Six French composers' homage to Haydn: an analytical comparison enlightening their conception of tombeau

Jean-Philippe Soucy

Schulich School of Music, McGill University

Montréal, Québec

A thesis submitted to McGill University in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts

Table of contents

Acknowledgements

My thanks go first and foremost to my supervisor, Professor Don McLean. I feel honoured and privileged to have had the opportunity, from the seminar he gave that bore the idea of this thesis until now, to hone my analytical skills with him. I am grateful to him for taking time from his very tight schedule to read and edit my drafts and to give me those precious one-hour briefings that guided me through my first major graduate work.

Equally important to the redaction of this thesis were the McGill library staff, in particular David Curtis and Cynthia Leive who helped me solve the riddle of Galatea and answered my many questions during my reasearch. I thank them also for allowing me into the library outside regular hours during the summer. I am further indebted to two people who took time to give me advice on the history chapters, an area about which I knew nothing prior to my thesis research, namely Catrena Flint de Médicis and Irène Brisson. I am also grateful for all the great teachers of the theory department at McGill, especially Professor William Caplin who helped me understand his fantastic theory of formal functions and Professor Carmen Sabourin who clarified my initial vision of the fundamentals of harmony.

I thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) for granting me funding during the first two years of my master's degree which allowed me to concentrate on music, and leave aside dentistry. I also received funding through McGill's Sarah Berlindt fund, which helped me tremendously with my studies, and for which support I remain most grateful.

I would never forgive myself if I did not write here the names of the people at the Conservatoire de musique de Québec who gave me an unconditional love for music performance and theory: Noëlla Genest, Irène Brisson, Armando Santiago, Pierre Genest and Roger Bédard. Without their help and guidance, I would not be blessed with that musical curiosity that every music theorist has.

Last but certainly not least, I am truly lucky to have around me fantastic friends who helped me getting through the long and harsh days of writing. My thanks go to Meghan Goodchild for her help in the formal analysis chapter, Jamshed Turel for helping me rid my writing of many gallicisms, Andrew Deruchie for going through my brief history of French music and giving me great pointers, Julie Pedneault for helping me finding a way to put all my analysis results together more effectively, and all the other great people who accompanied me in my three years at McGill.

Abstract

In 1909, the *Revue musicale mensuelle de la Société Internationale de Musique (RSIM)* asked six French composers (Debussy, Dukas, Hahn, d'Indy, Ravel and Widor) to commemorate Haydn's centennial anniversary of death by each creating a piano piece that incorporated a theme built with a letter-note correspondence on the word "Haydn". In the context of the French fin-de-siècle search for musical identity, this collective tombeau represents a unique opportunity to discover what characteristics were important to them. My analysis of the pieces reveals five common elements: enharmonic reinterpretation as a means of exploration of foreign keys, large scale registral connections, dissonant chords for colour, ingenious means of creating unity, and use of past genres and form. The influence of Italian and German culture, as well as French music history and politics are also evaluated. The tombeaux reveal how central the concept of the music of the past was to French composers at the turn of the century and how it pointed the way to post-war neoclassicism.

Résumé

En 1909, la *Revue musicale mensuelle de la Société Internationale de Musique (RSIM)* demanda à six compositeurs français (Debussy, Dukas, Hahn, d'Indy, Ravel et Widor) d'écrire chacun une pièce pour piano dans le but de commémorer le centième anniversaire de la mort d'Haydn. Leurs pièces devaient incorporer un thème imposé bâti via une correspondance entre des notes et les lettres du mot "Haydn". Dans le contexte de la quête d'identité des Français de la fin du 19^{e} siècle, ce tombeau collectif représente une occasion unique de découvrir quelles caractéristiques musicales leur étaient importantes. L'analyse de ces pièces a permis d'isoler cinq éléments communs: réinterprétation enharmonique comme moyen d'exploration de tons éloignés, liaison de registres à grande échelle, utilisation d'accords dissonants dans le but d'obtenir une certaine couleur, moyens ingénieux de créer l'unité et usage de formes et de genres issus du passé. L'influence des cultures allemande et italienne ainsi que celle de l'histoire musicale de la France et de sa politique sont également évaluées. Les tombeaux révèlent l'importance qu'occupe la musique du passé pour les compositeurs français au tournant du 20^{e} siècle et comment cette musique prépare l'avènement du néoclassicisme d'après-guerre.

Introduction

In 1910, the *Revue musicale mensuelle de la Société Internationale de Musique (RSIM)* published a series of articles commemorating the 100th anniversary of Haydn's death.[1] The piano pieces preceding the articles are particularly interesting as they were written for the occasion by six renowned French composers: Claude Debussy, Paul Dukas, Vincent d'Indy, Reynaldo Hahn, Maurice Ravel and Charles-Marie Widor. This collective homage provides a unique opportunity for scholars not only to compare works by these composers, but also to place them in the social and political context of the time. The first part of this introduction raises the questions evoked by this anniversary.

The gathering of these six musicians resembles the meeting of distant family members at a funeral. They were brought together in unity for the remembrance of Haydn, but expressed their individuality through their music, as they had different characters, wealth, opinions and personalities. Their divergences partially explain their vastly contrasting pieces, although they were raised in the same country, were taught by the same musical tradition (at the Conservatoire de Paris), lived in the same era and had the same compositional task before them, with an imposed theme. There are also other explanations for the differences between the works of the Haydn homage, however, and I will show them later on.

Creating a piece of art in commemoration of someone is an old French tradition, dating back to the baroque era, called *tombeau*.[2] It is the sole unifying factor for the pieces: all of them claim to serve the memory of "papa Haydn". The tombeau must also express the musician's grief for the departed through his art, which poses the problem: how can one express their individuality while including enough characteristics from the personality or style of the honouree to ensure its recognition through the work? The tombeau has thus a double aspect: defining, or at least hinting at, the styles of both the author and dedicatee. This duality warrants the blending into a unified whole of the composer's present stylistic characteristics and his knowledge of the honoured Haydn.

The importance of this tribute is heightened by its timing, just before the foundation of the *Société musicale indépendante*[3], when Paris was bustling with cultural activity, but also consumed by doubt as to what "true French music" was. The Haydn tombeaux may tell a lot

---

[1] The anniversary was actually on May 31st 1909, but the homage was published on January 15th 1910.
[2] Michael Tilmouth and David Ledbetter: "Tombeau", *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy. Accessed 26 April 2008, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com:80/subscriber/article/grove/music/28084.
[3] It was founded in 1910 (Michel Duchesneau, *L'Avant-garde musicale et ses sociétés à Paris de 1871-1939.* Sprimont: Mardaga, 1997).

about what these six French artists thought constituted French style and what the future of French music might be, but they also most unexpectedly and, in all probability, involuntarily, give us their creators' opinion on their own future using a looking-glass oriented towards the past.

The motivation for the Haydn tombeau calls for further reflection: why did the *RSIM* request these honourific pieces? There is an obvious answer: to salute one of the greatest figures in the high classical era. But why choose Haydn? Among the foreign masters loved by the French, they could have honoured Bach in 1900 (who died in 1750) or even Händel in 1909 (who died in 1759, exactly 50 years before Haydn). Paying homage to either of these baroque masters using a genre originating from their time would have been most appropriate. If French identity was the goal, they might have honoured one of their own, Berlioz in 1903 (100th of his birth) or even better, Debussy's champion of French music, Rameau in 1914 (150th of his death). There does not seem to be any reason for the particularity of *RSIM*'s choice, and perhaps there isn't one; after all, as I shall explain later, Haydn was a beloved figure in France since the time of the first performance of his symphonies on French soil.[4] The tombeaux will show what the French knew of Haydn's music, especially as he was chosen over all the other composers with anniversaries around the same time.

Another reason for the homage could be that it allowed the French to better situate their culture against other cultures. They especially wanted to distinguish themselves from the art of the highly influential German people. Unfortunately for France, the Wagner tempest blew heavily on its population and its enrapturing sounds conquered its opera-craved crowd. The 1880s in particular saw the rise of *Wagnérisme* in France. Many French people had trouble coming to terms with Wagner's success in their homeland. Some totally rejected his music, believing his influence on French music was detrimental, while others thought French music could benefit from his innovations without losing its characteristics. Beethoven and his symphonies constituted another threat to original French art, albeit to a lesser degree than Wagner. Apart from Berlioz, whose approach was in any case idiosyncratic, French composers seemed largely to shy away from this genre.[5] The Conservatoire itself did not

---

[4] Lionel de la Laurencie, "L'apparition des œuvres d'Haydn à Paris" *La Revue de Musicologie* 13 (1932): 191-205.

[5] "The history of the symphony in France is quickly told, for there are remarkably few notable symphonies by Frenchmen. […] French composers who did write symphonies were either too heavily influenced by models from across the Rhine or simply lacked the essential qualities for the task. This certainly applies to Chausson, Dukas, Lalo and Saint-Saëns, to the young Bizet and, in a lesser degree, to Franck and d'Indy." John Manduell, "Albert Roussel", *The Symphony vol.2: Elgar to the Present Day*, ed. Robert Simpson (Penguin Books: London, 1967), 104.

encourage writing symphonies until Fauré's reform after his appointment as director in 1905.[6] The infamous Dreyfus Affair constituted another Germanophobic incident, in which a Jewish general was wrongly accused of passing off classified information to the Germans. For all these reasons, the French had to acknowledge a significant Teutonic contribution to musical composition while maintaining a defiant political stance.

The Italians posed a very different threat. Some Frenchmen thought they used naturalization as a ploy to bring about their ideas: for example Lully, Gluck or Cherubini. They were all naturalized Frenchmen, but they expressed their Italian personalities within a French framework.[7] Italian opera clearly dominated French operatic circles after the French Revolution.[8] Because of the popularity of this repertoire, French composers saw Italian music as purely hedonistic, lacking depth and musicality; they believed it hindered the development of an original French style. Some extremist anti-Semitic Frenchmen even thought that Jews took advantage of the success of Italian opera by writing allegedly mediocre works for pecuniary gain. Jews constituted another threat for many French, and several musicians and critics openly showed their anti-Semitism.[9] In order to strengthen their defences against the German, Italian and purportedly Jewish tainting influences, the French needed to clearly define their character: the tombeau constituted an effective way to do so.

The third reason motivating *RSIM* to honour Haydn is to use the occasion to better define the French musical style since the French masters. The premise is simple: looking back in history, the French sought their roots to find the defining characteristics of their style. Politics reared its ugly head quickly, however, and they found themselves arguing over the question of lineage: who are the most important composers, whose style exemplified the *goût français* best? Some artists' political bias made them retell the story of French music to the taste of their political alignment. While the lineage argument breathed new life into the French

---

[6] Jane Fulcher, *French Cultural Politics and Music: From the Dreyfus Affair to the First World War*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

[7] Not all Frenchmen were against the naturalization of Italians. Alfred Bruneau for example wrote: "When a stranger comes to a country to create a work of art with this country's spirit, he acquires his naturalization by that alone." Alfred Bruneau, *La musique française* (Paris: Bibliothèque-Charpentier, 1901),17.

[8] There are many accounts of this fact. Quoting Dukas: "It is there that this sect of *dilettanti* and *bel canto* lovers, fanatics of the roulade and of the chest *C*, which the decrepit survivors still long for in the old days, took shape. It is there that the *goût français*, after its development conform to the national temperament (Méhul, Chérubini, Kreutzer, etc.) disappeared when it came in contact with the Italian genius, and that the notion of true good musical theatre was lost." Paul Dukas, *Chroniques musicales sur deux siècles 1892-1932* (Evreux (France): Stock, 1979), 42.

[9] For more details on the origin of anti-Semitism in France: Stephen Wilson, *Ideology and Experience: antisemitism in France at the Time of the Dreyfus Affair* (Oxford; Portland, Oregon: Littman library of Jewish Civilization, 1982).

musicological movement initiated by Romain Rolland, Jules Combarieu and Louis Laloy, it also prevented the French from agreeing on what characterized their contemporary music.

To be sure, the link between music and politics may seem obscure at first. But this link was preserved by a national institution, the Conservatoire de Paris, a school whose goal was to train professional musicians. The government funded, and had a certain control over, the activities of the Conservatoire, and politics influenced the outcome of many debates during the school's history.[10] The national institution prided itself on being at the "vanguard of tradition" (although its official goal is quite the opposite) and its antiquated teaching methods drew much criticism at the *fin-de-siècle*. Vincent d'Indy, member of a circle of students grouped around the frustrated organ teacher César Franck, reacted against the Conservatory's shortcomings by founding his own school, the *Schola Cantorum*, alongside Alexandre Guilmant and Charles Bordes in 1894.[11] The unconcealed anti-Semitism and political rightism of d'Indy and Bordes associated the Schola Cantorum with these stances.[12] The two schools were quickly compared by the press, and the Conservatoire retorted effectively only in 1905, when Fauré took over the directorship. At the time of the Haydn tombeaux, the director of the Schola Cantorum, Vincent d'Indy, was also president of the *Société Nationale* (Société Nationale), a governmentally funded group founded in 1871, whose goal was to promote French music. D'Indy's partiality, shown by his overt programming of more works that agreed with his aesthetic views, angered many Conservatoire students, including Ravel and Koechlin, who founded a new concert society, the *Société musicale indépendante* (Société Musicale Indépendante). The Société Nationale and the Société Musicale Indépendante conveyed their respective presidents' image of true French music: d'Indy and his Franckist views on one side, Ravel and his acceptance of more experimental music on the other.[13]

Associations quickly appeared in the press; as Goubault whimsically claimed about his own people: "In this country, we love bickering. We argue over anything, anything is reason

---

[10] Especially during Cherubini's long directorship: Anik Devriès-Lesure, "Chérubini directeur du conservatoire de musique et de déclamation" in *Le Conservatoire de Paris, 1795-1995: des Menus-Plaisirs à la Cité de la musique* ed. Anne Bongrain and Yves Gérard (Paris: Buchet/Castel, 1996), 39-96.

[11] The courses began officially in 1896.

[12] D'Indy associated his teaching strongly with catholic religion. As republican people widely disregarded religion as part of the state, his political stance became compatible with his teaching. He exposed the goals of the Schola Cantorum (in relation with religion and his beliefs) during the opening ceremony of the Schola Cantorum in its new building in 1900: Indy, Vincent d', "Une école d'Art répondant aux besoins modernes," *La Tribune de St-Gervais* 6/11 (1900): 303-14.

[13] I do not want to fall into the trap of exclusive dualism. These characteristics are tendencies, not infallible rules followed by the two societies. It is especially true with Fauré's attempt to unite them; it failed, but it toned down the differences between their programs.

enough to form clans."[14] He separated the young French composers of the *belle époque* in two groups: the Schola Cantorum and the independents (including Debussy, Ravel, and later Satie). There were other issues that further distinguished these two parties: for example Wagner's influence in French music or harmony versus counterpoint, to name a few. While the schools' opposed opinions divided French music, their young students both fought to define French music and make it evolve. A third group can be added to Goubault's binary division; represented mainly by composers Alfred Bruneau and Gustave Charpentier, this group was strongly associated with the political Left, which advocates conservatism, naturalism and music for the people. Their music became politically charged because of its association with the Republic's ideals.[15]

Our next logical step might be to assess the political alignment of the six composers who are the object of the present study. Unfortunately, human nature is not quite so simple, and apart from d'Indy, who personifies perfectly the political Right, the other composers present characteristics associated with varying political stances. For example, Hahn was a dandy enjoying salons, a characteristic of the Right, but he was also a Dreyfusard, an important Leftist trait. Moreover, the simplicity of the majority of his compositions tie him more closely to the conservative Left. Consequently, it is better not to think in terms of Right and Left in this context for a number of reasons. First, it is a blatant oversimplification of the composer's thought that results in grouping him on a singular political affiliation he may not have.[16] I also think such broadly imprecise nomenclature applies rather imperfectly to music. This reality is adequately shown by a problem Fulcher had to deal with: the fact that there were two musics of the Right, d'Indy's and Debussy's, whose respective styles are miles apart.[17] Finally, there is no need to resort to such categorizations in the context of the main question of the present thesis: what is the French artistic community's conception (or conceptions) of French music, and how is this expressed through these six tombeaux?

The goal of this thesis is to answer this question by analyzing the six works of the Haydn homage, looking for references to the past (either in Haydn's music or earlier music) and

---

[14] "Dans ce pays, on aime la querelle. On discute de tout et tout devient prétexte à se grouper." Christian Goubault, *La critique musicale dans la presse française de 1870 à 1914* (Genève-Paris: Slatkine, 1984), 85.

[15] It is not my intent to categorize composers in factions, because it is not as clear as it seems. Jane Fulcher (in *French Cultural Politics and Music: From the Dreyfus Affair to the First World War*) claims composers used music to express their political stance, an opinion efficiently put to the test by the reviewers of her book Steven Huebner (*Music & Letters*, 82/2 (2001): 333-8) and Carlo Caballero (*Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 55/3 (2002): 563-78).

[16] For example, not every person of the Right was anti-Dreyfusard and anti-Semitic.

[17] She named d'Indy's and Debussy Right positions respectively *Nationalist* and *Liberal.* Fulcher, *French cultural politics,* 108-9.

elements of style common to the six composers (chapter IV). The former should allow a better definition of how the French paid homage through music while the latter should reveal the characteristics of a French style, or even French styles. The analysis is preceded by the review of literature (chapter I) and two historical chapters covering important facets of the French's quest for musical identity. The first history chapter concerns the tombeau tradition and its revival in *RSIM*, alongside an account of Haydn's relation to the French music lovers (chapter II). The second focuses on various influences on French repertoire of the fin-de-siècle: Italian and German, past French composers and baroque music through the early music revival that was in full swing at the time (chapter III).

The French identity quest began with their school of young composers. These composers, in turn, taught and were taught in schools with different goals and beliefs; their music was played in societies whose leaders had different conceptions of French music. Their search for a national style was also influenced by past music, as the early music revival was well under way and neoclassicism was on the rise. Past, present and future danced in the French composers' minds while they shaped their national style — exactly the image of the tombeau itself: reviving the past through a present voice, a voice that speaks at the same time of future stylistic directions. And so, in the context of the desire to better define the *goût français*, the tombeau was an effective vehicle for the attainment of that goal.

I Review of literature

There are many aspects to the topic of the present thesis. Inspired by that sense of Cartesian clarity that is often associated with French discourse, I divide them into six categories: the composers, the *tombeau*, Haydn and France, periodicals in France, French politics, and analytical strategies. I describe the principal sources for each one of these topics, and in the case of the six composers I also provide a short biographical note and summary of their general compositional style.

1.1 The six composers

CHARLES-MARIE WIDOR (1844-1937)

Among the six composers who participated in the Haydn homage, Widor had the longest lifespan and was the oldest when he composed his fugal tombeau: born February 22nd 1844, he was 93 years old when he passed away.[18] A well known composer at the time, Widor's popularity has largely diminished since, nowadays remembered principally as the originator of the "organ symphony". His father was an organ builder of Hungarian origin, and a friend of the famous organ builder Louis-Aristide Cavaillé-Coll. Both of them realised Widor's performance capabilities and sensed his potential to reinvigorate the decaying French organ practice at the time. In 1863, Cavaillé-Coll sent Widor to Jacques Lemmens to enhance his organ technique, and to Brussels Conservatory director François-Joseph Fétis to learn fugal writing for a year.

After that year, Widor began playing organ recitals, frequently inaugurating new Cavaillé-Coll instruments. He became famous as a virtuoso; even more so in 1869 when he succeeded Lefébure-Wély as main organist at St-Sulpice in Paris. Preoccupied with the dissemination of contemporary French music, Widor quickly joined the Société Nationale when Saint-Säens founded the organization in 1871. Some of his chamber music was played at the Société Nationale including a *Quintette* in 1873 and a *Trio* in 1876.[19] In 1880, Widor, by then a mature composer, wrote the ballet that would first bring him fame: *La Korrigane*. In the same year, he began his career as a music critic and founded the Concordia choir whose main objective was to "help modern musicians and above all bring back the masterpieces of

[18] The day of his birth still stirs controversy. In Near's biography, the 21st is put forward even though his birth certificate shows the 22nd. Thomson writes that his birthday is the 21st based on Lyon's Town hall word.
[19] Michel Duchesneau, *L'avant-guarde musicale à Paris de 1871 à 1939* (Sprimont: Mardaga, 1997), 19.

past masters".[20] Widor thus became committed to the early music revival before the work of the Schola Cantorum. In his sacred compositions and performances he had already begun ridding the liturgical repertoire of its excess theatricality, bringing back contrapuntal repertoire to the church.

Widor trained more capable organists when he took over César Franck's organ teaching post at the Conservatoire de Paris in 1890. Franck's class was well known for being more geared towards composition and improvisation than technique (Vincent d'Indy profited a lot from this teaching), but Widor changed the curriculum and consequently focus. In 1893, he founded the *Concerts de l'école moderne* with Chabrier and d'Indy to promote new French compositions. His fame was spreading outside the boundaries of France, and he was asked to conduct his own works all over Europe. Widor took over Dubois's composition class in 1896, leaving his post as organ teacher. He innovated little during his time in his new position, and gradually young composers became more attracted to the modern approach of Fauré's classes. Still, Widor had his share of famous students, including Marcel Dupré, Nadia Boulanger, Darius Milhaud, Arthur Honegger, Edgard Varèse, and Zoltàn Kodàly. He became a member of the *Académie des Beaux-Arts* in 1910, where he came up with the idea to build a Villa Medicis-like building in Spain, the Casa Vélasquez. He retired from the Conservatoire in 1927, leaving his composition chair to Dukas, stopped working at St-Sulpice in 1934, and died in 1937.

At the time of his honourific fugue for the Haydn anniversary, Widor was clearly at the twilight of his compositional career. He wrote his last organ symphony in 1900 and his last orchestral symphony in 1911, and the renowned works that brought him fame dated back to the 1880's (*La Korrigane* and his fifth symphony for organ). As Near puts it, Widor's aesthetic contemporaries were Gounod, Saint-Saëns, Franck and Lalo, yet he outlived the next generation of composers (Debussy, Dukas, and almost Ravel) and saw the rise of neoclassicism and atonality.[21] Hobbs even states that Widor did not really even leave his mark as a composition teacher (especially with Fauré's class in full swing at the same time) and that his students earned fame in spite of him.[22] In general, his compositions are harmonically orthodox, never going as far as Franck, but well-built thematically.

---

[20] John Richard Near, "The life and work of Charles-Marie Widor" (PhD diss., Boston University, 1985), 144.
[21] Ibid., 281.
[22] Alain Hobbes, *Charles-Marie Widor (1844-1937)* (Paris: Association des amis de l'orgue, 1988), 37.

Scholarly literature on Widor is scarce. The first full-scale biography of Widor was written by John Richard Near in 1985.[23] It is still one of the best, going over all the details of Widor's life chronologically. The author of Grove's article on the French composer, Andrew Thomson, also wrote a valuable biography two years after Near's.[24] Thomson organizes his chapters around Widor's life-marking events, and his volume is perhaps a bit easier to read and consult than Near's. Both are, however, invaluable resources for a good understanding of Widor's life. Marcel Dupré's *Marcel Dupré raconte…* confirms a few of the anecdotes told by Near and Thomson, the most famous being the story of Widor's 64-year tenure as organist of St-Sulpice, while never having been officially hired![25] To better understand the man's character, the eulogy written by Isidor Philipp, offers profound and somewhat personal insight.[26]

REYNALDO HAHN (1875-1947)

I shall now turn from the composer who was born the earliest to the one who died the latest, and the only one among the six to have seen World War II. Another famous figure at the time, Reynaldo Hahn is now principally known for his *mélodies*. He wrote an impressive amount of music, including over 25 works for stage and almost a hundred for solo voice. Hahn was not as prolific as Gounod or Massenet in song writing (they respectively wrote 200 and 260), but he synthesized melodic sense with playful piano accompaniments that often resulted in masterful gems. After the Second World War, Hahn was dismissed as a mere French melody writer, but singers are regaining interest in his music, as are scholars.

Hahn was born in Caracas, August 9th 1875. He was three when his parents moved to Paris, where he would spend the rest of his life and fully absorb its spirit, becoming *"Le plus Parisien des Parisiens".*[27] Seeing young Hahn's talent as a pianist and singer, his parents sent him to the Conservatoire de Paris when he was 11 to study with Massenet, Descombes, Lavignac and Dubois. Joseph Morpain described his capacity at the national institution as "Reynaldo played piano quite well, of course, but he clearly stood out with his compositional skill."[28] It is during his studies at the Conservatoire that Hahn composed *Chansons grises*, a

---

[23] John Richard Near, *The life and work of Charles-Marie Widor* (PhD diss. Boston University, 1985).
[24] Andrew Thomson, *The life and times of Charles-Marie Widor* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).
[25] Marcel Dupré, *Marcel Dupré raconte...* (Paris: Bornemann, 1972), 48.
[26] Isidor Philippe and Gustave Reese. "Charles-Marie Widor: a portrait," *Musical Quarterly* 30/2 (April 1944): 125-32.
[27] Paul Landormy, *La musique française après Debussy*, 18th ed. (Paris: Gallimard, 1943), 233.
[28] "Reynaldo jouait fort bien du piano, sans doute, mais il se distinguait surtout par son aptitude à la composition." Bernard Gavoty, *Reynaldo Hahn, le musicien de la Belle Époque* (Paris: Buchel-Castel, 1976), 37.

cycle of eight *mélodies* that would seal his reputation in Paris and tie him to the publisher Heugel.

Hahn's public life began early, as he visited various salons (Alphonse Daudet, Madeleine Lemaire, Princesse Mathilde and Princesse de Polignac, among others). His good looks, dashing personality and conversational skills made him an desirable participant at aristocratic gatherings. The salons acquainted him with various famous Frenchmen, including Fauré, Saint-Saëns, Rodin, Degas and Zola. It is at Madeleine Lemaire's salon that he met Marcel Proust, with whom he enjoyed an openly gay romance for two years, followed by a profound friendship. His popularity was also boosted by the publication of his *Premier livre de mélodies* by Heugel. Although his first opera, *L'Île du Rêve*, was not successful, his songs were played all over Paris. He also got involved in the Dreyfus Affair: like Proust, one of Hahn's parents was Jewish and he sided with Dreyfus.

At the turn of the century, Hahn began working as a critic (*La Presse* from 1899, *La Flèche* from 1904, *Journal de l'Université des Annales* from 1909-14). He also worked with Saint-Saëns on a critical edition of Rameau's *Les fêtes de l'hymen et de l'amour*. His passionate study of Mozart's opera *Don Giovanni* allowed him to begin a career as a conductor. In 1906, he conducted three representations of that opera at the Mozart festival of Salzburg held to commemorate the Viennese master's 150th anniversary of birth. He took the baton for the same opera at the Opéra-Comique in 1912, to critical and public acclaim. He took French nationality in 1909 and volunteered for the army during the First World War. In 1923, Hahn wrote *Ciboulette*, an operetta that became wildly successful and started an ensuing series of compositions for the stage (*Mozart* in 1925, *La reine de Sheba* in 1926, *Le Marchand de Venise* in 1935, and *Beaucoup de bruit pour rien* in 1936). Because of his Jewish ancestry, Hahn fled France during World War II. When he came back in 1945, he was appointed director of the Opéra, a tenure he did not keep very long as he died of brain cancer January 28th 1947.

Bernard Gavoty, in describing the score of *l'Île du Rêve*, summarizes Hahn's style: "*L'Île du Rêve*'s score attests the qualities and shortcomings of all of Reynaldo Hahn's lyrical works. An innate sense of melody, [...] but also a few writing banalities [...].[29] Later, he describes how Hahn composes: "When Reynaldo Hahn appropriates to himself a poem, he sings it to himself before harmonizing it. With Fauré and Debussy, harmony and melody are

[29] "La partition de l'*Île du Rêve* témoigne des qualités et des défauts qu'on pourra déceler dans tous les ouvrages lyriques de Reynaldo Hahn. Un sens mélodique inné, [...] mais, en contrepartie, certaines banalités d'écriture [...]. Gavoty, *Reynaldo Hahn*, 37.

born together, one by the other."[30] His style was thus closer to Massenet than to Debussy, whom he disliked.[31]

Hahn has inspired many studies in the last few years. Thea Sikora Engelson's review of Hahn's melodies offers many useful observations.[32] Her biography, which spans 52 pages, is remarkably thorough yet precise; it is all the more useful because she consulted references in Spanish that have been frequently overlooked by others unfamiliar with the language. The remainder of her work is mainly descriptive, but she does account for every *mélodie* Hahn wrote. A previous study by Debra Lea Spurgeon also provides valuable insight. Her biography of Hahn is somewhat less extensive than Engelson's, but her analysis of Hahn's songs is deeper. Her conclusion is especially fascinating: she describes nine 'fingerprints' that characterize Hahn's song-writing.[33] Kil-Won Kim's study on the setting of Verlaine's poetry by Hahn contains an interesting description of Hahn's style, but it does not contain anything else that is not already present in the other two theses.[34] Neither of the two main biographies of Hahn are in English: one is in French (Gavoty's)[35] and the other in Spanish (Daniel Bendahan's).[36] Gavoty clearly establishes his objective in his introduction: to rekindle interest in Hahn, whom he succeeded as critic for the journal *Le Figaro*. He provides not only important biographical information, but also a nice character study. His text reveals Hahn's distaste for the *avant-garde* in general, as Debussy, Ravel and d'Indy were not to his liking; he much preferred Saint-Saëns, Massenet and Fauré.

PAUL DUKAS (1865-1935)

Paul Dukas did not like to talk about himself. He replied sarcastically to a friend asking for his biography, that he was 29 years old, with all his teeth and the prettiest smile in Paris; that his extraordinary musical gifts were noticed from the crib and that he sucked at his nurse in a 9/8 meter![37] He did comply eventually, as he is, with Ravel, the only author of an

---

[30] "Quand Reynaldo Hahn s'empare d'un texte poétique, il se le chante avant de l'harmoniser. Avec Fauré et Debussy, harmonie et mélodie naissent ensemble, et l'une par l'autre." ibid., 208.
[31] Kim Kil-Won, "A detailed study of Reynaldo Hahn's settings of the poetry of Paul Verlaine" (PhD diss., University of Oklahoma, 1996), 83.
[32] Thea Sikona Engelson, "The *mélodies* of Reynaldo Hahn" (PhD diss., Iowa University, 2006).
[33] An intimate tone, a nostalgic mood, ABA structure, one or two-measure ostinatos, medium vocal range, speech-like rhythmic quality of the vocal line, declamation alternating with melody, thin texture, and use of secondary sevenths-ninths with added 2nd, 4th or 6th degree. Debra Lea Spurgeon, *A study of the solo vocal works of Reynaldo Hahn with analysis of selected mélodies* (DMA diss., University of Oklahoma, 1988), 129-30.
[34] Kim Kil-Won, "A detailed study of Reynaldo Hahn's settings of the poetry of Paul Verlaine" (PhD diss., University of Oklahoma, 1996).
[35] Bernard Gavoty, *Reynaldo Hahn, le musicien de la Belle Époque* (Paris: Buchel-Castel, 1976).
[36] Daniel Bendahan, *Reynaldo Hahn, su vida y su obra* (Caracas: Los Talleres de Italgrafica, 1973).
[37] George Favre, *Correspondance de Paul Dukas* (Paris: Durand, 1971), 22.

autobiography among the six composers who wrote for the Haydn homage.[38] Dukas's fame nowadays comes mostly from his symphonic poem *L'apprenti sorcier*, with the posthumous help of Disney's motion picture *Fantasia* (1940). Unfortunately, it has left him with the reputation of being the composer of a single masterpiece, a misrepresentation of his talent and range.

Paul Dukas was born on October 1st 1865 in Paris. Unlike many composers and not withstanding his own sarcastic remarks referenced earlier, Dukas did not display any exceptional musical gift during his childhood apart from a mild interest in composition. After auditing Dubois's harmony class in 1881, he began studying at the Conservatoire the following year. He was not an outstanding student: Dubois thought he was wrong about his talent, and he was not even allowed to participate in any *concours* in piano. He turned away from this instrument to study composition with Guiraud, who also taught Debussy. Dukas was finally rewarded for his efforts by winning first prize in counterpoint and fugue (1886), and second prize at the *Prix de Rome* (1888). After a brief military service, he became critic for the *Revue Hebdomadaire* (1892-1902), the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1896-1902) and the *Chronique des Arts et de la Curiosité* (1896-1905). He also participated in the critical edition of Rameau's works by Durand, working on *Les Indes Galantes.*

Although he was certainly appreciated as a critic, Dukas's career really took off with the premiere of l'*Apprenti sorcier* in 1897. The work received both critical and public acclaim. Debussy wrote about this symphonic poem: "I am always well when I hear this piece."[39] At the time he also wrote the *Symphonie en ut* (1897) and his *Sonate en mi bémol mineur* (1901). His next masterpiece was his opera *Ariane et Barbe-Bleue* (1907), based upon Maeterlinck's play. Unfortunately, Dukas did not do have the fortitude of Debussy, who denied Maeterlinck's wife Georgette the lead role in *Pelléas et Mélisande*; and everyone agreed she was not fit for the Ariane role. Nonetheless, Dukas's opera won European acclaim, and even crossed the Atlantic.[40] The deaths of Dukas's brother and brother-in-law in 1907 shocked him and he went to Switzerland for a period of rest, temporarily halting his compositional activities. In 1909, he became a conducting teacher at the conservatoire; though according to Milhaud, he was not good.[41] It was at this time that he wrote his *Prélude élégiaque* for the Haydn homage, as confirmed by his personal correspondence.

---

[38] A small column sent to Georges Humbert on April 9th 1899 for Hugo Riemann's *Musik-lexicon*. It can be found in Favre, *Correspondance*, 28-30.
[39] Bénédicte Palaux-Simonnet, *Paul Dukas ou le musicien-sorcier* (Genève: Éditions Papillon, 2001), 39.
[40] It premiered in New York city on March 29th, 1911
[41] Andrew Thomson, *Vincent d'Indy and his world* (Oxford and New York: Oxford U. Press, 1996), 175.

One of Dukas's most characteristic traits (especially since he was a respected critic) is his unforgiving self-criticism. He destroyed all the scores he deemed unworthy of publication: a second symphony, a sonata for violin and piano, a choreographic poem (*Le Sang de la Méduse*), a musical drama (*Le Nouveau Monde*), music for Shakespeare's *Tempest* and a symphonic poem (*Le Fils de la Parque*) are works that were known once to exist but are now destroyed. Thanks to d'Indy, Lalo and a couple more of Dukas's friends, a second choreographic poem, *La Péri,* escaped a similar fate. It premiered to great success in 1912 at the *Concerts de danse du Châtelet* with Natacha Trouhanowa in the lead role.

The following years, however, were difficult for Dukas, bringing about the death of many of his friends and relatives: Albéric Magnard, Alain-Fournier, Charles Péguy (all in 1914), his father (1915) and Debussy (1917). Perhaps tinged by these losses, he composed only two more works, both tombeaux: *La plainte, au loin, du faune* (1918, in a collective homage to Debussy published in *La Revue Musicale*) and the *Sonnet de Ronsard* (1924, in another collective homage in the same review, this time for the 400th anniversary of Ronsard's death). Dukas took up his critic's pen again in 1918 for *Le Quotidien*, continuing to write for several periodicals until 1932. In 1928, he took over Widor's composition class at the Conservatoire. The abdominal pain he suffered from around 1916 returned in 1927 with cardiac dysfunction. A year after his nomination at the *Académie des Beaux-Arts* in 1934, he died of a fulgurating heart attack. A collective homage was published in *La Revue Musicale* the year following his death.[42]

L'Apprenti sorcier cannot be taken as reference to describe Paul Dukas's compositional style. Bruno Walther clearly articulates this position:

> Paul Dukas, who acquired worldwide fame with *L'Apprenti sorcier*, is considered too often a descriptive musician. In fact, he is a pure blooded musician, as his beautiful and important *Symphonie* and his sumptuous poem, *La Péri*, both prove among his other works. Besides, he is a great dramatic composer who created after Debussy a completely original style, full of strength and poetry."[43]

Dukas's quest for originality is also apparent by the number of his published works. His ruthless self-criticism allowed only a few selected works to be heard publicly. According

[42] Paul Valéry et al., "Hommage à Paul Dukas," *La Revue Musicale* 17 (1936): 321-456.

[43] "Paul Dukas, qui s'est acquis une renommée universelle avec *l'Apprenti sorcier*, est trop souvent considéré comme un musicien descriptif. En réalité, c'est un musicien de pur sang, comme le prouvent, entre autres œuvres, sa belle et importante *Symphonie* et le somptueux poème de *La Péri*. En outre, c'est un grand musicien dramatique qui, après Debussy, a créé un style tout à fait original." Paul Dukas, *Chroniques musicales sur deux siècles 1892-1932* (Paris: Stock musique), 8.

to Yvonne Lefébure, his originality comes from the quality of his works, from which a clear *Dukassienne* atmosphere transpires.[44] Moreover, according to Favre,

> since he stands at the turning point between two epochs, he synthesizes the tendencies stemming from the great Romantic art and the new artistic outlook of the twentieth century. With Debussy, Vincent d'Indy, Ravel and Gabriel Fauré, he belongs among the greatest figures of the French school.[45]

Paul Dukas was successful in keeping rabid biographers at bay from his private life.[46] The only details we have about his private life transpire through his correspondence. Along with his critical writings, his letters, eloquent of the man's character, are a treasure of analyses and clairvoyant opinions. Extensive biographies can be found in Everett Vernon Boyd's thesis: "Paul Dukas and the impressionist milieu: stylistic assimilation in three orchestral works".[47] Boyd lists several characteristics of Dukas's works that tie them to Debussy: use of the non-functional augmented triads and of the whole-tone scale, flexibility in form and phrase structure. A year ago, Fayard released a monograph on Dukas that will perhaps become central for further work on Dukas; unfortunately I was not able to acquire a copy in time for the present study.[48]

VINCENT D'INDY (1851-1931)

Those who have some knowledge about Vincent d'Indy will most likely smirk at the utterance of his name because of all the negative tags he bears: aristocrat, monarchist, anti-Semite, extremist, hardcore catholic, chauvinist...[49] These monikers are further reinforced by the opinions of his contemporaries.[50] Of course, there is no smoke without fire, and these labels do have considerable factual basis. However, d'Indy's contribution to the French quest for musical identity is important, and his political opinions should not overshadow the value of his music, his viewpoints and his teaching.

---

[44] Yvonne Lefébure, "Véracité d'un art," *La Revue Musicale* 17 (1936): 112-3.
[45] Everett Vernon Boyd, "Paul Dukas and the impressionist milieu: stylistic assimilation in three orchestral works" (PhD diss. University of Rochester, 1980), 14-5. The original German text can be found in George Favre, "Dukas, Paul," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1949-79), III, col. 917.
[46] Dukas even forbid pictures to be taken of him (cf. Favre, *Correspondance*, 70: "[...] but I am absolutely rebellious to the lens and I am resolute in keeping the principles I have always admitted until today regarding the publicity given to my portrait.").
[47] Everett Vernon Boyd, "Paul Dukas and the impressionist milieu: stylistic assimilation in three orchestral works" (PhD diss., University of Rochester, 1980).
[48] Simon-Pierre Perret and Marie-Laure Ragot, *Paul Dukas* (Paris: Fayard, 2007).
[49] These adjectives come from Manuela Schwartz, *Vincent d'Indy et son Temps* (Sprimont (Belgique): Mardaga, 2006). In her introduction she pleads for a collective effort to renew the scholarship's perception of d'Indy.
[50] Here is an example from Fauré: "You know how I hate to act like d'Indy, the dogmatic, the apostle [...]." Anne Bongrain and Yves Gérard, *Le Conservatoire de Paris: des menus-plaisirs à la Cité de la musique* (Paris: Buchet-Chastel, 1999), 231.

Vincent d'Indy was born March 27th 1851. His mother died during childbirth, leaving his grandmother Thérèse to raise him and give him his first piano lessons. As a child, his two biggest passions were music and soldiers. The former led him to Henri Duparc, a pupil of Franck, who introduced d'Indy to Wagner and Bach. The latter gave less fortunate results: he enrolled in the French army during the Franco-Prussian war, and resigned after the disastrous sortie of 1871. He went on to study law at the Sorbonne, but a year later his grandmother died, motivating d'Indy's desire to write music and subsequently quit jurisprudence.[51]

D'Indy took an early score of a string quartet to César Franck. Although he saw many flaws in the work, Franck asked d'Indy to audit his organ class at the Conservatoire, which was, as was noted earlier, more compositional and improvisational than technical. D'Indy officially joined the class in 1874, though he was not an exceptional performer. He lived in the same building as his friend Duparc, who he held soirees where the young d'Indy would meet Fauré, Messager and Chausson. D'Indy and Duparc became joint secretaries of the Société Nationale in 1876. It was during that eventful year that d'Indy went to Bayreuth to hear Wagner's *Ring* cycle, a musical revelation to him, and influential on his first major work, *Wallenstein*. His next compositions gained him increasing fame until he achieved a kind of coronation with *Le Chant de la cloche*, a public work that won him the *Grand prix de la ville de Paris* in 1885. Its execution at the Concerts Lamoureux the following year was a complete success, as was the performance of his first symphony, *Symphonie sur un chant montagnard français* (*Symphonie Cévenole*). D'Indy also precipitated the crisis that caused Saint-Saëns's resignation as president of the Société Nationale. He would officially take his seat in 1890, already working meanwhile as if he was in place.[52]

The *Société des Chanteurs de St-Gervais* was created in 1891; Guilmant was president, and d'Indy, André Pirro and Charles Bordes were on the society's committee. The main goal of the *Chanteurs* was to revive Renaissance music. Their popular performances at masses created quite an impression on Debussy and Mallarmé, among others. The idea of founding the Schola Cantorum came out of the *Chanteurs*'s desire to cleanse liturgical music of Italian influence (or what they considered Jewish traits). D'Indy in particular was eager to try out new teaching methods that would surpass the Conservatoire's, whose recent reform

[51] Most biographers (Vallas, Thomson) argue that it is thanks to his grandmother's inheritance that d'Indy could quit law; this argument has been refuted in Catherine de Medicis' thesis: Catrena Flint de Médicis, "The Schola Cantorum, early music, and French political culture" (PhD diss., McGill University, 2006), 93-5.
[52] Michel Duchesneau, *L'avant-guarde musicale à Paris de 1871 à 1939* (Paris: Mardaga, 1997), 26.

was disappointing to him.[53] The Schola Cantorum was founded in 1894, around the time of Alfred Dreyfus's arrest, and the school itself began its activities in 1896.[54] D'Indy, thoroughly shaken by the Dreyfus Affair, stood against the Jewish general and joined the *Ligue de la Patrie Française* in 1898. His political opinions did not seem to influence his friendships, as his continued good relationships with the Jewish Dukas, Octave Maus and openly anti-Dreyfusard Albéric Magnard show. The Schola Cantorum contributed significantly to the early music revival movement.[55]

D'Indy's involvement with the Schola Cantorum did not prevent him from pursuing his career as composer and champion of French music. The premiere of his opera *Fervaal* (1897) was a complete success though it raised doubts concerning how much space Wagner's influence might occupy in French composition. His next opera (*L'Étranger,* 1903) and orchestral piece *Jour d'été à la montagne* (1905) secured his place among the greatest French composers of the time.

The success of the Schola Cantorum enabled d'Indy and Bordes to move the school in 1900 to its current location, in an old monastery building.[56] The institution's popularity inspired critics to pit it against the national institution, the Conservatoire. Despite the critics' thirst for quarrel, neither school encouraged rivalries.[57] When Fauré took over directorship of the Conservatoire, he based some of his reforms on the Schola Cantorum's curriculum.[58] D'Indy became director of the Schola Cantorum in 1904, because of a serious stroke Bordes suffered in November 1903. D'Indy also simultaneously learnt that the Schola Cantorum was financially precarious. With the help of Maus, he turned it around, retaining directorship until his death, adding to his teaching duties a conducting class at the Conservatoire in 1912.

D'Indy was happy during the Great War, certain both of its necessity and its outcome. After the war, he managed to finish an anti-Jewish drama (*drame anti-juif*), *La Légende de St-Christophe,* which premiered in 1920 in Paris. The monetary inflation that occurred in the 1920s forced d'Indy to take conducting tours, considerably reducing his compositional output.

---

[53] He was part of a committee whose goal was to revitalize the Conservatoire's antiquated curriculum, but his recommendations were rejected (Thomson, *Vincent d'Indy*, 82).
[54] Ibid., 84.
[55] Catrena Flint de Medicis's work on the Schola Cantorum concerts is most informative regarding the Schola Cantorum's contribution to that movement.
[56] The Schola Cantorum was at first at the corner of Stanislas and Montparnasse; the actual adress is 269 St-Jacques Street (Thomson, *Vincent d'Indy*, 84 and 116).
[57] As suggested by the sharing of teachers (Guilmant from 1896 to 1911, and even d'Indy in 1912). However, some events might hint otherwise, like Dubois's interdiction for the Conservatoire's students to go attend the Schola Cantorum's concerts. Fulcher, *French cultural politics*, 55.
[58] These reforms are detailed in Bongrain, 219-59 (Jean-Michel Nectoux, "Gabriel Fauré au Conservatoire de Paris: une philosophie de l'enseignement" and Gail Hilson Woldu, "Le Conservatoire et la Schola Cantorum: une rivalité absolue?)

He hardened his stance towards new music, harshly criticizing the music of Schönberg, Satie, Milhaud, Korngold, and Varèse.[59] He continued to compose, teach, conduct and write criticism until his death in 1931, although his students seemed to think he was blessed with eternal life.[60]

As perhaps the most prominent member of Franck's circle and a fervent Wagnerite, d'Indy's writing style is influenced by these two composers. His music is charged with chromaticism and appoggiaturae which often cover up the underlying harmonies. While he does not hesitate to use unconventional expressive means in his works, such as the whole tone scale, the structure of his pieces is always crystal clear. Thematic structure is of the utmost importance to him, and many of his works involve cyclic themes.

A recent desire to destroy the myths surrounding d'Indy's character has resulted in renewed interest in the composer. Of the biographies by Thomson[61] and Demuth,[62] Thomson's is the most insightful. Jann Pasler re-evaluated all the prejudices against d'Indy in her "Deconstructing d'Indy"; as much of the literature about early twentieth century France is filled with false opinions, Pasler's work is helpful for the uninitiated.[63] The reception of d'Indy's music is treated in several sources including studies by Suschitzky[64], Ross[65] and Huebner.[66] D'Indy's pedagogical theories and opinions on various composers are collected in his three volumes of *Cours de composition musicale*;[67] also of value is his correspondence, recently published.[68] Catrena Flint de Médicis's thesis on the Scola Cantorum is very extensive and will most likely answer any question one might have on d'Indy's music institution.[69]

---

[59] Some amusing quotes can be found in Thomson, *Vincent d'Indy*, chapter 12 (195).
[60] Alice Gabeaud, *Auprès du maître Vincent d'Indy: souvenirs des cours de composition* (Paris: Éditions de la Schola Cantorum, 1933), 33.
[61] Andrew Thomson, *Vincent d'Indy and his world* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).
[62] Norman Demuth, *Vincent d'Indy, 1851-1931: champion of classicism, a study* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1974).
[63] Jann Pasler, "Deconstructing d'Indy, or the problem of a composer's reputation," *19th-Century Music* 30/3 (2006): 230-56.
[64] Anya Suschitzky, "*Fervaal*, *Parsifal*, and French national identity," *19th-Century Music* 25/2-3 (Fall-Spring 2001-2): 237-65.
[65] James Ross, "D'Indy's *Fervaal*: reconstructing French identity at the *Fin de siècle*," *Music & Letters* 84/2 (2003): 209-40.
[66] Steven Huebner, *French opera at the fin-de-siècle: Wagnerism, nationalism and style* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).
[67] Vincent d'Indy, Auguste Sérieyx and Guy de Lioncourt, *Cours de composition musicale*, 3 vol. (Paris: Durand et fils, 1912 and 1950).
[68] Vincent d'Indy, *Ma vie: journal de jeunesse, correspondance familiale et intime 1851-1931* (Paris: Séguier, 2001).
[69] Catrena Flint de Médicis, "The Schola Cantorum, early music, and French political culture" (PhD diss. McGill University, 2006).

CLAUDE DEBUSSY (1862-1918)

If there is a relative lack of literature on the four composers seen so far, such paucity is certainly not the case for the next two. Debussy and Ravel both became the recognized leaders of French music during their lifetimes. The novelty of their music at the beginning of the twentieth century drew much attention, and they certainly gave a breath of fresh air to the French music scene. Debussy in particular, with his operatic masterpiece *Pelléas et Mélisande*, was considered by many as the antidote to Wagner. Many music historians take him as starting point for twentieth century music, considering him one of the first composers to write outside of the boundaries of tonally functional music and to use chords for their colour and timbre. His music was revolutionary in its use of whole-tone scales, parallel chords, pentatonic and Greek modes, amongst many other innovations. Despite the novel aspect of his compositions, Debussy also strove to revitalize the baroque French *declamation*, a concern apparent in his aforementioned opera.

Although books on Debussy abound, the latest bibliographical resource on him is Briscoe's *Claude Debussy: a Guide to research*, published in 1990.[70] While plenty of biographies exist, one can isolate three significant contributions that offer a thorough knowledge of his life and times. The earliest of the three is by Vallas, whose thoroughness is at times offset by his biases.[71] Dietschy's biography of Debussy is thirty years younger and was translated in 1990 by William Ashbrook and Margaret G. Cobb. Edward Lockspeiser, author of the third monograph, claims to fill two important gaps left by the others: establishing links between music and other art forms in early twentieth century France, and shedding some light on some aspects of Debussy's life that were intentionally covered up by Vallas.[72] The French version of Lockspeiser's book is complemented by Harry Halbreich's analyses that, unfortunately, rarely exceed the boundaries of simple description.[73] The more recent biography written by François Lesure offers an excellent alternative.[74] Debussy's own writings, just like those of Dukas, are a wonderful window to his mind, allowing a better understanding of his character. The various articles and interviews compiled in *M. Croche et autres écrits*[75] as well as the recently published correspondence cover most of the writings.[76]

---

[70] James R. Briscoe, *Claude Debussy: a guide to research* (New York and London: Garland publishing, 1990).
[71] Léon Vallas, *Claude Debussy et son temps* (Paris: A. Michel, 1927).
[72] Edward Lockspeiser, *Debussy, his life, his mind* (New York: MacMillan, 1962).
[73] Edward Lockspeiser and Harry Halbreich, *Claude Debussy* (Paris: Fayard, 1980).
[74] François Lesure, *Claude Debussy: Biographie critique* (Paris [?]: Klincksieck, 1994).
[75] Debussy, Claude, *Monsieur Croche et autres écrits* (Paris: Gallimard, 1971).
[76] François Lesure and Denis Herlin, *Claude Debussy: correspondance 1872-1918* (Paris: Gallimard, 2005).

Among the various available stylistic studies, three are important to mention. Goubault's study is impressive for its effective effort to summarize all the innovative aspects of Debussy's music.[77] The other two, edited respectively by Simon Tresize[78] and Jane Fulcher,[79] contain various articles concerning specific aspects of Debussy's work.

Debussy was born in 1862 in the little village of St-Germain-en-Laye. He was admitted to the Paris Conservatoire in 1872, after studying piano with Antoinette Mauté. His teachers quickly saw his musical talent, but failure to bring home first prizes in piano led Debussy to composition. He entered Ernest Guiraud's composition class after a trip to Switzerland and Italy with Nadejda von Meck, Tchaikovsky's benefactor. Because of his modest origins, Debussy was not at ease with the other students, but he got known for his innovative ideas. At the time, the most prestigious prize that a Conservatoire composition student could win was the now defunct *Prix de Rome*,[80] which Debussy entered twice. His first attempt was unsuccessful, but his second won the prize as he deliberately imitated the style of writing expected by the judges.[81] *Prix de Rome* winners were required to stay two years at the *Villa Medicis* in Rome to compose works to be approved by the institute. In Rome, Debussy discovered the works of Palestrina and met Liszt, but he was unhappy to miss important Parisian events: the Paris premieres of Verdi's *Rigoletto*, Reyer's *Sigurd*, Massenet's *Le Cid*, Franck's *Les Djinns*, Chabrier's *La Sulamite* and Victor Hugo's funeral. Debussy became uneasy writing in a style that he did not genuinely feel, and the judges were generally displeased with his *envois*; concerning his cantata *Printemps*, for example, they told him to avoid musical impressionism, a piece of advice that Debussy duly disregarded.

Back in Paris in 1888, Debussy discovered many sources of inspiration. He went to Bayreuth in 1888-9 and fell in love with Wagner's music, but he then struggled to free himself of the German composer's influence. He also attended the 1889 Universal Exposition where the exotic sounds of the Javanese gamelan and oriental music fascinated him. He met Mallarmé in 1890, whose symbolist poetry inspired him to compose his famous *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune* (1894). And he discovered the writings of Poe, who would inspire his unfinished opera *La chute de la maison Usher*, and Maeterlinck, the author of *Pelléas et Mélisande*. Maeterlinck's *La princesse Maleine* interested both d'Indy and Debussy; upon

---

[77] Christian Goubault, *Claude Debussy: la musique à vif* (Paris: Minerve, 2002).
[78] Simon Tresize (ed), *The Cambridge companion to Debussy* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 2003).
[79] Jane Fulcher, *Debussy and his world* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001).
[80] It was abolished in 1968.
[81] The *Prix de Rome* eventually received a lot of criticism for the conservatism of its judges. Famous winners include Berlioz, Massenet, Bizet and Caplet, while successful French composers Saint-Saëns, Dukas and Ravel never won it.

learning of d'Indy's intentions, Debussy abandoned his project and looked for another libretto. Debussy saw *Pelléas* in 1893 and began writing the music of his opera immediately, thrilled by the subject. He got the rights from Maeterlinck by the end of the year and finished his first draft in 1895. He waited a further seven years to have it played at the *Opéra-Comique*. The premiere of *Pelléas* propelled its composer to fame; the novelty of the music and prosody did not please everyone, but it embodied so many French qualities that it became a landmark of French musical history. Debussy became Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur in 1904.

After *Pelléas*, Debussy became an influential figure in France, and he began actively promoting the qualities of French music. He had already begun writing for the *Revue blanche* in 1901 under the pseudonym of *M. Croche* and he continued to write criticism to promote his musical views that often went against popular consensus. Although his voice was certainly heard more often, Debussy lost many friends because he left his first wife Lilly Texier for Emma Bardac, whom he married in 1908. He became increasingly secluded, working hard to pay off his mounting debts. He turned to conducting for the first time in 1908, giving *La mer* a better reception than it had secured at its premiere three years earlier. He continued composing during these years, producing such masterworks as the *Images* for piano (1905 and 1907) and for orchestra (1905-12), the first book of *Préludes* (1909-12) and, the piece in discussion here, *Sur le nom d'Haydn* (1909). Two entries in his correspondence refer to the Haydn piece, of which he did not seem to be particularly proud: "Dear friend, this piece is an *homage to Haydn*, it is even its only purpose on earth or in any other planet!" and "My thanks to J. Haydn — this [piece] will go up in flames, and that's something."[82] Just like Hahn and Ravel, Debussy met Diaghilev in the early 1910's and collaborated with him on two projects: the staging of *Prélude à l'Après-midi d'un faune,* whose *osée* choreography by Nijinsky appalled the Parisian crowd, and *Jeux*, whose reception got lost in the *Rite of Spring* scandal. In 1913, Debussy started writing for the *RSIM*. During the war, symptoms of rectal cancer became more acute, leading to his death in 1918.

[82] Debussy, *Correspondance*, 1227 and 1240.

MAURICE RAVEL (1875-1937)

> "I was born in Ciboure, a township in the Lower Pyrenees next to St-Jean-de-Luz, on March 7 1875. My father, originally from Versoix, on the shore of lake Geneva, was a civil engineer. My mother belonged to an old Basque family. At the age of three months, I left Ciboure for Paris, where I have lived ever since."[83]

This comes from Ravel's autobiography, one of many written documents by the French composer. Many composers (and certainly the other five composers of the Haydn homage) are not keen to analyze their own works; Ravel, however, is a welcome exception. Orenstein's *Ravel Reader* is packed with letters, interviews, articles and analyses, all by Ravel himself. The *Reader* also reveals Ravel's modernist explorations, with his articles on finding tunes in factories and treating jazz just as seriously as contemporary classical music. For information beyond his own writings, Zank's *Maurice Ravel: A Guide to Research* provides researchers with a valuable source for more details on Ravel and his music, and unlike Briscoe's guide for Debussy, is far more up to date (2005).[84] The best biography available is Marnat's, in French,[85] though anglophone readers can resort to Nichols's 1977 book that still provides useful information.[86] As was the case for Debussy, the *Cambridge Companion* is an interesting resource to learn about Ravel's style.[87] In the context of the present research, however, Goubault's *Jardin féérique* has been an invaluable asset, discussing aspects of pastiche and homage.[88]

Although Ravel does use stylistic elements that are also commonplace in Debussy's works, his compositions differ in many significant ways. The most important difference is the functionality of Ravel's harmony. His chords are enriched with dissonances (he was particularly fond of the ninth and eleventh sonorities), but they usually work within a conventional tonal context. His intricate writing style results in formally clean-cut works. He frequently uses exceptional techniques to attain a given effect, for example the metronomes at the beginning of *L'heure espagnole*.

Ravel's formal training began with his admission in the Conservatoire in 1889. Initially enrolled as a piano student, he quit in 1895 after failing to win more than a single first prize (in piano in 1891). Like Debussy, he turned to composition and returned to the

---

[83] Arbie Orenstein, *A Ravel reader: correspondence, articles, interviews* (New York : Columbia University Press, 1990), 29.
[84] Stephen Zank, *Maurice Ravel: a guide to research* (New York and London: Routledge Music Bibliographies, 2005).
[85] Marcel Marnat, *Maurice Ravel* (Paris: Fayard, 1986).
[86] Roger Nichols, *Ravel* (London: Dent, 1977).
[87] Deborah Mawer, *The Cambridge companion to Ravel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
[88] Christian Goubault, *Maurice Ravel: le jardin féérique* (Paris: Minerve, 2004).

Conservatoire in 1897 to study with Fauré and Gédalge; however, unlike Debussy, Ravel refused to compromise his personal style in order to win the *Prix de Rome*. After five year of failed attempts, he passed the legal age limit (thirty years) for entry. During his fifth failure in 1905, he did not even pass the first round, causing a scandal that shook Paris's musical community. At the time, Ravel had already composed his *String Quartet* and *Jeux d'eau*, both of which had received very favourable receptions at the Société Nationale, and critics thought it was highly irregular that such a good composer did not do better in the country's most important composition contest. The scandal eventually led to Conservatoire director Dubois's resignation, and in the same year the clever publisher Durand swooped in to get exclusivity for all of Ravel's and Debussy's compositions.

In 1907, Ravel wrote *Histoires naturelles*, a work that the audience of the Société Nationale laughed at; critics hated the work, but Diaghilev did not. He met Ravel to set the ground for a future collaborative work, the ballet *Daphnis et Chloé*. Meanwhile, after the fiasco of *Histoires naturelles*, Ravel broke his relation with the Société Nationale and sought to start a new concert society in 1909, the *Société Musicale Indépendante*, as discussed earlier. Between 1905 and 1913, Ravel wrote many of his most celebrated works: *Miroirs*, (1905), *L'heure espagnole* (1907-09), *Gaspard de la nuit* (1908), *Ma mère l'Oye* (1908-11) and the *Valses nobles et sentimentales* (1911-2). He wrote the *Menuet sur le nom d'Haydn* in 1909, as a letter to Écorcheville indicates: "The minuet is tailored. Would you like to stop by my home to try it, or shall I deliver it to yours?"[89]

When war broke out, Ravel was eager to serve his country. He ended up driving an army truck. The war took a toll on him however; he became ill in 1916 and severely depressed when his mother died a year later. To honour all his friends who died during the war, he wrote the *Tombeau de Couperin*, an homage to his fallen comrades and to early French music. In 1920 he was offered the Légion d'Honneur but refused it, creating a scandal. He bought a house away from Paris to recover from his various war traumas, going to Paris only to attend concerts or go to the movies. He completed his second operatic work *L'Enfant et les Sortilèges* with Colette in 1925, the same year he received an homage himself in *RSIM*.

Financial trouble forced Ravel to go on a British and American tour in 1928, giving speeches and conducting his works. He received an honorary doctorate from Oxford during this trip. In 1932, Ravel was involved in a car accident that did not seem to have hurt him too

[89] Orenstein, *Ravel Reader*, 108.

much at first, but ultimately may have provoked the illness causing his death — Wernicke's aphasia. After a brain surgery in December 1937, Ravel passed away.

1.2 The tombeau

Surprisingly, there are not many sources of information about the musical tombeau. Indicative of that state of affairs is the bibliography of Gary Rownd's thesis,[90] which includes mostly articles from Grove's Dictionary.[91] Grove's article itself is brief, giving the literary background of the renaissance tombeau, its evolution through the baroque and revival in late-nineteenth century France. Its bibliography, in turn, focuses on the lute tombeau. The only item from that bibliography that addresses the return of the genre in France is in German.[92]

Gary Rownd's work has been invaluable for this research. His thesis includes an exhaustive descriptive list of all the tombeaux for keyboard, including the Haydn homage. Rownd confirmed that this particular set of tombeaux was the first of its kind published in a French journal since the early music revival. Apart from the list and the review of the tombeau's evolution, Rownd's work also includes an account of its literary origins. That said, as a pianist-scholar his remarks and analyses are invariably more concerned with performance practice than theoretical analysis.

Abbate's "Outside Ravel's tomb" is a *tour-de-force* reflection on the meaning of the tombeau practice.[93] Her thoughts begin with the image of the tomb containing the dead. Musically, it represents the same thing: a tombeau contains the dead musically, only a third party is needed to write it, and yet another to interpret it. She goes on to compare tombeaux with music boxes, which can play music composed by someone who may be dead; the link with Ravel, lover of everything mechanical, is almost self-explanatory. Abbate's analyses include observations on his two operas, *L'enfant et les sortilèges* and *L'heure espagnole*, as well as the *Tombeau de Couperin*.

Neoclassicism peaked later than the date of Haydn's 100th anniversary of death, but its relation to early music and its proximity to the tombeau composition warrants underscoring in this research. Scott Messing's explanation of the theories of influence, alongside musical techniques of reconstitution of earlier forms, provides a new look at works inspired by music

---

[90] Gary R. Rownd, "Musical tombeaux and hommages for piano solo" (DMA diss., University of Kentucky, 1990).
[91] Michael Tilmouth and David Ledbetter: "Tombeau", Grove Music Online ed. L. Macy. Accessed 26 April 2008, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com:80/subscriber/article/grove/music/28084.
[92] C. Goldberg, *Stilisierung als kunstvermittelnder Prozess: die französischen Tombeau-Stücke im 17. Jahrhundert* (Laaber, 1987).
[93] Carolyn Abbate, "Outside Ravel's tomb," *Journal of the American Musicological Society,* 52/3 (Fall 1999):465-530. Chapter 5 of her book *In Search of opera* (185-246) expresses the same ideas as her article.

of the past.[94] Messing's exploration of the roots of neoclassicism takes him to France, as he explains how the early music restoration evolved into neoclassicism.

1.3 Haydn and France

Another aspect of this research involves studying the relationship France had with Haydn from his lifetime to 1910, the year *RSIM* published the homage dedicated to him. Landon's *Haydn, chronicles and works* is an exhaustive resource for many topics regarding Haydn. Its five volumes scrutinize every aspect of Haydn's life, including an account of his correspondence, circumstances surrounding his compositions and significant events of his life. As he never went to France, the chapter dealing with the Paris symphonies is most illuminating regarding his relation with Rameau's homeland.[95]

There are a few important accounts of the rise of Haydn's symphonies in France. The earliest is Lionel de la Laurencie's "L'apparition des oeuvres d'Haydn à Paris" which deals with the early dissemination of Haydn's music (1764-84).[96] The story of Haydn's premature homage is told in an unexpected source: *RSIM*'s Haydn issue that is the object of this study.[97] Katharine Ellis' *Music criticism in nineteenth-century France* devotes a whole chapter on the reception of Haydn, Mozart and Gluck,[98] while Holoman's *La Société des concerts du Conservatoire* reports how much Haydn was played by the Conservatoire's orchestra.[99] His book is nicely complemented by Catherine Massip's chapter on Habeneck.[100] Jeffrey Cooper's *The rise of instrumental music and concerts series in Paris 1828-1871* provides very interesting statistics regarding which composers are favored in orchestral concerts in the French capital.[101]

---

[94] Scott Messing, *Neoclassicism in music: from the genesis of the concept through the Schoenberg/Stravinski polemic* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988).
[95] Howard Chandler Robbins Landon, *Haydn, chronicles and works* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976).
[96] Lionel de la Laurencie, "L'apparition des œuvres d'Haydn à Paris," *La Revue de Musicologie* 13 (1932): 191-205.
[97] [Author unknown], "Haydn et le Conservatoire de Paris," *SIM Revue Musicale Mensuelle* 6/1 (1910): 78-9.
[98] Katharine Ellis, *Music criticism in nineteenth-century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 77-100.
[99] D. Kern Holoman, *The Société des Concerts du Conservatoire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).
[100] Catherine Massip, "Habeneck et la société des concerts du conservatoire: un destin exemplaire," in *Le Conservatoire de Paris: des menus-plaisirs à la Cité de la musique*, ed. Bongrain, Anne and Yves Gérard (Paris: Buchet-Chastel, 1999), 97-131.
[101] Jeffrey Cooper, *The rise of instrumental music and concerts series in Paris 1828-1871* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983).

For the reception of Haydn's music in the fin-de-siècle France, I rely on Goubault's *La critique musicale*, in which he devotes a few pages to that topic.[102] The writings of the contemporary composers featured in *RSIM*'s Haydn homage are of course key in the context of this research; I found opinions on Haydn by Dukas,[103] d'Indy,[104] Debussy,[105] and, indirectly related to this project, Saint-Saëns particularly valuable.[106]

1.4 Musical periodicals in France

It is a strange and somewhat tertiary task to find literature about music literature, evidenced by the few texts that concern French musical periodicals. Fortunately, those that exist are very thorough. Goubault's book on French critics remains one of the best. He covers every type of periodical published in France from the early nineteenth century to the Second World War. Goubault's descriptions include assessments of the periodicals' founders, writers, style of writing and goals, and political stance. He also paints faithful portraits of those he considers the most important critics of the fin-de-siècle.[107] His analysis of the critics' role in French cultural life is insightful and revealing. It largely supersedes Machabey's previous work on the subject.[108] Another great overview of French periodicals is Vincent's article, which covers the most important publications from nineteenth and twentieth century.[109] He includes reviews that are more contemporary, such as the *Cahiers Debussy* and *Analyse musicale*. His concise history of periodicals constitutes an excellent overview of the topic. Neither Goubault nor Vincent clearly explain the birth of the *RSIM:* I found details about this event in the rare book *Le tombeau de Jules Écorcheville* —a tombeau for the commissioner of tombeaux—which contains three small texts written by Écorcheville's close friends.[110]

Katharine Ellis's *Music criticism in nineteenth-century France* is a superb review of the critics featured in the *Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris*. It provides extremely useful information about the journals of the mid-nineteenth century. Moreover, it also uses the

---

[102] Christian Goubault, *La critique musicale dans la presse française de 1870 à 1914* (Genève-Paris: Slatkine, 1984), 314-21.
[103] Paul Dukas, *Chroniques musicales sur deux siècles 1892-1932* (Paris: Stock musique, 1948).
[104] Vincent d'Indy and Auguste Sérieyx, *Cours de composition musicale,* vol. 2 (Paris: Durand et fils, 1912). According to my examination of his published correspondence, d'Indy has not written any opinion on Haydn in his letters.
[105] Claude Debussy, *Monsieur Croche et autres écrits* (Paris: Gallimard, 1971).
[106] Scott Fruewald, "Saint-Saëns's views on music and musicians," *International review of the aesthetics and sociology of music* 15/2 (Dec. 1984): 159-74.
[107] These critics are Claude Debussy, Paul Dukas, Jean Marnold, Henri Gauthier-Villars (Willy), Romain Rolland and Jacques Rivière.
[108] Armand Machabey, *Traité de la critique musicale* (Paris: Richard Masse, 1947).
[109] François Vincent, "Le parcours historique des revues musicales," *La revue des revues*, 2 (1986): 44-51.
[110] Louis Laloy, Lionel de la Laurencie and Émile Vuillermoz, *Le tombeau de Jules Écorcheville suivi de lettres inédites* (Paris: Dorbon-Aimé, 1916).

writer's reviews of concerts to assess the reception of various composers at the time, including Haydn and Beethoven. She thus presents another aspect of this period that nicely complements that by Goubault.

1.5 French society, culture and politics

The literature cited in chapter three of this thesis concerning the French struggle for musical originality at the beginning of the twentieth century is very large. Within this body of literature several items emerge as vital to obtaining a good grasp on this very complex topic. Two books summarize the situation of fin-de-siècle France very well: Faure's[111] and Brody's.[112] Both give accurate descriptions of all the elements that contributed to the French search for musical identity. Brody's chapter on Wagner and France is of particular interest. Huebner's work on French opera is essential for developing an understanding of the various aspects of the reception of late nineteenth century opera, and also to grasp the political implications of the French music scene.[113] The input of Jann Pasler is also of great value, as she clarifies many misconceptions that surrounded this epoch. Particularly noteworthy are her chapter in Samson's *Late Romantic Era*[114] and her article "Deconstructing d'Indy."[115] The former also includes a useful synoptic table presenting the chronology of events that happened in the fields of music, politics, literature, science and fine arts from 1848 to 1914. Fulcher's book on French politics and music needs more caution, as noted earlier; while it provides an interesting view of the French cultural scene examined through a political lens, the factual basis for her accounts are at times suspect.[116] Her article on Charpentier complements her book nicely.[117] Michel Duchesneau is the best source regarding the role of the Société Nationale in the cultural Parisian scene, with both a book[118] and an article[119] devoted to the subject. Also interesting is Nectoux's publication on the relation between the two rival

---

[111] Michel Faure, *Musique et société, du second empire aux années vingt: autour de Saint-Saëns, Fauré, Debussy et Ravel* (Paris: Flammarion, 1985).
[112] Elaine Brody, *Paris, the musical kaleidoscope 1870-1925* (New York: George Braziller, 1987).
[113] Steven Huebner, *French opera at the fin-de-siècle: Wagnerism, nationalism and style* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).
[114] Jann Pasler, "Paris: conflicting notions of progress," in *Late romantic era: from the mid-19th century to World War I*, ed. Jim Samson (Engelwood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1991): 389-416.
[115] Jann Pasler, "Deconstructing d'Indy, or the problem of a composer's reputation," *19th-Century Music* 30/3 (Spring 2007): 230-56.
[116] Jane Fulcher, *French cultural politics and music: from the Dreyfus Affair to the First World War* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
[117] Jane Fulcher, "Charpentier's operatic 'Roman musical' as read in the wake of the Dreyfus Affair," *19th-Century Music* 16/2 (Fall 1992): 161-180.
[118] Michel Duchesneau, L'avant-guarde musicale et ses sociétés à Paris de 1871-1939 (Sprimont: Mardaga, 1997).
[119] Michel Duchesneau, "Maurice Ravel et la Société Musicale Indépendante: 'Projet mirifique de concerts scandaleux'," *La Revue de Musicologie* 80/2 (1994): 251-81.

societies (Société Nationale and Société Musicale Indépendante) and Strasser's on the incorporation of Germanic repertoire in the Société Nationale's concert programs.[120]

The Conservatoire and the Schola Cantorum both play important roles in the cultural life of Paris at the turn of the century. The best references concerning the former are the two books edited by Anne Bongrain and Yves Gérard.[121] These put together unique articles on the different phases of the Conservatoire de Paris's evolution and fill an important gap in the literature about this important institution. The Schola Cantorum, however, is better documented, as has already been noted in our section on Vincent d'Indy (pp. 14-17, above).

A final important aspect of the development of musical style at the fin-de-siècle is the role of music of the past in its genesis. Many of the books already cited prove helpful in retracing the history of early music repertoire in nineteenth century France, but a couple more items help to complement them: Ellis's *Interpreting the musical past* is the definitive reference to understand how early music was perceived by the French,[122] and Charles Paul's article on Rameau and French nationalism describes how early music played a role in the revival of the *goût français* in French repertoire of the turn of the century.[123]

1.6 Analysis strategies

There is an impressive amount of literature that describes the use of analytical techniques to better understand both the post-romantic and classical repertories. An exhaustive list of all these references would of course be impractical to address here. Instead, I will simply enumerate here the references I used to conduct my analyses.

The formal analysis is done using William Caplin's theory of formal functions.[124] Among available approaches to musical form, Caplin's is the most versatile while being able to provide concrete labels to compare formal units. This is certainly due to the theory's concept of hybrid forms that allows the analyst to analyze phrases and then label them rather than the reverse. That is, it is possible to customize the approach for the analysis of romantic repertoire, especially here, where a goal is to find elements of the past in modern works.

---

[120] Michael Strasser, "The Société Nationale and its adversaries: the musical politics of 'L'invasion germanique' in the 1870's," *19th-Century Music*, 24/3 (Spring 2001): 225-51.
[121] Anne Bongrain and Yves Gérard, *Le Conservatoire de Paris: 200 ans de pédagogie* (Paris: Buchet-Chastel, 1999) and Anne Bongrain and Yves Gérard, *Le Conservatoire de Paris: des menus-plaisirs à la Cité de la musique* (Paris: Buchet-Chastel, 1999).
[122] Katharine Ellis, *Interpreting the musical past, early music in nineteenth-century France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).
[123] Paul, Charles B, "Rameau, d'Indy, and French nationalism," *The Musical Quarterly* 58/1 (Jan. 1972): 46-56.
[124] William E. Caplin, *Classical form: a theory of formal functions for the instrumental music of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

The extended harmonies displayed in the works of Dukas and Ravel are based on traditional harmonic practice. Two articles explore alternative ways to analyse them. Schubert's "A new epoch of polyphonic style" explains how the omnibus progression can be adapted in modern works to produce new sequences of chords, going as far as applying his theory to Schönberg's first string quartet.[125] In the other study, Kaminsky explains how to start from simple progressions to build up the dissonant surface chords of which Ravel was so fond.[126] The application of Schenkerian paradigms to Ravel's music can be a challenge, but Kwong's doctoral dissertation (supervised by Matthew Brown) is full of useful information that allows the cautious application of these paradigms to a repertoire for which they were certainly not envisioned.[127]

[125] Peter Schubert, "'A new epoch of polyphonic style': Shoenberg on chords and lines," *Music Analysis* 12/3 (1993): 289-319.
[126] Peter Kaminsky, "Composers' words, theorists' analyses, Ravel's music (sometimes the twain shall meet)," *College Music Symposium* 26/2 (2004): 237-64.
[127] Eddy Kwong Mei Chong, "Extending Schenker's "Neue Musikalische Theorien und Phantasien": towards a Schenkerian model for the analysis of Ravel's music" (PhD diss., University of Rochester, 2002).

II The collective homage: a helping hand from the past

2.1 The 1910 issue of RSIM

Articles about music took a while to appear in French periodicals due to music's perception as inferior to literature before the seventeenth century.[128] The history of the music-critical press began in France with *Le Journal de musique* (1770-7). Its contents were closer to those of a magazine than a scholarly journal, containing biographies of musicians, theoretical articles and accounts of musical events. François-Joseph Fétis's *La Revue musicale* (1827-33) was the first French publication that discussed music as a serious art. Fétis was an erudite scholar with tremendous dedication: he personally wrote every article in his review, amounting to over 8000 pages of text in the end. The rise of romantic music rapidly outdated his opinions, and he left his enterprise to his son Édouard, who retained its original format till 1835, when it merged with *La Gazette musicale* to become the *Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris* (1834-1880).[129] Founded by Maurice Schlesinger, the *Gazette* was the ambassador of the romantics: Berlioz, George Sand, Honoré de Balzac, and Schumann all contributed columns to it. The journal promoted new aesthetics in arts and even encouraged the rise of Wagner towards the end of the nineteenth century. It was opposed in its views by another important publication that emerged in the 1830s: famous editor Jacques Heugel's *Le Ménestrel* (1833-1940).[130] Unlike the *Gazette*, *Le Ménestrel* was known for its defence of traditional French composers such as Massenet and Thomas at the expense of Wagner's innovative music. *Le Ménestrel*, after the demise of the *Gazette* (1880), found its main opposition in *Le Guide musical* (1855-1918), which largely benefited from its fusion with *L'art musical* (1860-94) in 1894. Skilled critics and famous composers wrote for the *Guide*: Arthur Heulhard, Arthur Pougin, Léon Boëllmann, and Ernest Chausson, to name a few. Although the *Guide* stood generally against Wagner, Chausson praised the premiere of *Parsifal* in his review for it. Many other periodicals of lesser importance appeared in the 1870's: *La Chronique Musicale* (1873-6), *Les double-croches malades* (1874), *Le Journal de musique* (1876-82), *La Revue de la musique* (1876), *La Revue du monde musical et dramatique* (1878-84) and *La Renaissance musicale* (1881-3): all bear witness to Paris's intense level of cultural activity.

---

[128] François Vincent, "Le parcours historique des revues musicales," *La Revue des revues*, 2 (Nov. 1986): 44.
[129] For further information on this journal, read Katharine Ellis, *Music criticism in nineteenth-century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
[130] With interruptions in 1870 and 1914 (Goubault, *Critique musicale*, 66).

One of the most important periodicals published in the 1880's is Édouard Dujardin and Houston Stuart Chamberlain's *La Revue Wagnérienne* (1885-8).[131] Its first objective was to explain Wagner's German prose that was beyond the reach of many French listeners. Thanks to its popularity and prominence (it was published during Wagner's rise to fame in France), the *Revue Wagnérienne* "soon became the principal instrument to promote the composer."[132] It found its evolutionary transformation in the writings of Mallarmé and Verlaine, who interpreted certain aspects of Wagner's libretti in line with their symbolist aesthetics. Ironically, it was a collective homage to Wagner that put the journal to death: the two aforementioned poets composed symbolist poems that angered many readers, including Wagnerian conductor Charles Lamoureux. The quarrel that arose between him and Dujardin resulted in the end of the periodical's publication. Other periodicals are also worthy of mention in these years: the *Revue Blanche* (1889-1903), the *Revue Bleue* (1882-1913) and the *Tribune de St-Gervais* (1895-1929). The latter was the mouthpiece of the Schola Cantorum, and carried out the goals of its parent institution with articles about early music.

The birth of the *RSIM* deserves special attention, not only because it is the repository for the Haydn pieces of this thesis, but also because its genesis is complex. It was associated with the *International Musical Society / Société Internationale de Musique* (*SIM*), founded in Berlin in 1899. Jules Écorcheville wanted to improve the poorly represented French Section of the *SIM* by using a journal that already existed, the *Mercure Musical*, and making it the section's official publication. This journal, founded in 1905 by Écorcheville and Louis Laloy, showcased a brilliant writing style executed by the best authors of the time: Willy, Laloy, Romain Rolland, Jean Marnold and Colette to name a few.[133] The affiliation of the *Mercure* with the *SIM* came to maturation on January 15th 1907, bearing the title *Mercure Musical et Bulletin Français de la Société Internationale de Musique (Section de Paris)* and an image of a man playing the gamba on a checker-patterned floor.[134] The journal's rather wordy title underwent many changes in the following years: *Bulletin Français de la S.I.M. Ancien Mercure Musical*, *S.I.M. Revue Musicale Mensuelle*, and finally *Revue musicale S.I.M.* when it merged with Jules Combarieu's *Revue musicale*. In 1894, Combarieu became the first

[131] Houston Stuart Chamberlain married Wagner's daughter Eva on December 27th 1908.
[132] Elaine Brody, *Paris, the musical kaleidoscope 1870-1925* (New York: George Braziller, 1987), 54.
[133] Goubault, *Critique musicale*, 79.
[134] It seems Debussy did not like this picture: "Don't you plan on ridding the cover of S.I.M. of the man who, in a ridiculous costume, plays the cello in the kitchen?" French original in François Lesure and Denis Herlin, *Claude Debussy: correspondance 1872-1918* (Paris: Gallimard, 2005), 1556.

Docteur ès lettres from the Sorbonne to defend a thesis with a topic associated with music.[135] His desire to popularize music history gave birth to *La Revue d'Histoire et de Critique Musicale* (1901-1902) that later changed its name to *Revue Musicale (Histoire et Critique)* (1903-1912). It was not the only periodical absorbed by the *RSIM*; the *Courrier musical* (1898-1914) followed the same path as the *Revue musicale* in 1914, shortly before the *RSIM* stopped its publication with the outbreak of the First World War.

The contents of the *RSIM* were a balanced mixture of historical articles and chronicles about modern music. Along with Écorcheville, its staff of eminent writers included Romain Rolland, Armande de Polignac, Émile Vuillermoz, Joseph Canteloube, Lionel de la Laurencie, Willy and Colette.[136] A handful of correspondents from Munich, London, Monte-Carlo and Nice reported cultural activities from all over Europe. Three of the six composers who participated in the Haydn homage wrote critiques for Paris concerts: Ravel (from February to October 1912 for the Concert Lamoureux), d'Indy (1912 to the end of *RSIM*'s publication, also for the Concert Lamoureux) and Debussy (November 1912 to the end of *RSIM*'s publication, for the Concert Colonne), albeit the last two contributing only sporadically. The review concerned itself with a wide range of topics, going as far as reporting on cabarets and music-halls, traditionally dismissed as being musically and culturally inferior. The First World War put a premature end to the *RSIM*, up until that time one of the most popular music journals in France.

The journal was reborn after the international conflict through Henry Prunières, who had contributed to the defunct *RSIM*. Prunières took the winning formula of the *RSIM* and applied it to a new publication: the *Revue Musicale* (1920-1990). This periodical dominated the tumultuous time between the wars, accompanied by the *Ménestrel* and a few short-lived journals. French artists gradually seemed to favour neoclassicism, and the review became far less polemical than its predecessor. The *Revue musicale* strived to popularize the rising neoclassicism along with the Viennese school's atonal works. The tone of the review provided by Prunières was unique and combined "seriousness, audacity, erudition and dynamism".[137] The journal often emphasized the death of major composers with the organization of collective homages that followed the model of that for Haydn in 1910. Such homages were bestowed for Debussy (1920), Fauré (1922), Albert Roussel (1929, for his 60th birthday),

---

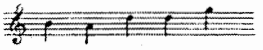
[135] He was followed by Romain Rolland (1895), Maurice Emmanuel (1896), Louis Laloy (1904) and André Pirro (1907). They became the leaders of the early twentieth century musicological French movement (Fulcher, *French cultural politics*, 57)

[136] Goubault, C*ritique musicale*, 80-1.

[137] "Cette alliance rare de sérieux, d'audace, d'érudition, et de dynamisme constituera la formule constante de la revue durant la vingtaine d'années où Prunières la contrôlera." Vincent, "Le parcours historique", 47.

Bach (1932), Dukas (1936), Paderewski (1942), Willem Pijper (1950), Glinka (1957, centennial anniversary of death) and Stravinsky (1967, for his 85th birthday).[138]

The Haydn homage dates from the January 15th 1910 edition of the *RSIM*. It begins with the six compositions, introduced by a title page (*Hommage à Joseph Haydn* with the six composers' names) and the following brief note:

> "These works have been composed using the following theme:  H A Y D N in which the notes *B*, *A*, *D* were given by German musical nomenclature, and the notes *D* and *G* were obtained by putting the letter's alphabetical order over the diatonic series of the sound scale."[139]

Écorcheville added this disclaimer probably because of a letter Saint-Saëns wrote to him. This letter has not been published, but Saint-Saëns' intentions are clearly revealed in another letter he wrote to his former pupil Fauré. He advises Fauré to decline Écorcheville's request to write a piece to honour Haydn's centenary anniversary of death because he feared the wrong use of letter-note correspondences would cause them both to be the laughingstock of Germany.[140] Although there might have been other reasons, this fear of Teutonic ridicule explains why two of the most important French composers of the time are absent from this homage to Haydn.

The six pieces follow the disclaimer, in alphabetical order of the composer's surname: Debussy, Dukas, Hahn, d'Indy, Ravel and Widor. A puzzling picture ornaments the last page of Widor's *Fugue*: a naked woman rides a tiger-like creature that has only two front paws, its rear end finishing with a serpent's tail, splitting in three parts. She has a plate on her right hand which she holds under the beast's muzzle. The picture is annotated: "Head page of Haydn's "*Songs*" (Ed. Breitkopf, 1799)."[141] This icon, retrieved from Breitkopf's earlier French edition of Haydn's Songs, probably portrays a sea-panther and its rider is the sea-nymph Galatea.[142] Ovid's *Metamorphoses* explains her tragic story; her lover Acis is killed by her jealous Cyclops suitor Polyphemus with a rock.[143] She transforms her true love's blood into the river Acis so they could be forever together.[144] The story echoes nicely the tombeau theme: Haydn's memorial river continues to flow in another form thanks to his six

---

[138] Rownd, "Musical Tombeaux", 79-86.
[139] "Ces pièces ont été composées sur le thème suivant: (HAYDN) dans lequel les notes *si, la, ré* ont été fournies par la nomenclature musicale allemande, et les notes *ré, sol* ont été obtenues en appliquant la série alphabétique des lettres à la série diatonique de l'échelle sonore." *SIM Revue Musicale Mensuelle* 6/1 (1910): 2.
[140] The letter will be reproduced *in extenso* later, in the discussion about the letter-note correspondance in the Haydn theme (cf. p.43). This letter's only relevant detail for the present discussion is that the letters Y and N, according to Saint-Saëns, were never translated in letters before.
[141] Frontispice des "*Chansons*" d'Haydn (Ed. Breitkopf de 1799). *SIM Revue Musicale Mensuelle* 6/1 (1910): 16.
[142] Many thanks to Cynthia Leive, David Curtis and Kendall Wallis for helping me with this difficult issue.
[143] George Sandys, *Ovid's Metamorphosis* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970): 594-598.
[144] The story inspired works by Lully (*Acis et Galatée*) and Haendel (*Acis and Galatea*).

compositional admirers, just as Galatea did with transformed Acis. Perhaps Écorcheville's intentions did not run that deep, but the significance of the picture's underlying story seems to indicate some subtlety.

Figure 1: Table of contents of the *Hommage à Haydn* issue of *RSIM* (6/1 1910)

Seven articles follow the compositions (see Figure 1). The first one, "Haydn's iconography", is concerned with the various representations of the Viennese composer through paintings, sculptures and other iconographic images. The second article's topic is ambitious, as its authors claim having found "A forgotten sonata by Joseph Haydn". This sonata (which is actually a sonatina) comes from a piano method authored by Sébastien Demar. Apart from teaching correct keyboard technique, Demar also provides definitions and musical examples for the genres in use in composition at his time. He ends his treatise with three sonatinas: two of his own invention, and the last by G. Haydn. The authors believe it was written around 1766, as they have the same style and form as the ones published by Hugo Riemann in 1763 and 1766. The sonatina in question is represented on pages 38-44 of the journal, but the potential player is likely to find it rather bizarrely structured, as the order of pages are obviously mixed up![145] The authors even thought Haydn put two flats instead of three in the trio's key signature (in C minor) to "annoy the student"![146] Unfortunately for them, the whole sonatina is probably a fake.[147]

The next two articles are more conventional: "Prince Esterhazy's baryton" and "Haydn and Slavic popular music". The first of the two is concerned with the musical instrument played by Prince Esterhazy and for which Haydn had to compose many works.[148] The author describes the manufacturing of the baryton and its compositional particularities. The other article concerns Haydn's Slavic roots, and author William Ritter explains how Haydn used folk song from Hungary in his work. This article echoes the article written for *RSIM* by A. de

[145] The correct order of the sonatina's pages is 38, 43, 44, 41, 42, 39, 40.
[146] "Ce trio est marqué par l'auteur de deux bémols pour contrarier l'élève." Wyzewa, "Sonate oubliée", 41.
[147] The authenticity of certain Haydn works is still a hot debate. Two methods are used to test a work's genuineness: manuscript study or style analysis. Several details in *RSIM*'s sonatina seem to indicate it is counterfeit, but that type of analysis exceeds the scope of the present study. Scott Fruehwald, *Authenticity problems in Joseph Haydn's early instrumental works* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1988), 67-99.
[148] The baryton is a bit like the *viola d'amore*, featuring strings that resonated sympathetically with the ones on which the performer plays.

Bertha on Haydn's actual 100th anniversary of death: she also focused on the importance of Haydn's Hungarian origins.[149]

The fifth article of the homage commences with the following text: "A famous man's skull is always an object of interest and study."[150] Its subject is indeed Haydn's skull, a piece of the composer's anatomy that, according to this article, moved around a lot, even after the rest of his body became inanimate. It seems the skull was removed from Haydn's tomb, and passed through various hands,[151] ending in the *Amis de la musique*'s musical collection. Julius Tandler then proceeded to prove this skull was Haydn's using x-rays and masks moulded on Haydn's face. Scientifically quaint and humorously macabre though it may seem to us today, this article is yet another link to the tombeau theme that opened the anniversary edition.

The last two items of the homage are short, but invaluable in evaluating Haydn's relationships and personality. The first is titled "A letter of Haydn to Ignace Pleyel", displays the deep friendship between the two men. The final article, "Haydn and the Paris Conservatoire", describes a peculiar incident that happened a few years prior to Haydn's death:

> A few days before the coronation of Napoleon the first, a rumour that Haydn was dead was spread in Paris. The Conservatoire decided to give a memorial service in honour of the "God of the Symphony", [...]. Haydn got word of it and was extremely flattered, although a bit surprised, of this premature homage. The news was proven wrong, but the Conservatory was bent on celebrating his Requiem, interpreted it anyway and with success.[152]

The following year, the Conservatory sent Cherubini to deliver an honourific medal to the Viennese master; in fact his symphonies were played every year at the Conservatory. Haydn sent a letter to thank him warmly, going as far as to say that as long as he lived, he would remember the interest and consideration the Conservatory had shown him. [153] The issue of *RSIM* ends with its review of concerts in the previous month of December, opening with this eloquent remark:

---

[149] A. de Bertha, "Joseph Haydn," *SIM Revue Musicale Mensuelle* 5/5 (1909): 439-42.
[150] "Le crâne d'un homme célèbre est toujours un objet d'intérêt et d'étude." Tandler, "Crâne", 69.
[151] Except to that of Prince Esterhazy, who upon his wish to retrieve it got the skull of someone else.
[152] "Quelques jours avant le sacre de Napoléon 1er, le bruit de la mort d'Haydn se répandit dans Paris. Le Conservatoire résolut de faire célébrer un service funèbre en honneur du "Dieu de la Symphonie", [...]. Haydn l'apprit et fut extrêmement flatté de cet hommage prématuré. La nouvelle fut démentie, mais le Conservatoire tenait à son Requiem, l'exécuta quand même et avec succès." "Haydn et le Conservatoire de Paris," *SIM Revue Musicale Mensuelle* 6/1 (1910): 78-9.
[153] This letter, according to the article, was lost. However, the *RSIM* published a facsimile of the letter Cherubini gave to Haydn when he went to give him his medal (79).

> The good *papa Haydn*, this time, relegates our normal agenda. And this is well done. He is so venerable and charming, so familiarly original and grand: and the musical world forgets him really too much, him who was a bit the *papa* of modern music. Let us cut short in his honour, and postpone the concerts [...].[154]

The last two articles of the homage show how much the French people wanted to make Haydn a part of French culture. This association may be extended to the compositions opening the homage: was there an intent to incorporate some stylistic characteristics of Haydn's language into the French homage? Perhaps so, a possibility that should be confirmed by the analysis of the six musical tombeaux in chapter IV.

[154] "Le bon *papa* Haydn cette fois relègue en marge les choses du jour. Et cela est fort bien fait. Il est si vénérable et si charmant, si familièrement original et grand: et le monde musical l'oublie vraiment trop, lui qui fut bien un peu le *papa* de la musique moderne. Faisons donc bref en son honneur, et différons les concerts [...]." "Théâtres et concerts," *SIM Revue Musicale Mensuelle* 6/1 (1910): 80.

2.2 The Bossuet of France

The *RSIM*'s articles I briefly described present several clues about the French relation with Haydn. The articles are not biographies or accounts of his work, as one would expect were he not known by the readers of the *RSIM*, but rather anecdotes and little-known details of his life. Also, the authors use a tone that displays familiarity with the composer that borders on intimacy, instead of reverence or pompousness. In order to confirm this assumption, we need to examine Haydn's relation to the French people, critics and composers.

Despite never having traveled to France, Haydn was already well-known in the country during his lifetime. He was 32 years old when six of his quartets were announced in the *Affiches, annonces et avis divers*.[155] It is at the *Concert spirituel* in 1773 that one of his symphonies (No.24 in *D* major Hob I:24) was played for the first time. From that date on, the Parisian public saw Haydn's symphonies on concert programs with increasing frequency. The critics almost always praised the composer, reserving occasional negative comments for the performers. The French public welcomed the Viennese master's orchestral works with enthusiasm. By the 1780's, Haydn's symphonies had become extremely popular in France: "[...] numerous publishing houses — among them Guera in Lyon, Siber, Boyer, Le Duc and Imbault in Paris, etc. — issued every new symphonic work by Haydn as soon as they could lay hands on a copy."[156] The frenzy for Haydn's works was so intense that illegal copies and forged scores were regularly sold as authentic. The Comte d'Ogny, extremely fond of Haydn's music, requested the Viennese master write six new symphonies to be performed by the *Concert de la loge Olympique*. Haydn agreed and sent him the symphonies, now known as the Paris Symphonies (82-87). He would also send him symphonies 90-92, personally dedicating the last two to d'Ogny.[157] The Paris symphonies were played for the first time in 1787, with an entranced Cherubini in the violin section.

Further proof of the Parisians' love for Haydn was exposed earlier in the premature posthumous homage the Conservatoire paid to him in 1804. Cherubini even composed a *Chant sur la mort d'Haydn* for three soloists and orchestra: thus Haydn's first tombeau was written before his death.[158] The Italian composer loved Haydn's music so much he requested that every year the national institution's students play at least one of the Viennese master's

---

[155] Laurencie, Lionel de la, "L'apparition des oeuvres d'Haydn à Paris," *La Revue de Musicologie* 13/44 (1932): 191.
[156] Howard Chandler Robbins Landon, *Haydn, chronicles and works*, vol.2 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976), 447.
[157] He also sent the three symphonies to another patron, Krafft-Ernst.
[158] D. Kern Holoman, *The Société des Concerts du Conservatoire* (University of California Press, 2004), 145.

symphonies. To be sure, the *Société des Concerts*[159] made sure "Haydn was heard on every concert, and Mozart nearly as often, with the 'Military' symphony of the former and the *G* minor symphony [K550] of the latter favourites of the era."[160]

If the public's love for orchestral works of Haydn was well established, some critics thought his music was not romantic enough. Berlioz was among the anti-Haydn critics, often writing in the *Journal des débats* about his boredom listening to Haydn's work.[161] He even left on one occasion during a Haydn symphony, which was preceded by the Scythian chorus from Gluck's *Iphigénie en Tauride,* apparently because he needed time to recover from the intense pleasure the Gluck excerpt gave him. Berlioz's struggle as a composer to have the Parisian crowd accept his romantic works, which were indebted to Beethoven's symphonies, perhaps explains his behaviour. Berlioz's perceived lack of passion in Haydn's works irked him, and he often voiced his annoyance at the French's preference of Haydn over Beethoven. Ellis explains this: "To a public still grappling with Beethoven, Haydn's order and refinement was a source of relaxation and relief, and may indeed have been intended as a palliative."[162] Even when Beethoven won the heart of the French music-loving crowd, Haydn remained that haven of order and purity that countered the anarchy of romanticism (whose paroxysm was personified by Wagner). French theorist Jérôme-Joseph de Momigny, in his *Cours complet de l'Harmonie et de composition*, compares Haydn's phrase structure to Bossuet's refined literary style, hence the nickname the musical *Bossuet of France.*[163] A critic in the *Mercure de France*, as early as 1779, foresaw what was going to happen:

> Haydn's symphony, with which the concert began, was very well performed, and generally pleased. This charming composer, by the brilliance, the gracefulness, the novelty of his ideas, found the way to cover himself with glory and to place himself in first place in a genre that the Great Masters of his country, the Stamitz, the Toeschi, etc. seemed to have exhausted; because it must be agreed that we owe to Germany the best symphonic composers [...]."[164]

The critics began to judge the high classical masters in new terms during the Second French Empire (1852-71), no longer criticizing their lack of passion (in the case of Haydn and

---

[159] The *Société des Concerts* was an orchestra constituted of students from the Conservatoire. Its concert tickets were cheaper than professional concerts, contributing to its popularity. Officially, it is still in operation nowadays as the Orchestre de Paris/Société des concerts.
[160] Holoman, *Société des Concerts*, 10.
[161] Ellis, *Music criticism*, 83-5.
[162] Ibid., 84.
[163] Mark Evans Bonds, *Wordless rhetoric: musical form and the metaphor of the orator* (Cambridge: Harvard U. Press, 1991), 135.
[164] La Symphonie d'Hayden, par laquelle le Concert a commencé, a été fort bien exécutée, & a plû généralement. Ce charmant compositeur, par le brillant, la grâce, la nouveauté de ses idées, a trouvé l'art de se couvrir de gloire & de se placer au premier rang dans un genre que les Grand-Maîtres de son pays, les Stamitz, les Toeschi, &c. sembloient avoir épuisé; car il faut convenir que c'est à l'Allemagne qu'on doit les meilleurs Compositeurs Symphonistes [...]." Landon, *Haydn*, 591.

Mozart) but rather deploring their popularity over new French music. Over ninety percent of the works the *Société des concerts* performed were written by Haydn, Mozart or Beethoven.[165] The situation was not any different for the other major concert society, Pasdeloup's *Concerts populaires*: the conductor quickly understood that the German masters sold better than new unknown French works.[166] Haydn remained in concert programs even after the Franco-Prussian war, and his popularity never significantly waned until the twentieth century. Haydn was thus in a strange position: he pleased the French audience, yet he hindered the blooming of French music. For the purpose of this study, however, the initial proof is convincing enough: Haydn was beloved both by the French crowd and critics during the nineteenth century.

The critics and composers' writings about Haydn in the twentieth century display a wide array of different opinions. Here is a bleak quote from Saint-Saëns:

> Two or three symphonies, rarely and perfunctorily executed, that's all the present generation knows of Joseph Haydn's immense repertory, which is the same as saying it knows nothing of Haydn's music, being full of misconceptions.[167]

Jean Marnold, in 1905, while admitting that Haydn's music is well written, states plainly it fell out of favour:

> His [Haydn's] naïve melodies show an archaism a tad oldish though charming or spirited, an emotion as quiet as a smile, an easy thought, light, sometimes slight, but his concise polyphony is just as relaxed as it is solid and its sequence unrolls with the imperturbable security of a syllogism — full of all the consequences we've had since. Of course, we could not bear listening to too much of this music which delighted our grandmothers.[168]

In the same year, Lalo reports that the public reacted coldly to a performance of Haydn's *Symphony in D*. Martial Douël found *The Creation* obsolete and disconcerting two years later. Perhaps the young French composers, through the Société Nationale, succeeded in getting the public to enjoy romantic music: this would be confirmed by Beethoven's enduring popularity in the French concert halls. It is also possible that the interpretation of Mozart and Haydn was not to the taste of the French of the *belle*

---

[165] Jeffrey Cooper, *The rise of instrumental music and concert series in Paris 1828-1871* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983), 36.

[166] Pasdeloup's first concert society, the *Société des jeunes artistes du Conservatoire* was more open to original French repertoire. Élisabeth Bernard, "Jules Pasdeloup et les concerts populaires," *Revue de Musicologie* 57/2 (1971): 154-5.

[167] "Deux ou trois symphonies, rarement et distraitement exécutées, voilà tout ce que la génération actuelle connaît de l'œuvre immense de Joseph Haydn, ce qui revient à dire qu'elle ne la connaît pas et s'en fait l'idée la plus fausse." Camille Saint-Saëns, *École buissonnière: notes et souvenirs* (Paris: P. Lafitte et cie., 1913), 190.

[168] "Sa mélodie naïve accuse un archaïsme assez vieillot quoique charmant ou spirituel, une émotion discrète autant que le sourire, une pensée facile, légère, menue parfois, mais sa polyphonie concise est aussi désinvolte que solide et son enchaînement se déroule avec l'imperturbable sécurité d'un syllogisme — gros de toutes les conséquences que nous connûmes depuis. Évidemment on ne pourrait plus abuser de cette musique à quoi se délectaient nos grand'mères." Goubault, *Critique musicale*, 317.

époque. Dukas thought the execution of Mozart and Haydn should be different from Beethoven or contemporary music: it should not aim to make an impression on the public.[169]

If the French music-lovers seem to abandon Haydn for modern music, what about the six composers who paid him homage in 1910? Dukas defends Haydn tooth and nail:

> The peace of mind it [the *Seasons*] expresses is far however from being priceless and I love its simplicity and ingenious grace. Especially since, having borne in his chest a pure heart, the good Haydn has not been less of a man with a true genius, a musician like the history of our art has scarcely a dozen for the fertility of invention, mastery of writing [mise en oeuvre] and naturalness of expression.[170]

Debussy did not write much about Haydn, but Mozart's name is found more often in his writings. Like Dukas and d'Indy, Debussy is fond of Mozart: "Ah! How unfortunate Mozart is not French… we would imitate him more."[171] Hahn's love of Mozart is also well known, as his study of *Don Juan* and his opera *Mozart* would indicate.

Overall, Haydn's relationship with the French people had always been positive and harmonious, and remained especially so during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Critics who promoted romantic music thought his music lacked passion, but its neatness and formal qualities pleased the French soul. After the Franco-Prussian war, however, French music lovers got to know the music of the rising young French school and of Wagner, and their perception of Haydn's music changed: it did not carry as much emotion as modern music. They still enjoyed Haydn's works, but they more frequently turned to something else, something new. Perhaps Écorcheville sensed this and wanted to renew their interest in the composer with his homage.

---

[169] Dukas, *Chroniques*, 38.

[170] "La tranquillité d'âme qu'elle exprime est loin pourtant d'être sans prix et j'en aime, pour ma part, la candeur et la grâce ingénieuse. D'autant que, pour avoir porté dans sa poitrine un cœur pur, le bon Haydn n'en a pas moins été un homme d'un génie véritable, un musicien comme l'histoire de notre art en compte à peine une douzaine pour la fertilité de l'invention, la maîtrise de la mise en œuvre et le naturel de l'expression." Dukas, *Chroniques musicales*, 59-60.

[171] "Ah! Quel dommage que Mozart ne soit pas français [sic]… on l'imiterait davantage." Debussy, *M. Croche*, 243.

2.3 There and back again: a short history of the French tombeau

Let us now turn back to *tombeau* itself, a word bearing much significance and metaphor. The nomenclature of the tombeau genre comprises a myriad of terms that differentiate themselves mainly by the intent of the author, by his origin, and by the status of the honouree (alive or dead). Composers used these terms as titles for various works honouring someone, and giving elaborate definitions for each type exceeds the scope of this study.[172] I do want, though, to review the genre's origins and the setting for its twentieth century French revival.

The tombeau genre was born in the same country that revived it three centuries later, France, and also in the same manner, by collective authorship. In the Renaissance, the tombeau was designed to honour, by means of a collection of poems, exceptional people who had passed away. Among the best-known of tombeaux from that period is that for Ronsard in 1586, in which 25 poems were read following a requiem mass written for the occasion by Ronsard's friend Jacques Mauduit. Since music was already part of the funeral ritual, a musical tombeau naturally evolved out of the poetic form. The oldest record of such a composition was by *le vieux Gaultier*, Ennemond, who entitled his work *Tombeau de Mésangeau* (1638). It was composed for lute, the instrument of choice for the genre for many decades. Numerous composers followed suit and the lute tombeau became extremely popular in the 1680's. It did not take long for this honourific genre to encompass other instruments as well: harpsichord, bass viol, organ and their later equivalents (piano, guitar and small ensembles). Among the composers who wrote tombeaux for the harpsichord, Johann Jakob Froberger and Louis Couperin stand out for their expressive qualities. Tombeaux continued to be written fairly often until 1791, with Jean-Philippe-Auguste Lemière's *Tombeau de Mirabeau le patriote* for piano. After that work, however, and until 1917 (Ravel's *Tombeau de Couperin*), composers stopped using the word "tombeau" in their titles without any apparent reason (or at least no record exists of its use).[173] It also seems odd that the Haydn homage was not explicitly defined as a tombeau; a topic to which I will return shortly.

The Haydn project marked a new beginning for the tombeau in France. Perhaps inspired by the early music revival which was then in full swing, the Haydn project also

---

[172] Rownd's thesis goes to great lengths giving definitions for the following terms: dirge, epicedium, lament, nenia, planctus, threnody, threnos, apothéose, déploration, dump, élégie and plainte. His following categorization of musical tribute is more a list of possible features homages can display than an effective classification system, which is why I did not report it here. Rownd, "Musical tombeaux", 14-20.

[173] Ibid, 57.

constituted the return of the collective homage. The tombeau in its primary literary form also came back in 1916, when Jules Écorcheville, an eminent musicologist who was responsible for founding the French section of the Société internationale de musique[174] and the *RSIM,* died a hero during the Great War. His friends Émile Vuillermoz, Louis Laloy and Lionel de la Laurencie each wrote an elegy and published it privately: a modest yet sincere revival of the old tombeau tradition. The collective musical tombeau would find its prime vehicle in Henry Prunières's *Revue Musicale*, premiering in 1920 with a *Tombeau de Claude Debussy*.[175] Four additional cooperative homages were published afterwards in the same journal: *Hommage à Gabriel Fauré* (1922), *Hommage à Albert Roussel* (1929), *Hommage à J.S. Bach* (1932) and *Tombeau de Paul Dukas* (1936). The last named is the last tombeau published in the *Revue Musicale*, and it is fitting that it contains both a literary part (where a large number of his admirers wrote tributes) and a musical part.

RSIM's editors were careful in picking *tombeau* or *hommage* as title. According to the list above, "tombeau" refers only to someone who passed away recently. In the case of Bach and Haydn, although both were obviously long gone at the time of the tribute, *RSIM* chose the word *hommage*, which does not bear the sense of mourning associated with *tombeau*. Ravel's *Tombeau de Couperin* fits both categories: it is an homage because Couperin's death occurred 174 years before its composition, but it is also a tombeau, for Ravel honoured not only Couperin through this work, but also seven of his friends who died in World War I. The subtle distinction between the tombeau and the homage should have a repercussion on the music itself: the tombeau's main musical feature should be its sombre mood, while the homage should be the remembrance of the honouree's character.

The baroque tombeau expressed the author's sorrow through various musical means: a slow tempo, dotted rhythm, free declamation, descending figures in the bass, chromaticism, abrupt modulation and dissonances brought by suspensions and pedal points.[176] In the modern French tombeau, the sombre mood is preserved: all the pieces of the *Tombeau de Paul Dukas,* for example, are slow-paced and soft (except Messiaen's, which is *fortissimo* throughout), and some even feature ostinati or pedal points (Schmitt's and Rodrigo's). Musically, the *Tombeau*

---

[174] The Société internationale de musique was founded in 1899 to give access to better tools for the study of the history of music, a discipline Écorcheville recognized the German were better equipped for than the French. His founding of the *RSIM* along with Louis Laloy allowed the French section to get its own publication in French, freeing it from the German tutelage. Louis Laloy, Émile Vuillermoz and Lionel de la Laurencie, *Le Tombeau de Jules Écorcheville* (Paris: Dorbon-Aimé, 1916), or the more accessible [Author unknown], "The late Jules Écorcheville and his undertakings," *The Musical Times* 56/867 (1915): 276-8.

[175] Béla Bartók, Paul Dukas et al., "Tombeau de Claude Debussy," *La Revue musicale* 1/1 (1920).

[176] Michael Tilmouth and David Ledbetter: "Tombeau", *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy. Accessed 26 April 2008, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com:80/subscriber/article/grove/music/28084.

de Couperin belongs to the homage category because it does not feature the sombre mood associated with the tombeau.

The homage is more varied in its presentation, seldom conveying the tombeau's pathos and mourning even when the honouree is dead. The *Hommage à Albert Roussel* displays this variety well with a *Berceuse* (lullaby), a cheerful *Toccata*, and even a *Foxtrot*. The homage aims to acknowledge the greatness of someone, and the composer represents this intent ingenuously (and often ingeniously) through their music. The most straightforward manner to do so is through a *pastiche*, an imitation of the honouree's writing style. The Haydn homage contains a clear example of this approach: Hahn's *Thème varié* emulates Haydn's compositional scheme, constituting a kind of elegant respectful bow. If the homage's authors want to incorporate their own writing style in the work, they face the problem presented earlier in my introduction: combining two, often vastly disparate, styles. Using a genre or instrumentation scheme characteristic of the honouree offers one way to circumvent this difficulty. Referring to a popular work of the honouree by means of a citation can also offer a clear indication of the subject of the homage: Jehan Alain's *Litanies* can be found in Duruflé's *Prélude et fugue sur le nom d'Alain* and clear references to Debussy's *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune* appear in Dukas's *La plainte, au loin, du faune....*[177]

The most popular way to incorporate the dedicatee's name (literally) in a tombeau or homage is through letter-note correspondence. The main theme of the work thus emerges out of the name of the person honoured, who becomes the corner stone of the piece. The earliest form of that type of translation is described by Zarlino in *Le institutioni harmoniche* as *Sogetto cavato*, literally a "subject carved out" of the words.[178] The vowels of each syllable of a given phrase are translated in note names: "a" is *fa*, "e" is *ré*, "i" is *mi*, "o" is *sol* and "u" is *ut* (*do*).[179] Josquin used that method in his *Missa Hercules dux Ferraris*, in which the translation of the title resulted in the following theme: *ré*, *do*, *ré*, *do*, *ré*, *fa*, *mi*, *ré*.[180] The German note nomenclature offers another method to build a melody on a given word, simply mapping the corresponding note on each of the word's letters. There is a limitation, however: the word must be comprised of only the first eight letters of the alphabet; a fortunate coincidence for Johann Sebastian Bach, who could then use his own name in *Die Kunst der Fuge* to invent a

---

[177] Both works are tombeaux: Duruflé wrote the *Prélude et fugue* two years after Jehan Alain's death during World War II, while Dukas wrote his piece as part of the *Tombeau de Claude Debussy*, in 1920.
[178] Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le institutioni harmoniche,* vol. 3 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1558), 66.
[179] In order to avoid any confusion between notes and letters, I will use the Guidonian solmization syllabes in italics for the notes in this section (*do*, *ré*, *mi*, *fa sol*, *la*, *si*).
[180] Lewis Lockwood, "Soggetto cavato." in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/26100 (accessed July 12, 2008).

new subject in Kontrapunctum XI and XIX (*si♭-la-do-si♮*). This challenging subject was subsequently used by many other composers in homage to the great German contrapuntist.

It took a while to extend the musical correspondence to the rest of the alphabet. I will now reproduce *in extenso* the letter from Saint-Saëns to Fauré I referred to in chapter 2.1:

> My dear friend, I just received a letter from M. Écorcheville wanting to celebrate Haydn, and he is right to do so in a hundred ways! But he wants works to be written on his name translated in notes:
>
> 
>
> H A Y D N but, never, absolutely never have I seen Y and N in musical notation. I have
> A B C D E F G H
> only seen La Si♭ Do Ré Mi Fa Sol Si♮. Even the H was invented afterwards; in principle, B meant *si*, without any distinction of flat or natural. I shall write to M. Écorcheville that I want him to give me proof that the two letters Y and N can represent *ré* and *sol*. I advise you to do the same. It would be awkward to be dragged in a ridiculous venture, which would make us the laughing-stock of musical Germany.[181]

Saint-Saëns is quite right in saying it was the first time the alphabet was extended beyond H for note translations, with the exception of Schumann's *Carnaval*. Written in 1834-5, *Carnaval* features another type of German letter-note correspondence in "Asch", the birthplace of Schumann's fiancée, Ernestine.[182] Schumann was able to resort to a German play on words to get four notes out of ASCH: the letter "s" placed after the note's name, in German, means flat. "Es" thus becomes *mi♭*. The pronunciation of "Es" is the same as the letter "S" itself, so ASCH, in notes, becomes *la-mi♭-do-si♮*. Halfway through *Carnaval*, Schumann goes the other way around, literally translating AsCH in three notes: *la♭-do-si♮*. This ingenuous use of "S" did not inspire Écorcheville in 1909, and he used another system to translate the other letters of the alphabet into notes.

The explanation Écorcheville gives at the beginning of *RSIM*'s Haydn issue is insufficient, however (cf. chapter 2.1): following his instructions and "putting the letter's alphabetical order over the diatonic series of the sound scale", the letters Y and N respectively yield *la* and *mi* (Figure 2a). Three solutions are posited in the scholarly literature. The first is found by following scrupulously Écorcheville's instructions and merging two systems: the usual German system for letters A-H and a simple mapping of the letters in alphabetical order over the ascending diatonic scale for letters I-Z (Figure 2b). Roger Nichols found another answer to the enigma: in the German system, the letter I must replace the unoccupied *la* spot

[181] Original French version: Camille Saint-Saëns, Gabriel Fauré and Jean-Michel Nectoux, *Camille Saint-Saëns et Gabriel Fauré, correspondance: soixante ans d'amitié* (Paris: Heugel, 1973), 87.
[182] Jacques Chailley, *Carnaval de Schumann (op.9)*. Au-delà des notes, no.2 (Paris: Leduc, 1971) 7-8.

before the letter H occupies the *si*: HAYDN then falls on the right notes (Figure 2c).[183] The third answer to the alphabetical problem is exposed by Jacques Chailley in his study of Schumann's *Carnaval*.[184] I and J, in German, are frequently united in a single letter: by doing so, N and Y fall on the correct note *ré* (Figure 2d).

Figure 2: Possible solutions for the letter-note mapping used in the Haydn homage

la	*si*	*do*	*ré*	*mi*	*fa*	*sol*
A	B (♭)	C	D	E	F	G
	H (♮)	I	J	K	L	M
N	O	P	Q	R	S	T
U	V	W	X	Y	Z	

Figure 2a: Simple extension of the German system

la	*si*	*do*	*ré*	*mi*	*fa*	*sol*
A	B (♭)	C	D	E	F	G
	H (♮)					

+

la	*si*	*do*	*ré*	*mi*	*fa*	*sol*
A	B	C	D	E	F	G
H	I	J	K	L	M	N
O	P	Q	R	S	T	U
V	W	X	Y	Z		

la	*si*	*do*	*ré*	*mi*	*fa*	*sol*
A	B (♭)	C	D	E	F	G
	H (♮)	J	K	L	M	N
O	P	Q	R	S	T	U
V	W	X	Y	Z		

Figure 2b: Combination of the German system and simple mapping letters-notes

la	*si*	*do*	*ré*	*mi*	*fa*	*sol*
A	B (♭)	C	D	E	F	G
I	H (♮)	J	K	L	M	N
O	P	Q	R	S	T	U
V	W	X	Y	Z		

Figure 2c: "I" goes in *la*

la	*si*	*do*	*ré*	*mi*	*fa*	*sol*
A	B (♭)	C	D	E	F	G
	H (♮)	I-J	K	L	M	N
O	P	Q	R	S	T	U
V	W	X	Y	Z		

Figure 2d: "I" and "J" together

Most of the other homages published in the *Revue musicale* that featured letter-note correspondences usually used the simple mapping of the alphabet on the ascending diatonic scale, without referring to the German system.[185] In the twentieth century, many other systems were used to extract a musical theme from words: Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco applied the normal alphabet to the chromatic scale to obtain an atonal theme in *Greeting Cards* Op.170 (no. 22, Slow — with variations on the name of Nicolas Slominsky, figure 3), while Honegger

[183] Roger Nichols, "Hommages" Liner notes. *Hommages* (Colchester, England: Chandos, 1988).
[184] Chailley, *Carnaval de Schumann*, 9-10.
[185] Guy-Ropartz and Pierné in the *Tombeau de Paul Dukas*, and Schmitt in *Hommage à Gabriel Fauré*. Ravel also used that system in the latter's *hommage*, but he associated "R" with *sol* and "I" with *ré*. Even after consulting many people, Chailley could not explain why, and neither can I (ibid, 10).

built his own rather complex system in his homage to Albert Roussel. He used the system shown on Figure 1a, adding sharps to letters I-N, flats to O-U and reverting to naturals for the rest (figure 4).

Apart from using the mandatory letter-note correspondence, the six musicians who accepted Jules Écorcheville's task had a handful of ways to incorporate Haydn's name into their works. They could have imitated his style, imported a known theme, or used a genre strongly associated with him. With the analysis of the works they finally delivered, I shall reveal what each chose to do.

Figure 3: Letter-note correspondence in Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco's *Greeting Cards op.170,* no.22 "Slow — with variations on the name of Nicholas Slominsky". Source: Rownd, "Musical tombeaux", 35.

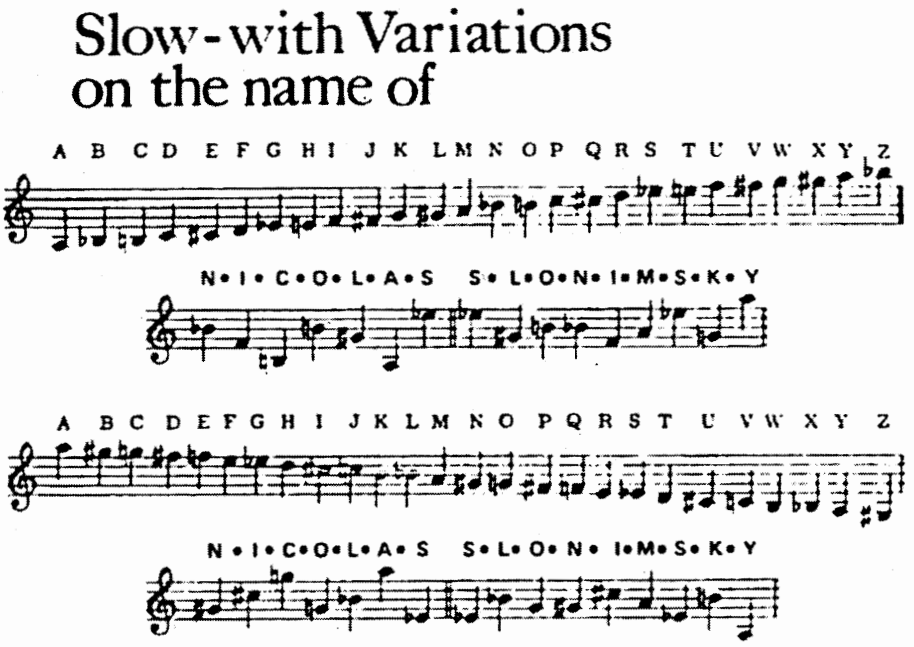
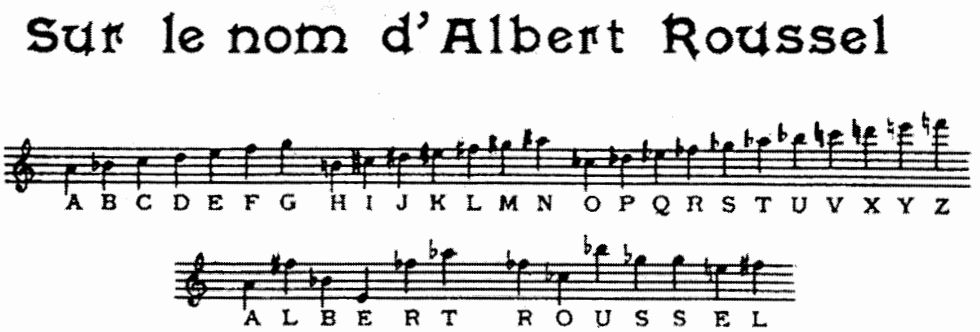


Figure 4: Honegger, "Sur le nom d'Albert Roussel". *La Revue Musicale*, suppl. 94 (April 1929), 9.



III A nation's struggle for musical originality

During the baroque era, there were three main national cultural influences in Western Europe: the German, the French, and the Italian, each with their own characteristics. During the ensuing early classical era Rameau and Couperin continued to preserve the *goût français*, though after the French Revolution of 1789, France stopped producing any composer worthy of highlight in most music history surveys, with the single important exception of Berlioz. In the course of the nineteenth century, the French began to search for a new music that would embody all their qualities, a search that would last about a century. The context of the present research requires a brief exploration of this period, though it is not without peril. Analyzing the soul of a population during a period of extreme political instability is a task that exceeds the scope here. Nonetheless, in order to paint a faithful portrait of the French quest for musical identity, I shall look at the period from the first French Revolution to World War I from three different angles: the Italian and German as cultural invasions, the question of establishing a French lineage of composers, and the revival of early music as forerunner of French post-war neoclassicism.

3.1 The Italian and German cultural invasions

"Its [French opera's] status dropped so low that the very appellation *la musique française* became a term of deprecation [...]."[186] This crude statement by Ellis nevertheless offers a surprisingly accurate portrayal of the state of early nineteenth century French music. What events could have lead the French population to utterly reject its own culture, a culture that only a few decades prior made it boast with pride? The first call for an Italianisation of French music was issued during the *querelle des bouffons* by philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau. In his *Lettre sur la musique française* (1753), he declares the French language to be heavy when put in music, and that the Italian language made declamation easier since it was more fluid. Before publishing his *lettre*, Rousseau put his concept into practice with his *intermède Le Devin du village* (1752), in which he tried to copy (with appropriate adjustments) the better features of Italian declamation using French words. Although not immediately successful, the work later become part of the standard repertory in early nineteenth century France. French music lovers began to perceive traditional French features of their music as archaic while Italian features were seen as progressive and desirable. Even

[186] Ellis, *Musical past,* 16.

Napoleon expressed his fondness for Italianate music and promoted it actively, though, as a Corsican, this predilection was perhaps partially innate.

Most surprisingly, the founding of France's national music school in 1795, the Conservatoire de Paris, strongly contributed to the dissemination of Italian and German music. Born during the French Revolution, the goal of the school was to "ensure a teaching of the utmost uniformity, [and] give France a school that could compete with foreign powers… in short build, according to the spirit of the Revolution, a 'French school' with invariable principles […]"[187] If at first the Republic's need for brass players for their patriotic marches drove focus and enrolment, the popularity of opera quickly urged the Conservatoire to take in more singers. The treatise used to teach vocal musical art was written by several teachers under Cherubini's supervision, and its contents are very telling of the Conservatory's objective in training its future opera singers. Following a description of the voice and how to develop it, and a chapter on interpretation, come thirty exercises and another with twenty-four *arias*, all in the Italian style, and by Italians Hasse, Leo, Jommelli, Cafaro, Sacchini, Piccinni, Sarti, Cimarosa, and Galuppi, among others.[188]

The influence of the Conservatoire was even more potent in its concerts: "The Conservatoire students' public exercises were the only concerts at the time to be held regularly for fifteen years and their influence on French music's evolution was decisive at the beginning of the nineteenth century where a deep aesthetic transformation was in operation."[189] Starting in the ambience of a small family reunion, the Sunday afternoon recitals of the Conservatoire quickly became very popular thanks to the quality of the music and the inexpensive tickets. The concerts featured a bit of music of deceased composers (Italians Durante, Pergolesi and Jommelli) and a lot of (the also recently deceased) Mozart, as well as Haydn and later, Beethoven and Mendelssohn. The French modern symphony had only one representative: Méhul, who was, perhaps not coincidentally, one of the Conservatoire's inspectors. Concerti constituted a problem for the Conservatoire's young virtuosi who lacked repertory for their respective instruments: they often performed compositions written by their teachers, or even

---

[187] Laetitia Chassain, "Le Conservatoire et la notion d'«école française»," in *Le Conservatoire de Paris, 1795-1995: deux cents ans de pédagogie*, ed. Anne Bongrain and Yves Gérard (Paris: Buchet/Chastel, 1999), 15.
[188] Jean Nirouet, "La *Méthode de Chant* du Conservatoire de musique de l'an XII (1804)," in *Le Conservatoire de Paris, 1795-1995: deux cents ans de pédagogie*, ed. Anne Bongrain and Yves Gérard (Paris: Buchet/Chastel, 1999), 167.
[189] "Les exercices d'élèves du Conservatoire sont les seuls concerts du temps à s'être tenus régulièrement durant quinze ans et leur incidence sur l'évolution de la musique française fut décisive en ce début de XIX^{e} siècle où s'opère une mutation esthétique profonde." Jean Mongrédien, "Les premiers exercices publics d'élèves (1800-1815) d'après la presse contemporaine," in *Le Conservatoire de Paris, 1795-1995: des menus-plaisirs à la cité de la musique*, ed. Anne Bongrain and Yves Gérard (Paris: Buchet/Chastel, 1999), 17.

undertook the composition themselves, asking Euterpe to inspire them, often with limited success.[190]

The Conservatoire's first student concerts (1800-1815), that would become the *Société des concerts*, are often credited for introducing Beethoven to the French public, before he was even well acknowledged in his homeland. As early as 1807, the great German symphonist's works were already performed at the Conservatoire under the bow of Habeneck (whose father was German), preceding their French publication. The Conservatoire students continued to program Beethoven's works despite resistance from both the public and critics; though by doing so they not only discarded the musical language of the eighteenth century, but also that of contemporary French music.

In 1823, a young Rossini moved to Paris searching for fame and glory. His quest was not unfounded: his operas frequently yielded twice, or even thrice, the income generated by other composers.[191] Everything he wrote instantly garnered success, making him the darling of Paris.[192] Rossini's popularity had the divided French musical crowd pitting him against the increasingly popular Beethoven. Against his will, he became the inadvertent leader of a new school of composers who prided themselves in writing the best musical lines, and who went as far as saying that Beethoven did not have melodies in his works.[193] This claim was denied by the opposing group, fond of Beethoven and the Viennese school.

The Second Empire (1852-70) made France a mercantile society that was hospitable to foreigners, but most unkind to its own. The prime example is Hector Berlioz, historically having become one of the most influential French composers of the epoch, though not in his homeland. His music was rarely embraced in France during his lifetime, though the *Gazette,* for which he regularly wrote critiques, worked hard to popularize his works.[194] A sad demonstration of his difficulties with the French public can be observed: the review of Rossini's *Petite messe solennelle* took up more space in the newspapers than the news of Berlioz's death and obituary.[195] Apart from the novelty of his music, the reasons why Berlioz did not achieve success as a composer include his not getting any operatic work performed at

---

[190] "M. Vogt, who seems to be a distinguished virtuoso, would have had more success if, instead of playing a dreadfully insignificant composition of his own, he had opted for a fine work of a great master [...]." French original in Mongrédien, "Exercices d'élèves", 26.
[191] Elaine Brody, *Paris, the Musical Kaleidoscope 1870-1925* (New York: George Braziller, 1987), 8.
[192] Saint-Saëns reports a charming story in his *École buissonnière*: Rossini asked him to bring a duo the young Saint-Saëns composed at one of his soirees and have it performed. Rossini then told the people attending that the duo was his creation, provoking a torrent of compliments. Once the work was properly incensed, he revealed the true author, to Saint-Saëns' delight. Camille Saint-Saëns, *École buissonnière*, 263-265.
[193] The followers of Rossini include Auber, Hérold, Boïeldieu and Adam, to name a few.
[194] Ellis, *Music criticism*, 222.
[195] Ibid., 231.

the *Opéra de Paris* and his refusal to write approachable music.[196] If Berlioz's compositional skills were never properly recognized, he nevertheless used his influence as a music critic to popularize and promote Beethoven to the French public.

Hope for the French composers came in the 1850's with Jules Pasdeloup's desire to create a symphonic concert society that would accept to program contemporary French works. His first attempt, in 1852, was the *Société des Jeunes Artistes*, whose musicians were mainly Conservatory students. These students stayed in the orchestra even after their graduation; they were thus quite experienced by 1861 when Pasdeloup founded the *Concert populaire de musique classique*. Taking place in the *Cirque Napoléon*, a large amphitheater that could seat five thousand listeners, the premiere of the *Concert populaire* on October 27th 1861 was a huge success. The size of the *Cirque Napoléon* allowed Pasdeloup to charge far less for tickets than the then fashionable and increasingly expensive *Société des concerts*. Pasdeloup, preoccupied with his venture being profitable, programmed less French music in favour of Beethoven, Mozart, Haydn, Mendelssohn and Weber. By 1870, with the beginning of the Franco-Prussian war, at a time where the French could still not rid themselves of inferiority complexes and "squeezed 'Frenchness' out of French music", Pasdeloup gradually turned back to the French composers.[197]

After the crushing defeat at the hands of the Prussian army, a fresh patriotic breeze blew over France. Modern French composers acknowledged how hard it was for them to have their music played, especially if it was not to the popular taste of the time:

> Young composers had no means to be known not only from the general public but even from a restricted one. The only French art accepted was Boïeldieu, Auber, Hérold, Victor Massé, Adolphe Adam, Maillart *i tutti quanti* [note the Italian!]. As for a French symphonic art, there was not any and there could not be any. Young composers who would have wanted to establish it or who brought with them new preoccupations met with the sphere's hostility, and suffered from the incredible shortage of expressive mediums we then had.[198]

Saint-Saëns founded the Société Nationale alongside Romain Bussine to remedy this problem. Its goal was to "learn via unknown works, edited or not, of French composers making up the members of the Society. No one will be allowed to be an active member of the Society unless he is French."[199] The Société Nationale garnered a lot of interest, and many composers enrolled quickly. Critics and composers realized the *style français* had disappeared

---

[196] A sarcastic Liszt made this recommendation to French composers: "[…] they should write romances, comic songs, mosaics, or even better, quadrilles, and galops on popular opera tunes." French original in Franz Liszt, *Pages romantiques* (Paris: Harmattan, 1912), 28.

[197] Ellis, *Musical past*, xx.

[198] French original in Duchesneau, *L'avant-guarde musicale*, 15.

[199] "Cette société se propose avant tout de s'instruire par l'étude des œuvres inconnues, éditées ou non, des compositeurs français faisant partie de la société. Personne ne pourra faire partie de la Société à titre de membre actif, s'il n'est Français." ibid, 16.

under infatuation with foreign music. Following Proust, one could say the French were *à la recherche du style français perdu*…(in search of the lost French style).

This search was further complicated by a prominently emerging German composer seeking fortune in France to gain credibility in his homeland: Richard Wagner. In 1860, Wagner organized three successful concerts featuring excerpts from *Der Fliegende Holländer, Tannhäuser* and *Tristan und Isolde*.[200] Despite a setback with *Tannhäuser* the following year at the *Opéra de Paris*, Wagner continued to gain Parisian support and interest. In 1869, however, Pasdeloup, then director of the *Théâtre-lyrique*, staged *Rienzi* to dire failure. The growing nationalistic French sentiment constituted quite an obstacle to Wagner, but the beauty of his music eventually triumphed of the anti-German wave. In 1879, two major concert societies of France programmed Wagner's music: the Concert Colonne and the Concert Pasdeloup, and Lamoureux followed suit two years later to become an overwhelming supporter of Wagner.[201] Though in fierce competition, all three had a common objective: show the beauty of Wagner's music to the public. They soon, however, discovered how treacherous this endeavour was: Pasdeloup's performance of *Götterdämmerung*'s Funeral March in 1876 provoked such a violent anti-German demonstration that he stopped performing Wagner's music for three years. Lamoureux failed to stage all ten planned representations of *Lohengrin* in 1887, again because of violent protests.

Many French composers nonetheless became entranced by Wagner's operas and made the pilgrimage to Bayreuth: Gustave Charpentier, Debussy, Chabrier, Henri Duparc, Albert Lavignac, d'Indy, Saint-Saëns and Léo Delibes among others. Some of them became ardent Wagnerites, like d'Indy, Duparc and Chabrier. This opened a new argument about the influence of Wagner on French music. The circle of César Franck deliberately used Wagnerian paradigms in its works, justifying it by stating Wagner's innovations were done for the service of art, regardless of his nationality.[202] The other French composers adopted a completely different attitude, trying to go their own way without being influenced too much by the master of German opera. This debate was even brought over to the Société Nationale, creating a strange quarrel in a society whose main goal was to promote French music: should the Société Nationale expand its repertoire to welcome foreign works? It took three tries before d'Indy's faction (from whom the request for foreign music originated) won over Saint-

[200] Brody, *Musical kaleidoscope*, 35-37.
[201] Ibid, 47-8.
[202] This quote is from d'Indy: "In reality, there is no French music, and in general terms there is no such thing as national music. There is *music* that belongs to no country; there are musical masterpieces that do not in themselves belong to any nation." French original in James Ross, "D'Indy's *Fervaal*: reconstructing French identity at the 'fin-de-siècle'," *Music & Letters*, 84/2 (May 2003): 222-3.

Saëns's group in 1886.[203] A few years later, d'Indy took the directorship of the Société Nationale. D'Indy and his followers characterized the first answer to the French identity quest in their music: a style that seeks ingenuity but unity in form, privileging melody over harmony, not hesitating to use chromaticism and abrupt modulation for expressive effects while staying in the tonal system and keeping the French values of clarity and grace. D'Indy embodied this credo in his opera *Fervaal*, a work welcomed by some critics as the new French music, but viewed by others as a bad pastiche.[204]

Wagnérisme took over France by the end of the 1880's. Once Lamoureux finally succeeded in getting *Lohengrin* staged at the *Opéra de Paris* in 1891, the other nine operas shortly followed suit.[205] Wagner was firmly installed on French soil, bringing with him much turmoil. His detractors as well as his admirers were highly passionate in their opinions, an attitude condemned by both Saint-Saëns and Debussy.[206] French composers during the 80's and 90's were often tagged with *Wagnérisme* without any valid reason.[207] The Italian opera was not considered a menace anymore, especially after the Théâtre-Italien closed its doors in 1878: for some individuals, the menace came from Germany, a political and cultural threat for France.[208]

After d'Indy's *Fervaal*, Debussy portrayed French style in a very different manner in *Pelléas et Mélisande*. Its premiere at the *Opéra de Paris* in 1902 marked the end of the French obsession with Wagner.[209] The French composer had already built himself quite a reputation with his famous *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un Faune*, in which he avoided emulating the Germans by creating a new style of music, called impressionistic by l'Académie.[210] But in Paris, opera established the credibility of a composer, and Debussy's *Pelléas* certainly did not

---

[203] Duchesneau, *L'avant-guarde musicale*, 24-27.
[204] Goubault, *Critique musicale*, 221. The reception of *Fervaal* is also discussed at lengths in Huebner, *French opera*, 317-50 and Ross, "D'Indy's *Fervaal*", 209-40.
[205] *Die Walküre* in 1893, *Tannhäuser* in 1895, *Die Meistersinger* in 1898, *Siegfried* in 1902, *Tristan* in 1904, *Götterdämmerung* in 1908, *Rheingold* in 1909 and *Parsifal* in 1914 (Goubault, *Critique musicale*, 226-69).
[206] Huebner quotes Saint-Saëns: "*Wagnéromanie* is an excusable absurdity, *wagnérophobie* a sickness." Huebner, *French opera*, 199.
[207] Ravel said this about this Wagnerian labelling: "If a single measure presented a certain [Wagnerian] formula, everyone, dilettantes and music critics alike, rose up, animated by chivalrous zeal, in order to denounce the plagiarism and take the defence of an artist whose genius, however, sufficed to shield himself. Bizet, Lalo, and Massenet, all pupils of Gounod, and Chabrier, the most profoundly personal, the most French of our composers — not one of them managed to avoid these absurd attacks." Arbie Orenstein, *A Ravel Reader: correspondence, articles, interviews* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 358. Also see Goubault, *Critique musicale*, 215-26.
[208] D'Indy's followers still saw a menace in the Italian influence they perceived in Meyerbeer's work, leader of the Italiano-Jewish school (as portrayed in Vincent d'Indy and Guy de Lioncourt, *Cours de composition musicale*, vol. 3 (Paris: Durand, 1950), 103-23.
[209] Camille Mauclair wrote an article titled "La fin du wagnérisme" in *La Revue*, Feb. 15th 1904 (Huebner, *French opera*, 478).
[210] Edward Lockspeiser and Harry Halbreich, *Claude Debussy* (Paris: Fayard, 1980), 103.

miss the mark; many critics were impressed by the return of French *declamation* long forgotten among the excesses of Italian *bel canto* and Teutonic Walkyries shouting over huge orchestral outbursts.[211] This free declamation, however, also confounded critics who feared the abandonment of classical harmony, form and rhythm would betray the essence of French music and lead it nowhere. The omnipresent question of Wagner also still loomed: on one hand, Debussy's use of leitmotive, the timelessness of the libretto and liberation from tonal bonds were too close to German art; on the other hand, the orchestration, free declamation and different use of chords distanced Debussy's opera from Wagner's idiom. It was thus natural for the French public to see in Debussy's art another musical personification, summarized by the French composer himself: "Discipline must be sought in freedom, not in the formulae of a philosophy that has become outmoded and good for the weak."[212]

These two conceptions of French music (d'Indy's and Debussy's) clashed after *Pelléas* in the *guerre des chapelles*. Quite against their will, both eminent composers became head of their faction. Debussy actively fought to be separated from his followers who imbued him with all sorts of political and artistic intentions he did not have.[213] The next section of this thesis explores the political implications of this quarrel, and how it had an impact on French lineage.

---

[211] A long quote in Goubault (*Critique musicale*, 376) summarizes the classical qualities of declamation in *Pelléas*.
[212] "Il faut chercher la discipline dans la liberté et non dans les formules d'une philosophie devenue caduque et bonne pour les faibles." Debussy, *M. Croche,* 52.
[213] Fulcher, *French cultural politics*, 154.

3.2 Seeking French models: a political venture

In 1889, the Académie put forward this topic for research: "About music in France, especially dramatic music, from mid-eighteenth century until today, including foreign works performed in France."[214] Arthur Coquard won the contest, and Figure 5 summarizes the composers he included in his answer. Each contestant had to choose, among all the artists who contributed to the French musical scene, the ones that were "most significant," omitting all others. This choice, however, might be influenced by other factors than merely musical legacy — like politics: these reasons will be examined here.

On December 4th 1899, twenty-five Frenchmen were trying to solve a problem like Coquard's: they wanted to present the history of French music from its origins until the present through a series of concerts at the 1900 French universal exposition. After the event, Alfred Bruneau published a report not only to justify the commission's choices, but also to summarize the history of French music.[215] The contents of his report irritated Vincent d'Indy, who replied quickly to Bruneau in an anonymous letter published in the *Revue d'histoire et de critique musicale*.[216] Figure 5 compares the composers chosen by Coquard and Bruneau with a list devised by Gavoty half a century later to demonstrate how musical the French people were througout their history.[217] Unfortunately d'Indy did not provide a list in the letter just mentioned, and the list of composers he covers in his three volumes of *Cours de composition musicale* (compiled in the third volume) is far more extensive than those of the aforementioned three essayists whose specific task was to limit their choices only to those considered the most important.

---

[214] "De la musique en France et particulièrement de la musique dramatique depuis le milieu du XVIIIe siècle jusqu'à nos jours, en y comprenant les œuvres des compositeurs étrangers jouées ou exécutées en France." Arthur Coquard, *La musique en France depuis Rameau* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1891).

[215] Alfred Bruneau, *La musique française: rapport sur la musique en France du XIIIe au XXe siècle: la musique à Paris en 1900, au théâtre, au concert, à l'Exposition* (Paris: E. Fasquelle, 1901).

[216] Although signed X, it is generally accepted that Vincent d'Indy is the author.

[217] Bernard Gavoty, *Les Français sont-ils musiciens?* (Paris: Éditions du conquistador, 1950).

Figure 5: Comparing French lineage according to Coquard, Bruneau and Gavoty. The highlighted names are not, in fact, French.

Century	ARTHUR COQUARD (1891)	ALFRED BRUNEAU (1901)	BERNARD GAVOTY (1950)
9th-15th	Hucbald de St-Amant (850?-930) Guido d'Arezzo (c991-c1033) Francon de Cologne (mid to late 13th) Adam de la Halle (1245-50?-1285-8?) Guillaume Du Fay (1397-1474)	Adam de la Halle (1245-50?-1285-8?)	Léonin (1150s-1201) Bernart de Ventadorn (1130?-1200?) Pérotin (early 13th) Guiraud Riquier (1230-c1300) Adam de la Halle (1245-50?-1285-8?) Guillaume de Machaut (c1300-1377) Guillaume Du Fay (1397-1474) Johannes Ockeghem (1410-1497)
16th	Clément Janequin (1485-1558) Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (1514-1594) Claude Goudimel (1514?-1572) Vincent Galilée (c1520-1591) Roland de Lassus (1532?-1594)	Josquin des Prez (1450-1521) Clément Janequin (1485-1558) Claude Goudimel (1514?-1572) Estorg de Beaulieu (c1495-1552) Jacques Salmon (c1545-1586?) Jacques Mauduit (1557-1627) Pierre Guédron (1564-1620)	Josquin des Prez (1450-1521) Clément Janequin (1485-1558) Claude Goudimel (1514?-1572) Guillaume Costeley (c1530-1606) Roland de Lassus (1532?-1594) Eustache du Caurroy (1549-1609)
17th	Robert Cambert (c1628-1677) Jean-Baptiste Lulli (1632-1687)	Robert Cambert (c1628-1677) Jean-Baptiste Lulli (1632-1687) Marc-Antoine Charpentier (1643-1704) Pascal Colasse (1649-1709) Joseph-François Salomon (1649-1732) Marin Marais (1656-1728) Michel-Richard de Lalande (1657-1726)	Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632-1687) Michel-Richard de Lalande (1657-1726)
18th	François Couperin (1668-1733) Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683-1764) François Francoeur (1698-1787) Jean-Joseph Cassanéa de Mondonville (1711-1772) Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) Antoine Dauvergne (1713-1797) Christoph Willibald Ritter von Gluck (1714-1787) Carl Philip Emanuel Bach (1714-1788) François-André Danican Philidor (1726-1795) Pierre-Alexandre Monsigny (1729-1817) Joseph Haydn (1732-1809) François-Joseph Gossec (1734-1829) André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry (1741-1813) Étienne-Joseph Floquet (1748-1785) Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791) Jean-François Le Sueur (1760-1837) Luigi Chérubini (1760-1842) Étienne-Nicolas Méhul (1763-1817) Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827)	André Campra (1660-1744) Henry Desmarets (1661-1741) Michel Pignolet de Montéclair (1667-1737) André Cardinal Destouches (1672-1749) Louis Lacoste (c1675-c1750) Michel de la Barre (c1675-1745) Jean-Joseph Mouret (1682-1738) Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683-1764) Jacques Aubert (1689-1753) Christoph Willibald Ritter von Gluck (1714-1787) Pierre Montan-Berton (1727-1780) François-Joseph Gossec (1734-1829) André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry (1741-1813) Nicolas-Marie Dalayrac (1753-1809) Jean-François Le Sueur (1760-1837) Luigi Chérubini (1760-1842) Étienne-Nicolas Méhul (1763-1817) Rodolphe Kreutzer (1766-1831)	François Couperin (1668-1733) Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683-1764)
19th	Adrien Boïeldieu (1775-1834) Daniel-François-Esprit Auber (1782-1871) Ferdinand Hérold (1791-1833) Fromental Halévy (1799-1862) Adolphe Adam (1803-1856) Hector Berlioz (1803-1869) Georges Bizet (1839-1875)	Adrien Boïeldieu (1775-1834) Daniel-François-Esprit Auber (1782-1871) Ferdinand Hérold (1791-1833) Fromental Halévy (1799-1862) Adolphe Adam (1803-1856) Hector Berlioz (1803-1869) Felicien David (1810-1876) Aimé Maillart (1817-1871) Victor Massé (1822-1884)	Hector Berlioz (1803-1869)

A quick glance at Figure 5 immediately reveals differences in the number of composers per category. Alfred Bruneau summarizes the whole French Middle Age period with Adam de la Halle, while Coquard and Gavoty include a few *trouvères* and Dufay. It is somewhat surprising that Machaut is absent from Bruneau and Coquard's lists, and even d'Indy omits his name in his *Cours*. While the Renaissance is well represented by all three contributors, the Baroque period already includes a large number of (at that time) "forgotten" composers: Louis Couperin, Dandrieu, de Grigny, Titelouze, d'Anglebert, Marchand, and later Leclair and Clérambault, to name a few. The most interesting discrepancies between the lists are found in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Both Coquard and Bruneau offer numerous composers. By contrast, Gavoty presents a huge gap in the same period where the

other two have the most names. To be sure, many of the names found in Coquard and Bruneau are long forgotten, yet the difference in perception between the start and mid twentieth-century of French musical lineage in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is startling and worthy of further exploration.

A quote from Vincent d'Indy's letter reveals how Bruneau's choices reflect his political stance: "Do you know what Mr. Bruneau's preoccupation is? It is to find antecedents to a certain musical realism you probably know about."[218] This musical realism to which d'Indy refers was represented by Bruneau himself and Gustave Charpentier, and follows the same principles as the parallel literary current led by Émile Zola. The aesthetic conceived by this group juxtaposes d'Indy and Debussy, who sought new ways to express their "Frenchness" musically. The realists were concerned that "if French opera lost touch with its roots, especially in the matter of declamation, it would be accessible only to those few listeners with a taste for and understanding of a foreign temperament."[219] They advocated a return to an art easily comprehensible by the common man and plots that reflected everyday life. The values put forward by this movement (importance of society for culture, accessibility to education, equal rights for everyone, distinction between religion and government) are the same as the ones of the first Republic and the Conservatoire, associated with the political Left. The Right embraced opposite values: monarchism, acceptance of social classes, anti-Semitism, trust in the army and in religious orders — all embodied in Vincent d'Indy.[220]

Bruneau's history of French music is thus biased by his will to prove the development of music is indebted to popular music. His sequence of works includes de la Halle's *Jeu de Robin et de Marion*, Josquin's *Messe de l'homme armé* and Janequin's *Bataille de Marignan*, and he links those directly to Charpentier's *Louise,* the most successful naturalistic opera of the fin-de-siècle. D'Indy noticed that Bruneau sidestepped religious works and concentrated on staged music. Nonetheless d'Indy falls into a similar trap in his *Cours*. While he does not drop out composers he deemes unworthy, his sarcastic and anti-Semitic remarks against French dramatic music show his prejudice:

---

[218] "Savez-vous quelle est la préoccupation de M. Bruneau? C'est de trouver des antécédents à certain réalisme musical que vous savez." X, "Review of *Rapport présenté à M. le Ministre de l'Instruction publique et des Beaux-Arts au nom de la Commission des grandes auditions musicales de l'Exposition Universelle de 1900*, by Alfred Bruneau," *Revue d'histoire et de critique musicale* (1901): 115.

[219] Huebner, *French opera*, 437.

[220] These associations are elaborated in Fulcher's *French Cultural Politics and Music: From the Dreyfus Affair to the First World War*.

> Seeing the great successes of Rossini's school, they [the Jews] imitated it, and borrowed from the Italians only their faults [...] They created with all of this, what is most hateful in art: *eclecticism*, a tendency that is neutral and without initiative, that consists generally in taking only defaults everywhere.[221]

D'Indy subsequently names the composers he believes wrote for pecuniary gain: Auber, Hérold, Meyerbeer, Halévy, Adam, David and Offenbach. And he goes even further by ridiculing the so-called Italo-Judaic school in his Anti-Jewish drama *La légende de St-Christophe*.[222]

Unlike d'Indy, Debussy avoided being doctrinaire in his art, although he certainly was in his writings: "I revolutionize nothing; I destroy nothing [...] There is no Debussy school. I have no disciples. I am myself."[223] After *Pelléas*, Debussy's originality was noticed by the press and he quickly became the hope of French musical art, an alternative to the German-tainted music of d'Indy. Moreover, his musical emphasis on harmony as perceived by the critics convinced them the Conservatoire's schooling was successful, even though Debussy always decried the Conservatoire's overly theoretical teaching method. The burden of his *Prix de Rome* combined with his association with the impressionist movement irked him and drove him to deny all the characteristics attributed to his music by the *Pelléastres*.[224] For example, in *Rondes de printemps* (third piece of his *Images* for orchestra), he mocks French folklore and the academic way of developing a theme through a fixed variation system; in *La Mer*, he uses a classical form privileged in the Schola Cantorum (the symphony) while avoiding the metaphysical associations the Schola Cantorum lends it; in *Le Martyre de St-Sébastien*, he denies the harmonic leanings of his music by resorting to counterpoint. This is how the *guerre des chapelles* might have influenced his compositional process: via a violent rejection of the political and musical consequences of his originality. His music did not fit any of the categories of French music, even the one created for him, yet everybody agreed his music could not be more French.

To what extent was early twentieth century French music politicized? The question certainly deserves further investigation. There is no doubt that French composers were concerned about the influence of other nations on their own, as the popularity of the Société Nationale indicates. While among them some had certain political intentions in their music,

---

[221] Vincent d'Indy and Guy de Lioncourt, *Cours de composition musicale*, vol. 3 (Paris: Durand, 1950), 105.
[222] Fulcher, *French cultural politics*, 71. Also see Jane Fulcher, "Vincent d'Indy's drame anti-juif and its meaning in Paris, 1920," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 2/3 (1990): 295-319.
[223] "Je ne révolutionne rien; je ne démolis rien. [...] Il n'y a pas d'école Debussy. Je n'ai pas de disciples. Je suis moi." Debussy, *M. Croche*, 289.
[224] This is the name Jean Lorrain used in an article (also titled *Les Pelléastres*) to describe Debussy's zealots (*Le Journal*, January 22nd 1904).

most were concerned about art and beauty first and foremost, beginning with Debussy. Further research is thus needed to prove the relation between politics and music at the French fin-de-siècle is tangible.

3.3 Early music revival and birth of French neoclassicism

The last topic I shall explore before turning to the analysis of the six works of the Haydn tombeau is the French musicians' relationship with early music. There are two references to the past in Écorcheville's project: first, the tombeau genre itself, as explained earlier, with its baroque origins; and, second, the music of Haydn himself. Investigating the ties French composers had with music of the past is thus invaluable in formulating an understanding of their tombeaux. The growing interest they developed in early music had a capital impact on their repertoire, one that shaped their national style after the First World War with the advent of neoclassicism.

The birth of the early music revival in France is often associated with the founding of the Schola Cantorum and the *Chanteurs de St-Gervais*. Katharine Ellis refutes this assumption in her *Interpreting the musical past* with a thorough history of early music in France before the actions of Bordes and d'Indy. She proposes that an interest for music of past composers began to bloom around the French Revolution of 1792, at the golden age of Italian music. The three most popular early music pieces performed in the 1800's were Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater*, Rousseau's Italianate *Devin du village*, and Candeille's *Castor et Pollux* that included excerpts from Rameau's now-famous opera. Other pieces in that category included works by Durante, Leo, Corelli, Locatelli, Geminiani and Jommelli. Hence, French music-lovers started to realize some music of the past was worth preserving.

The early music movement gained momentum through the work of two important individuals: François-Joseph Fétis and Alexandre-Étienne Choron. These two men embodied two very different views of music of the past: Fétis saw it as a series of stepping-stones leading to contemporary music, while Choron thought it was music with its own value. Fétis got early music known through lecture-recitals, the *Concerts historiques*. Fétis's intent was not to popularize music of the past: he wanted rather to use it as a "crash course in the art of separating the stylistic wheat (largely Italian and German music after 1600) from the chaff (largely French music, of any era)."[225] His concerts thus hardly helped French music's early nineteenth century battle against foreign music.

Choron's work was more open-minded. In 1817, he opened a choir school that rivalled the Conservatoire, whose singing classes were then at an all-time low: the *École primaire de chant,* which became the Royal school of church music in 1825. The public student exercises of his school quickly became fashionable: in the 1829-30 season, it produced fourteen

[225] Ellis, *Musical past*, 23.

concerts. Choron's work went beyond the popularization of early music, as he also invented a new pedagogical curriculum for musicians that differed significantly from that of the Conservatoire. Choron's death precipitated the end of his school in 1834, but it revived again 19 years later through Louis Niedermeyer. The latter's *École de musique religieuse* upheld the same respect of early music Choron promoted, and became again an alternative to the Conservatoire. Saint-Saëns taught at Niedermeyer's school, and Fauré was one of the institution's most famous students. When Fauré took the Conservatoire's directorship in 1905, he implemented many new pedagogical procedures inspired by his old school.

Just as early music was taking its place in church and on stage, keyboard music became an interesting way to bring it home. During the July Monarchy, publishers sold more and more editions of keyboard music of past masters, culminating with Amédée Méreaux's *Les clavecinistes de 1637 à 1790*. Méreaux's book included not only scores, but monographs on harpsichord music, interpretation and baroque-classical composers. It was intended for amateurs and provided fingerings, dynamics and fully-written ornaments. It featured music from Frescobaldi, the Couperins, Handel, Scarlatti, Rameau, Mozart and Haydn, to name a few. Because of its relative accessibility, early keyboard music quickly earned the unenviable reputation of being technically easy. This explains why it took a long time before solo keyboardists programmed the repertoire: if they did not entertain their audience with evident virtuosity, players encountered the risk of being labelled as technically weak. They circumvented this difficulty either by recruiting other keyboardists to play Bach's multi-keyboard concertos, or by including contemporary works on their programs to show they could display technical virtuosity.

The difficulties early music performers experienced went far beyond the perception of the apparent lack of technical challenge of their repertoire: their detractors had two main reasons to oppose the blooming revival. First, because most of this music came from Italy and Germany (especially J.S. Bach, a German protestant), it was unpatriotic. This reason became especially reinforced after the Franco-Prussian war, when Wagner had trouble getting his music played for the same reasons. Second, it diverted attention from contemporary music, and some people thought it was outrageous to prefer music written by the dead over newer works. This position was held by critic Léon Escudier, who called the partisans of music of the past *Résurrectionistes*: "It seems that we do not have enough musical institutions dedicated to the dead."[226] Escudier believed the early music movement hindered the evolution

[226] "Il paraît que nous n'avons pas suffisamment d'institutions musicales, dédiées aux morts." Ellis, *Musical past*, 43.

of contemporary music: little did he know that music of the past would later play a key role in the revitalization of French art.

Although Diémer's harpsichord concerts and the foundation of the *Société des instruments anciens* certainly helped early music's dissemination, it is through the actions of organist Alexandre Guilmant that this repertoire's reception went from curiosity to admiration. His organ concerts at the Trocadéro (starting at the universal exposition of 1878 and lasting over twenty years) showed the flamboyant side of Bach and his contemporaries, and helped clear up the reputation of early keyboard music being easy to play. The rise in appreciation of Bach and Palestrina was also fuelled later on by Charles Bordes and his *Chanteurs de St-Gervais*, who gave multiple successful concerts around France. Bordes, d'Indy and Guilmant's common interest in early music brought them to emulate Choron and Niedermeyer before them, and they founded the Schola Cantorum. The Schola Cantorum's main objective was not to train musicians, but rather to educate good Catholics by means of art. The Schola Cantorum's curriculum differed significantly from the Conservatoire's by focusing on counterpoint, history and early music, and also by dismissing the *concours* that pitted Conservatory students against each other. The concerts given by the students along with the Schola Cantorum's journal *La tribune de St-Gervais* effectively disseminated music of the past and successfully popularized it as well.

After attending a performance of the first two acts of Rameau's *Castor et Pollux* at the Schola Cantorum, Debussy wrote:

> We know the influence Gluck had on French music, [...]. However, Gluck's genius has deep roots in Rameau's work. [...] We had a pure French tradition in Rameau's work, made of sweet and delicate tenderness, right accents, rigorous declamation in the recitative [...]."[227]

At the fin-de-siècle, Rameau was the antidote to the tainting German and Italian influences for many Frenchmen. In 1895, Saint-Saëns and historian Charles Malherbe organized a committee to publish a new complete edition of Rameau's works. Saint-Saëns worked on keyboard and chamber music, motets and cantatas. Four of the six composers who composed a piece for the Haydn homage also participated on dramatic works: d'Indy with *Hippolyte et Aricie* (1900), *Dardanus* (1905) and *Zaïs* (1911), Dukas with *Les Indes galantes* (1902) and *La princesse de Navarre* (1906), Hahn with *Les fêtes de l'hymen et de l'amour* (1910) and Debussy with *Les fêtes de Polymnie* (1908).[228] While Debussy actively championed Rameau,

---

[227] "On sait l'influence de Gluck sur la musique française [...]. Pourtant, le génie de Gluck trouve dans l'œuvre de Rameau de profondes racines.[...] Nous avions pourtant dans une pure tradition française dans l'œuvre de Rameau, faite de tendresse délicate et charmante, d'accents justes, de déclamation rigoureuse dans le récit [...]." Debussy, *M. Croche*, 89.

[228] Messing, *Neoclassicism,* 23.

Ravel promoted another French master as initiator of the contemporary scene: François Couperin.[229] The first edition of Couperin's keyboard works was published by the Veuve Launer in 1841; ironically, the next complete edition came from Germans Friedrich Chrysander and Johannes Brahms. Durand published a French edition in 1905 which Debussy discovered in 1913.[230] The works of Rameau and Couperin spread quickly across France, and became timeless symbols of French music.

As new icons, Rameau and Couperin influenced the works of contemporary French composers, who slowly began to incorporate baroque elements in their modern compositions: these elements included dance forms, keyboard idioms, rhythms, modes, even complete pastiches.[231] The very first Société Nationale concert on November 17th 1871 included a suite by Alexis de Castillon.[232] Several composers followed suit with their own suites.[233] Minuets became an especially popular genre, peaking at about twenty-five written in the 1900s.[234] The French reinvented the genre abandoned in the early nineteenth century, an inevitable action according to d'Indy who does not seem to appreciate the genre as it was in the eighteenth century:

> The musical poverty of this instrumental recreation [the Minuet], *athematic* and devoid of all interest, was probably the cause of its miserable destiny: it disappeared leaving no trace, as must disappear sooner or later all the acrobatic feats improperly dubbed "music" by naïve ignorants of all times; and the Minuet, only heir of the innumerable dances of type M inserted erstwhile in the old suite, continued to represent them in the young sonata.[235]

D'Indy must have taken it upon himself to reinvent the genre, because he chose it in his 1909 Haydn homage while teaching how poor the genre was at the Schola Cantorum.

Debussy and Ravel's works are rich in references to Rameau and Couperin. The spirit of the French overture pervades the beginnings of both Debussy's *Sonate pour violoncelle et piano* (1915) and Ravel's *Concerto pour la main gauche* (1930). The revival of harpsichord

---

[229] Michel Faure, *Musique et société du Second Empire aux années vingt: Autour de Saint-Saëns, Fauré, Debussy et Ravel* (Paris: Flammarion, 1985) 285.
[230] Faure, *Musique et société*, 284.
[231] Two examples of pastiches are given in Faure, *Musique et société*, 283: one of Rameau in Massenet's *Manon*, and another also of Rameau in Saint-Saëns' ballet *Javotte*.
[232] *Cinq pièces dans le style ancien* (Prélude, sicilienne, sarabande, air-fughette). Duchesneau, *L'avant-guarde musicale*, 225.
[233] Saint-Saëns, *Suite pour orchestre* (1877), *Septet* (Prélude, Menuet, Intermède, Gavotte en final, 1882) and *Sarabande et rigaudon* (1892); Delibes, *Six airs de danse dans le style ancien* (1882); d'Indy, *Suite en ré dans le style ancien* (1886); Pierné, *Pastorale variée dans le style ancien* (1894) and *Ballet de cour: six airs de danse dans le style ancien* (1905); Albéric Magnard, *Suite d'Orchestre dans le style ancien* (1892). Messing, *Neoclassicism*, 24.
[234] Faure, *Musique et société*, 289.
[235] The type M dances have moderate tempi (Gavotte, Musette, Bourrée, Menuet, Passepied). French original in Vincent d'Indy and Auguste Sérieyx, *Cours de composition musicale* vol. 2, part 1 (Paris: Durand, 1909), 170.

concerts (mainly by Louis Diémer and Schola Cantorum student Wanda Landowska[236]) inspired French composers to write without pedals (*écriture sèche*): examples in Debussy include the *Suite bergamasque* (1890) and *Pour le piano* (1901), and in Ravel most of the *Menuet antique* (1895). Despite all these ingenious uses of baroque idioms in contemporary pieces, the most direct way to refer to a great composer of the past remained the tombeau. Unsurprisingly, both Rameau and Couperin got a piano homage: the former by Debussy (*Hommage à Rameau*, 1905), the latter by Ravel (*Tombeau de Couperin*, 1917).

Debussy did not resort to pastiche in his *Hommage à Rameau*: no borrowed theme, no characteristic harmonic progression, very few ornaments. References to the baroque are numerous, but they do not point towards Rameau at all: for example the *dans le style d'une Sarabande mais sans rigueur*[237] tempo indication, the main theme repeated transposed to the dominant and the ambiance of grandeur and nobility. Without the title, it would be difficult to infer the reference to Rameau at all. By contrast, Ravel's *Tombeau de Couperin* is more overt in its references. The *Forlane* is a parody of Couperin's own in the "Quatrième concert royal", using the parallel minor key, similar rhythms, *écriture sèche* and ornaments.[238] The other movements all feature references to the past: the *Prélude* as a piece to "try out the keyboard," the unique impressionistic *Fugue* and the minuet form.

As French artists increasingly identified themselves with the clarity and elegance of the *clavecinistes*, they gradually reacted against the complexity and exaggerated sentimentalism of the German post-romantic movement. This feeling was augmented by the First World War, and it affected not only reactions to the music of Strauss and Schönberg but also Debussy, who became the "avatar of impressionism." Even Ravel was not spared from the critics' salvos, Leigh Henry going as far as saying the *Tombeau de Couperin* suffered from anaemic neoclassicism. The war's negative climate proved to be unfertile soil for the impressionistic crops, while the simplicity of the rising neoclassicist movement's music thrived.

The French people's post-war rejection of musical impressionism is largely due to the work of the writer Jean Cocteau. His pamphlet *Le coq et l'arlequin* championed the art of Satie and downgraded Debussy and Wagner as old-fashioned and gaudy. His repeated use of the catch words *nouvelle simplicité* (new simplicity) tried to distance his protégé's art from

---

[236] By privileging the harpsichord, Landowska went against the beliefs of her mentor d'Indy, who thought music should be played on modern instruments (Messing, *Neoclassicism*, 21)

[237] *In the style of a sarabande but with no rigor.*

[238] Among the many sources that compare the two pieces, I recommend Abbate's because of her reference to the tombeau (Carolyn Abbate, *In search of opera* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton U. Press, 2001), 215-225.

that of the impressionists. The term neoclassicism, which was already in vogue for a couple of centuries to describe the use of old principles in new compositions (most often in a pejorative manner), gradually became associated with this new stripped down style of writing. Cocteau achieved his goal of popularizing *le nouveau classicisme* at the expense of the impressionists, the Wagnerians and the Second Viennese School. The role of early music in modern French composition thus changed: instead of putting characteristics of music of the past in their works, composers used the principles behind those works as a canvas on which they added new sonorities. Although the influence was the same, the result differed significantly: neoclassicist music sounds less charged emotionally than pre-war French works. It is ironic that the composers pushed forward by Debussy and Ravel as the embodiment of true French art brought about the undoing of their style, and that their own music, unanimously dubbed as truly French by everyone before the war, became a symbol of the expired *belle époque*, just a faint souvenir.

IV Analysis of the tombeaux

The main objective of this thesis is to shed some light on the French quest for musical identity near the beginning of the twentieth century using the six tombeaux written for Haydn in 1909. In chapter two, I explored all the general implications of the homage and tied them to the French either through their journals, their relation to Haydn or tombeau tradition. In chapter three, I was more concerned with their future, where I turned to their relations with the Italians and the Germans, to their discovery of French composers' lineage, and to their integration of early music in standard repertoire. Before delving into the analytical details of each piece, I will now describe what I will be looking for in general in the tombeaux, and how my discoveries could help answer the problem posed in the introduction: what is the French artistic community's conception (or conceptions) of French music, and how is this "Frenchness" expressed in the tombeau?

The single recurrent idea in all six tombeaux is the HAYDN theme, which is why my analysis begins with its description. In its apparent simplicity, the theme offered many possibilities to the composers. My initial objective is always to track the occurrences of the theme and discover how it is used. Once this is assessed, I turn my attention to stylistic characteristics borrowed from Haydn's music, the classical era or even early music in general. The items I look for include what genre the composers chose, what form they employed, and what harmonic language they privileged. Did they use any ornamentation or instrumental technique idiomatic to the *clavecinistes*? Did they write with rhetoric in mind? My final point of analytical reckoning is the most important and most subtle: how do the composers assess their "Frenchness" through their writing? I look for common traits between the six that are in the first instance easy enough to find, but continue to explore those elements of ingenuity in their respective works that might otherwise remain hidden by the apparent simplicity.

As I pointed out in the introduction, the biggest challenge the composers faced was to combine elements that clearly indicate the homage's intent to honour Haydn while remaining true to their personal style. There is a balance between the two poles, and each composer chose a place between them: either closer to Haydn's writing (Hahn); or closer to their own, using almost no reference to the Viennese master other than the encoded theme (Dukas). The exclusive use of the Haydn theme is surprising, but the Haydn tombeau authors' intent to pay homage to Haydn did not force them to borrow a line from his works or to emulate the characteristics of his style. There are many examples of encoded homages that are not

discernable to the uninformed.[239] Identifying Haydn references becomes quite a challenge in these circumstances because any standard phrase structure could be labelled as characteristic of the high classical period. Wanting to be as thorough in my analysis as possible, I voluntarily erred on the side of including as many references to the past as possible to see if the old models fit; the ensuing discussions determine whether these hypothetical references are accurate or not.

The six pieces of the Haydn homage are annexed at the end of the thesis, after the conclusion, copied (in modern transcription) exactly from *RSIM*'s 1910 edition (pp 96-106). The annotations present formal, thematic, and/or rhetorical analysis where appropriately applicable. The formal analyses use William Caplin's theory of formal functions, which is one of the best theories of high classical style available and allows a focused assessment of how close the works are to Haydn's in formal terms. Every occurrence of the theme is marked by a box identifying "HAYDN" for its regular form and "NDYAH" for its retrograde. The vertical use of all of the theme's notes as an aggregate is labelled α while the inverted form is identified with 1/α. The following discussion refers to these scores by a short form code (Author's initials — bar number), so bar 14 of the Ravel would be MR 14. Every other symbol left unexplained on the scores is described in the text.

4.1 Putting Haydn's name in music

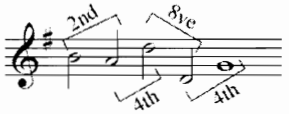
As described in chapter 2.3, the Haydn theme (henceforth labelled HAYDN) comes from a letter-note correspondence scheme. Écorcheville was fortunate on the outcome of that process, as the result of the letters' translation was a theme with a clear tonal connotation (ex.1a). *G* major is efficiently projected by HAYDN both when used as a melody or as a bass line. When put in the soprano voice, the *A* following the initial *B* creates an expectation for the *G* to arrive, which happens after the two *D*'s. An interval of a third is thus projected as soon as the second note of HAYDN is struck (ex.1c). Ravel is the only one who took advantage of the retrograde and inverse retrograde forms of HAYDN, going as far as to label them in his score (MR 19-20 and 25-6). Although used by all six composers as a melody (Debussy is the only one not to display it clearly at the outset), HAYDN seems more effective as a bass line as it is comprised of a single initial stepwise motion followed by two fourth skips suggesting cadential closure in *G* major (ex.1a). Perhaps because of the *D*'s different letter origins, Dukas differentiated them with an extra skip of an octave, breaking up any

[239] Among these examples is Berg's *Kammerkonzert*, in which the encoded names of Schönberg, Webern and Berg himself are joined together in the introductory measures.

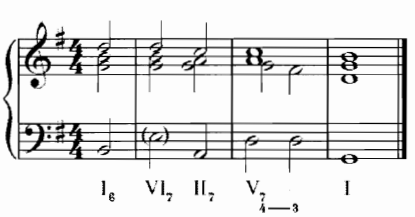
melodic characteristic of the theme even further (PD 2-4). The addition of an *E* between *B* and *A* effectively displays the connection of HAYDN with a descending fifths sequence (ex.1b). Because of this property of HAYDN, it has a potential to cadence anywhere, as Dukas realizes at the end of his *Prélude élégiaque* (PD 48-50) where he cadences on the *D*.

Example 1: Properties of the Haydn theme

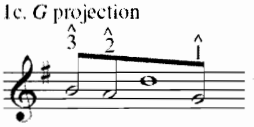
1a. HAYDN theme's intervals



1b. Interpolated *E* at the bass

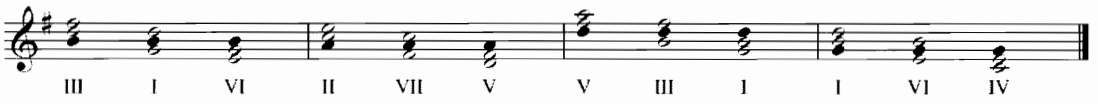


1c. *G* projection



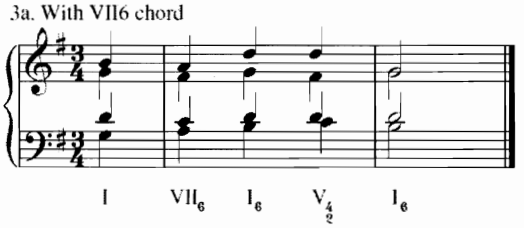
Because of its brevity and strong relation with *G* major, the theme as bass line does not allow much leeway in triadic harmonization. If the *G* is the tonic, one of the *D*'s must be dominant. Ex.2 shows the different triads that can be built upon each of the tones of HAYDN. *D* does not allow a predominant, nor does the initial *B* (unless it is the seventh of a half-diminished seventh applied chord, RH 14-15). If the last chord is a tonic, the only tone that can support a pre-dominant function is the *A*. Of the two composers who used a traditional tonal language (Hahn and Widor), Hahn is the only one who used a pre-dominant function on that *A*, in a series of secondary dominants (RH 104). Limited to tonic and dominant, the composers who elected a classical harmonization of HAYDN were fairly constrained (RH exhausts most of the possibilities, ex.3 shows two more). The final skip of the theme is problematic when used melodically in a cadential figure. The root position V-I motion of the cadence itself forces parallel octaves that are seldom seen in Haydn's music (RH 7-8, 15-6 and all corresponding places in the subsequent variations, ex.3b).

Example 2: Triads built upon the notes of the HAYDN theme

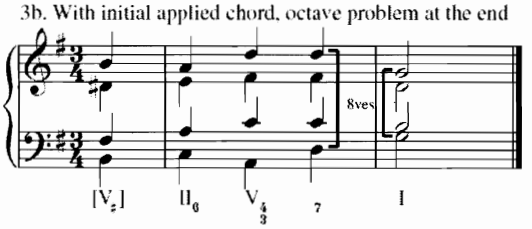


Example 3: Other harmonisations of the HAYDN theme

3a. With VII6 chord



3b. With initial applied chord, octave problem at the end



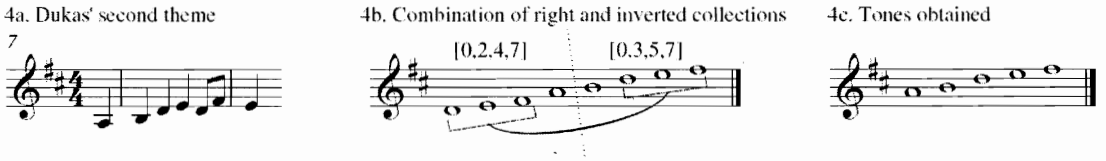
Another consequence of the tonal polarization of HAYDN is the unity of tonality of the pieces. Four of the six pieces are undoubtedly in *G* major (Hahn's, d'Indy's, Ravel's and Widor's). Debussy's piece has the *G* major key signature, but takes about twenty bars to settle into that key, beginning in a flat key environment. The key of Dukas's work is difficult to pinpoint, as the first bars betray the *D* major key signature. The first cadential motion (PD 6-7) seems to confirm the key, but because it has been undermined in the preceding measures with *C*♮s, the motion feels half-cadential instead of perfect authentic. The next cadential point clears up any doubt with an arrival on an *A* major triad (PD 13-4).

Superposition of the theme's tones yields other interesting possibilities. Putting all of HAYDN's notes in a chord produces a ninth chord without its seventh (labelled α on the scores). Because the ninth chord was already used routinely by both Debussy and Ravel in their compositions, it is difficult to assess if a given ninth chord is used with thematic intent. The absence of a seventh is a key determinant. Clear occurrences of a vertical use of the theme are found in d'Indy (VdI 25), Dukas (PD 4) and Ravel (MR 5, 44). Some cases cast a doubt on whether the appearance of the [0,2,4,7] collection is intentional: take MR 3 for example.[240] The third beat of that bar features the verticalized HAYDN, but its fluid integration at the end of the cadential progression raises uncertainty as to whether Ravel employs it with motivic intent. It gets more complicated when composers use the verticalization of the inverted HAYDN theme ([0,3,5,7], labelled 1/α on the scores). This aggregate appears in Debussy (CD 31 and 74), Dukas (PD 2) and Ravel (MR 7, 29 and 36). The biggest issue concerning the inverted Haydn chord is that none of the composers use the inverted version of the theme melodically (Ravel does use the inverted retrograde however). Though possible, it is highly improbable that any of the composers would use it vertically if they did not even think of using it horizontally, the melodic presentation more obvious to the ear. The inverted collections are nonetheless presented in the analyzed scores, though the question of motivic intent remains arguable. A simpler way of obtaining either verticalized version of the Haydn theme is through embellishing tones. By lining up all the tones of the first beat of Hahn's bar 4 or 34, one obtains the HAYDN collection; same with Widor's bar 61. This is due to a 9-8 suspension in the second of these instances (RH 34) and to appoggiaturas in the first and third (RH 4 and CMW 61).

[240] The use of set classes here is flawed. Most of the time, composers use the unaltered form of the theme, but they do not hesitate to add sharps (RH 8-10, MR 25-6). The set classes become inexact, which is why I do not use them in labelling the vertical occurrences of HAYDN on the scores.

Other melodies that seem unrelated to the Haydn theme dissimulate hidden connections. Ex.4 shows how Dukas's second theme (labelled β in the score, PD 7-9) is built from the collection of tones obtained by adding HAYDN (beginning on *D*) to its mirror image (axis on *A*♯). The resulting five notes are precisely those of the theme, providing thematic unity in the piece. Debussy also tampered with the order of the notes in the soprano voice of bars 31-4 of his work, where he manages to fit together three citations of the theme: in the bass, rearranged in the soprano voice and vertically in the first chord.

Example 4: Genesis of Dukas's second theme



Although the theme's notes were imposed, the composers had the freedom to use any rhythmic instantiation they wished. The first occurrence of the theme for Dukas, Hahn and Widor is homorhythmical: the former harmonized every note while the latter two grouped certain tones together over a dominant harmony. In d'Indy's *Menuet*, the first appearance of the theme is also almost homorhythmical, but the chords he chose to accompany it are based upon properties of the melody itself. The first is made out of stacked fourths (the interval with the most occurrences in HAYDN) while the second uses all of the theme's notes (save the *G* that appears on the first beat of bar 2). The composers who opted for equal note lengths did not choose a single pattern of accentuation; every note of the theme receives emphasis at one point or another in the pieces. Widor often treats the initial *B* as an appoggiatura (CMW 56, 57, 63 to name a few). One would expect the final *G* of the theme to always be accentuated, but Widor and Ravel found ways to avoid this accentuation. In his fugue subject, the first HAYDN *G* is joined with the preceding *D* allowing Widor to harmonize the *G* with a VI chord (CMW 11). Ravel removed any emphasis on the *G* by continuing the phrase further: the *G* falls on the second beat, surrounded by two accentuated *D*'s. Most composers did not restrict themselves to using the theme alone: d'Indy, Ravel and Widor all incorporated it into a larger phrase. Finally, another creative use of rhythm with HAYDN is to use it in quick note values, transforming it into an ornamental figure. Dukas placed it after his rapid-fire twelve-tuplets like an exclamation point (PD 17, 21 and 23-26), while Debussy employed it repeatedly to create a vast arch over a sandwiched melody (CD 23-30, 35-52 and 47-52).

4.2 Borrowing from "les maîtres anciens"

Having analyzed the Haydn theme, we can now turn to references to the past in the six works, starting with genre. Three of the composers used dance movements: Ravel and d'Indy wrote minuets, while Debussy indicates a "slow waltz movement" tempo for the introduction to his *Sur le nom d'Haydn*. Many sources confirm the importance of the minuet in Haydn's symphonies, a dance that has such a strict form that the composer needs to be inventive melodically and harmonically to make it an interesting concert piece.[241] Haydn was clearly preoccupied with writing remarkable minuets by injecting into them as much novelty and humour as he could.[242] Ravel and d'Indy both strived to imitate Haydn in that regard by reinventing this old dance (especially d'Indy who did not regard highly it).[243] Hahn chose to write a theme and variations, a genre Haydn also used fairly often.[244] Dukas's title *Prélude élégiaque* refers to two instrumental genres: the prelude, originally a piece to "try out" the instrument (thus a baroque reference) and the *élégie*, a memorial piece of grave character lamenting upon the death of someone. His piece is the only one that embraces a funereal mood throughout its course; all the others are more light-hearted. Widor chose to write a fugue, which at first seems an odd choice for an homage; although Haydn did compose fugues (in the opus 20 string quartets, for example), it does not strike as a representational genre for him, unlike Bach. Debussy did not select a particular genre, but his work's tripartite structure recalls the various movements of a sonata, especially since each depicts a different mood.

Let us now take a closer look at the form of each piece using William Caplin's formal function theory. Hahn's pastiche, *Thème varié* undoubtedly resembles closest Haydn's own compositions. Composed of five HAYDN statements, the theme is a small binary, a formal type that was often used in theme and variations in Haydn's time.[245] The first part of that binary form is a tight-knit eight-bar period comprised of an antecedent and a consequent; the former is closed off with a half cadence (HC) while the latter ends with a perfect authentic cadence (PAC). The second part is built around the contrasting middle + cadential model.[246] The model-sequence process is extended (RH 10-12) and expanded (RH 13-14) leaving little

---

[241] These quotes can be found in Gretchen A. Wheelock, *Haydn's ingenious jesting with art*: context of musical wit and humor (New York: Schirmer books, 1992), 55.
[242] "Haydn himself, in asserting the artist's freedom from the constraints of 'pedestrian rules', commented: 'Such affectations are worthless. I would rather someone tried to compose a really *new* minuet.'" Wheelock, *Haydn's jesting*, 55.
[243] Please refer to footnote 176.
[244] Among others, symphonies 85 (the Queen), 94 (Surprise) and 101 (the Clock) all feature theme and variations as slow movements.
[245] William E. Caplin, *Classical form: a theory of formal functions for the instrumental music of* (Oxford: Oxford U. Press, 1998),
[246] Caplin, *Classical form*, 89-91.

space for the cadential Haydn theme.[247] HAYDN is truly the core of the theme: it plays the role of basic idea, cadential idea and even inspires the shape of the contrasting idea. The form of the theme thus conforms to the high classical standards. The variations focus more on figuration than harmonic play: they successively exploit sixteenth-note upper-voice diminutions, suspensions, alternating left hand and right hand chords in the parallel minor and triplet upper-voice diminution. The last variation switches the time signature to 2/4 and accelerates the tempo for a brilliant finale. After the final PAC at bar 97, Hahn adds 8 bars of coda that reiterates the Haydn theme a few last times over simple harmonies prolonging the tonic.

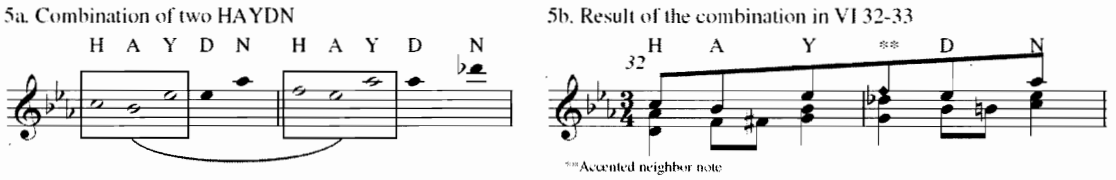
Not everything in Hahn's piece, however, is idiomatic of Haydn. Apart from the unavoidable parallel fifths that occur over almost every PAC, Hahn uses a suspension with a dissonant preparation (RH 34). These two apparent "mistakes" modernize Hahn's pastiche and give to it an improvisational quality reinforced by the simplicity of the theme, its harmonization and its variation procedures. Hahn's choice of pastiche is by no means surprising. His fame was due to his *mélodies*, a genre that can be very close to the high classical way of writing. He made up for his simple harmonies with sensibility in setting his texts; copying Haydn's style must have been a well-suited and interesting challenge for him.

The two minuets of the homage are also respectful of high classical form despite their complex tonal language. D'Indy's work is a full-fledged minuet form with a trio. The minuet proper is divided in three parts organized in a way close to the classical small ternary. D'Indy seems keen to eschew traditional cadential arrival by avoiding the penultimate dominant chord, lending a plagal feel to the end of phrase. The arrival itself and its tonal context, however, are sufficient to assess the key and the presence of an articulation point. The first part of the minuet closes in the dominant before the second part, which constitutes a contrasting middle that resembles Hahn's in form. The second part begins with a statement of the Haydn theme in a foreign key before launching a model sequence section whose impact is strengthened by hemiolas. It ends on a dominant chord (in *G*) leading to the recapitulation section. D'Indy adds a closing section to the minuet, concluded by the vertical Haydn chord.[248] The formal functions of each section are unconventional and escape traditional high classical norms mainly because of their harmony. It is possible to separate the first phrase into three sections: a presentation of the theme, a continuation with fragmentation (using hemiolas again), acceleration of the harmonic rhythm and increase of surface activity, and a cadential

[247] The first occurrence of the sequence is actually a repetition, as it prolongs the same harmony as the model.
[248] Caplin, *Classical form*, 16.

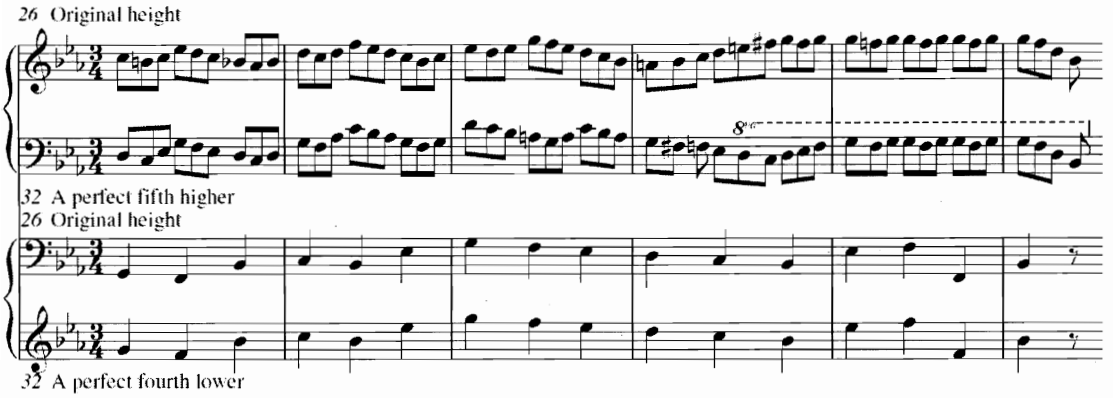
idea. The presentation can be further divided in two one-bar basic ideas, though doing so cuts the Haydn theme in two; however, this reading does explain the "presentation feel" of the first two bars.[249] The first phrase can thus be labelled a loose modern sentence structure. The trio's two phrases also constitute sentences following an internal organization similar to the minuet's first. The presentations of the trio's sentences are clearer than the minuet's through a clever play on the Haydn theme: using its first three notes twice at the interval of a fourth, d'Indy manages to reconstruct HAYDN with a middle accented neighbour note (ex.5). The cadential idea is also clearer thanks to the evident cadential motion of the bass (VdI 30-1). For the second phrase of the trio, d'Indy simply repeats the first phrase with manuals exchanged (ex.6). The quarter notes of the melody are transposed exactly two octaves and a fourth higher, but the triplets undergo more transformations with only the last two bars accurately transposed; d'Indy carefully preserves the shape of the melody everywhere else. The hemiolas of bars 34-5 are now slurred accordingly, unlike the corresponding section of the preceding phrase (VdI 28-9). These hemiolas refer back not only to the previous ones of the minuet section, but also to the paired slurring of its cadences. These bars display a bold gesture that shows d'Indy's freedom from classical voice-leading rules with a chain of parallel fifths and octaves that could easily have been avoided by sequencing the first two chords (ex.7), a solution that would have also emphasized the hemiolas. This change would have resulted in a doubling of A♭, however, that could be corrected only by allowing a 6/4 chord in the bass; it seems d'Indy preferred to give more importance to the vertical sonority than to adhere to the old voice-leading rules. Just before the transition back to the minuet, d'Indy signs Haydn's name in a way similar to the end of the minuet proper by placing a vertical version of HAYDN (VdI 36).

Example 5: Using the head of the Haydn theme to recreate it in d'Indy's *Menuet*

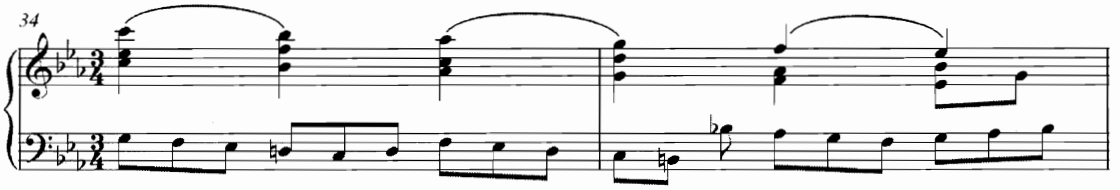


[249] According to Caplin's theory, a basic idea must be two bars long (unless real measures do not equal notated measures, ibid., 35). In the more modern works of the Haydn tombeau, classical symmetry is often avoided, which is why my labelling of basic ideas does not refer to their length.

Example 6: Comparison of upper and lower voices of both phrases of d'Indy's trio



Example 7: Second chord of bar 35 changes in d'Indy's trio



Ravel's minuet, just like d'Indy's, conforms to the classical phrase structure model proposed by Caplin's formal function theory. Like d'Indy, the *Menuet sur le nom d'Haydn* is a small ternary form, but far more developed than d'Indy's simplistic dance emulation. The exposition is comprised of a single phrase textually repeated with a few minor differences.[250] This phrase combines the antecedent of a potential period with the continuation of a sentence. Haydn's music frequently features such amalgamations, and one of the most significant contributions of Caplin's theory is the ability to recognize and categorize such combinations under the label "hybrids".[251] In this case, Caplin calls the putting together of antecedent and continuation functions "hybrid type 1". The antecedent is usually composed of a basic idea and a contrasting idea, a difficult segregation in Ravel's first phrase. The division displayed on the score is one of two options, the other being a separation between bars 3 and 4. The score division has the advantage of isolating the Haydn theme and respecting the articulation put down by Ravel. The continuation also conforms perfectly to the classical model. The contrasting middle is comprised of two phrases: one of 8 bars and another of 14. Both are made of a series of melodic sequences, labelled with lower case letters on the score. Models "a" and "b" are used in similar ways in both phrases, the latter being more developed in the second phrase. [252] The standing on V that concludes most contrasting middles in high classical

[250] These differences include the initial chord (third beat of bar 8), and missing accent on the third chord of bar 10 and the second chord of bar 15.
[251] Caplin, *Classical form*, 59-65.
[252] These sequences are not backed up harmonically, hence the melodic specification.

small ternaries is replaced in Ravel's score by a stand on III that accomplishes the same functions: building the tension and the desire for a return of the tonic in the recapitulation. The choice of III over V is motivated by the means of that return, which chains together the Haydn theme in the bass to get back to I. The recapitulation is thus integrated with the standing on III and lacks a clear conventional cadential articulation. Aside from this factor and the two-bar extension of the continuation, the last section of the small ternary displays the same structure as the first.

Let us move on to another small ternary that is even looser than those by d'Indy and Ravel. The division of Dukas's phrases is not as close to the classical models as those in the other two minuets, which explains why Caplin's model for analysis in this case does not yield as satisfactory a result. The general parsing of the *Prélude élégiaque* resembles the classical model: a small ternary composed of a periodic exposition, presentation + continuation contrasting middle and hybrid type 1 recapitulation. However, a closer inspection of each section reveals several problems. First, the antecedent and consequent of the first part seem reversed because of their respective cadences, an analytic difficulty that can, however, also sometimes be encountered in high classical sonatas.[253] Although the consequent ends with a half cadence, the increased complexity and chromaticism involved in its first chords would make it a poor antecedent which explains my label of "consequent" (failed). Another aspect to take into consideration is the lack of harmonic clarity I referred to earlier, which makes both cadences sound different from their analytic name (bar 7's PAC feels like a half cadence, while bar 14's HC is much more conclusive). The second problem involves sections B and A': in particular the early arrival of the tonic (bar 23 and bar 40). In most contrasting middles, the goal is usually the dominant; in Dukas's work, the bass' *C*♮ opening for the exposition and recapitulation renders the dominant harmony powerless. Dukas resorts to tonic harmony to crank up the tension until bar 27's divergent wedge motion leads back to the bass *C*♮. Bar 40 offers a more difficult dilemma: the early arrival on the final D pedal effectively weakens tonic harmony as it is attained underneath a half-diminished chord based on *G*♯, a tone of course absent from the *D* major scale. Closure is reached only at bar 43, but because the bass motion has already happened, the key is further undermined. Dukas's reference to the high classical model is thus not as direct as those by d'Indy or Ravel, but it is still present through certain aspects of his tripartite structure.

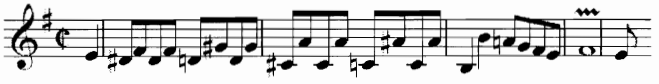
---

[253] Caplin, *Classical form*, 89.

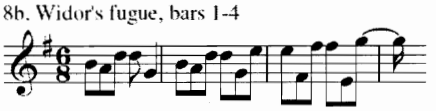
In comparison to the aforementioned composers' choices to use traditional classical forms, Widor's resort to honour Haydn with a fugue, a genre associated more readily with the baroque than the classical era, is certainly surprising. Nevertheless, in the course of Widor's piece, which is also clearly inspired by baroque elements, Widor manages to introduce a few classical formal functions. The subject itself is much like a sentence (CMW 1-4 at R=1/2)[254], with the acceleration of surface activity being the most obvious continuational characteristic. Fragmentation occurs regularly to build up tension (CMW 24-27 and 34-39). Otherwise, at first glance, the work suggests Widor's honouree was Bach rather than Haydn. The style of writing and counterpoint is typically Bach-like, which is not surprising coming from an organist. The subject's wedge design is reminiscent of Bach's own wedge fugue contours (ex.8).[255]

Example 8: Wedge fugue subject designs in Bach and Widor

8a. J.S. Bach, *Praeludium et Fuga* BWV 548, bars 0-5 of the fugue



8b. Widor's fugue, bars 1-4



The form of Widor's fugue owes much to the Conservatoire's *fugue d'école,*[256] but it strays away from that construction in several ways. Indeed, Widor's piece would "fail" as an examination response due to its various early-onset violations of the rules. The subject modulates to the dominant's relative and Widor does not use a tonal answer, which makes the exposition go to a foreign key (*F*♯ minor). The first re-exposition should not only feature the subject in the relative key but also its answer; Widor skips the latter in the most unusual way, going without warning from *E* minor to *C* major into the second episode (CMW 23-4). Another perceived shortcoming could be the lack of "correct" combinations in his stretto section, especially since those would have been possible (ex.9). Every other aspect of his fugue conforms to the model then taught at the Conservatoire de Paris.

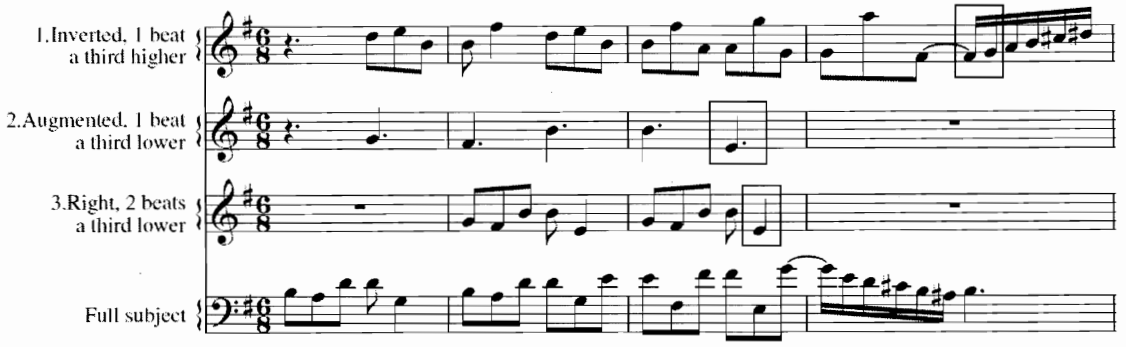
---

[254] "The distinction between real and notated measures arises when the composer adds or deletes bar lines to facilitate reading the score of movements whose tempo is very slow or very fast. [...] When we perceive that a single real measure actually occupies only one half of the notated measure, we can use the formula R=1/2N as a shortcut for indicating the relationship of real (R) to notated (N) measures." ibid., 35.

[255] From the Prelude and fugue in *E* minor BWV 548.

[256] Literally "scholastic fugue", it is the type of fugue taught in the Conservatoire's fugue course. It has a predefined form (Exposition, Episode I, Re-exposition in relative key, Episode II, Re-exposition in subdominant key, Episode III leading to dominant pedal, Stretto). Additional information regarding the *fugue d'école* can be found in André Gédalge, *Traité de la fugue* (Paris: Enoch & cie, 1901).

Example 9: Possible stretto combinations for Widor's *Fugue*. The first three systems are played individually against the last. Boxes indicate a clash: the first solution necessitates an interval change, the second strikes a second with the subject while the third provokes direct approach to an octave without any stepwise motion.

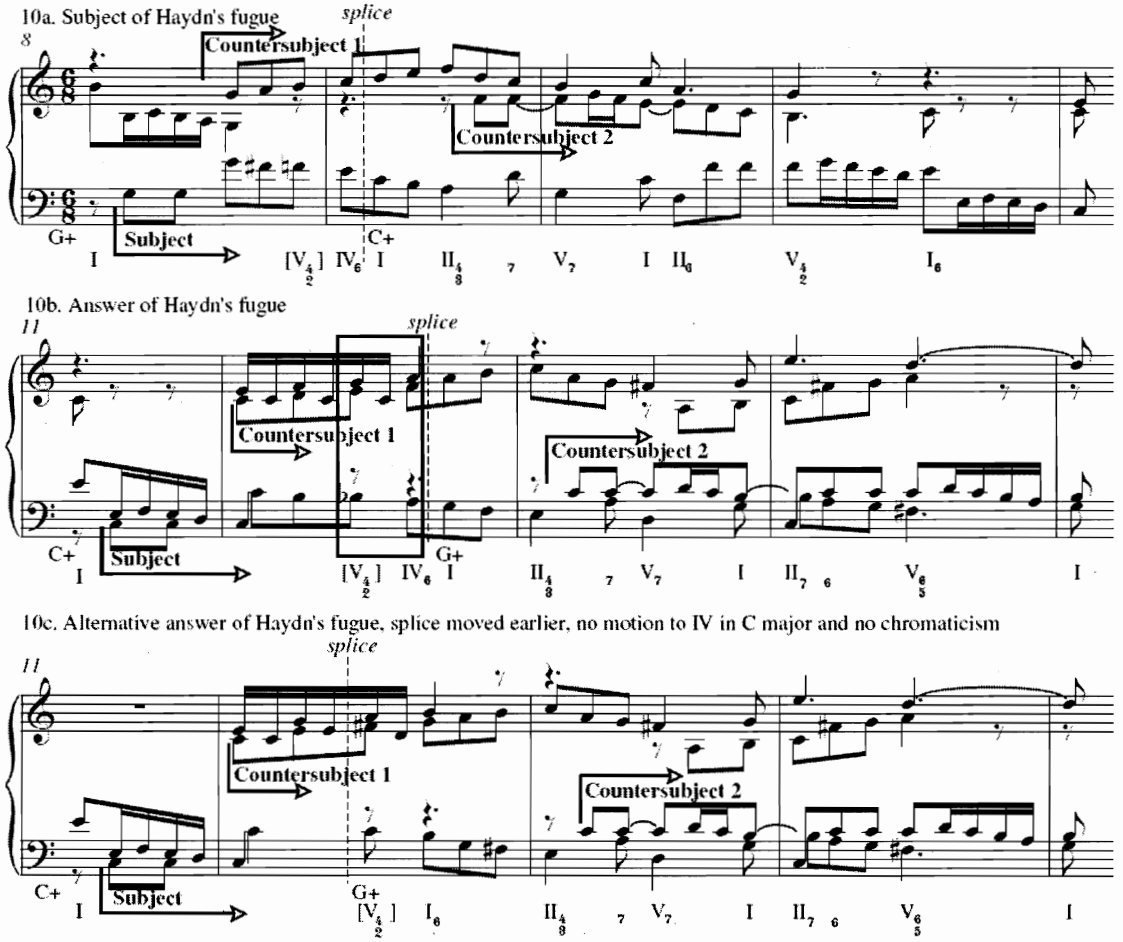


Upon inspection of Haydn's early fugues, Widor's choice of genre for the homage is more understandable. The fourth movement of Haydn's String quartet in *C* major (op.2, no.2 *Fuga a 4 soggetti*) presents striking similarities with Widor's *Fugue*.[257] Haydn's answer would fail just as Widor's due to modulation problems: according to the laws of *fugue d'école*, a subject and its answer can make a V-I motion only in the main key or its dominant. Ex.10a and 10b show Haydn's subject and its answer, and 10c shows the answer if it were a *fugue d'école*. Because the subject's chromaticism occurs on scale degrees 5 and 4, the splice (*mutation*) forces the answer to start on scale degree 4, preventing the return of the chromatic notes.[258] It allows the answer to avoid the forbidden (according to the *fugue d'école*) motion to *F* Haydn uses in his own answer (boxed in 10b). Haydn's answer is also problematic according to the *fugue d'école* regarding the location of the splice. He modifies his answer between the sixth and seventh notes of his subject, changing the third to a second. This should be the point he changes keys (back to *C* in the subject or to *G* in the answer), but in the answer, the modulation to *G* is delayed, as the bass *F*♮ preceding the *E* shows. Because the answer's modulation to *G* does not occur at the time of the splice, it does not follow *fugue d'école* regulations. Of course, preserving the chromaticism of the subject makes the answer much more interesting, and allows the free use of chromaticism in the rest of the work. Perhaps Widor rejected the *fugue d'école* rules as a *clin d'oeil* to Haydn's own dismissal of these rules. Other parallels can be drawn between the two fugues: the time signature, the liberal use of chromaticism, the resemblance of the subjects's rhythmic configuration (acceleration towards the end after a relatively homorhythmical beginning) and the presence of wedge design (Haydn combines both the mirror and right forms of his subject, ex.11). By

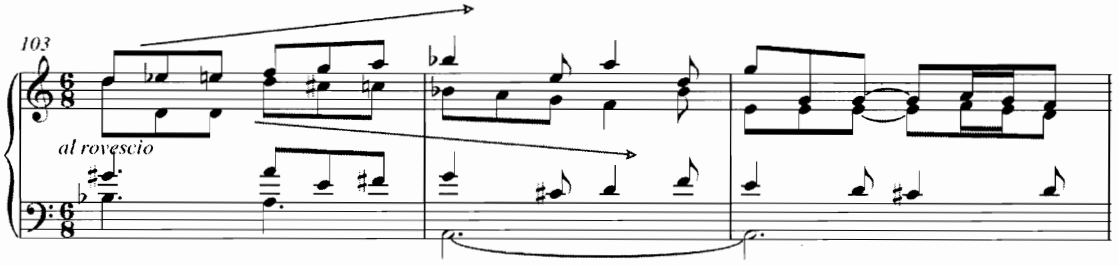
[257] I am indebted to Prof. Tom Beghin for suggesting this Haydn quartet example.
[258] The rules of splicing in a chromatic context are explained in Marcel Dupré, *Cours complet de fugue* (Paris: Leduc, 1938).

selecting the fugue as a support for his musical tombeau, Widor achieved a double homage: to Bach, but also to Haydn.

Example 10: Haydn, String quartet op.20 no.2, 4th movement, bars 8-15. The first two systems show Haydn's subject and answer. The last system shows the answer according to the *fugue d'école*'s rules.

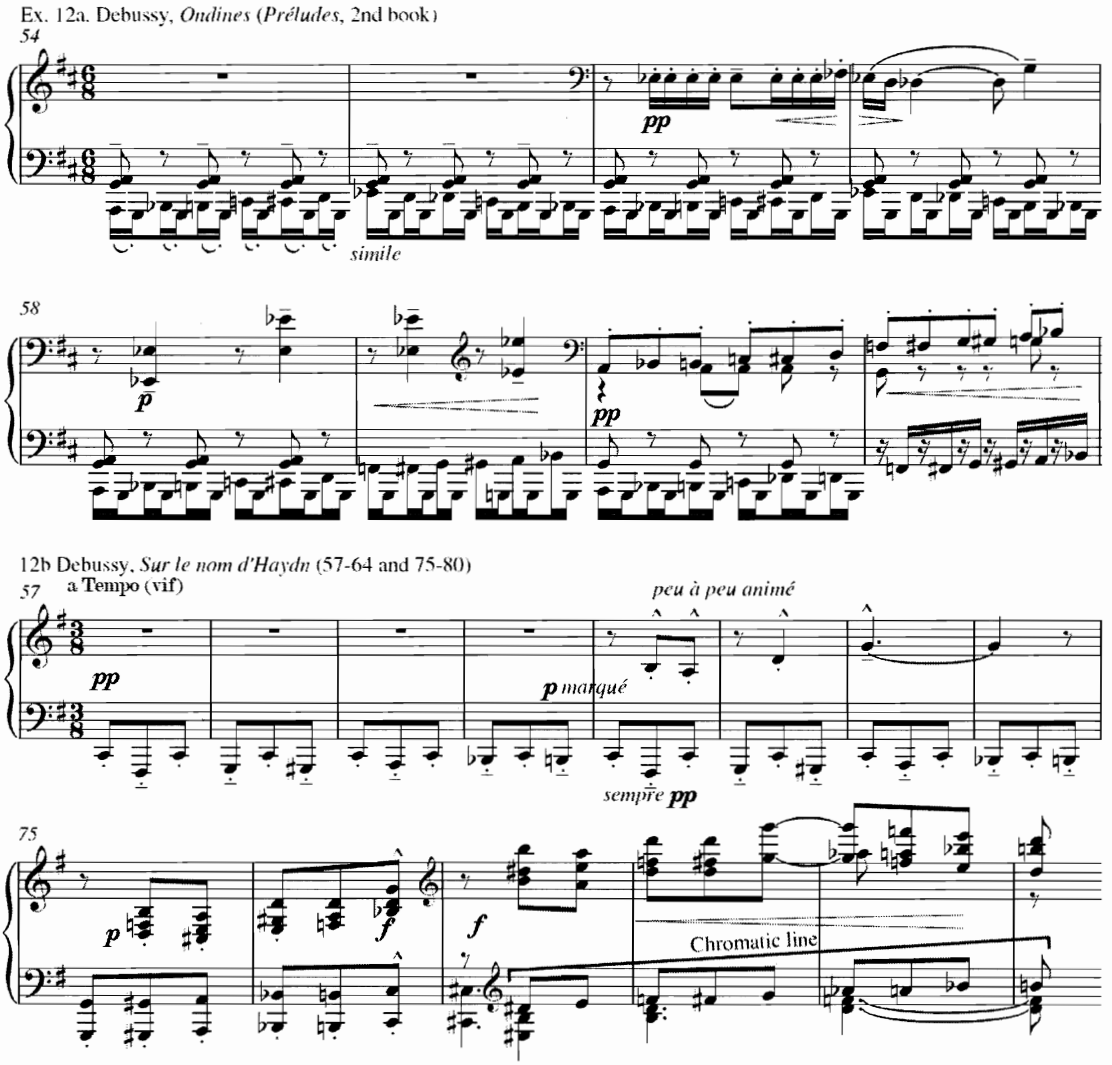


Example 11: Haydn, String quartet op.20 no.2, 4th movement, bars 103-5



The form of Debussy's work is the furthest of the set of six from a classical Haydn model. Like the other two minuets, Debussy's work is comprised of three parts, but their only common thread is the Haydn theme. They display three quite different characters and their inside structure does not fit into the classical phrase structure model, sounding almost improvisational. The disparity of the sections reminds us strongly of the three movements of a sonata, which was perhaps Debussy's intention. It is true, however, that some of Debussy's compositions from around 1910 display a similar disposition, like the *Cathédrale engloutie*, *Jeux* or *Ondine*. The latter piece features many similarities with *Sur le nom d'Haydn*: they both have a section with a chromatic ascending bass alternating with a fixed note on the left hand followed by an ascending chromatic scale (ex.12).

Example 12: Comparison between Debussy's *Ondine* (*Préludes,* 2nd book) and *Sur le nom d'Haydn*



Besides genre and form, rhetorical figures are certainly one of the best markers of music of the past. Among the six composers, Hahn is the only one who seems to have used these figures in his work. Inspired by Tom Beghin's chapter on delivery in *Haydn and the performance of rhetoric,*[259] I will describe Hahn's piece using rhetorical terms. On one hand, the theme is the basis of the work, and its exposition in the first 16 bars, with virtually no ornaments, has presentation goals. The theme is thus called *brevitas*. On the other hand, the variations, which are ornamented versions of the theme, aim at stirring passions. This rhetorical process bears the name *ornatus.*[260] When Hahn chose this genre, he did not only pick a favorite of Haydn's; he also picked one that is charged with rhetorical meaning. Every important section of the theme begins with HAYDN, which is reminiscent of another figure: *anaphora,*[261] a strategy orators use to build up some emotion by always starting their sentences with the same words. This figure bears the most significance at the start of the second part (RH 8), when the Haydn theme is played for the fourth time. Hahn shifts from major to minor and launches an ascending sequence. For two bars, dramatic diminished sevenths over a crescendo lead up to a climax on bar 13: the last diminished seventh is held *forte* over a whole bar before resolving on an *E* minor triad. After this laboured ascent and conquest of a new key are achieved, the Haydn theme closes off everything *piano* in the home key, leaving all the built-up emotions hanging. What Hahn accomplished with this climb, climax and conclusion reflects Haydn's humour: he showed a desire to surprise through exaggeration (perhaps on a smaller scale). When done in a grotesque and sudden way, this action is called *hyperbole* in rhetorical language. The last rhetorical figure Hahn resorts to is not exclusive to him: it is the *peroratio*, or conclusion after the argument is delivered, which corresponds in musical terms to the closing section. D'Indy and Widor in particular have closing sections that also remind us of this rhetorical figure. Both also added a pinch of Haydnesque humour (the former with the vertical Haydn theme, and Widor with the staccato scale crowned with the *sforzando* octave skip). However, because Hahn, in his will to imitate Haydn as closely as possible has also emulated some of the rhetorical figures with which Haydn was familiar, I thought it best to apply the *peroratio* figure to him only.

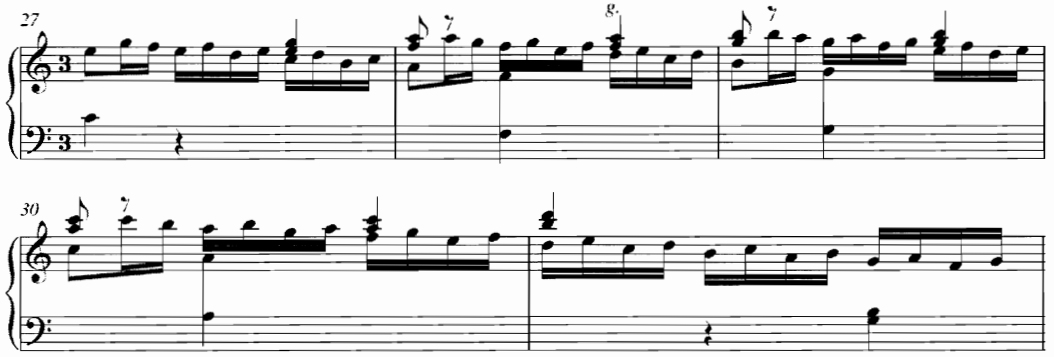
Another characteristic of classical style writing that is displayed in some of the pieces is what is referred to by Faure as *écriture sèche.*[262] Widor and Hahn clearly wrote in that

---

[259] Tom Beghin and Sander M. Goldberg, *Haydn and the performance of rhetoric* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2007), 131-71.
[260] Ibid., 166.
[261] Ibid., 132.
[262] Literally "dry writing", which means with no sustain pedal. Faure, *Musique et société*, 291.

manner, and most of Ravel's *Menuet sur le nom d'Haydn* can be played without the help of any pedal. These composers specified very complex articulation marks, perhaps to emulate a harpsichord feel in the pieces (RH 5 with a staccato-tenuto chord, CMW with his extensive use of staccatissimo throughout, which were the staccato signs used in Haydn's time). Another means to simulate the harpsichord was to use certain skills that were common then in virtuoso pieces, like hand crossing. D'Indy asks for that technique regularly in his *Menuet*, perhaps inspired more by Rameau (or Scarlatti) than Haydn in that endeavour. Rameau's *Les Trois Mains* has passages that are very close to d'Indy's work (ex.13, compare with VdI 2-5). Apart from the few lightning-quick Haydn theme occurrences, ornaments are scarce in all pieces: only Ravel and Hahn use them. The former uses double appoggiaturas in traditional writing, but Hahn, perhaps motivated by Amédée Méreaux's *Clavecinistes,* thought it better to write out his appoggiatura (RH 4).

Example 13: Rameau, *Les Trois Mains* (Suite en la) bars 27-31



In sum, the most significant references to the past, apart from the Haydn theme itself, are the genres chosen and forms used. Other true markers are scarce: only Hahn resorted to rhetorical figures and specific keyboard techniques that reminisce not only to Haydn but much other music of the past. Widor's fugue can easily be seen to honour Bach or another Baroque fugal composer as much as Haydn; Fauré probably thought so too, for he quipped that "for Dukas, Widor and d'Indy, Haydn's remembrance was obviously eclipsed by that of Rameau, Bach or Beethoven."[263] The duality between composer's and honouree's styles I presented at the beginning of this chapter can be enriched with a third possible element, becoming a three-way relation between composer, Haydn (the supposed honouree), and the new French style (perhaps the true honouree). Now that I have examined all of the honourees' fingerprints in the Haydn homage, I will now seek the roots of a new French style for each composer, and see how much they expressed themselves within the confines of the tombeau.

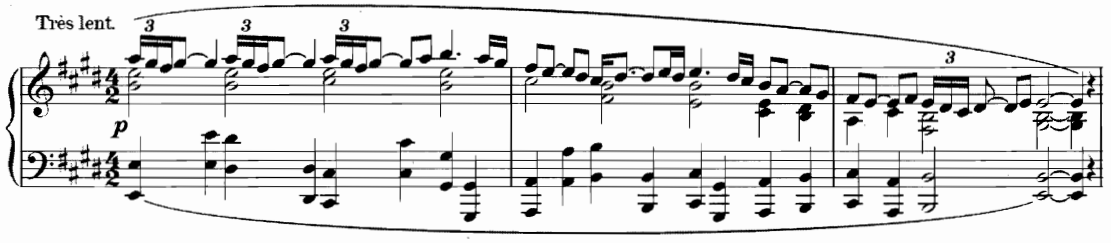
[263] Ibid., 279.

4.3 Elements of ingenuity: defining a new French style

Defining the general characteristics of a nation's musical language is possible in the baroque era because of the uniformity of tonal discourse displayed at the time; it is far more difficult to accomplish that feat for early twentieth century French repertoire. Nevertheless, aside from the imposed elements and the references to the past, the composers of the Haydn homage agreed on some of their compositional techniques, and it is on these that I will focus my style-defining efforts. The resemblances between their works are not surprising given their common educational ground: all six received their training fully or in part from the Conservatoire. It is tempting to label these similarities as important features of a French style, but it would risk gross simplification of a very subtle and complex problem. The elements of style described below, however, can be conceived as clues to the creation of a new French identity revolving around the use of elements of the past mixed with the ingenuity of the French spirit.

Reynaldo Hahn's *Thème varié* is an interesting pastiche, but it delivers very few innovative elements. At best, it is possible to demonstrate his contribution to the homage is close to his own work. Although a single example is certainly not enough to draw conclusions on a given composer's style, the excerpt from his *chanson À Chloris* composed 5 years after *Thème varié* is characteristic.[264] Even in this salon piece, a sense of the past is present with written-out ornaments and a bass reminiscent of Bach's *Aria* (from his third orchestral suite).

Example 14: Hahn, *À Chloris*, bars 1-3



The first common technique used by the composers involves the enharmonic reinterpretation of certain tones to modulate to foreign keys. Widor's piece is a prime example of this method and explains many of his seemingly odd choices. The subject of his fugue, as stated earlier, modulates to the dominant's relative, which causes the real answer to go into a 'foreign' key. Going to *B* minor allows Widor to introduce *A*♯ in the exposition, the leading tone of that key. This tone could also be reinterpreted as *B*♭, a tone that would be either the

[264] For more information on Hahn's writing style in his *chansons*, please refer to Thea Sikona Engelson's PhD dissertation.

mediant in the parallel minor of *G* major or part of a diminished seventh chord leading to the dominant of the main key. Both interpretations of the same tone can also be part of a chromatic scale that Widor introduces in the exposition to prepare its use in the subsequent parts of the fugue (CMW 13).[265] Therefore, the foundation is laid for enharmonic reinterpretation in the remainder of the fugue, and bar 18 is a good example of Widor's exploration of the black keys: the second beat's left hand *B*♭ is reinterpreted four notes later in the right hand as *A*♯ in the next bar. In bars 31-2, the same tone spelled as *B*♭ gets the same resolution as part of an ascending chromatic line. Widor took care to present *B*♭ in bars 40-1 before the re-exposition that will naturally respell it at the subject's end (CMW 45). Near the end of the fugue, his play on enharmonic tones becomes even less subtle with the successive respelling of *E*♭ and *D*♯ (left hand of CMW 55 and right hand of CMW 56 and 58).

Enharmonic reinterpretation brings Debussy and Widor's works together in unexpected ways. The *D*♯-*E*-*B* motion featured at the end of the Widor (CMW 56 and 58) also appears in the Debussy (CD 37-8 and 41-2), and with a similar goal. Bars 31-2 of Debussy's work are reminiscent of bars 6-7 and 16-17 of the first part, where *D*♯ is replaced by an *E*♭ resolving to *E*♮. *A*♯ also receives the same treatment in bars 12 and 14, respelled in bar 15 as *B*♭. But Debussy's use of enharmonic reinterpretations has further reaching consequences. The first part of Debussy's work leaves many tensions unsettled, one of which concerns the unresolved *C*♯ of bar 20. It is picked up only later in bar 77, where it weakly resolves on a *D* of a different register (bar 79). After this failed attempt at a satisfying resolution, bars 73-6 are repeated in bars 83-6 with hope of a definite conclusion. This hope is again deceived, however, the *C*♯ not even going to *D*; instead, it is prolonged and moved to a lower register. Again, one might predict the *C*♯ would go to *D* on a dominant chord leading back to tonic. Debussy, however, enharmonically reinterprets the C#, picking up on the *D*♭-*C* motion repeated a few times in the first part of the work, and the *C*♯ goes down to *B*♭ (CD 113) via *C*♮ (CD 105). The return of the initial motive recalls the *D*♭-*C* motion of the

[265] The *fugue d'école*'s rules stipulate that unless a new subject is exposed, every musical element used in the development of the fugue has to come from the exposition. If there is no chromaticism in the exposition, there should not be any in the whole work.

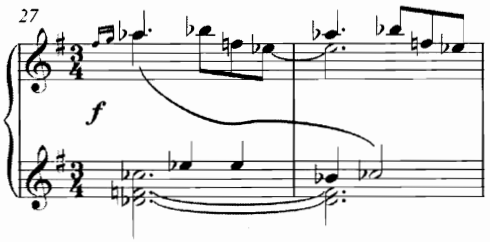
beginning, tying it to the conclusion of the piece. This also explains why Debussy did not begin squarely in *G* major, but rather finds his way in from a flat-side environment.

D'Indy and Dukas's works both explore remote keys, making the use of enharmonic reinterpretation mandatory. Despite their tonal volatility, these works also display uniformity through different spelling of tones. The closing section of d'Indy's minuet section insists strongly on the resolution of *A*♯ to *B*, repeating it four times (VdI 21-4) after its initial use in bar 19's deceptive motion to VI. D'Indy also uses this motion from *A*♯ to *B* in his first phrase's bizarre cadence. These two cadential motions frame the small ternary's contrasting middle, set in *B*♭, in which a few *B*♭ resolve down to *A* (VdI 9) or *A*♭ (VdI 11 and 17). The unusual use of *A*♯ in both the exposition and recapitulation's cadential formulae provides justification for the central excursion to *B*♭ major. In Dukas's work the main enharmonic play revolves around *C*♯ and *D*♭. The initial bass *C*♮ effectively undermines the main key *D* major, and Dukas focuses on this tonal weakening by never allowing the leading tone to resolve properly to *D*. The recapitulation shows this process effectively: the initial *C*♮ is reached through *D*♭ (PD 27-8) while the final *D* (whose timing also lessens its impact) is attained from *C*♮, avoiding a potential *C*♯ (PD 40).

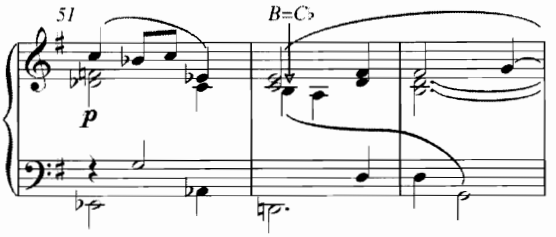
The only occurrence of flats (MR 51) in Ravel's minuet provides one of the most striking moments of the work. This bar could easily be removed without affecting the quality of the piece's closure, so what is its role in the piece? The sliding effect given by bars 50-1 has been already experienced in bars 28-9, which also suggests an element of answer. Bars 27-8's respelled notes are identical to those from bar 51, *C* being the only exception (it is flat in bars 27-8, ex.15). The *C*♭ is recalled on the first beat of bar 52, spelled as a *B* that initiates the last Haydn theme instance. Bar 51 thus recalls part of the contrasting middle, bringing a new meaning to the re-exposition as recapitulation of the piece: it brings back the main theme and a bit from the contrasting middle before concluding.

Example 15: Ravel, *Menuet sur le nom d'Haydn*, bars 27-8 and 51

15a. Bars 27-28 respelled



15b. Bar 51 followed by the *B* occurrence



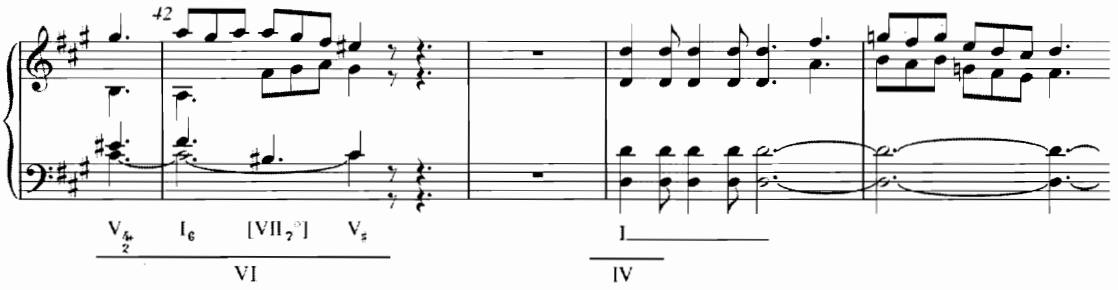
Exploitation of different registers is another technique uniting all five composers. Each composer took advantage of the full range of the keyboard; for example, d'Indy's hand crossing techniques give shape to three distinct voices, each in its own register. The other four, however, took it a step further by leaving some tones hanging in a given register only to pick them up later on. Dukas provides the simplest example: bar 27's high *A*♯ resolves down an octave to *B*, putting emphasis on the recapitulation. The *A*♯'s real resolution occurs as the melody comes slowly back up on bar 36, until it reaches the highest pitch of the whole work, *D*. This arrival is not sufficiently supported in the bass to give it a concluding quality (same as the bass arrival on *D* three bars later) and it is picked up again only at the end, when *D* major has satisfyingly settled. Debussy also features a similar situation with bar 55's high *G* being picked up at the end (CD 117).

Perhaps the most shocking registral shift of the Haydn homage is featured in Widor's fugue. As discussed earlier, the beginning of the fugue formally conforms to the *fugue d'école* until what should have been the first re-exposition. According to the *fugue d'école*'s tonal plan, after the subject is re-exposed in the relative key, it must be followed by its answer in the relative's dominant. There Widor takes a sharp turn away from the model and begins his second episode with a huge leap down, leaving a high *E* unresolved (CMW 23-4). The following ten bars slowly crawl back up to reinstate that *E* (CMW 24-33). The *E* is brought down to *D* via *D*♭ before scaling down to the middle register and the final re-exposition in the home key, but the *D* is again left suspended. It is reclaimed only at the end with another descending scale, tying the last re-exposition to the end (CMW 61-4).

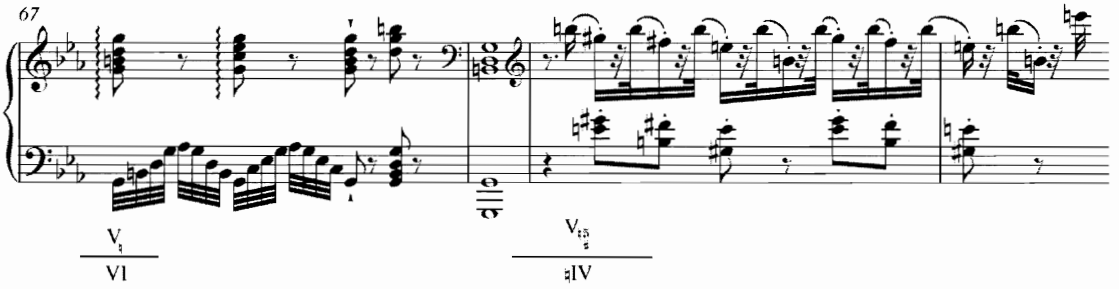
The sudden register drop of bars 23-4 of Widor's fugue is not its only surprising element: the move from an *E* minor triad to a *C* major one is also unexpected. Widor's erudition perhaps comes out in his decision to juxtapose these two harmonies, as Haydn

himself was fond of such surprises.[266] In most cases, Haydn separates the two tonally distant harmonies either by a caesura or a short melodic lead-in. Bars 23-4 of Widor's work go from an *E* minor harmony to a *C* major harmony (from VI to IV). Haydn's juxtaposition of remote sonorities usually involves the dominant chords of these harmonies; in the fourth movement of symphony 65 (in *A* major), however, he goes from V/VI to IV, which relates closely to Widor's own juxtaposition (ex.16). Some of Haydn's juxtapositions are far more daring: in his sonata in *E*♭ major, he leaves again a V/VI sonority to go to a V/♮IV (ex.17). The harmonies Widor chose for his surprising register drop were among those Haydn used himself for the same purpose; moreover, this shocking moment is perhaps a reference to Haydn's fondness of humour in music.

Example 16: Haydn, *Symphony no. 65 in A major* Hob. I/65, fourth movement, bars 42-5



Example 17: Haydn, *Sonata in E*♭ major Hob. 52, first movement, bars 65-8



Ravel's minuet does not feature any surprising register breaks, save one in bars 5-6 (repeated on bars 13-4) that deserves attention. The high *C*♯ arrives rather abruptly, opening up briefly the high register and setting up an expectation in regard to its resolution. After bar 14, the melody tries in vain to go back up to the high *B* and goes as high as *G*♯ before floating back down. It is on bar 38's high *D*, the climax of the piece, that Ravel reserved the high registral resolution. This quest for the high note left hanging is common to Debussy, Widor

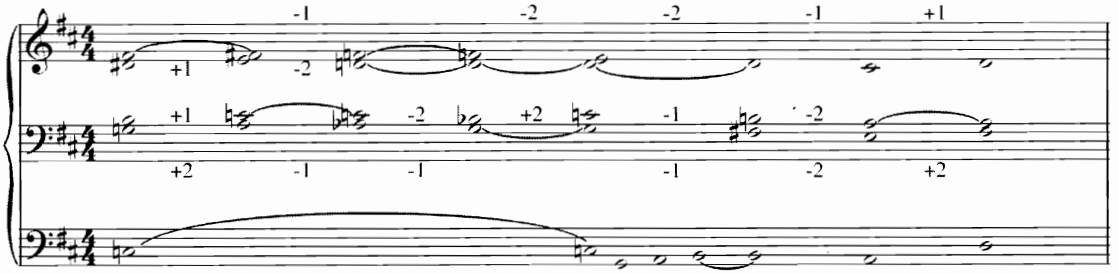
[266] In his dissertation, Mark Anson-Cartwright discusses these juxtapositions of harmonies in Haydn's music; dropping down a third is classified as type I (of three types) and gives Haydn's symphonies #102 and 103 as examples among others (Mark Anson-Cartwright, "The development section in Haydn's late instrumental works" (PhD diss., City University of New York, 1998), 48-52. Other examples are compiled in

and Ravel. Ravel's case is unique in his direct conquest of the high *D*, with no developed process of successful ascent.

A frequently cited characteristic of musical impressionism is the use of chords in a "non-functional" context. These chords often elude analysts trying to understand their interrelationship, and a strong temptation to "explain them away" solely on their colouring of the melody persists. Dukas, Ravel and Debussy's works all feature such chords; however, it is possible to elucidate their role satisfactorily on closer analysis.

Dukas's *prélude élégiaque* is certainly the most difficult piece of the set to analyze because of its strange tonal context, but also because of the extraordinary chord combinations which contribute to its ethereal atmosphere. Most harmonic progressions can be analyzed as the result of strict voice-leading procedures, every voice never skipping. The opening group of chords, when put in close position, illustrates this principle well (ex.18).

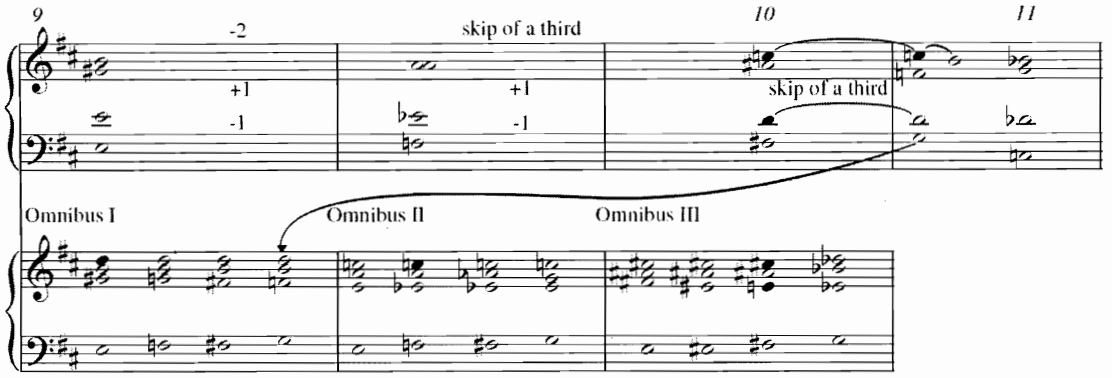
Example 18: Dukas, *Prélude élégiaque*, bars 1-7 in close position. Numbers indicate semitones.



The chords heard in bars 9-11 do not follow these strict voice leading procedures (ex.19); rather, they are based on another harmonic series, widely known as the "omnibus" progression.[267] This sequence always features a chromatic bass, either ascending or descending. On such a bass, three omnibus progressions are possible (ex.19). The chords on Dukas's score follow all three possibilities at once, going from one to the other to end up with a new series. The chords that appear in the contrasting middle are simpler. Between bar 23 and 27, he uses only half-diminished chords except for a triad on the third beat of bar 23.

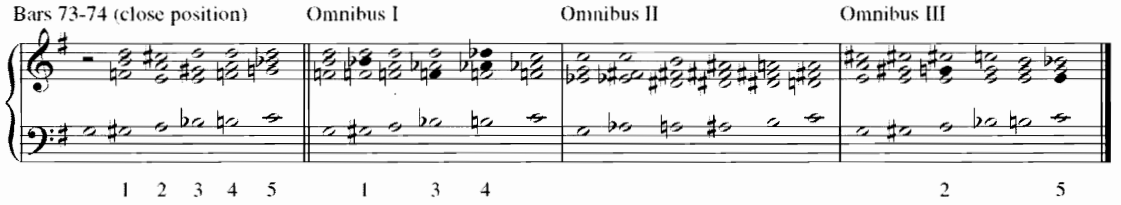
[267] For more information on creative omnibus progression settings, read Peter Schubert, "'A new epoch of polyphonic style': Schoenberg on chords and lines." *Music Analysis* 12/3 (1993): 289-319.

Example 19: Dukas, *Prélude élégiaque*, bars 9-11. The top system shows how the chords' voices do not always proceed stepwise. The bottom system shows the three omnibus progressions; the corresponding chords are aligned with the top system. The fourth chord belongs to the first progression as indicated by the arrow. Black note heads indicate differences between Dukas's chord and the omnibus. Bar numbers are located at the top.



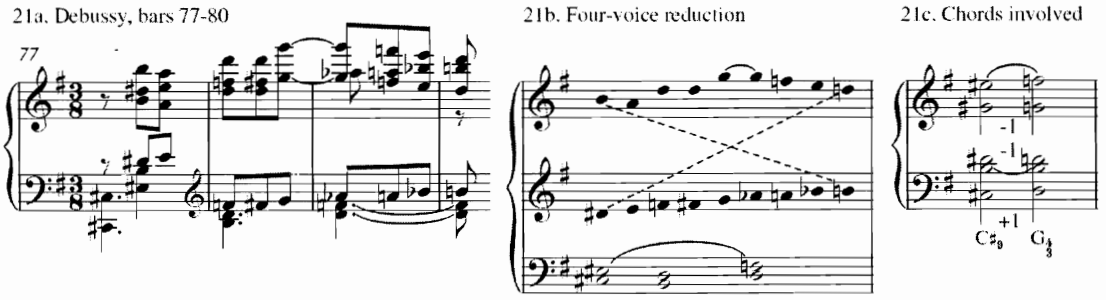
Debussy's piece also features a string of chords over a chromatic ascending bass based upon the omnibus progression (CD 73-4, 75-6, 83-4, 85-6). Unlike Dukas, Debussy focuses on a single progression, borrowing two chords from another. He also performs more changes in reference to the omnibus progressions (ex.20). These little changes to the omnibus allowed him to keep a smooth voice leading, all voices proceeding stepwise, including the bass line.

Example 20: Debussy, *Sur le nom d'Haydn*, bars 73-4 in close position with the three omnibus progression possibilities. Debussy's original scores are numbered and refer to the corresponding chords in the omnibus progressions. Black note heads signal differences between chords.



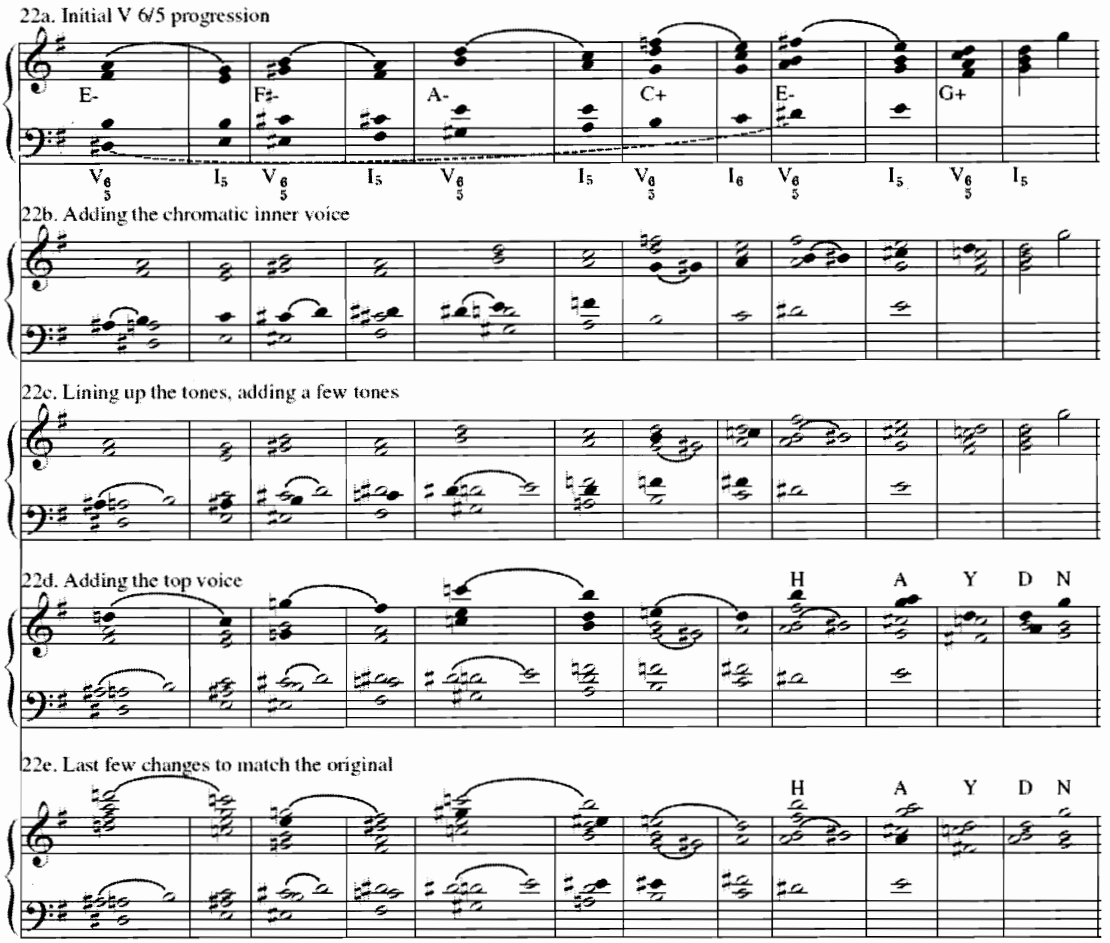
Bars 77-80 also feature a perplexing series of chords that hold the key to understanding the dissonant encounter of bar 94. These four-voice chords have a clear contrapuntal origin: the bass with parallel thirds, the Haydn theme followed by descending tetrachords and an ascending chromatic scale (ex.21). Although many encounters are provoked between all the voices, only the first and last harmonies matter: *C*♯ major ninth and *G* major dominant seventh. The voice exchange between the two upper voices shows the prolongational nature of the progression, as the framing harmonies share two common tones (*E*♯ respelled as *F*♮). These harmonies are juxtaposed again in bars 87-9 leading down to the dissonant aggregate of bar 94 where they are superposed. The chord slowly morphs into an *A* minor seventh over the *C*♮ that resolves on *B*♭ as described earlier.

Example 21: Debussy, *Sur le nom d'Haydn*, bars 77-9, showing the prolongation through voice exchange. The two harmonies share two common tones.



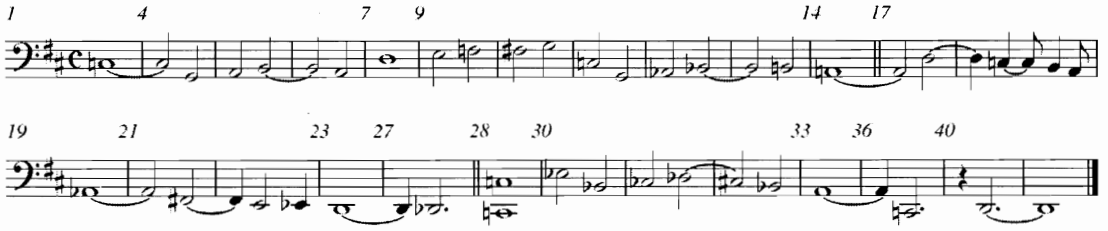
Arguably the most intense part of Ravel's minuet is the chromatic ascent that precedes the recapitulation (MR 38-43), another example of a complex chord progression. Ravel's use of functional chords, albeit often made more complex with the addition of dissonant tones, significantly simplifies the analysis. Peter Kaminsky suggests a method to better understand the intricate chords Ravel uses in his compositions. It involves taking simple chord progressions and gradually adding dissonant tones to obtain Ravel's aggregates. The position of the chords in the left hand of bars 37-44 of the minuet strongly suggests a sequence of V6/5 chords; from that point, it is possible to build up the whole progression. The first system of example 22 shows the sequence using the same bass line as Ravel's original. Adding the chromatic inner voice to that basic progression adds a first level of complexity; most dominant chords resolve to VI. At that point, it is necessary to add a fifth voice to get closer to Ravel's texture. Lining up the chromatic line with the chords yields the dissonant sonorities characteristic of this ascent. All that is left is to add the top voice based on the first three notes of HAYDN. Worthy of notice is the irregular character of that line whose interval of repetition begins with an ascending fifth, changing successively to an ascending fourth, then a sixth. By then the progression contains all the essential tones, proving the succession to be based on a simple harmonic sequence prolonging *E* minor harmony.

Example 22: Ravel, *Menuet sur le nom d'Haydn*, bars 38-44. Black note heads show changes between every system.



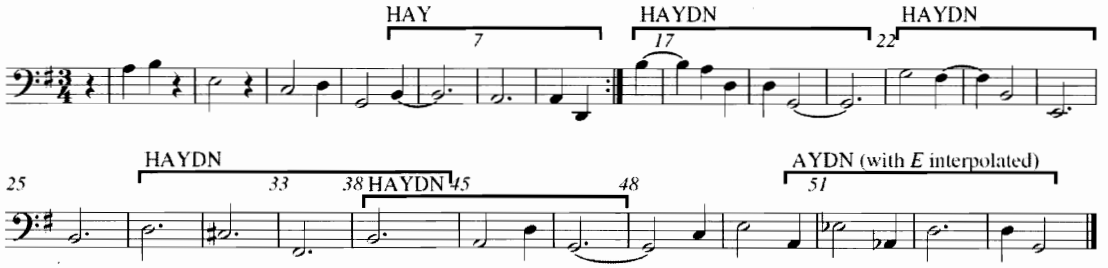
The last characteristic shared by all five composers is large scale uniformity. This rather broad category includes all the unobvious means composers use to tie all the elements of their work together, which implies traditional ways of achieving uniformity (like form or thematic unity) are excluded. The bass line of many of the Haydn pieces reveals an intention to unify. For example, Dukas's bass line behaves differently in the three parts of his work (ex.23): in the exposition it ascends, in the contrasting middle it descends, and in the recapitulation it remains relatively stable, going up a tone at the end.

Example 23: Dukas, *Prélude élégiaque*, reduction of the bass line



The bass line of Ravel's work is remarkable in that it is almost exclusively derived from the Haydn theme (ex.24). This has important repercussions for the minuet's tonal plan, as every instance of the theme leads the bass down a third. In the exposition, a single fragment of the Haydn theme appears in the bass. Ravel resorts to the same strategy as Dukas (PD 48-51) to cadence in *D* major by removing the last note of HAYDN (MR 4-8). The contrasting middle is comprised of three HAYDN statements in the bass, beginning respectively on *B*, *G* and *D*, the three tones of a *G* major triad, the main key. The three Haydn statements lead the work through *G* major, *E* minor and *B*. (The mode in the latter cannot be assessed since the arrival on *B* coincides with the climactic ascent of bars 38-43). Once in *B*, Ravel uses that tone to start another HAYDN statement that brings the work back to the home key. The use of that *B* as a pedal point combined with the most dissonant succession of chords in the whole piece contributes to the wondrous feeling associated with the unexpected return of the Haydn theme of bars 42-4. As stated earlier, this pedal is also a standard effect at the end of the contrasting middle in a small ternary, albeit here on the "wrong" harmony. The Haydn theme thus becomes the basis of the minuet's structure as well as being an integral part of its melody.

Example 24: Ravel, *Menuet sur le nom d'Haydn*, reduction of the bass line

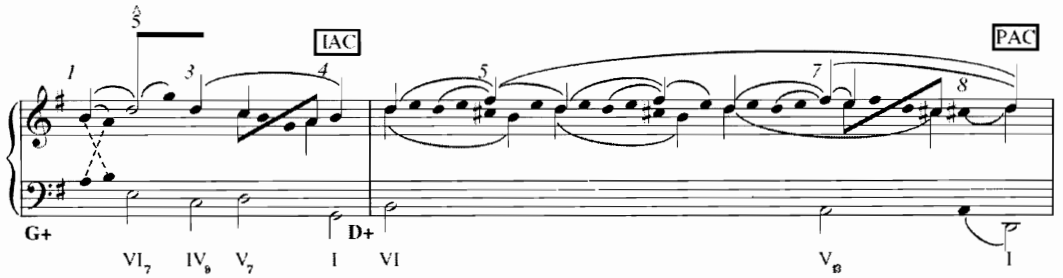


The two incomplete instances of the Haydn theme in Ravel's bass line constitute another important unifying factor for the piece. One might ask where is the *B* that is missing from the last HAYDN in the bass (MR 49-53)? The first incomplete appearance of the Haydn theme in the bass (MR 4-8) provides an appealing answer, as it gives the minuet a supplementary means of unification. The missing *B* could come from other sources, especially since that tone has been emphasized in the whole piece: the long *B* pedal (MR 38-43), the *B* of

the exposition's second phrase (MR 4-6, the one I referenced to earlier) or even the *B* from bars 27-8 that is also missing from bar 51 (ex.15). The very first tone of the piece is a *B*, making it quite plain that this tone would become the cornerstone of the work.

Ravel's minuet has another important unifying factor. The Haydn theme outlines the interval of a third and, as shown above, the bass takes advantage of this property to build the work's tonal plan. Thirds also populate the melody of the work on multiple levels, and several clues suggest Ravel placed those thirds intentionally. Ex.25 shows a Schenkerian reduction of the first 8 bars underlining the multiple third relations. In the first four bars, the melody goes from *B* to *D* and back to *B* again. Bar 3's eighth-note figure, itself in thirds, is an unfolding of the third *C-A*. The second phrase begins a third up, settling in *B* minor. The upper voice uses little appoggiaturas for the first time to underline the third *D-F*♯. A second voice detaches from the first to create a lower third *B-D* passing through *C*♯. *F*♯ is the upper voice's chord tone the first two times the figure is presented (bars 5-6), but the third time the *F*♯ becomes a dissonance it could be read either as an appoggiatura or as a thirteenth chord. That *E* mediates a middleground descending third (*F*♯*-D*) that goes back to the piece's primary tone, where an unfolding similar to bar 3 takes place (MR 7). Bar 7's *F*♯ plays a role similar to that of the *D* on bar 2's seventh chord on *E*. The resolution of the dissonant tone happens on the following chord (bar 7's *E* minor triad for the *F*♯ and bar 3's II6/5 for the *D*). Of the other instances of structural thirds that occur during the work, the ones that open the contrasting middle are particularly striking (MR 16-26). The double appoggiaturas return, now emphasizing the thirds to go up the scale to reach the high *D*. While the bass unfolds its Haydn theme, the melody plays its third motive repeatedly.

Example 25: Ravel, *Menuet sur le nom d'Haydn*, bars 0-8, Schenkerian reduction



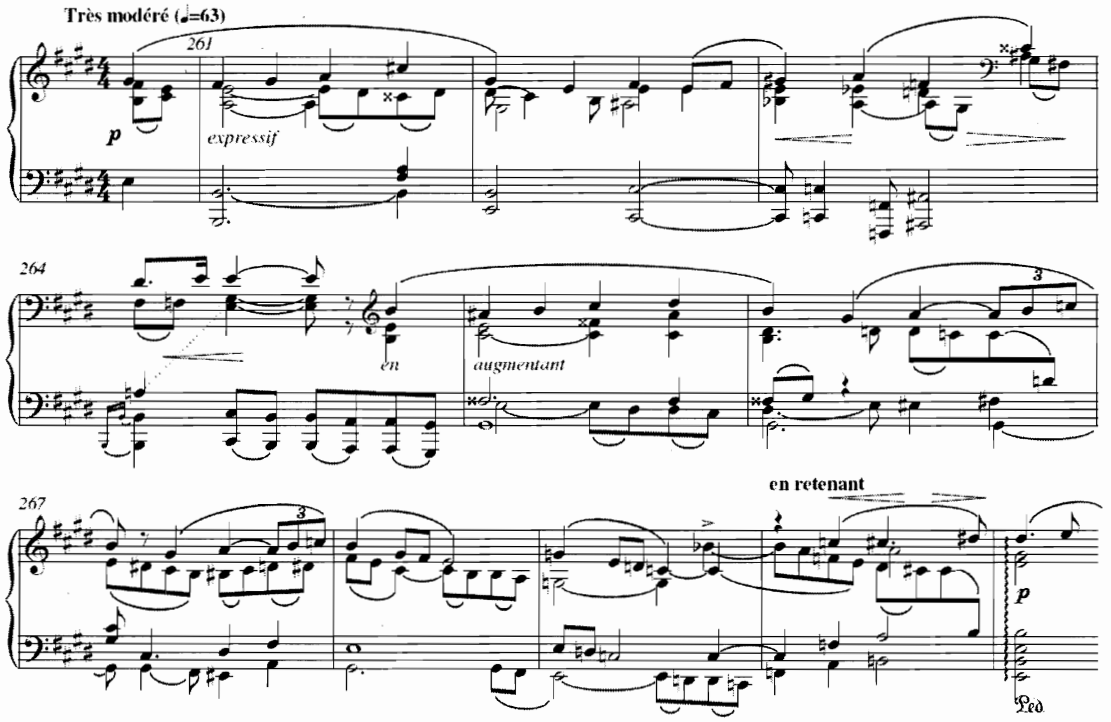
Debussy achieves unity in a different way: he sets up a situation in the first few bars that does not attain satisfying closure until the very end of the piece. The bass ascent of bars 1-3 is repeated thrice in the course of the work (CD 5-7, 15-17, 113-115). The first ascent reaches *F*♭, and seems to head towards *C*♭ major. Instead, the bass line goes back to *B*♭ and travels back up again; the result of the first attempt is thus a simple prolongation of *B*♭. On the second try (CD 5-7), the bass gets to *E*♮, en route to completing the first complete Haydn theme occurrence (completed on bar 12). The melody and bass do not line up properly at their arrival on *G*, however, and the final closure seems inconclusive. The enharmonic reinterpretations discussed above are also set up in these bars. The bass goes back to *B*♭ and reclaims the *E*♮ prolonging a different harmony (bar 16's *E*♭ harmony becomes *A*) through a double voice exchange (CD 16-20). It reaches the low *C*♯ on bar 20 where it is abandoned until the third part, as explained earlier.

The second section seems detached from the other two, but in fact fills important roles. Two of these roles have already been discussed: the enharmonic reinterpretation of bars 37-8 and 41-2, and the suspension of the high *G* of bar 55. The second section begins a HAYDN frenzy, audibly clarifying the main theme of the work. It features the grandest occurrence of the theme in bars 43-47 leading to a brilliant climax, amplified by the arrival of an inner voice ascending scale. As a result, this section contrasts greatly with the first one in tempo and character. The last section resolves all the tension set up in the beginning, taking the *C*♯ back to *B*♭. The final ascent from *B*♭ finally achieves closure on a *G* chord with an added sixth.

Among the four aforementioned common points connecting the works of the Haydn homage, the use of non-functional chords for colour is certainly most often cited as being characteristically French. The use of register and unity through ingenious means are not markers of the French style *per se*, but rather characteristic of good compositional

craftsmanship, and idiomatic keyboard writing. The high occurrence of enharmonic reinterpretation as a structural tool is perhaps the most surprising discovery, as all the composers (except Hahn) resorted to it. Bringing back the "triangle model" discussed earlier, I believe most composers worked not just to honour Haydn or any other composer of the past, but rather to use the opportunity of a simple theme to come up with inventive ways of renewing their own style. An extreme example is d'Indy's *Menuet*, which is completely different from his usual Wagnerian style. Ex.26 is an excerpt from his *Sonate en mi* composed three years before his *Menuet* that illustrates his usual writing. Even Hahn who resorted to pastiche did so within the confines of his own style, as the excerpt from his song *À Chloris* (cited earlier) shows.

Example 26: d'Indy, *Sonate en mi op.63*, 1rst mvt, bars 260-71



Conclusion

Ravel and Debussy were often compared and contrasted during their lifetimes and still are nowadays. It is somewhat surprising therefore that this unique occasion of comparing their work on the same task has not garnered more attention. Many biographers had the occasion to do so, as any exhaustive list of compositions written by the six participants in the homage would include a piece from it. Unfortunately, most scholars either did not bother exploring the other works or did not examine them closely. One of Ravel's best biographers summarizes the situation well: "Considering Debussy's piece, or Dukas's, considering the oblivion into which the other works [of the Haydn homage] fell, Ravel is the one that did best in that lovely chore."[268] An indirect way of saying only Ravel's piece has any worth, as confirmed, it would seem, by its being the one most often played and recorded.

The analyses I just presented effectively refute this assumption and confirm that the other pieces merit more consideration than they have received, or have been judged worthy to receive. Their simplicity is a subtle decoy, just like Haydn's works: they sound uncomplicated and carefree, but their structure is, on closer examination, quite sophisticated. Widor's *Fugue* is more than merely a botched *fugue d'école*; it is a rather witty work whose structure is ensured by enharmonic and registral links. Hahn did not write a bad pastiche, but rather a work sensitive to classical form and rhetoric. Debussy did not just throw an unorganized chain of Haydn themes together, but rather came up with a tripartite work unified by unresolved chords.

The only scholar who has published an analysis (albeit superficial) of Ravel and Debussy's contribution to the Haydn homage is Charles Rosen.[269] Rosen's observations on Ravel's *Menuet sur le nom d'Haydn* are not totally accurate, as he claims Ravel's first bars "do not contain the signal notes" and that Ravel wrote a piece "where the motto is not essential to the work; its conception provides only a way in which it may be inserted."[270] As demonstrated earlier, almost every note of the bass is constructed out of the "motto"; the Haydn theme is the basis of the tonal plan. As for the first bars of the piece, Ravel himself labelled the first occurrence of the theme in the melody.

---

[268] "Si l'on en juge par la page de Debussy, ou par celle de Dukas, si l'on évoque l'oubli total dans lequel sont tombés les autres envois, Ravel est celui qui s'est le mieux tiré de cet aimable pensum." Marcel Marnat, *Maurice Ravel.* Paris: Fayard, 1986, 275.
[269] Charles Rosen, "Where Ravel ends and Debussy begins," *Cahiers Debussy* 3 (1979): 31-8.
[270] Ibid., 33.

Rosen's observations pertaining to Debussy's *Sur le nom d'Haydn* are mostly accurate, until he launches an attack against the Haydn theme: "If the piece is not one of Debussy's most successful works, it is principally because the generating power of the motto theme is not very great: only so much can be extracted from it and no more." On the contrary, I have demonstrated the richness of the Haydn theme: its use as melody and bass line, its potential through third motion outlines, its possible verticalizations and use of retrogrades and inversions. Moreover, Debussy exploited and extended many of the theme's properties. If the work is not one of Debussy's most highly regarded, it is for other reasons that exceed the scope of this study.

The analysis of the six tombeaux allowed me to discover four common traits that unite them, apart from the use of the Haydn theme: enharmonic reinterpretation as a means of exploration of foreign keys, large scale registral connections, the use of dissonant chords for colour (that are often based on more "traditional" harmonies), and the use of ingenious means to unite the pieces (through a bass line's design or the multi-level structural use of an interval). Among these four traits, only the third (chordal colour dissonance) is commonly associated with the French style, the other three simply being manifestations of good compositional technique. There is a fifth, quintessential element of the utmost importance that should be added to the list: the use of elements of the past like genres (dance forms), formal structures (classical formal functions), or instrumental techniques (*écriture sèche*). Building on the music of the past was an essential part of French music at the turn of the century, and the Haydn homage might have been just an additional pretext to incorporate early music idioms into the composers' works. After all, their usage was not imposed, whereas the theme was.

The early music revival was a central circumstance in the building of a new French musical language. It changed not only the way composers wrote music, but also transformed the public's attitude towards music in general. The French artistic community was not only interested in what was new; it was displaying curiosity towards music of the past, taking pride especially in the baroque French masters. Dusting off old scores inspired the founding of new schools where teachings were based upon music history, like the Niedermeyer School or the Schola Cantorum. The idea of new French music before the Great War could not be separated from the rediscovery of the music of the *clavecinistes*.

Wagner constitutes another important factor in the reactive recreation of a new French sonority. While everyone agreed Wagner's music was revolutionary, French composers were divided as to whether and how they should let it influence them. Political events made their choice even harder (the devastating French loss in the Franco-Prussian war, and later, worse,

World War I), especially considering the increasing nationalist conscience. The creation of the Société Nationale certainly helped the diffusion of French works, and Debussy's championing of Rameau gave the French a pride in their music that had suffered since the Revolution of 1792. If they did not agree on the role Wagner's music should play in their own culture, they agreed French music should reclaim its lost qualities of grace and clarity.

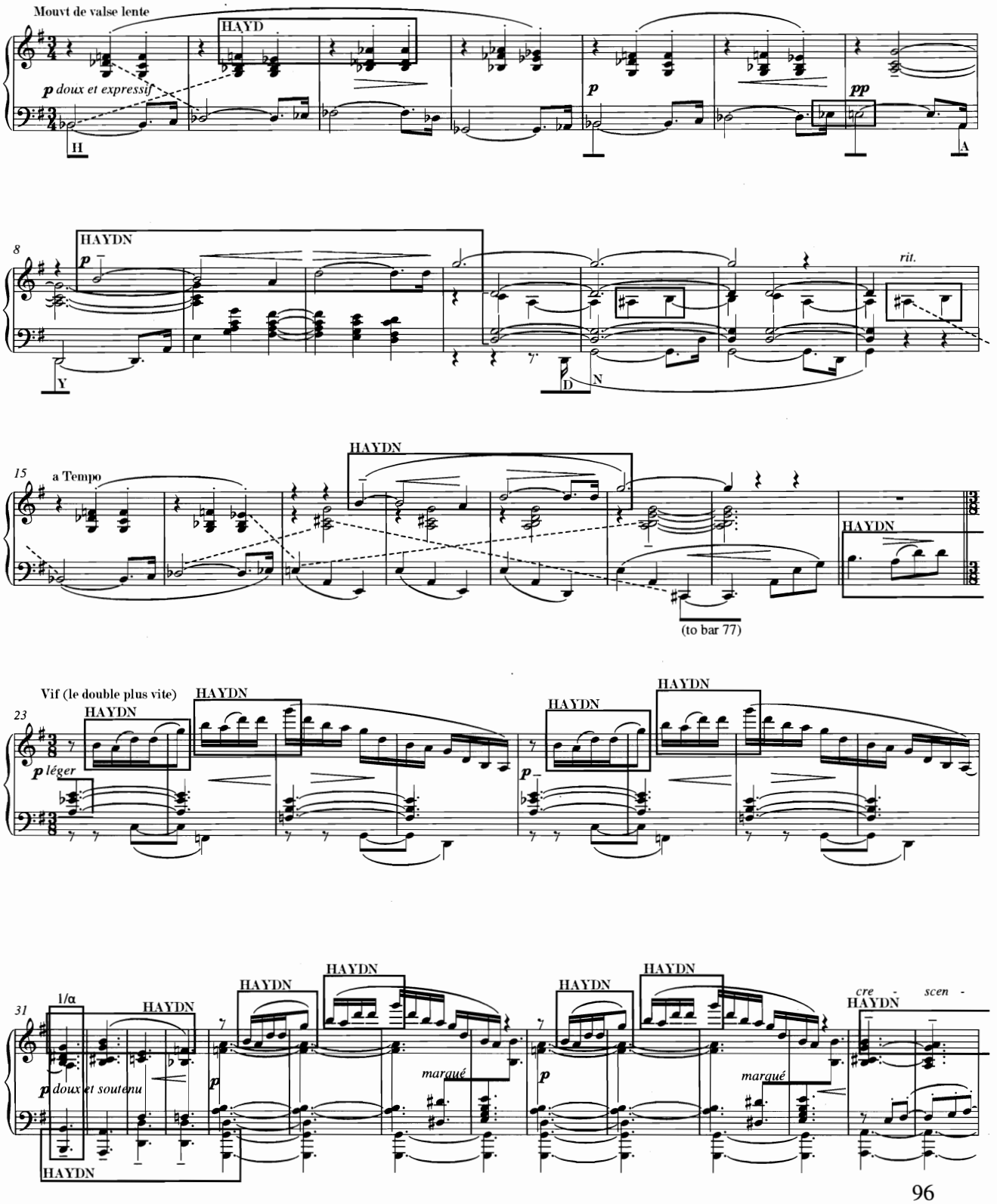
The homage was a natural way to accomplish that endeavour, as it asked the composer to incorporate something of the honouree's style into his own. The tombeau tradition that was lost since the baroque era thus resurfaced on the wave of the early music revival. The *RSIM* and its unofficial successor, Prunières's *Revue Musicale*, published an impressive number of collective homages, and even the literary tombeau made a triumphant return. What is surprising is the choice of honouree for the homage comeback: why Haydn? Certainly Haydn was an important figure for the French. His symphonies were regularly played and well received. Perhaps because his music shared some characteristics with the French (such as clarity and precision of form, dramatic wit, audacious harmonic moves and humour), they wanted to associate him with their own culture. Many of the articles that were prepared for the Haydn homage sought to tie the father of the symphony to France (like the anecdote on his premature requiem concert). Taken together these circumstances seem reason enough to warrant Haydn's selection as subject of the first twentieth century French collective homage.

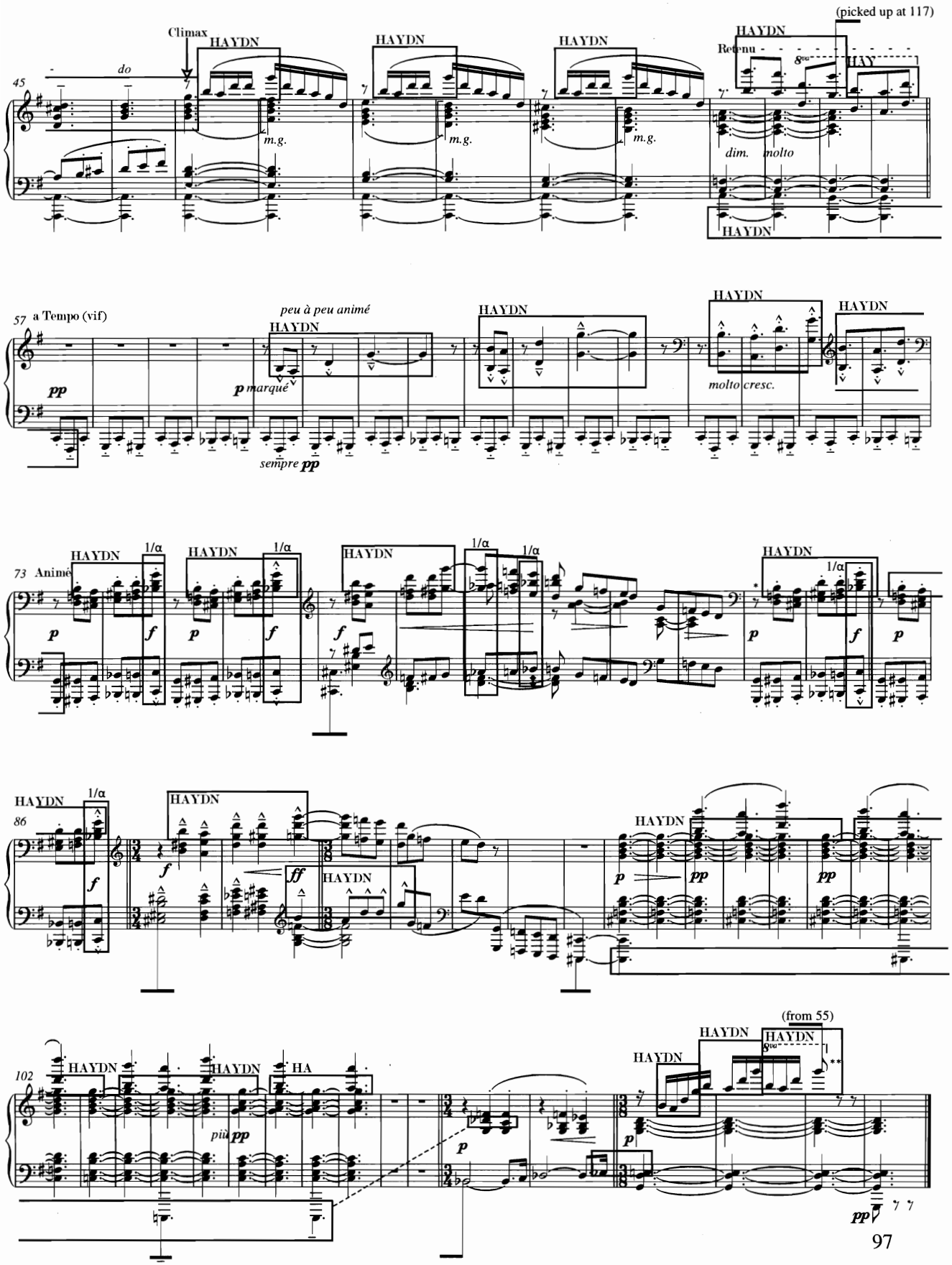
RSIM's homage to Haydn thus fulfilled a role the composers themselves perhaps did not really grasp when they wrote their music. The *RSIM* homage allows us to better understand their quest for national identity, to compare on even ground six talented composers, to find out what unites them, and ultimately to understand why neoclassicism became so strong a movement in the years that followed that it practically annihilated impressionist music. The Haydn homage also gives us the opportunity to appreciate and reflect upon the French desire to create and define their culture. And, on the advent of the bicentennial anniversary of Haydn's death, would it not be appropriate to see this thesis as a tombeau itself?

Annex 1

"Sur le nom d'Haydn"

Claude Debussy





* Rest missing on the original score
** Sixteenths in the last four bars in eighths on the original score

Annex 2

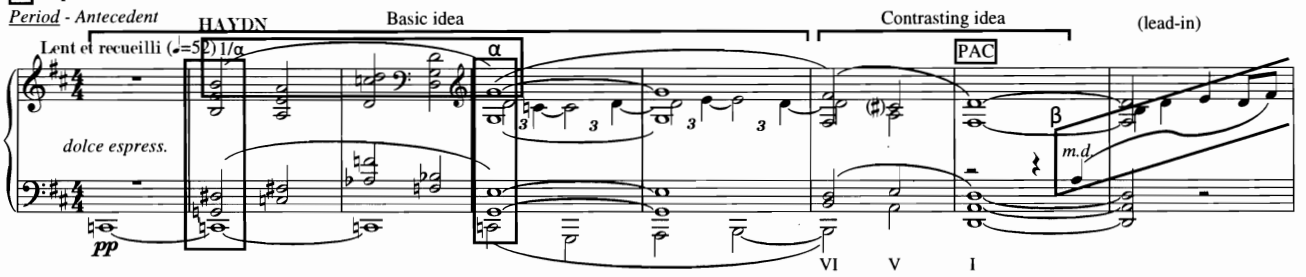
Prélude élégiaque

Paul Dukas

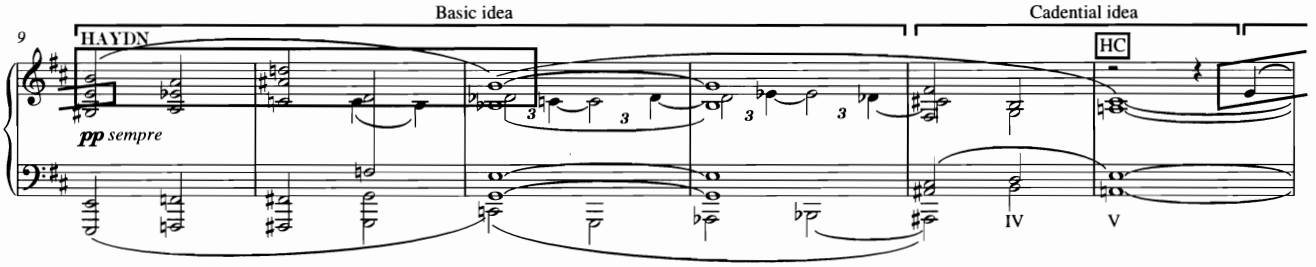
SMALL TERNARY

A Exposition

Period - Antecedent

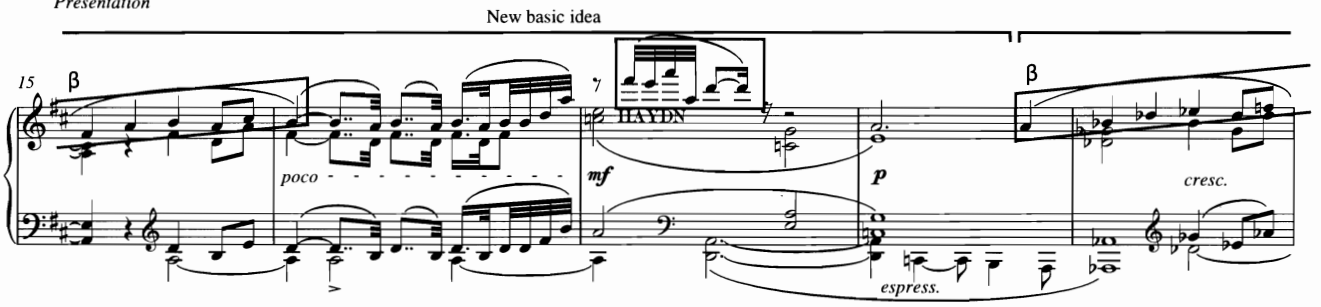


"Consequent" (failed)

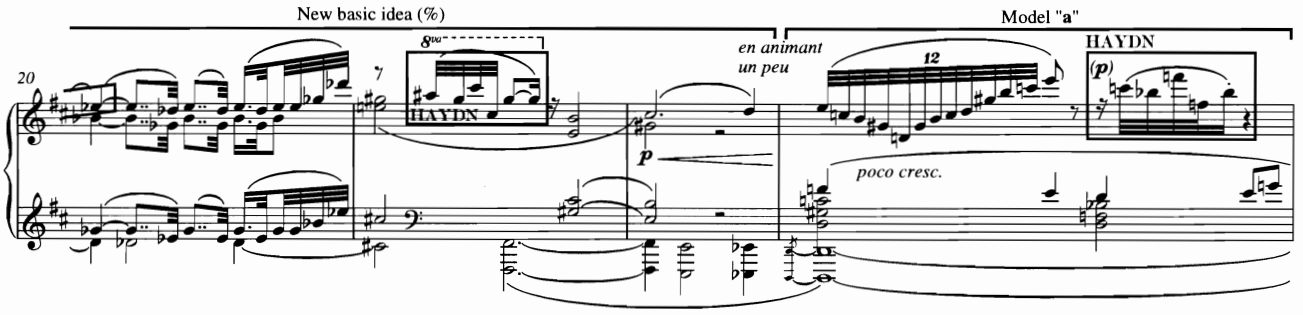


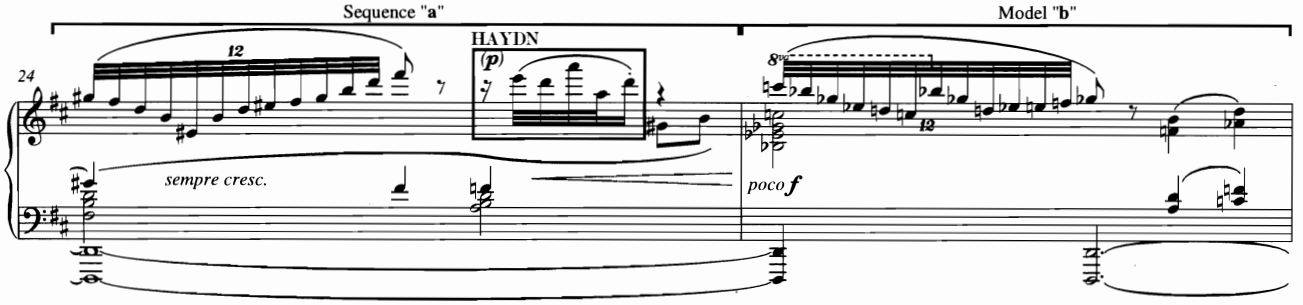
B Contrasting middle

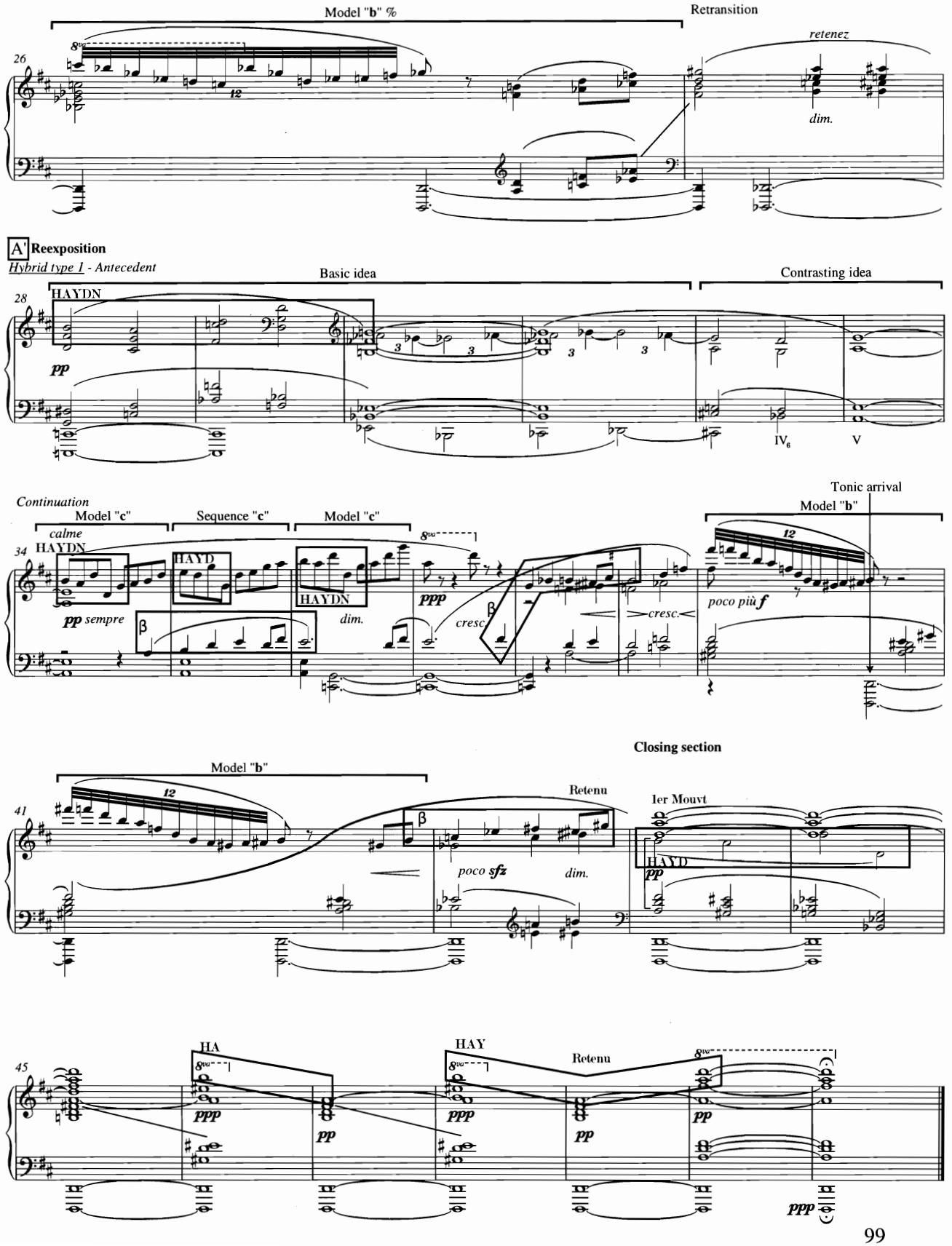
Presentation



Continuation

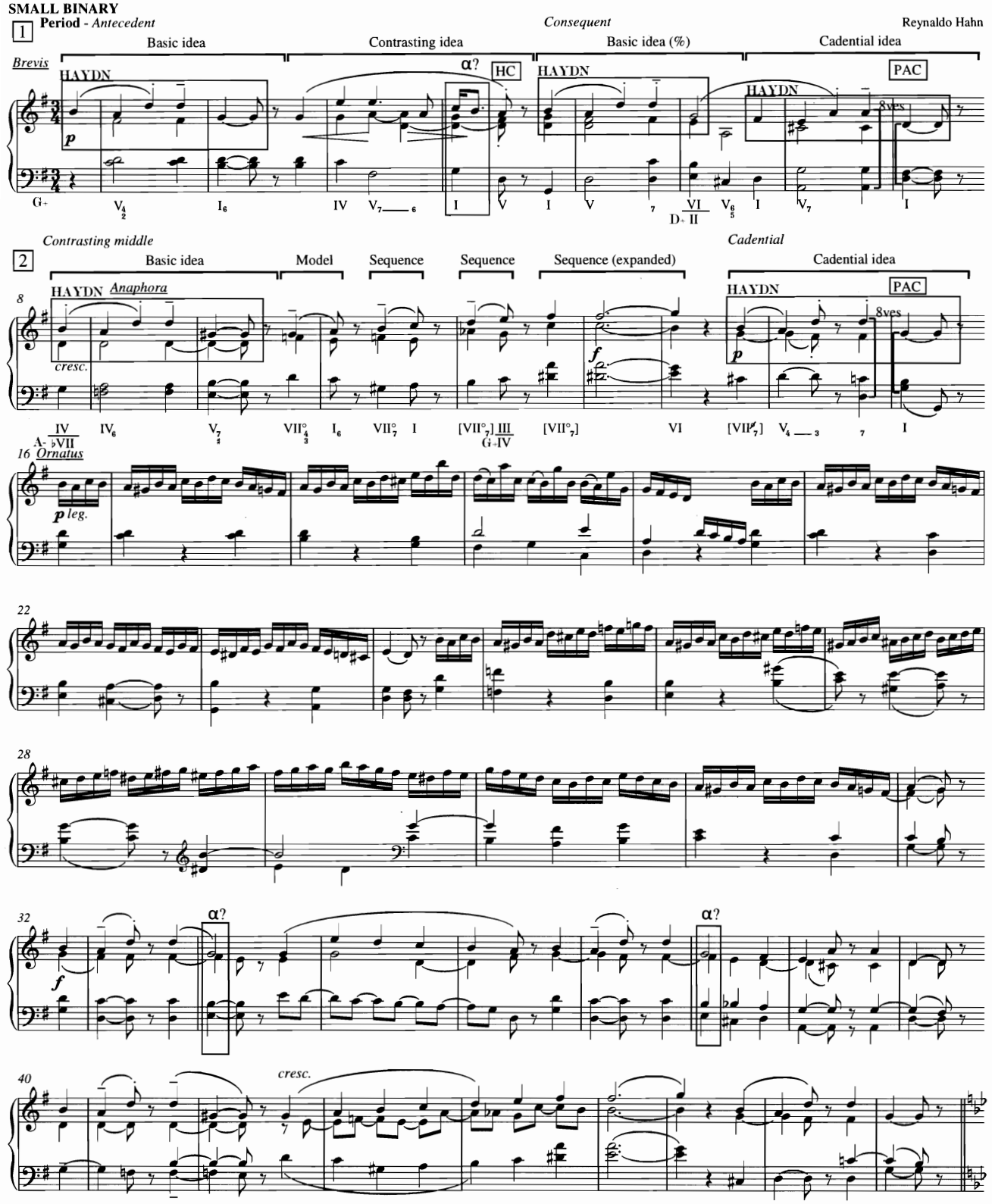


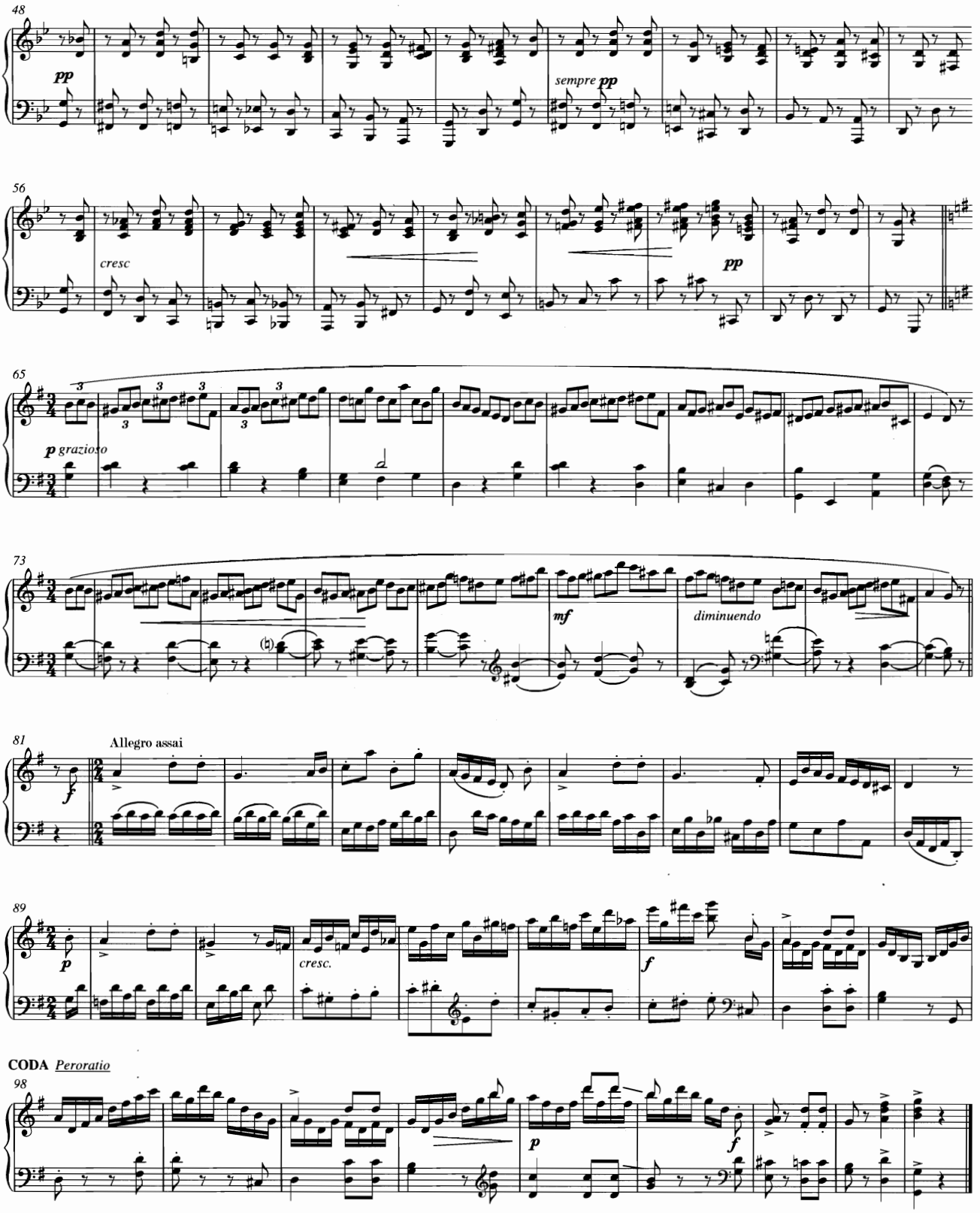



Model "b" %
Retransition
retenez
dim.
26
A' Reexposition
Hybrid type 1 - Antecedent
Basic idea
Contrasting idea
28
HAYDN
pp
IV6
V
Continuation
Model "c"
Sequence "c"
Model "c"
Tonic arrival
Model "b"
calme
34
HAYDN
pp sempre
dim.
cresc.
poco più f
Closing section
Model "b"
Retenu
Ier Mouvt
41
poco sfz
dim.
HAYD
pp
HA
HAY
Retenu
45
ppp
pp

Annex 3

Thème varié



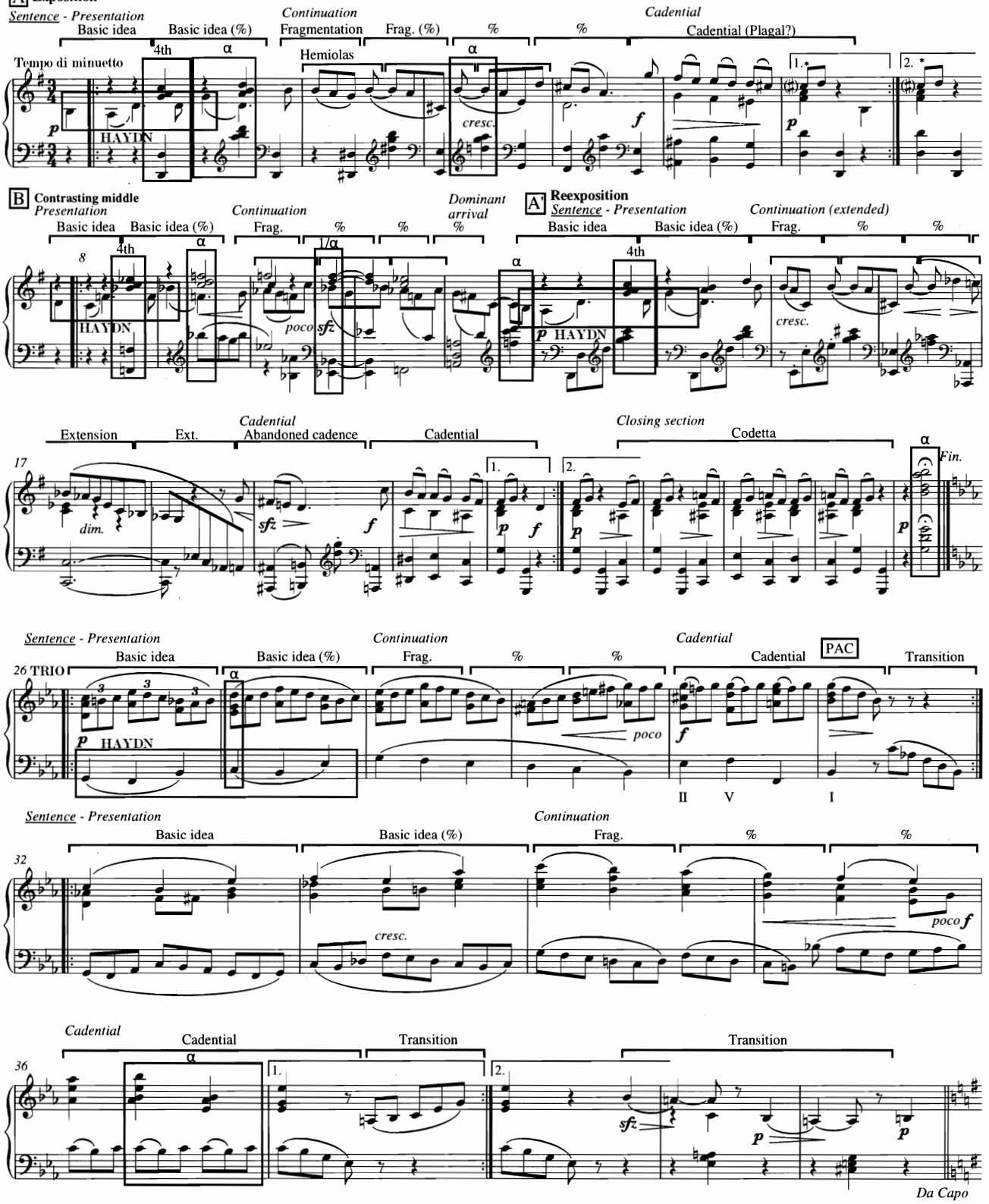

48
pp
sempre pp
56
cresc
pp
65
p grazioso
73
mf
diminuendo
81
Allegro assai
f
89
p
cresc.
f
CODA Peroratio
98
p
f

Annex 4

Menuet

SMALL TERNARY — Vincent d'Indy

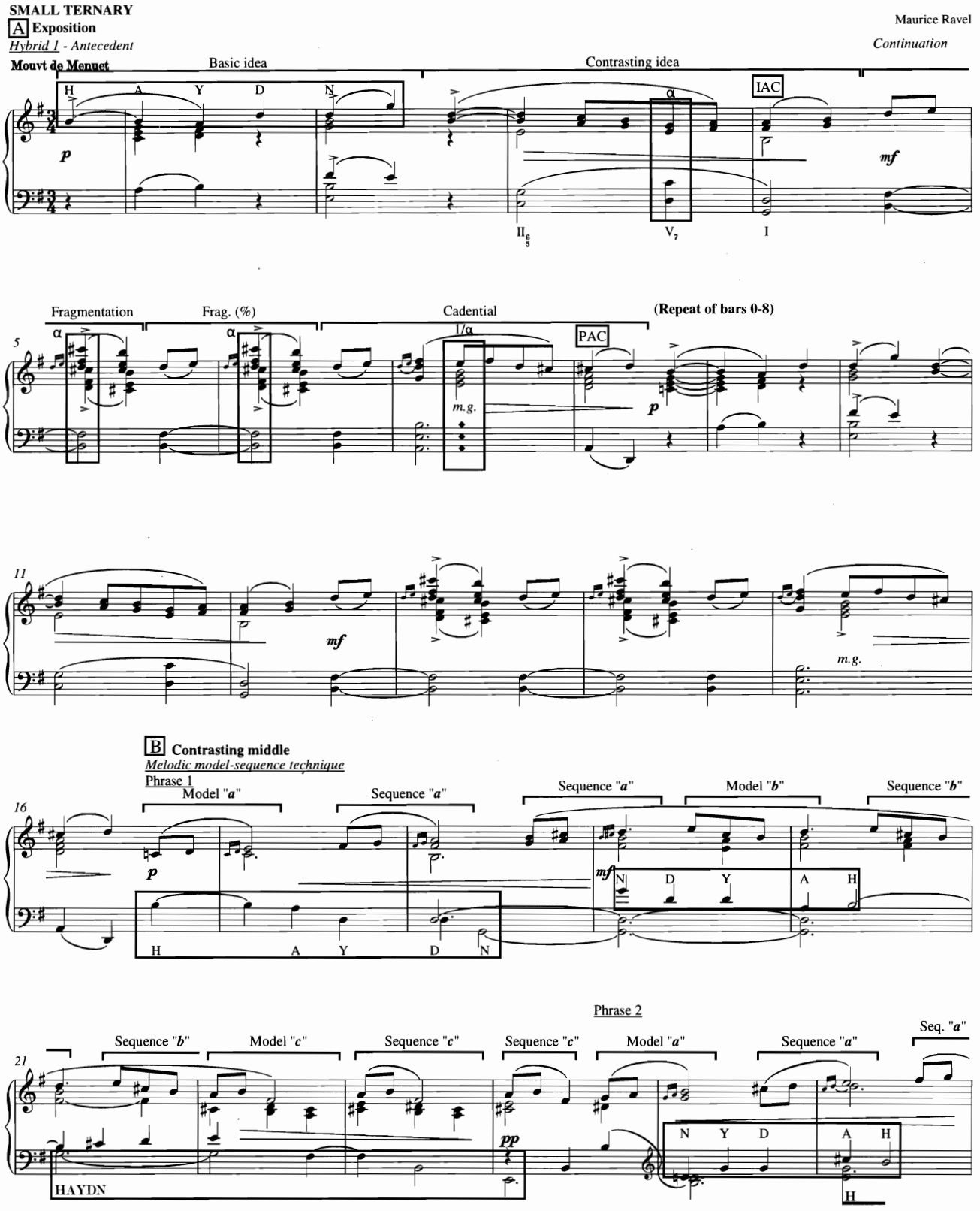
A Exposition

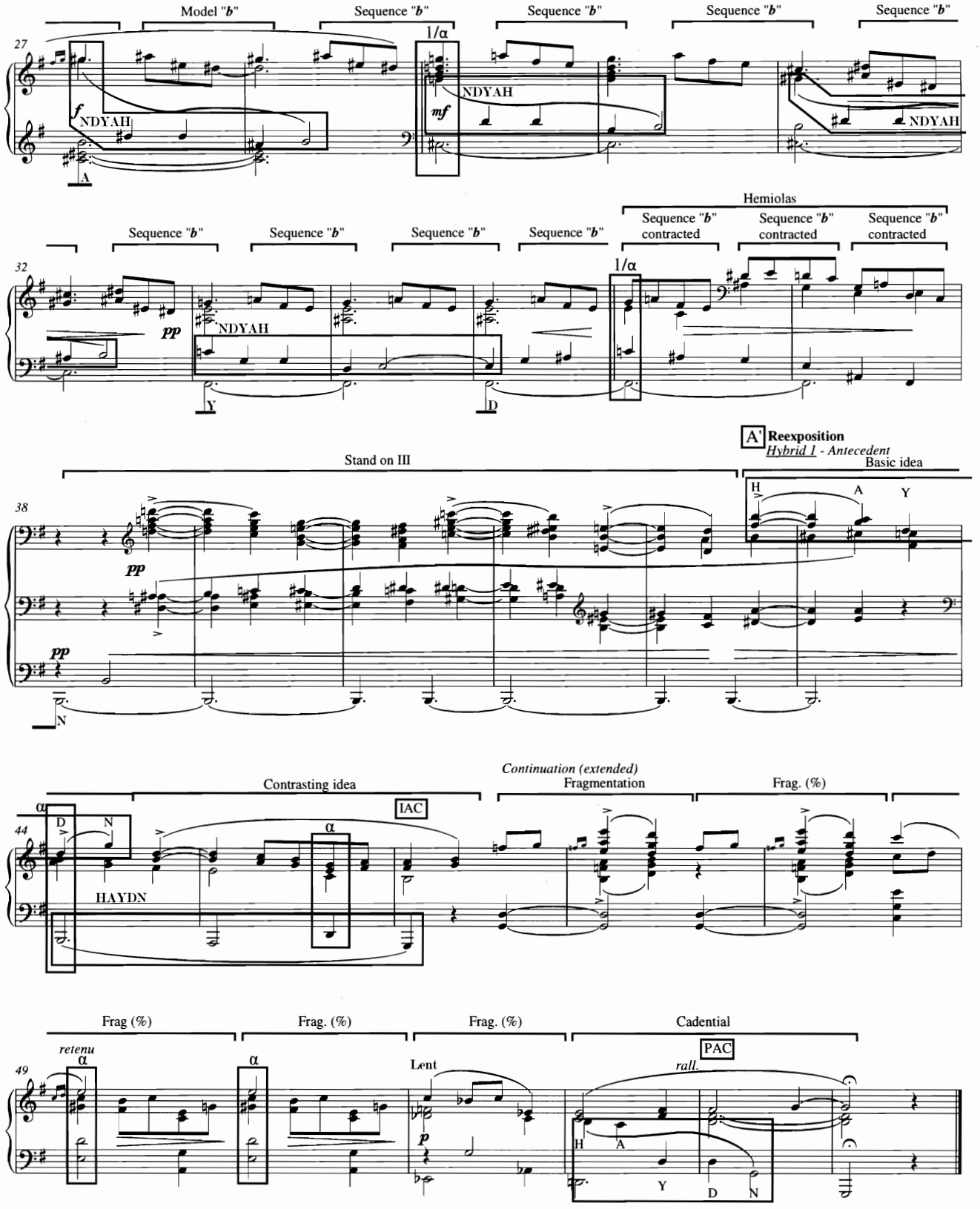


* sharp on C missing in both boxes on original score

Annex 5

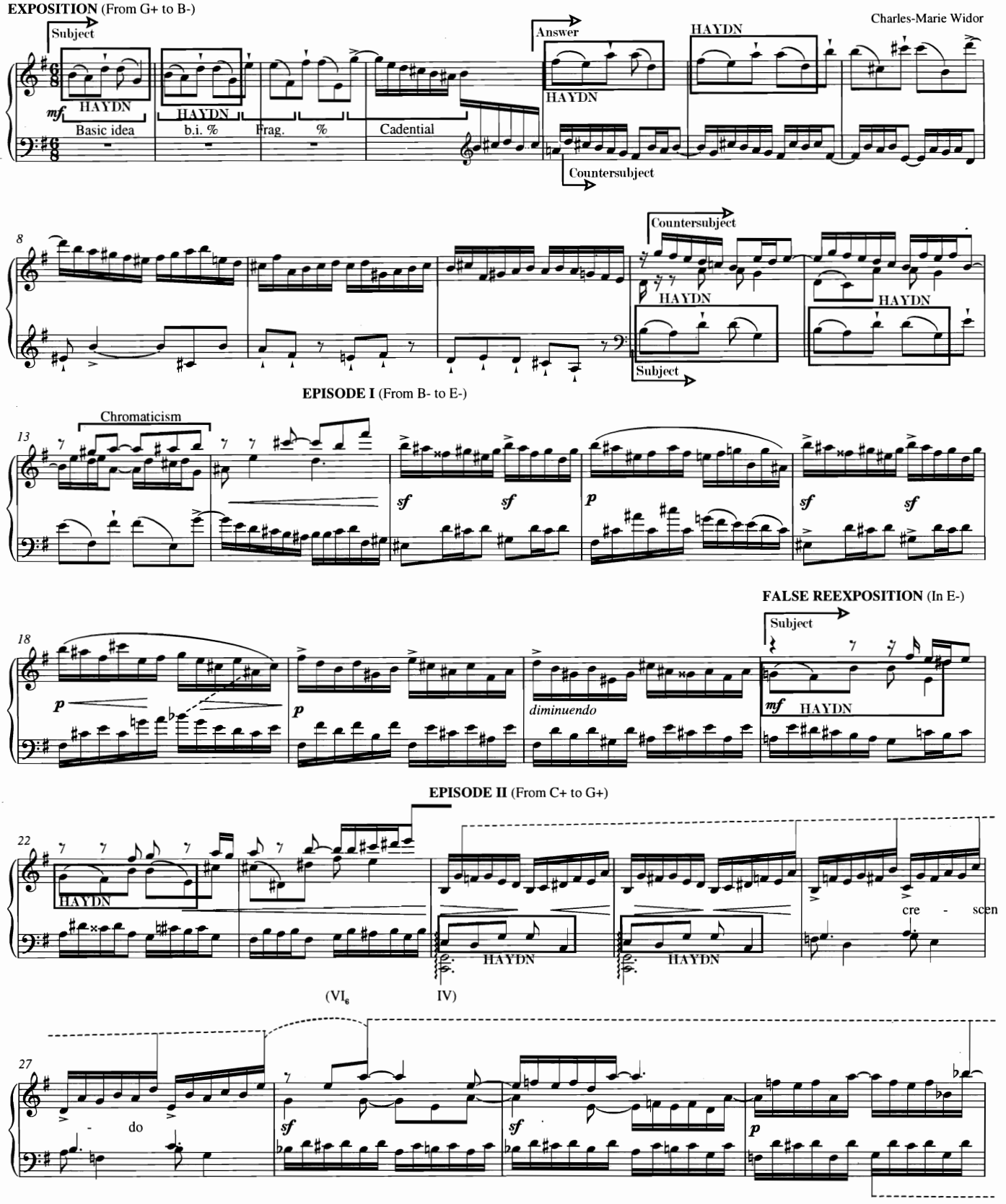
Menuet sur le nom d'Haydn

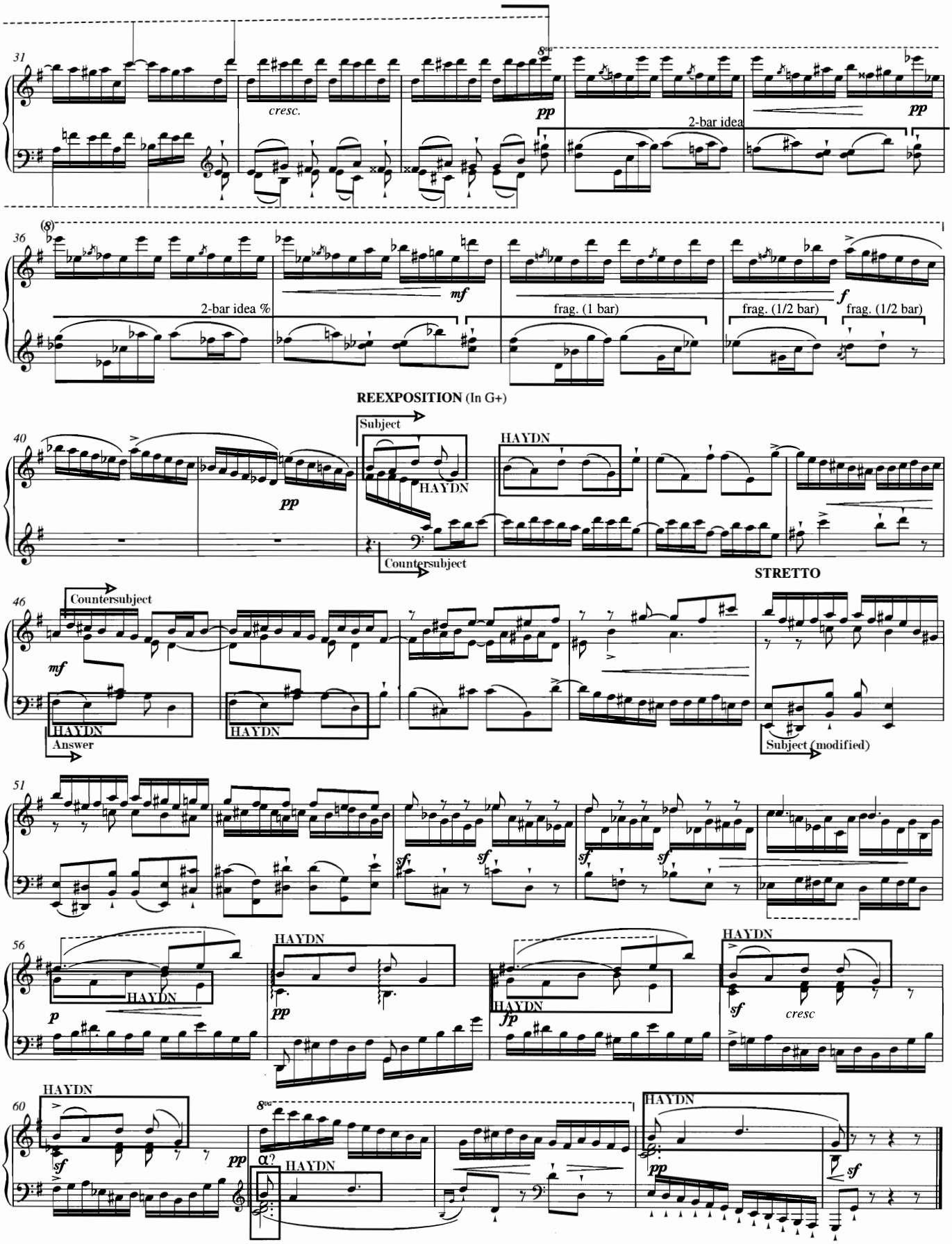



Model "b"
Sequence "b"
Sequence "b"
Sequence "b"
Sequence "b"
27
1/α
NDYAH
NDYAH
NDYAH
A
Hemiolas
Sequence "b" contracted
Sequence "b" contracted
Sequence "b" contracted
32
1/α
pp
NDYAH
Y
D
A' Reexposition
Hybrid 1 - Antecedent
Stand on III
Basic idea
38
H
A
Y
pp
pp
N
Continuation (extended)
Contrasting idea
Fragmentation
Frag. (%)
IAC
44
α
D
N
HAYDN
Frag (%)
Frag. (%)
Frag. (%)
Cadential
retenu
49
Lent
rall.
PAC
p
H
A
Y
D
N

Annex 6

Fugue




31
cresc.
pp
2-bar idea
pp
36
2-bar idea %
mf
frag. (1 bar)
frag. (1/2 bar)
f
frag. (1/2 bar)
REEXPOSITION (In G+)
40
Subject
HAYDN
pp
HAYDN
Countersubject
STRETTO
46
Countersubject
mf
HAYDN
Answer
HAYDN
Subject (modified)
51
sf
sf
sf
sf
56
HAYDN
p
HAYDN
pp
HAYDN
fp
HAYDN
sf
cresc
60
HAYDN
sf
pp
HAYDN
HAYDN
pp
sf

Bibliography

[Author unknown]. "The late Jules Écorcheville and his undertakings." *The Musical Times*, 56/867 (1915): 276-8.

Abbate, Carolyn. "Outside Ravel's Tomb." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 52/3 (1999): 465-530.

Abbate, Carolyn. *In Search of Opera*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2001.

Beghin, Tom and Sander M. Goldberg. *Haydn and the performance of rhetoric*. Chicago: Chicago U. Press, 2007.

Bernard, Élisabeth. "Jules Pasdeloup et les concerts populaires." *La Revue de Musicologie* 57/2 (1971): 150-78.

Bertha, A. de. "Joseph Haydn: sur le centenaire de sa mort." *S.I.M. Revue Musicale Mensuelle* 5/5 (1909): 439-42.

Bonds, Mark Evan. *Wordless rhetoric: musical form and the metaphor of the oration.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991.

Bongrain, Anne and Yves Gérard. *Le Conservatoire de Paris: 200 ans de pédagogie.* Paris: Buchet-Chastel, 1999.

Bongrain, Anne and Yves Gérard. *Le Conservatoire de Paris: des menus-plaisirs à la Cité de la musique.* Paris: Buchet-Chastel, 1999.

Borgex, Louis. *Vincent d'Indy, sa vie, son oeuvre*. Paris: A. Durand et fils, 1913.

Boyd, Everett Vernon. "Paul Dukas and the impressionist milieu: stylistic assimilation in three orchestral works." PhD diss., University of Rochester, 1980.

Brody, Elaine. *Paris, the Musical Kaleidoscope 1870-1925*. New York: George Braziller, 1987.

Bruneau, Alfred. *La musique française: rapport sur la musique en France du XIII^{e} au XX^{e} siècle: la musique à Paris en 1900, au théâtre, au concert, à l'Exposition.* Paris : E. Fasquelle, 1901.

Canteloube, Joseph. *Vincent d'Indy*. Paris: H. Laurens, 1951.

Cooper, Jeffrey. *The rise of instrumental music and concerts series in Paris 1828-1871*. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983.

Cooper, Martin. *French music from the death of Berlioz to the death of Fauré.* New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Caplin, William E. *Classical form: a theory of formal functions for the instrumental music of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Coquard, Arthur. *La musique en France depuis Rameau.* Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1891.

Debussy, Claude et al. "Hommage à Haydn." *S.I.M. Revue Musicale Mensuelle*, 6/1 (1910).

Debussy, Claude. *Monsieur Croche et autres écrits*. Paris: Gallimard, 1971.

Demuth, Norman. *Vincent d'Indy, 1851-1931; champion of classicism, a study*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1974.

Duchesneau, Michel. "Maurice Ravel et la Société musicale indépendante: 'Projet mirifique de concerts scandaleux'." *La Revue de Musicologie* 80/2 (1994): 251-281.

Duchesneau, Michel. *L'avant-garde musicale et ses sociétés à Paris de 1871-1939.* Sprimont: Mardaga, 1997.

Dufourcq, Norbert. *Autour de Coquard, César Franck et Vincent d'Indy (d'après une correspondance inédite*). Paris: Éditions du Coudrier, 1952.

Dukas, Paul. *Chroniques musicales sur deux siècles 1892-1932*. Paris: Stock musique, 1948.

Dupré, Marcel. *Marcel Dupré raconte...* Paris: Bornemann, 1972.

Ellis, Katharine. *Interpreting the musical past, early music in nineteenth-century France*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Ellis, Katharine. *Music criticism in 19th century France*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Engelson, Thea Sikona. "The *mélodies* of Reynaldo Hahn." PhD diss., Iowa University, 2006.

Fauré, Gabriel. "Dukas." in *Opinions musicales* (Paris: Rieder, 1930), 37-43.

Faure, Michel. *Musique et société, du Second Empire aux années vingt: Autour de Saint-Saëns, Fauré, Debussy et Ravel*. Paris: Flammarion, 1985.

Favre, George. *Correspondance de Paul Dukas*. Paris: Durand, 1971.

Favre, George. *Paul Dukas: sa vie, son œuvre*. Paris: La Colombe, 1948.

Favre, George. *Silhouettes du Conservatoire: Charles-Marie Widor, André Gédalge, Max d'Ollone.* Paris: La Pensée Universelle, 1986.

Flint de Médicis, Catrena. "The Schola Cantorum, early music, and French political culture." PhD diss., McGill University, 2006.

Fraguier, Marguerite Marie de. *Vincent d'Indy, souvenirs d'une élève: accompagnés de lettres inédites du maître*. Paris: J. Naert, 1934.

Fruehwald, Scott. *Authenticity problems in Joseph Haydn's early instrumental works*. New York: Pendragon Press, 1988.

Fruehwald, Scott. "Saint-Saëns's views on Music and Musicians." *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 15/2 (1984): 159-74.

Fulcher, Jane. "Charpentier's operatic 'Roman musical' as read in the wake of the Dreyfus Affair." *Nineteenth-Century Music* 16/2 (Fall 1992): 161-180.

Fulcher, Jane. *Debussy and his world*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001.

Fulcher, Jane. *French Cultural Politics and Music: From the Dreyfus Affair to the First World War*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Gabeaud, Alice. *Auprès du maître Vincent d'Indy: souvenirs des cours de composition*. Paris: Éditions de la Schola Cantorum, 1933.

Gavoty, Bernard. *Les Français sont-ils musiciens?* Paris: Éditions du conquistador, 1950.

Gavoty, Bernard. *Reynaldo Hahn, le musicien de la Belle Époque*. Paris: Buchel-Castel, 1976.

Gorrell, Lorraine. "Reynaldo Hahn: Composer of song, mirror of an era." *The Music Review* 46/4 (1985): 284-301.

Goubault, Christian. *Claude Debussy: la musique à vif.* Paris: Minerve, 2002.

Goubault, Christian. *La critique musicale dans la presse française de 1870 à 1914.* Genève-Paris: Slatkine, 1984.

Hahn, Reynaldo. *Du Chant.* Paris: Gallimard, 1920.

Hahn, Reynaldo. *Journal d'un musicien.* Paris, 1933.

Harding, James. *Folies de Paris: the Rise and Fall of French Operetta.* London: Chappell and Company/Elm Tree Books, 1979.

Helbé, Jacques. *Paul Dukas (1865-1935).* Paris: P.M.P., 1975.

Hobbs, Alain. *Charles-Marie Widor (1844-1937).* Paris: Association des amis de l'orgue, 1988.

Holoman, D. Kern. *The Société des Concerts du Conservatoire.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.

Hudson, Terry Lynn. "Links between selected works of Paul Dukas, Claude Debussy, and Maurice Ravel and the keyboard works of François Couperin and Jean-Philippe Rameau." PhD diss., University of Texas, 1997.

Huebner, Steven. *French opera at the Fin-De-Siècle: Wagnerism, Nationalism and Style.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Imogen Fellinger, et al. "Periodicals." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online.* 26 Apr. 2008 <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/21338pg2>

Indy, Vincent d' , Auguste Sérieyx and Guy de Lioncourt. *Cours de composition musicale,* 3v. Paris: Durand et fils, 1912.

Indy, Vincent d'. "Une école d'art répondant aux besoins modernes." *La Tribune de St-Gervais* 6/11 (1900): 303-14.

Indy, Vincent d'. *Ma vie: journal de jeunesse, correspondance familiale et intime 1851-1931.* Paris: Séguier, 2001.

Ivry, Benjamin. *Maurice Ravel: a life.* New York: Welcome Rain Publishers, 2000.

Kaminsky, Peter. "Composers' words, theorists' analyses, Ravel's music (sometimes the twain shall meet)." *College Music Symposium* 26/2 (2004): 237-64.

Kil-Won, Kim. "A detailed study of Reynaldo Hahn's settings of the poetry of Paul Verlaine." PhD diss., University of Oklahoma, 1996.

Kwong Mei Chong, Eddy. "Extending Schenker's *Neue Musikalische Theorien und Phantasien*: towards a Schenkerian model for the analysis of Ravel's music." PhD diss., University of Rochester, 2002.

Laloy, Louis, Lionel de la Laurencie and Émile Vuillermoz. *Le tombeau de Jules Écorcheville suivi de lettres inédites.* Paris: Dorbon-Aimé, 1916.

Landon, Howard Chandler Robbins. *Haydn, chronicles and works,* 3 v. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976.

Landormy, Paul. *La musique française de Franck à Debussy.* Paris: Gallimard, 1943.

Larner, Gerald. *Maurice Ravel.* London: Phaidon, 1996.

Laurencie, Lionel de la. "L'apparition des œuvres d'Haydn à Paris." *La Revue de Musicologie* 13/44 (1932): 191-205.

Lederer, Victor. *Debussy, the quiet revolutionary*. New York: Amadeus Press, 2006.

Lesure, François. *Claude Debussy: biographie critique*. Paris: Klincksieck, 1994.

Lesure, François and Denis Herlin. *Claude Debussy: correspondance 1872-1918*. Paris: Gallimard, 2005.

Lockspeiser, Edward. *Debussy: sa vie et sa pensée*, trans. Léo Dilé. Paris: Fayard, 1980.

Machabey, Armand. *Traité de la critique musicale.* Paris: Richard Masse, 1947.

Maillard, Jean, and Francine Maillard. *Vincent d'Indy: le maître et sa musique: la Schola Cantorum*. Paris: Zurfluh, 1994.

Marnat, Marcel. *Maurice Ravel.* Paris: Fayard, 1986.

Mawer, Deborah. *The Cambridge companion to Ravel.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Messing, Scott. *Neoclassicism in music: from the genesis of the concept through the Schoenberg/Stravinsky Polemic*. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988.

Moore, W.A. "The Significance of Late Nineteenth-Century Wagnérisme in the Relation of Paul Dukas and Édouard Dujardin." PhD diss., University of Texas, Austin, 1986.

Murray, Michael. *French masters of the organ: Saint-Saëns, Franck, Widor, Vierne, Dupré, Langlais, Messiaen.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

Near, John Richard. "The Life and Work of Charles-Marie Widor." PhD diss., Boston University, 1985.

Nectoux, Jean-Michel. "Ravel/Fauré et les débuts de la Société musicale indépendante." *La Revue de Musicologie* 91/2 (1975): 295-318.

Nichols, Roger. *Ravel*. London: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Nichols, Roger. *The life of Debussy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Orenstein, Arbie. *A Ravel reader: correspondence, articles, interviews.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1990.

Orenstein, Arbie. *Ravel: man and musician.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1975.

Palaux-Simonnet, Bénédicte. *Paul Dukas, ou le musicien-sorcier.* Genève: Éditions Papillon, 2001.

Pasler, Jann. "Deconstructing d'Indy, or the problem of a composer's reputation." *Nineteenth-Century Music* 30/3 (2007): 230-56.

Pasler, Jann. "Paris: Conflicting Notions of Progress" in *The Late Romantic Era: From the Mid-19th Century to World War I* ed. Jim Samson, 389-416. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1991.

Paul, Charles B. "Rameau, d'Indy, and French nationalism." *The Musical Quarterly* 58/1 (1972): 46-56.

Perlemuter, Vlado. *Ravel according to Ravel.* Trans. Frances Tanner. London: Kahn & Averil, 1988.

Philippe, Isidor and Gustave Reese. "Charles-Marie Widor: a portrait." *Musical Quarterly* 30/2 (1944): 125-32.

Pommiès, Élisabeth. *Vincent d'Indy, 1851-1931: au service de la musique.* Paris: Séguier, 2001.

Proust, Marcel. *Lettres à Reynaldo Hahn.* Paris: Édition P. Kolb, 1956.

Roland, Manuel. *Ravel.* Mémoire du livre: Paris, 2000 (1938).

Ross, James. "D'Indy's *Fervaal*: Reconstructing French Identity at the *Fin de Siècle*." *Music & Letters* 84/2 (2003): 209-40.

Rownd, Gary R. "Musical Tombeaux and Hommages for Piano Solo." DMA diss., University of Kentucky, 1990.

Saint-Saëns, Camille. *École buissonnière: notes et souvenirs.* Paris: P. Lafitte & cie, 1913.

Samazeuilh, Gustave. *Musiciens de mon temps: chroniques et souvenirs.* Paris: Marcel Daubin, 1947.

Samazeuilh, Gustave. *Paul Dukas: un musicien français.* Paris: A. Durand et fils, 1936.

Schwartz, Manuela, and Myriam Chimènes. *Vincent d'Indy et son temps.* Sprimont, Belgium: Pierre Mardaga, 2006.

Schubert, Peter. "'A new epoch of polyphonic style': Schoenberg on chords and lines." *Music Analysis* 12/3 (1993): 289-319.

Smith, Richard Langham and Caroline Potter. *French Music since Berlioz.* Aldershot (England), Burlington (Vermont): Ashgate, 2006.

Smith, Richard Langham. *Debussy studies.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Spurgeon, Lea Debra. "A study of the solo vocal works of Reynaldo Hahn with analysis of selected melodies." DMA diss., University of Oklahoma, 1988.

Strasser, Michael. "The Société Nationale and its adversaries: the musical politics of 'L'invasion germanique' in the 1870's." *Nineteenth-Century Music* 24/3 (Spring 2001): 225-51.

Suschitzky, Anya Catherine. "The nation on stage: Wagner and French opera at the end of the nineteenth century." PhD diss., University of California, 1999.

Suschitzky, Anya. "*Fervaal*, *Parsifal*, and French National Identity." *Nineteenth-Century Music* 25/2-3 (Fall-Spring 2001-2): 237-65.

Taruskin, Richard. "Back to whom? Neoclassicism as Ideology." *Nineteenth-Century Music* 16 (Spring 1993): 286-302.

Thomson, Andrew. *The Life and Times of Charles-Marie Widor.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Thomson, Andrew. *Vincent d'Indy and his world.* Oxford: Clarendon Press and New-York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Tilmouth, Michael and David Ledbetter: "Tombeau", *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy. Accessed 26 April 2008, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com:80/subscriber/article/grove/music/28084.

Trezise, Simon. The Cambridge companion to Debussy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Valéry, Paul et al. "Hommage à Paul Dukas." *La Revue Musicale* 17 (1936): 321-456.

Vallas, Léon. *Les idées de Claude Debussy, musicien français.* Paris: Éditions musicales de la librairie de France, 1927.

Vallas, Léon. *Vincent d'Indy*. Paris: A. Michel, 1946.

Vincent, François. "Le parcours historique des revues musicales." *La revue des revues*, 2 (November 1986): 44-51.

Webster, James. *Haydn's "Farewell" symphony and the idea of classical style*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Wilson, Stephen. *Ideology and experience: antisemitism in France at the time of the Dreyfus affair*. Rutherford, [N.J.]: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1982.

X. Review of *Rapport présenté à M. le Ministre de l'Instruction publique et des Beaux-Arts au nom de la Commission des grandes auditions musicales de l'Exposition Universelle de 1900,* by Alfred Bruneau. *Revue d'histoire et de critique musicale* 1 (1901), 110-9.

Zank, Stephen. *Maurice Ravel: a guide to research.* New York: Routledge, 2005.