light of traditional medieval practices, especially those of the *ars nova*. One of the earliest composers to build on these elements was Erik

Satie,¹ and the use of medieval elements by Claude Debussy,² Olivier Messiaën,³ and even Igor Stravinsky,⁴ is a familiar phenomenon. It should be worthwhile investigating beyond these frontline composers, within the group of artists who were trained in those schools, particularly the *Schola Cantorum*, to find out the real extent of the impact of "medievalisms" in musical writing after the turn of the century. The question to what extent their musical language can be traced back to their schooling, and to what extent medieval elements pervade their music, goes of course beyond

¹See Grete Wehmeyer, *Erik Satie*, Studien zur Musikgeschichte des XIX. Jahrhunderts, no. 36 (Regensburg: Bosse, 1974), especially chapter 1, "Neogregorianik und Neogrec," 19-95. Erik Satie was also a former student of the *Schola Cantorum* (Demuth, 18).

²Debussy's admiration for the *Schola Cantorum* and for its choir, the *Chanteurs de Saint-Gervais*, and the personal visit he paid to the abbey of Solesmes in 1893, in order to learn about modality, are as many tokens testifying to the impact of these institutions on Debussy's use of medievalism. See Debussy, "A la Schola Cantorum," 87-88; Léon Vallas, *Debussy et son temps* (Paris: Alcan, 1932), 234; on his visit to Solesmes, see the letter of the English musicologist Becket Gibbs to Eliot Wheaton, dated 23 March 1950, quoted in Julia d'Almendra, "Les modes grégoriens dans l'oeuvre de Claude Debussy," Diss., Gregorian Institute of Paris, 1947-48, 186.

³Messiaën refers directly to Emmanuel, who was his teacher at the Conservatory, for opening his eyes to modality (Olivier Messiaën, "Maurice Emmanuel: ses 'trente chansons bourguignonnes'," *La Revue Musicale* 204 [January 1947]: 108). He most certainly was also initiated by Emmanuel to Hindu rhythms and bird song.

⁴Stravinsky characterizes his art by reference to medieval values such as tradition, discipline, order, etc.; see Igor Stravinsky, *Poetics of Music in the Form of Six Lessons*, trans. Arthur Knodel and Ingolf Dahl (New York: Vintage Books, 1937), 7. On the influence of medievalism on Stravinsky, see Barzun, 7.

the scope of this study. In the meantime, the extent of the presence of medievalisms in early twentieth-century French music is certainly an indication of the impact of these three historians on the musical language of the composers who were confronted by them as students, as well as on the future generation of composers.

Our examination of three approaches to medieval music at the turn of the twentieth century has yielded several insights. The historical enterprise of the three authors did justice to their initial aim, which was to open up the field of investigation of music history, and to demonstrate the relationship of music to other disciplines, such as general history, philology, sociology, and physiology. It also established a firm foundation in France for the scientific study of medieval music. This aim was achieved on several levels: by introducing the subject of medieval music to a large public and thus broadening general interest in the topic; by firmly establishing the study of medieval music in various curricula of higher learning; and lastly, by proposing new methods of historical investigation. At the same time, they contributed through these multifaceted actions to the renewal of the musical language: in keeping with the spirit of the Middle Ages, they provided the artists with "new materials taken from the old stock."

The influence of these ideas presses even beyond the strict realm of music. All these thoughts which dominated the end of the nineteenth century, and appeared at various

degrees in the writings of our historiographers of medieval music, were already pregnant with what will give the twentieth century its particular historical and dramatic character. The germs of fascism, as well as the dreams of internationalism, and the exacerbation of technology, already announce the great crisis which will generate the first and the second World Wars, bringing along what historians of today begin to identify as the end of the modern era.⁵

⁵See Edward R. Tannenbaum, *1900: The Generation Before the Great War* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1976), 3; Hale, 1-27; cf. Hans Küng, *Global Responsibility* (New York: Crossroads, 1991), 65-70, 135-8.

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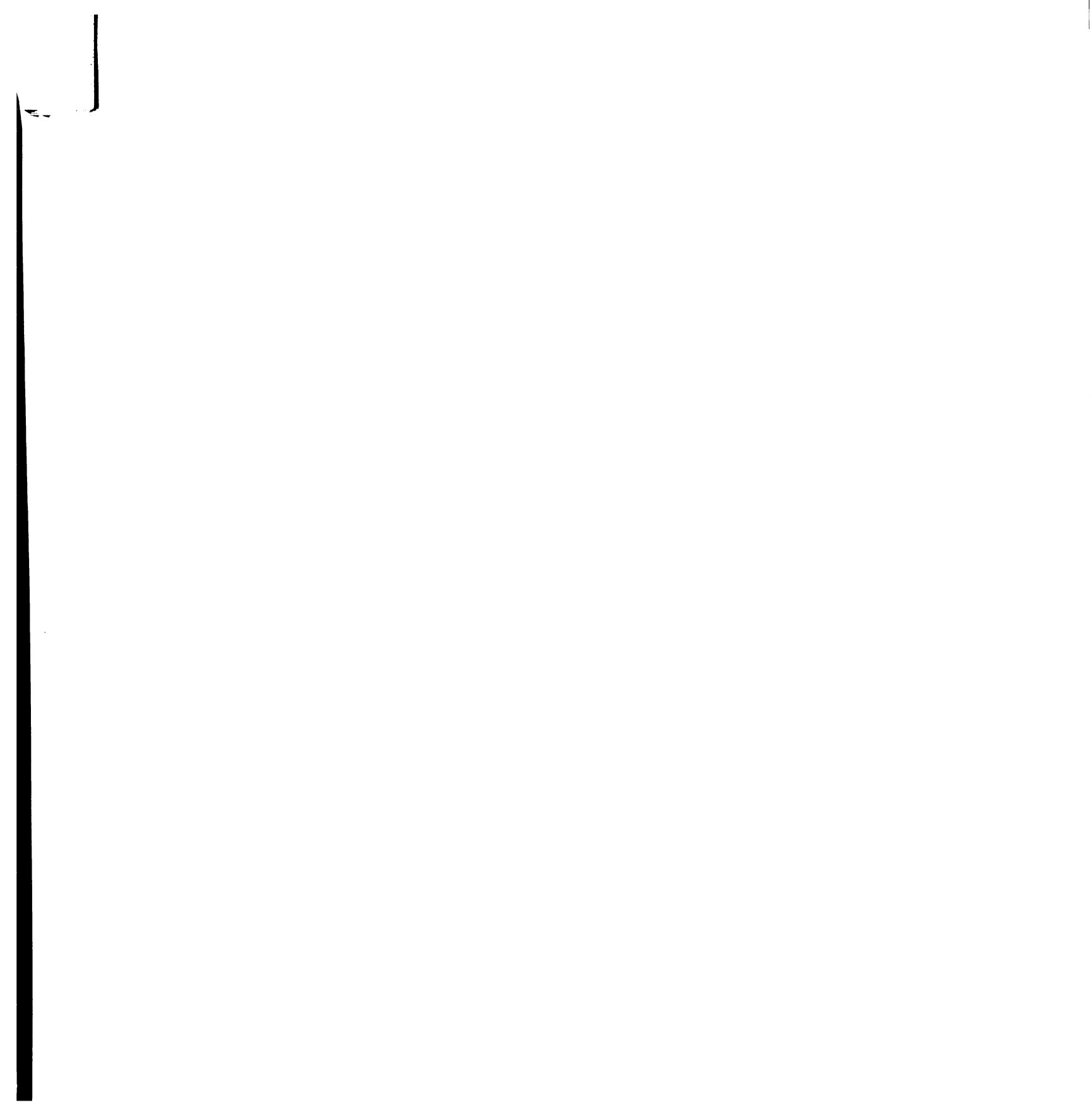
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