

Contextualizing the Music of Jehan Alain:  
Three Lenses on *Variations sur un thème de Clément Jannequin*

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**Abstract**

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French organist and composer Jehan Alain (1911-1940) was one of the first to bring modernism to organ composition. His music is known for its highly creative, even fantastical, approach to form, rhythm, timbre and mode. This dissertation explores the relationship between Alain's innovative compositional voice and the trends of his time, using a multipronged analysis of one piece to situate Alain in the ideological and musical currents of interwar France.

*Variations sur un thème de Clément Jannequin* (1937) is a set of variations on a sixteenth-century chanson. The theme is an almost verbatim transcription of a polyphonic Renaissance work arranged for piano and solo voice by Jean-Baptiste Weckerlin in the 1850s. Analysis shows that the changes Weckerlin made to the 1529 source better align his arrangement with ideal "French" qualities identified and promoted throughout nineteenth-century France in a widespread attempt to overturn the prevailing negative image of French music by identifying its distinctive and positive qualities. Written comments by Alain suggest that what attracted him about this chanson were both its authentic Renaissance characteristics and the notion of Frenchness portrayed in Weckerlin's arrangement.

Aspects of Alain's *Variations* also suggest the influence of three historic forms on its structure: intabulations, fugues and Noëls. However, analysis shows that Alain's composition makes only surface references to early music, and that like his contemporaries, he was more inspired by the "spirit" than the techniques of historic music. This correlates with the emphasis in the early music revival movement and the subsequent construction of "Frenchness" on affective rather than procedural aspects – e.g. grace, elegance and tenderness.

Alain's *Variations* also exhibits the complex modalism characteristic of French compositions of his time, when composers were exposed to modes and scales outside common-practice tonality via plainchant, early music, nineteenth-century Russian music, Debussy and non-Western music. Alain complicates the Dorian mode of the chanson theme with chromaticism and synthetic scales much as Tournemire combined Gregorian modes with polytonal techniques in *L'Orgue mystique*. Ultimately it is the hybridization of contemporary and historic influences into an original and non-derivative sound that makes Alain's music so striking.

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## Introduction

The works of French musician Jehan Alain (1911-1940) hold a definitive place in the canon of organ compositions, despite the composer's early death. His life and works are documented in multiple biographies, scholarly articles and dissertations, but missing from these publications is a thorough discussion of how Alain's music is reflective of cultural and compositional trends of his time. The goal of this study is not to minimize his individuality – which has been well established by previous scholarship and is an incontrovertible characteristic of his music – but to better contextualize his compositional output.

A characteristic of French composition during the early twentieth century is that composers participated in larger trends while exhibiting completely original voices. Jehan Alain is an interesting case because his voice is more original than most, and because he participated less actively in musical culture than most of his peers. For example, in a time when musicians generally belonged to multiple musical organizations, Alain belonged to none. He was reputedly invited to join the group *La Jeune France*, but declined membership although he participated in concerts with its members. Although a student at the Paris Conservatoire for the better part of ten years, Alain's social world was restricted to his family and a few close friends, and he took little part in public musical debate or contemporary music criticism. Alain's experience of music was deeply personal, both in his reaction to existing music and in his compositional process, and this intimacy is one of the qualities of his composition that has made it so appealing to listeners and performers. Alain's mature music gives the initial impression of a completely formed and unique personality, but upon closer examination, his music exhibits several important trends of the time, especially in his treatment of source material.

My approach in this study will be to exhibit the complexity in Alain's compositional approach and situate it historically by examining one piece, *Variations sur un thème de Clément Jannequin*, through three loosely related lenses. This piece begins with an organ

transcription of a piano/vocal chanson arrangement published in 1853 by Jean-Baptiste Weckerlin, in which Weckerlin significantly changed the texture and melody of the original anonymous sixteenth-century chanson (Weckerlin incorrectly attributed the chanson to Janequin, whose name he also misspelled; Alain copied his spelling). The first lens I will use to consider this work is the construction of Frenchness developed in the nineteenth century and illustrated in Weckerlin's chanson arrangement. Examination of the changes Weckerlin made to Renaissance works in his anthology *Echos du temps passé: Recueil de chansons, Noël, madrigaux, brunettes, etc., du XIIe au XVIIIème siècle, suivis de chansons populaires* will illustrate how the arrangement copied by Alain better exhibits desirable qualities of Frenchness in nineteenth-century terms than the 1529 source. Comments that Alain made in letters and score dedications suggest that the nature of his reaction to early French music is partly derived from the nineteenth-century reinscription of Frenchness, and that what attracted him about this chanson was both its authentic Renaissance characteristics and the notion of Frenchness portrayed in Weckerlin's arrangement. Although Wilhelm Hafner discussed the textual relationship between the 1529 source and Weckerlin's arrangement, he did not delve into the ideological significance of the arrangement and Alain's reaction to it.<sup>1</sup>

The second lens I will use to contextualize this piece is to consider it in relation to late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century works that reference early Western music. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, French composers had used Renaissance or Baroque forms as inspirations for modern compositions, but the literal replication of historic techniques was never widespread; rather, it was the propagation of the "spirit" of early music that interested them. From Debussy's *Sarabande* from *Pour le piano* to *Variations, Interlude and Final sur un thème de Rameau* by Alain's composition teacher, Paul Dukas, the technical characteristics of historic music are only loosely referenced and it is the

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<sup>1</sup> Wilhelm Hafner, "Zur Forlage von Jehan Alain *Variations sur un thème de Clément Janequin*," *Ars organi* 46 no. 2 (1988): 98-105.

subjective, modern perception of the spirit of early Frenchness that is most evident. This chapter will examine the possible relationship between *Variations sur un thème de Clément Jannequin* and three relevant historic forms – the French Baroque *Noël*, intabulation and fugue – showing that these references exist only a surface level, leaving much of the composition unexplained.

This conclusion leads into the third lens I will use to consider Alain's work, the contextualization of his treatment of mode. Since the late nineteenth century, modalism was a staple compositional element used by avant-garde French composers. Modalism's roots in early French music gave it historic credibility for informing a uniquely French voice, while providing a stark contrast to German and Italian Romantic music. Sources of modal music abounded in early twentieth-century France, and the pervasiveness of modalism in the cultural atmosphere coupled with Alain's spontaneous compositional approach makes it impossible in most cases to attribute Alain's use of mode to specific sources of influence. In *Jannequin*, Alain overlays the modalism of the chanson theme with chromaticism and synthetic scales much as Charles Tournemire combined Gregorian modes with polytonal techniques in his work *L'Orgue mystique* (1927-1932), and it is this hybridization of influences into an original and non-derivative sound that makes Alain's music so striking.

## **Chapter 1**

### **Biography**

Jehan Alain was born on February 3, 1911 in Saint-Germain-en-Laye, France, the eldest child of Albert and Magdeleine Alain. His father Albert was a church organist and composer, primarily of religious vocal music, and music permeated the life of the family. All of the Alain children were musical and studied piano and organ from a young age: Jehan (1911-1940) worked as an organist and teacher and studied composition; Marie-Odile (1914-1937) was an accomplished singer; Olivier (1918-1994) worked as a musicologist, conservatory director, and composer; and Marie-Claire (1926-2013) was an internationally renowned organist and teacher. Their mother Madgeleine was not a musician, but passed on to her children a love of poetry, literature and the sonorities of words. Together the Alain parents modeled traditional Christian values to their children, including love and charity; the value of hard work and overcoming difficulty; and a Jansenist-tinged emphasis on sin and human weakness.

Jehan was exposed to keyboard music from birth, and showed great precocity as a player. At three years he was able to play a simple melody in octaves in two hands, and by seven he was realizing accompaniments to the melodies played by his younger sister, Marie-Odile. Albert and his four children often made music together on the many instruments of their household, which included a piano, an organ that Albert built himself and modified often (it grew from a preliminary sketch of 12 ranks in 1910 to 42 ranks in 1960), and from the 1920s on, a harmonium and second piano. The creative interplay of music-making with his family and the sonorities of the house organ - influenced by the NeoClassical reforms in organ building proposed by Albert's former teacher Alexander Guilmant (1837-1911), among others - were influential in Alain's early musical development.

Jehan began studying organ with his father when he was eight, and by thirteen he

was skilled enough to substitute for his father during the first half of Mass. Albert held positions at two churches: he was named titulaire at Saint-Nicolas de Maisons-Laffitte in 1901, and from 1903 played for the Franciscan chapel of Saint-Germain-en Laye and composed for their choir. In 1924, Albert was nominated titulaire for the primary Saint-Germain parish, a position he had long aspired to, but the service times conflicted with his duties at the Franciscan chapel. Young Jehan was the solution: he began the service at Saint-Germain, playing the opening of Mass on the Grand Orgue and improvising in dialogue with the choir, until Albert arrived to finish the office. Jehan was thus trained from a young age not only in organ technique and repertoire, but also in improvisation, accompaniment, and liturgy.

Jehan entered *lycée* at the public school in Saint-Germain, but stopped when he was 16. His father recognized that Jehan's primary vocation was music, and helped Jehan prepare for a conservatory education by tutoring him in harmony. At the same time, Jehan studied piano with Augustin Pierson, organist at Saint-Louis in Versailles, and developed a formidable piano technique. Albert contacted his old counterpoint teacher at the Paris Conservatoire, Georges Caussade, who introduced Jehan to the school's harmony teacher, André Bloch. This introduction led to Jehan's acceptance at the *Conservatoire de Musique de Paris*, where he began classes in October of 1929.

Jehan's studies at the Conservatoire lasted the better part of ten years, with several breaks caused by illness and military service. In the French system of the time, students competed at the end of each year for the prestigious *premier prix*, and could not progress to the next subject or to full professional activity without the achievement. Alain took four years to earn prizes in harmony and counterpoint/fugue (both *premier prix*, 1933). This qualified him to enter the composition class of Paul Dukas in October 1933, but Dukas was succeeded by Roger-Ducasse in 1935. Jehan, a musician of extreme originality and unbridled creativity, had struggled to conform to the highly structured Conservatoire pedagogy to achieve his prizes in harmony and fugue, and was frustrated by the negative

institutional response to his compositions. Although he had greatly admired Dukas, Jehan did not receive support from Roger-Ducasse or the competition judges. Jehan abandoned the composition class after another unsuccessful competition in January of 1935, realizing his aesthetic was never going to merit a *premier prix* in the Conservatoire environment. He continued at the Conservatoire as an organ student of Marcel Dupré, receiving a *deuxième prix* in 1937 and finally in 1939 the *premier prix* that was necessary for a successful performance career. He also followed in his father's footsteps by auditing the music history classes of Maurice Emmanuel, whose interest in Greek, Hindu and Gregorian modes and rhythms was influential on Jehan and many of his contemporaries.

Jehan's studies were interrupted by illness and military service: he was convalescent with pneumonia in early 1933, then served in the 26th Infantry Regiment at Nancy from 1933-34, where his health was further compromised by the regiment's poor living conditions. After returning from the military Jehan became engaged to a childhood friend, Madeleine Payan, and they married on April 22, 1935. With their first child, Lise, due in the spring of 1936, Jehan had to prioritize work that would support his family. In addition to his posts as organist at Saint-Nicolas in Maisons-Lafitte and the Temple Israélite de la rue Notre-Dame de Nazareth in Paris, he taught piano, organ and music classes at the Collège Saint-Erembert in Saint-Germain. Jehan and Madeleine had two more children in 1938 and 1939, Agnès and Denis, and although Madeleine supported Jehan's pursuit of a musical career, Jehan was nevertheless limited by family and work obligations. He snatched at every spare moment for composition, often using the long train ride from Saint-Germain-en-Laye into Paris to write music.

As a composer Jehan received his first public recognition when his *Suite pour orgue* won a prize from *Les Amis de l'Orgue* in April of 1936. Having already decided that the Conservatoire and its conservative competitions were not the venue for his music, Alain was gratified by this honor. Jean-Yves Daniel-Lesur invited him to perform the work in January 1937 in a concert hosted by *La Spirale*, a group whose concerts of contemporary music had

featured works by other up-and-coming young composers, including Olivier Messiaen and Jean Langlais. In February of 1938 Jehan was again included in a concert of young composers, this time sponsored by *Les Amis de l'Orgue*. Alain performed *Danse funèbre pour honorer une mémoire héroïque*, *Variations sur un thème de Clément Jannequin*, *Le jardin suspendu* and *Litanies* on this program at La Trinité in Paris, alongside works by Messiaen and Daniel-Lesur. Alain's music was also beginning to gain traction in the repertoire of other performers. In May 1938 *Litanies* was premiered in America by Virginia Schilde-Bianchini, and in April 1940 Noëlie Pierront's performance of *Variations sur un thème de Clément Jannequin*, *Le jardin suspendu* and *Litanies* was broadcast live in Paris. Jehan wrote to his wife at the end of April,

I have received an excellent letter from Noëlie Pierront. A letter that I have been waiting for for a long time. She told me that my music arouses enthusiasm everywhere. That gives me pleasure to know. She adds that she wants to play "all" my music. You can imagine the joy that gives me.<sup>2</sup>

Jehan was championed by members of *Les Amis de l'Orgue*, including the organization's co-founders Bérenger de Miramon Fitzjames (1875-1952) and Norbert Dufourcq (1904-1990), both acquaintances of Albert Alain. Dufourcq, a prominent music critic, described Alain as an up-and-coming, talented young composer in a 1939 article in *La Revue Musicale*.<sup>3</sup> Dufourcq and Fitzjames also helped Jehan arrange the first publications of his works: *Suite monodique* (Hérelle, 1938); *Deux chorales* (Hérelle, 1938); and *Trois pièces* (Leduc, 1939). In a 1938 letter in which he mentioned editing *Suite monodique* for publication, Alain wrote, "Moreover I received a telephone call from the comte de Miramont

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<sup>2</sup> Letter of April 29, 1940 to Madeleine Payan Alain. *J'ai reçu une excellente lettre de Noëlie Pierront. Lettre que j'attendais depuis longtemps. Elle me dit que ma musique suscite partout l'enthousiasme. Ça me fait plaisir de la croire. Elle ajoute qu'elle veut jouer "toute" ma musique. Tu penses la joie que j'en ai.* In Aurélie Décourt, *Jehan Alain: Biographie, correspondance, dessins, essais* (Chambéry: Éditions Comp'Act, 2005): 285. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are by Ruth Draper.

<sup>3</sup> Norbert Dufourcq, "Panorama de la musique d'orgue française au XXe siècle," *La Revue Musicale* 189 (March, 1939): 103-116. Cited in Ervin Jerrol Dunham, "A Stylistic Analysis of the Organ Music of Jehan Alain" (DMA diss., University of Arizona, 1965): 18.

[sic] asking for unpublished works for organ so that he could take them to Leducq [sic]".<sup>4</sup> He mentions *Variations sur un thème de Jannequin*, *Le jardin suspendu* and *Litanies* as definite works to publish, and considers adding his *Prélude et fugue* (ultimately not included in *Trois pièces*). Thus Jehan's career as a composer was just taking off in the late 1930s, when the threat of war forced him to enter the military again.

Shortly after receiving his *premier prix* in organ in 1939, Jehan became a motorcycle courier in the 8th Regiment. At first his regiment had little to do, so Alain organized, trained and directed a chorus of soldiers that he humorously dubbed "*Petits chanteurs à la grosse voix*" ("Little singers with big voices"). After nine months of inaction, Jehan was among those evacuated to England from the battle of Dunkirk in May 1940. Upon returning to France in June, he ran reconnaissance missions in the battle of Saumur, and became linked with a group trying to prevent enemy movement through the suburb of Petit-Puy. Jehan volunteered to scout out the area, but as he approached Petit-Puy he became trapped in a garden by an approaching German detachment. Jehan fought until his ammunition ran out, found himself blocked in by the garden wall, and turned to face the approaching Germans and his death. He was posthumously awarded a citation for bravery.

Thus ended at age 29 the life of a musician who, had he lived longer, would undoubtedly have been one of the most prominent French composers of the twentieth century. Alain's opus list runs to over 120 compositions, from the short, often humorous keyboard sketches of 1929 and 1930, to the works of greater length and substance from the mid-1930s, to what should have been the first of many major works, *Trois danses*, begun in 1937 and completed in its orchestral form (now lost) during the war. Although Jehan described his *Trois pièces* as "more like hors-d'oeuvres than the main course" after hearing them broadcast on the radio, his music has engaged and fascinated musicians from

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<sup>4</sup> Letter of June 7, 1938 to Marguerite Evain. *J'ai reçu en outré un coup de telephone du comte de Miramont [sic] qui me demande mes oeuvres inédites pour orgue afin de les porter chez Leducq [sic]*. In Décourt, *Biographie*, 233.

his own time onwards.<sup>5</sup> Composer Henri Dutilleux (1916-2013), who orchestrated Jehan's *Prière pour notre charnels*, remembers Alain as "a remarkable composer with a truly creative mind."<sup>6</sup> Maurice Duruflé (1902-1986) memorialized Alain in the organ work *Prelude et fugue sur le nom d'Alain* (1942), quoting Jehan's most well-known work, *Litanies*, at the end of the prelude.

It is largely thanks to the efforts of Alain's family, most notably his sister Marie-Claire, that his works were published and brought to the attention of the international music community. In the decade following his death, his family arranged for the publication of the bulk of his piano and organ works. The three-volume edition of his organ works has been revised several times as new manuscripts have come to light. Most importantly, upon the death of Alain's widow in 1975, papers that she had kept sealed were opened by his children and examined by Marie-Claire, editor of the *Leduc* editions of organ music. Many alternate versions of existing works were found in these papers, along with several unknown works, and these were published in smaller collections. Out of her lifelong study of Jehan's works also came Marie-Claire's detailed study of the discrepancies between manuscripts, *Notes critiques sur l'oeuvre de l'orgue de Jehan Alain*, which includes facsimiles of scores and letters. In 2005 musicologist Aurélie Décourt, Marie-Claire Alain's granddaughter, published a comprehensive biography of Alain that includes examples of his drawings and many of his letters and writings.<sup>7</sup> For the centennial of Alain's birth a conference of papers on all aspects of his life and music was organized, and these papers are available in *Jehan Alain: Livre du centenaire*, edited by Décourt. The Alain centennial also saw the publication of a new Bärenreiter edition of his organ works, edited by his German biographer, Helga Schaurte.

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<sup>5</sup> Letter of April 10, 1940 to Albert Alain. ...*je croyais que mes oeuvres étaient bien plus des hors d'oeuvre que le plat de résistance*. In Décourt, *Biographie*, 281.

<sup>6</sup> Henri Dutilleux, *Music – Mystery and Memory: Conversations with Claude Glayman*, translated by Roger Nichols (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2003): 13.

<sup>7</sup> Aurélie Décourt, *Jehan Alain: Biographie, correspondance, dessins, essais* (Chambéry: Éditions Comp'Act, 2005).

## General characteristics of Alain's music and its inspiration

Alain's biographers highlight several characteristics of his personality that are important to understanding his music and his compositional approach. These include his intensely emotional response to atmosphere, landscape, literature and music; the alternation between joy and despair inherent in his personality; his humor; his daredevil sense of adventure; his curiosity about the world, particularly things novel or different; and above all, his constant creativity expressed through drawings, writings and music hastily scribbled on any handy scrap of paper or in the notebook he carried with him. The letters, writings and drawings reproduced in *Jehan Alain: Biographie, correspondance, dessins, essais* collectively illustrate a passionate, intelligent man: attracted to the fantastical; capricious in his self-expression; engrossed in his family life and private emotional world; with sketches (both images and music) constantly pouring out of him, equally expressing the humorous and the sublime, the imaginary and the actual. As Décourt explains, "dream and reality mingle in his inspiration and composition; this is one of the major characteristics of Jehan's creative process."<sup>8</sup>

Alan's own words clearly illustrate his emotional, impression-based, non-dogmatic approach to creation and composition. Speaking of improvisation, he wrote:

Music isn't a plastic art, it is very rarely descriptive, rarely ideological, it is the faithful translator of inexpressible and subtle impressions. The expression of all the impressions of an instant, taken as a whole."<sup>9</sup>

In the preface to his complete piano works, he is quoted, "You will find here a series of impressions. With a few exceptions, it is not necessary to search for a progression or a

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<sup>8</sup> "Rêve et réalité mêlés dans l'inspiration et dans la destination; tel est l'un des caractères majeurs de la création chez Jehan." Aurélie Décourt. "Les voies de la création chez Jehan Alain," in *Jehan Alain, livre du centenaire, 1911-2011*, ed. by Aurélie Gommier-Décourt (Saint-Germain-en-Laye: Presses Franciliennes Editions, 2012): 144.

<sup>9</sup> From a *commentaire de concert*, n.d. "La musique n'est pas un art plastique, elle est très rarement descriptive, rarement idéologique, elle est la fidèle traductrice des impression inexprimables et subtiles. Expression de toutes les impressions d'un instant, prises globalement." In Décourt, *Biographie*: 300.

thought process, but for an ephemeral vision."<sup>10</sup> Jehan's interest in the philosophical aspects of creative expression and musical language is evident in this excerpt from his essay, "Le geste." Punctuation (or lack thereof) and spacing is Alain's own.

Connections or better.. the distance between musical language and the states of soul produced

How do we interpret one sonority in one way, another sonority in another way? How do we imagine a state of soul? how do we create a state of soul?

This is the eternal problem of expression. I believe however that we understand music through the ambiguities it awakens in us with known sensations. These ambiguities are many [...]

In sum, music finds the deepest root of our being. These great ambiguities are nothing but the entrance to a labyrinth where we are forbidden to enter.<sup>11</sup>

Jehan's preference for passionate expression is also well-illustrated by these quotes:

Right now I would like to listen to wild music; something like jazz containing nothing but trumpets... something that clatters like a great wind. I can't stand music that sounds like a fine rain that lasts for days, without ceasing...<sup>12</sup>

In an improvisation, I don't like the feeling of progression - I mean to say of development, the extension of the initial idea. I want only an upsurge, nothing but the heights.<sup>13</sup>

These examples highlight Alain's preoccupation with the fleeting moment, with the

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<sup>10</sup> "Vous trouverez ici une série d'impressions. Il n'y faut pas chercher à quelques exception près un cours ou un raisonnement, mais une vision passagère." Jehan Alain, "Préface," in *L'Oeuvre de piano*, v. 1, ed. by Marie-Claire Alain (Paris: Leduc, 1944): ii.

<sup>11</sup> "Rapports ou mieux.. distance entre le langage musical et les états d'âme créés Comment interprétons-nous telle sonorité dans tel sens, telle sonorité dans tel autre? comment concevons-nous un état d'âme? comment échafaudons-nous des états d'âme? C'est l'éternel problème de l'expression. Je crois cependant que nous comprenons la musique par les équivoques qu'elle éveille en nous avec des sensations connues. Ces équivoques sont nombreuses [...] En fin de compte, la musique prend racine au plus profond de notre être. Ces équivoques grossièresne sont que l'entrée d'un labyrinthe où il nous est interdit d'entrer." Jehan Alain, "Le geste," in Décourt, *Biographie*: 296.

<sup>12</sup> Letter of August, 1993 to Denise Billard. "Maintenant j'aimerais entendre une musique endiablée; quelque chose comme un jazz qui ne contiendrait que des trompettes... quelque chose qui claquerait comme un grand vent. Je ne peux pas souffrir ces musiques qui parlent comme les pluies fines, fines qui durent dues journées, sans trêre..." In Décourt, *Biographie*: 140.

<sup>13</sup> "Dans une improvisation, je n'aime pas le sentiment de progression - je veux dire de développement, d'extension de l'idée initiale. Je voudrais seulement une poussée, rien que des paroxysmes. " Quoted in Bernard Gavoty, *Jehan Alain, Musicien Français (1911-1940): Avec un Choix de Lettres et de Dessins Inédits* (Paris: A. Michel, 1945): 299.

inexpressible feelings evoked by impressions of the moment and expressed in music, and with the relationship between music and “a state of soul”. Many of the writings and drawings we have by Alain are from his late teens and early 20s, and reflect an emotional narcissism typical of late adolescence and early adulthood. However, the trends shown in the above-cited excerpts hold true throughout his letters and writings, and therefore reflect his essential character and not merely a developmental period of his life. As a composer, he consistently sought to capture the inexpressible, to convey in sound the emotion and atmosphere of a fugitive moment: ultimately, to move the listener. His unbridled creativity in pursuit of achieving these aims is evidenced by his avoidance of development-based formal schemes, his disinclination for intellectual manipulations of musical material (recall his struggles with fugue at the Conservatoire) and his novel juxtaposition of musical elements. Alain’s unique yet unquestionably French voice results from his attitude that musical form is dictated by the needs of expression rather than by procedure, overlain by his predilection for modal and exotic scales, colorful chord timbres and rhythmic flexibility. As his brother Olivier put it,

In Jehan Alain’s work, as in works composed in the same period by Messiaen, Grunewald or Jean Langlais, one finds a language that is the natural realization of the French tradition and in particular of the Debussyian revolution. But with Jehan Alain, there is never an aspect of the theoretical, of the experimental or the calculated... All music, for him, must be living.<sup>14</sup>

This serious, emotional side of Jehan is contrasted by his ever-present humor. As an example, consider this description of an offertory improvised during Mass:

I improvised an offertory that made an effect like lightning and cataracts. You must make little trills for the women, melodic *tirades* that end with a dramatic *decresc.* for the young girls, a beautiful theme in the bass for the men and finally a little line in

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<sup>14</sup> “On trouvera donc chez Jehan Alain, comme dans les oeuvres composés à l’époque par Messiaen, Grunewald ou Jean Langlais, un langage qui est l’aboutissement naturel de la tradition française et en particulier de la révolution debussyste. Mais chez JA, il n’y a jamais rien de théorique, d’expérimental ou de calculé... Toute musique, pour lui, doit être vécue.” Olivier Alain, “Quelques fragments d’analyse d’oeuvres de Jehan Alain,” in *Jehan Alain, livre du centenaire, 1911-2011*, ed. by Aurélie Gommier-Décourt (Saint-Germain-en-Laye: Presses Franciliennes Editions, 2012): 94.

the pedal for the young, sporty folk...<sup>15</sup>

The humorous and serious aspects of his character coexisted, and many of his creations (including drawings and writings) show evidence of both. A good example of this, as well as a caution for giving too much weight to Jehan's words about any particular piece, is the inscription on *Climat* ("Atmosphere"; 1932).<sup>16</sup> Written in the same ink as the musical notation, above the date "Ma [sic] 32", is the text: "Story of a dwarf who counts on his fingers and who always gets to the end. So he stops. He hears the wind coming down the hill opposite."<sup>17</sup> This was later crossed out in pencil, and replaced with words of a very different character:

Always the same limit at the end of our reflections. We guide our ideas for a long time, only to be brought up short in the face of uncertainty. What faith, even the most sincere, is not thus corrupted to the point where our heart stops, where our spirit is powerless?<sup>18</sup>

The early work *Fantasmagorie* (1935) provides a good snapshot of Jehan the composer. Written on board the suburban train, as many of his works were, this piece contains a reflection of that mechanical reality: the second theme is a musical representation of the repetitive sounds of the train's wheels.



Example 1: *Fantasmagorie*, Theme 2, measures 25-28

The first theme, however, endlessly repeated and with a striking and bizarre timbre created by the organ registrations, is pure fantasy (see Example 2); its repetition is "like a military

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<sup>15</sup> Letter of July 5, 1931 to Denise Billard. "...j'ai improvisé un offertoire qui a fait un effet fulgurant et cataractique [sic]. Il faut faire des petits trilles pour les dames, des tirades mélodiques se terminant par un violent decresc. pour les jeunes filles, un beau thème à la basse pour les messieurs et enfin un petit trait de pédale pour les jeunes gens sportifs..." In Décourt, *Biographie*: 88.

<sup>16</sup> Gommier-Décourt, "Les voies," 147.

<sup>17</sup> Facsimile of first page of score in Marie-Claire Alain, *Critical Notes on the Organ Works of Jehan Alain*, trans. by Norma Stevlingson (Paris: Leduc, 2003): 98.

<sup>18</sup> Trans. by Norma Stevlingson in Marie-Claire Alain, *Critical Notes*: 99.

march or a barbaric organ, [situated] far from the present, without any doubt, out of reality.”<sup>19</sup> In its excessive repetition, the “imaginary” theme also conjures up a commentary about the “actual” - the mindlessness of commuting. The juxtaposition of the two themes illustrates Alain’s technique of presenting without transition or resolution unrelated musical landscapes, yet the whole is surprisingly coherent. The last page of the manuscript is illustrated with a fantastical dragon lounging among giant flowers at the base of a mountain; this, combined with the title (a *fantasmagorie* is a type of magic lantern), illustrates the capricious and imaginative side of Jehan’s creative process.

The manipulation of organ timbres in this work is free of the stereotyped conventions of French Romantic period, showing Alain’s ability to treat timbre as an independent and experimental sound frontier. This example of novel registration also exhibits the fondness for creative parallel harmonies that can be found throughout his compositions. Alain’s organ registrations specify G.O. Bourdon 16 for the right-hand melody, sounding an octave below the notated pitch, and Récit Flûte 4 for the left hand, sounding an octave above the notated pitch:

Example 2: *Fantasmagorie*, measures 9-12

The effective sonority is of an imaginary “harmonic” sounding an octave and a major sixth higher than the fundamental, and at an excessively loud volume for an upper partial. Alain’s choice of stops deliberately overbalances the upper line in relation to the lower, emphasizing the bizarreness of the sonority. Various permutations of stops of the same family could have produced different relationships between the presence of the fundamental

<sup>19</sup> Décourt, “Les voies de la creation,” 146.

and its “harmonic”. Had Alain written the right hand an octave lower for 8’ flûte, for example, it would have given more strength to the fundamental relative to the Flûte 4’ “partial”.

A final important facet of Alain’s general compositional approach is the immense variety of music that attracted him. The wide range of inspirations evident in Alain’s music calls to mind Olivier Messiaen’s self-described influences:

...my mother (the poetess Cécile Sauvage), my wife (Claire Delbos), Shakespeare, Claudel, Reverdy and Eluard, Hello and Dom Columba Marmion, birds, Russian music, Debussy’s *Pelléas et Mélisande*, plainchant, Hindu rhythmic, the mountains of Dauphiné, and finally, all that evokes stained-glass window and rainbow.<sup>20</sup>

Similarly, Alain was inspired and/or influenced by nature, mountains, Russian music, Debussy, literature, poetry, plainchant, non-Western music, synthetic scales, and early French music.<sup>21</sup> This incredible range of musical and nonmusical sources of inspiration makes it difficult to extract the influence of a specific strand out of his work. Alain had no interest in the authentic replication of any given musical source, be it an exotic scale, a Baroque form or a structural technique. His work was always personal and placed greater emphasis on the transmission of the “spirit” of the source of inspiration than any tangible qualities thereof. This, combined with his characteristic juxtaposition of different materials, means that very few pieces can be said to be clearly indebted to one source of influence to the exclusion of others.

As an example, take the early work *Postlude pour l’office de complies* (1930). This is one of the only non-liturgical pieces in which Alain explicitly quotes plainchant, and therefore in a casual analysis could be said to be an instance of the influence of chant on his

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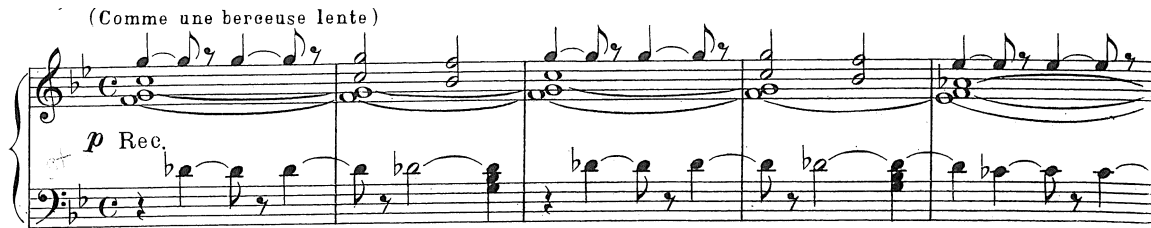
<sup>20</sup> Olivier Messiaen, *The Technique of my Musical Language, Volume 1*, trans. by John Satterfield (Paris: Leduc, 1956): 7.

<sup>21</sup> Although comparisons with the young Messiaen are tempting given the similarity of their sources of inspiration and their similarly coloristic, modernist approach (combining timbral experimentation, modal and exotic scales, and irregular rhythms), given their great differences in personality, lack of personal contact (excepting their one meeting as performers on the same program at La Trinité in 1938), and lack of documented knowledge of each other’s music, perhaps these similarities were the product of their mutual cultural and musical environment rather than evidence of influence from one to the other composer.

work. However, closer examination suggests that the use of chant is not the most notable aspect of this piece. Jehan describes to a friend the atmosphere out of which this piece came, written at night when practicing at the Abbey at Valloires after compline services:

...yet this instrument is marvelous to play at 11 pm at night when the countryside is completely silent and when you play the lowest notes of the pedal *pianissimo* they make the air tremble... it is truly moving.<sup>22</sup>

As with so much of Jehan's music, this piece is primarily the transcription of a moving experience into music; in this case, the mysterious atmosphere of a dark church at night, the timbral qualities of the low pedal notes and the lingering sense of ritual from the Compline service. The piece's introduction evokes the ringing of bells with its swinging motion, and the complex chords reflect the strong, complex overtones of church bells.



Example 3: *Postlude pour l'office de complies*, mesures 1-5

Over this musical image the lines of various chants float, the only connection between them their common usage in the Compline service, as if the songs and prayers of the monks over the ages are echoing in the atmosphere of the church. The piece ends with three *Amens*, the third slower as the movement dies away, the steady motion of the bells finally coming to rest in a calm, ethereal major-seventh chord (see Example 4). The plainchant determines neither the structure of the piece nor its vertical harmonies, nor does it carry any programmatic import beyond its role in portraying an atmosphere. It is for these reasons that the piece cannot be described as "influenced by" or "about" plainchant. It is rather a work "about" the ambience of a moment in which plainchant happened to take part.

<sup>22</sup> Letter of September 5-6, 1930 to Denise Billard. "...cet instrument est pourtant merveilleux à jouer vers 11 heures du soir quand le silence est absolu dans la campagne et qu'on joue en *pianissimo* les notes graves de la pédale qui font trembler l'atmosphère... c'est vraiment émouvant." In Décourt, *Biographie*, 62.

Example 4: *Postlude pour l'office de complies*, mesures 39-44

Our upcoming examination of *Variations sur un thème de Clément Jannequin* (1937) will further illustrate Alain's extraordinary ability to evoke atmosphere and emotion by drawing on a myriad of musical repertoires, whose characteristics are almost always subsumed into his personal voice. As Décourt summarizes Alain's compositional approach,

So Jehan used diverse sources of inspiration to write personal and very French music: gregorian chant; early music; foreign or exotic music; the sonorous landscape that he alone captured; the impressions produced by a book, a gesture, a look. All of this enters into a mysterious alchemy in his spirit out of which suddenly bursts the idea for a work, sketched or more developed. He created [musical] language as a function of inspiration, form at the same time as the work. Form and technique were themselves forgotten in the primacy of musical emotion, to which they are but servants.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> "Jehan utilise donc diverses sources d'inspiration pour écrire une musique personnelle et très française: le grégorien, la musique ancienne, les musiques étrangères ou exotiques, le paysage sonore qu'il est seul à capter, les impressions produites par un livre, un geste, un regard. Tout ceci consistue une alchimie mystérieuses dans son esprit d'où jaillit, tout à coup, l'idée de l'oeuvre, esquissée [sketched] ou plus aboutie. Il crée le langage en fonction de l'inspiration, la forme en même temps que l'oeuvre. Forme et technique doivent se faire oublier au profit de l'émotion musicale dont elles ne sont que les servantes." Décourt, "Les voies de la création," 159.

Jehan Alain's music thus holds an important place in the repertoire of twentieth century music for two primary reasons. First, he was one of those who brought modernism and innovation to the organ, moving French organ music away from the symphonic forms and timbres held over from the nineteenth century. Second, his music is not merely technically creative, it is moving, and it communicates on an emotional level that transcends the details of compositional technique. Gerard Brooks's description of *Trois danses* as "intense music that seeks to reflect the human conditions of joy, grief and struggle" (the titles of the three movements) could be applied to Alain's entire output: for Alain, composition was self-expression and communication of the deepest human feelings, from grief to humor, and his unique gift was the ability to fuse disparate musical languages and disparate emotional states into coherent, compelling compositions.

## Chapter 2

### **Structural Overview of *Variations sur un thème de Clément Jannequin***

A brief analysis of the structure of *Variations sur un thème de Clément Jannequin* will introduce the reader to the form and thematic material of this work, prior to analysis in the discussion chapters. The Theme (measures 1-31) was copied from *Echos du temps passé: Recueil de chansons, noëls, madrigaux, brunettes, etc., du XIIe au XVIIIème siècle, suivis de chansons populaires* (1853), an anthology of music for solo voice and piano compiled and arranged by Jean-Baptiste Weckerlin.<sup>24</sup> Chapter 3 will contextualize the changes to the 1529 polyphonic source made by Weckerlin in his arrangement of the anonymous chanson *L'espoir que j'ai*, which he incorrectly attributed to Clément Jannequin (a misspelling of Janequin). Alain's organ transcription of Weckerlin's arrangement is almost verbatim, making only two changes. First, Alain deletes a D in the cadential dominant chords in measures 5 and 10, where the addition of a fourth voice is unnecessary for the harmony (Example 5 and 6). At other times, where Weckerlin's occasional fourth voice fills out a chord, Alain retains it. Second, Alain adds tempo indications to the ending of the chanson: *Poco più lento* at measure 24; *a Tempo* in measure 26; and *Riten.* in the penultimate measure (Example 7).

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<sup>24</sup> The harmonization of the theme was thought to be Alain's own until Wilhelm Hafner located Weckerlin's arrangement the Alain library. See Hafner, "Zur Forlage," 98.

**Allegretto moderato**

CHANT

L'es - poir que j'ai d'ac - qué - rir vo - tre grà -

**Allegretto moderato (♩ = 84)**

PIANO

ce, Et de jou - ir du bien que je pour - chas -

Example 5: *L'espoir que j'ay* arranged by Weckerlin, measures 1-9

**Affettuoso (♩ = 72)**

Rée.

*p*

GO.

Example 6: *Variations sur un thème de Clément Jannequin*, measures 1-6

**Poco più lento**      **a Tempo**      **Riten.**

*p*

Example 7: *Jannequin*, measures 24-31

The first variation (mm 32-63) is marked *Maggiore*, but the chromaticism that starts with the E-natural on the third beat of the left hand undermines even a passing sense of B-flat major as a key region (Example 8). The cadences in this variation are all in D minor, or related keys (middle phrases cadence in F major and C major). This variation illustrates Alain's lack of concern with precise nomenclature: does the marking *Maggiore* refer to the B-flat major chord that opens the variation, or to the fact that the F-sharp is used as a Picardy third at every cadence in the tonic D minor? The material between the opening B-flat major chord and the first cadence in D (mm. 37, Example 8) is typical of Alain's harmonic language, i.e. chromaticism without functional modulatory progressions.

2 *Maggiore*

The musical score shows three staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a 'Pos.' marking. The middle staff is in bass clef with a 'GO.' marking. The bottom staff is in a lower treble clef. The music consists of several measures with chromatic lines in the left hand and a final cadence in the tonic D minor.

Example 8: *Jannequin*, measures 32-37

Note that Alain does not retain the striking modal inflection of Weckerlin's arrangement – the melodic fragment “flat- $\hat{7}$  -  $\hat{1}$  - raised- $\hat{7}$  -  $\hat{1}$ ” appearing at the first and last cadences of the Theme (Example 6, mm. 5-6 and Example 7, mm. 30-31) – but changes it to “flat- $\hat{7}$  -  $\hat{1}$  - flat- $\hat{7}$  -  $\hat{1}$ ” (Example 8, mm. 36-37). Alain's penchant for modal cadence is exhibited in the change in harmonic progression between the Theme, where the leading-tone in measure 5 creates a V-i cadence, and the first variation, where Alain raises the third of the tonic chord in mm. 37 to create a v-I cadence. In no instance during the entire piece is this oft-repeated melodic fragment harmonized with two triads of the same quality (v-i or V-I), with the exception of the cadence at the end of the Theme, where Alain retains Weckerlin's Picardy third (see Example 7, mm. 30-31). Throughout the work, Alain's preference is for

minor-major cadences (v-I), sometimes preceded by a major subdominant (IV-v-I). This nostalgic modalism is contextualized in Chapter 3 in the discussion of how nineteenth-century musicians identified essential “French” qualities in early music to carry into modern composition.

Variation One is clearly derived from the Theme in its texture, although at times Alain accompanies it with parallel sixths and triads rather than independent contrapuntal lines (Example 9). This variation is almost the same length as the Theme; one measure is added to the long melodic note closing the phrase at measure 54, to allow the chromatic harmony more time to arrive on VII. Harmonically, Alain expands upon the modal flavor of the Theme with complex, often non-functional accidentals, drawing heavily from the octatonic collection, especially in measures 50-55:

Example 9: *Jannequin*, measures 50-55

The effect of this chromaticism is an increased richness in harmonic color, augmenting the underlying Dorian mode. Alain’s use of parallel harmonies to chromatically complicate the Theme’s mode is discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

Variation Two is labeled *Fugato - Più vivo*. The texture is again derived from that of the Theme, but here the melody is ornamented, in a way that brings to mind a Renaissance intabulation. The word *fugato* is misleading, since the theme is heard in different key regions only for the first half of the variation, and does not receive a particularly contrapuntal treatment. The *Fugato* theme (Example 10) is heard in full four times, in G-minor (measure 64), D-minor (measure 68), E-flat minor (measure 78) and B-flat minor (measure 82). Alain’s harmonization of this theme quickly veers away from the modal into

the chromatic, with varying inflections. The G-minor theme peaks with a diminished triad in measure 67, with flat- $\hat{5}$  in the melody (Example 10, mm. 67, beat 1). The D-minor and B-flat minor iterations of the *fugato* theme also peak with flat- $\hat{5}$ , although with differing harmonizations. In contrast, the E-flat minor presentation of the theme peaks with raised- $\hat{5}$  in the melody (Example 11, mm. 80-81). In all four cases, within five bars Alain moves from a diatonic Dorian beginning, through increasing chromaticism peaking with the distortion of scale-degree  $\hat{5}$ , then falling back in melodic line and chromatic complexity to a diatonic modal cadence.

Example 10: *Jannequin*, measures 64-68

Example 11: *Jannequin*, measures 78-82

After the fourth iteration of the *fugato* theme, Alain fragments it, combining episodic material with two motives derived from the theme. The first episode references the Dorian mode with the ascending line " $\hat{5}$ -raised- $\hat{6}$ -flat- $\hat{7}$ - $\hat{8}$ ", heard in a variety of key regions:





Example 15: *Jannequin*, measures 94-98

The *Fugato* variation closes with a C-major chord that reorients the ear to the underlying Dorian mode, setting up the return to G minor in the final variation, *Grave*. This variation also presents an ornamented version of the original chanson theme, heard three times: in G (measures 106-108); again in G, but up an octave (measures 109-111); and then in D (measures 110-111). The first iteration is a purely Dorian presentation, shorter than the *Fugato* theme:



Example 16: *Jannequin*, measures 106-108

The second entrance of the theme in G is chromatic, using the same flat- $\hat{5}$  melodic distortion as in in measure 66-67 (see Example 10). From here the texture descends into a *stretto* on the chanson's closing melodic formula (Example 17; the soprano D-flat is flat- $\hat{5}$  of the G theme, the alto A-flat the flat- $\hat{5}$  of its answer in D).



Example 17: *Jannequin*, measures 112-114

An echo of the episodic octatonic material from the previous variation is heard in measures 114-118, but overall the harmonic content of this variation is much less complex than in the *Fugato*. The work closes with a modification of the last six measures of the chanson Theme (Example 18), the left-hand and pedal extending the Dorian progression for several bars after the melody has come to rest (Example 19). Like Weckerlin's arrangement and all of the preceding variations, the work closes with a Picardy third.



Example 18: *Jannequin*, measures 24-31

Example 19: *Jannequin*, measures 121-130

This analytic overview brings to light the issues that will be discussed in detail in the following chapters: the implication of theme's derivation from a nineteenth-century arrangement of a Renaissance work, rather than an urtext early work (Chapter 3); the non-exact nature of Alain's references to historic techniques, including intabulation and fugue (Chapter 4); and the complexity of Alain's treatment of Dorian mode, incorporating chromaticism and octatonicism (Chapter 5). Through these discussions, linked by their relevance to this specific work, we will achieve perspective on Alain's position in the compositional and ideological trends of his time. The breadth of historical context provided by this exploration will also enable a better understanding of the individual nature of Alain's compositional voice.

### Chapter 3

#### **The Construction of Frenchness in Weckerlin's Anthology *Echos du temps passé* and its Relationship to Alain's *Variations sur un thème de Clément Jannequin***

The three-volume anthology *Echos du temps passé: recueil de chansons, noëls, madrigaux, brunettes, musettes, airs a boire et a danser, menuets, chansons populaires, etc. du XII<sup>e</sup>me au XVIII<sup>e</sup>me siècle, suivis de chansons populaires* was compiled and edited by Jean-Baptiste Weckerlin (1821-1910) and first printed by G. Flaxland, 1853-57. The volumes were so popular they were reprinted at least three times over the next century.<sup>25</sup> Although the title does not specify it, these volumes aim to give a summary of French music, rather than music in general. Volume One, from which the chanson that inspired Alain came, is divided into two sections (see Appendix 1). The bulk of the collection is a chronological series of primarily French songs from a late 12th-century *trouvère* melody to a *romance* by Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1711-1788). The second section features melodies that Weckerlin attributes to regions rather than composers: ten songs from various provinces of France, one "sailor song", and two non-French songs, *Chant Polonais* and *Chanson Nègre*. Volumes Two and Three also feature a mix of historic French melodies, regional airs, and a handful of ethnic numbers, ranging in attributed origin from China to Mexico. According to Weckerlin, the goal of Volume One is to give "a sort of chronological *tableau* of the different phases of music in France, from the troubadours until the eighteenth century inclusively."<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> First reprint by Durand et Schoenewerk, 1888 (Durand acquired Flaxland in 1869); second reprint by A. Durand & Fils, n.d. (the company went by that name only between 1891-1909); third reprint by Durand, 1950-54. Volumes also exist imprinted simply "Durand" with n.d., suggesting other reprints after 1909.

<sup>26</sup> "Dans notre premier recueil d'anciennes chansons, nous avons embrassé une période de plusieurs siècles, formant ainsi une espèce de tableau chronologique des différentes phases de la musique en France, depuis les troubadours jusqu'au dix-huitième siècle inclusivement." Jean-Baptiste Weckerlin, "Avant-propos," in *Echos du temps passé. Recueil de chansons, noëls, madrigaux, brunettes, etc., du XII<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup>me siècle, suivis de chansons populaires*. v. 2 (Paris: G. Flaxland, 1855): i.

This collection arose out of a cultural climate in which the inferiority of French musical heritage in relation to that of Italy and Germany was taken for granted. From Rousseau's condemnation of French music in favor of Italian during the "*Querelle des Bouffons*" of the 1750s throughout the nineteenth century, French writers from varied backgrounds regularly denigrated French music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>27</sup> "Inferiority is an inescapable musical discourse about French compositions and French musical culture," writes musicologist Katharine Ellis of the nineteenth-century climate.<sup>28</sup> She continues,

To find a French music worthy of the name, musicians with historical sensitivity had to look further back than the eighteenth century – to a past during which the French had, alongside their Flemish cousins, been trend-setters.<sup>29</sup>

One of the first to do this was music historian, publisher and instructor Alexandre-Etienne Choron (1771-1834). As founder and director of the *Institution royale de musique classique et religieuse* – a choir school whose popular concerts of 1827-1931 featured Italian-influenced Renaissance and Baroque works from Palestrina through Handel alongside more recent compositions by Mozart, Cherubini and the like – Choron was influential in the promotion of early music. As was the norm for his time, Choron was not complimentary to French musicians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; in his *Dictionnaire historique des musiciens* (1810), he lauded Italian-influenced music of the period while decrying "*le mauvais gout*" (bad taste) of Lully's contemporaries, a "corruption...taken farther" by

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<sup>27</sup> Rousseau closed his 1753 *Lettre sur la musique françois*, "I believe I have shown that the French have neither meter nor melody in their music, because the language is not susceptible to them; that French song is but a continual barking, unbearable to any ear not prepared for it... From which I conclude that the French do not at all have a music and cannot have any; or that if ever they have any, it will be so much the worse for them." Cited and translated in John Scott, "The Harmony Between Rousseau's Musical Theory and his Philosophy," in *Jean-Jacques Rousseau: Critical Assessments of Leading Political Philosophers*, vol. 3 (London: Routledge, 2006): 62.

<sup>28</sup> Katharine Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past: Early Music in Nineteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005): xviii.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

Rameau.<sup>30</sup> Yet by citing the international reputation and influence of French musicians from earlier eras, especially Claude Goudimel's purported instruction of Palestrina, Choron was able to conclude in a separate essay that French musicians were "the stem from which came all of today's other European musical traditions."<sup>31</sup> This narrative of French music history limited the repertoire that was initially included in the French early music revival to Franco-Flemish composers like Josquin and Janequin, a bias that is reflected in the music included in Choron's concert programs, teaching exercises and publications.<sup>32</sup>

This French repertoire was again favored in 1843 when Louis Niedermeyer and Prince de la Moskowa founded *La Société des concerts de musique vocale religieuse et classique*. Their goal was to revive choral works from the Renaissance and Baroque, to both increase appreciation for early music among Parisian concertgoers and to counter the perceived decadence of opera.<sup>33</sup> The concert society performed 18 public concerts between 1843 and 1846; the most frequently performed composers were Palestrina, Lassus, Marcello, Handel and Haydn.<sup>34</sup> Although the focus of the society was on Palestrina, whose sacred, contrapuntal style could perhaps "regenerate" opera-influenced church repertoire, a concert reviewer reported that the audience was distracted during a Palestrina *Sanctus* because of their anticipation of the upcoming Janequin *chanson*.<sup>35</sup> For the purposes of this discussion, the importance of the *Société des concerts* was not their promotion of Palestrinian counterpoint, but their performance of specific historic French repertoire. Similar to Choron's concerts, the French compositions performed by the *Société* were secular, Franco-

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<sup>30</sup> Alexandre Étienne Choron and François Joseph M. Fayolle, *Dictionnaire historique des musiciens, artistes et amateurs morts ou vivants, par A. Choron et F. Fayolle* (Paris: Valade, 1810): lxxix.

<sup>31</sup> From Alexandre-Etienne Choron, "De l'école française de musique et de son influence sur les autres écoles de ce même art en Europe," unpublished; cited and translated in Ellis, *Interpreting*, 19.

<sup>32</sup> See Ellis, *Interpreting*, 19-21 for more on the politics of Choron's interest in Franco-Flemish music.

<sup>33</sup> Ikuno Sako, "Louis Niedermeyer and Early Music Revival in Nineteenth-Century France," in *Music Research: New Directions for a New Century*, ed. by Michael Ewans, Rosalind Halton and John A. Phillips (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2004): 86.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 87.

<sup>35</sup> Cited in Ellis, *Interpreting*, 32.

Flemish works by Lassus, Arcadelt and Janequin, as well as Machaut and de la Halle.<sup>36</sup> Notably absent were sacred works in the *grand motet* tradition, for example, Lully, Charpentier, Couperin or Rameau. In an 1845 concert review, critic and *Société* member Adolphe Adam (1803-1856) praised the qualities of an anonymous French *pavane* “from well before the period when the contrapuntal and figured style came to prevail.”<sup>37</sup> His liking for this dance as well as an Arcadelt chanson from the program highlights the appeal of melody and rhythm over counterpoint in the nineteenth-century evaluation of historic French music.<sup>38</sup> When historian François-Joseph Fétis (1784-1871) praised the “gracious melody” of a *villanelle* in 1832,<sup>39</sup> he foreshadowed both the vocabulary that would be used to describe historic French music for the rest of the century and the repertoire that would be most important (melody, i.e. the *chanson*).

As one of the deputies for the *Société des concerts*, in the 1840s Weckerlin would have been steeped in both this privileged historic French repertoire and the narrative surrounding its perceived value. Volume One of his collection *Echos du temps passé* illustrates contemporary trends in its focus on melodic works and dances and his predominantly homophonic accompaniments highlighting the melody. The language Weckerlin uses in his introductory remarks also reflects the values of the time. Of the earliest work, a chanson by the *trouvère* de Coucy, he comments, “it lacks neither naivety nor grace.”<sup>40</sup> An early seventeenth-century chanson by Levèvre [sic] he describes as “marked with much grace and sentiment.”<sup>41</sup> He quotes Cristophe Ballard, editor of the 1703 collection *Brunettes ou petits airs tendres avec les doubles et la basse continue mêlées de*

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 32-33.

<sup>37</sup> Cited and translated in Ibid., 34.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 34.

<sup>39</sup> Cited in Ibid., 34.

<sup>40</sup> Jean-Baptiste Weckerlin, editor. *Echos Du Temps Passé. Recueil de Chansons, Noël, Madrigaux, Brunettes, Etc., Du XIIe Au XVIIIème Siècle, Suivis de Chansons Populaires*. v. 1 (Paris: G. Flaxland, 1853): 4.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 61.

*chansons à danser*, on the “tender, easy, natural” character of brunettes (a dance form).<sup>42</sup> Over the course of the nineteenth century such adjectives came to define the quintessentially “French” characteristics of both historic and modern French music, playing an important role in the nationalistic project to create a positive image of French music at home and explain the superiority of the French style over those of Italy and Germany. As we shall see, Alain's reaction to Weckerlin's arrangement of the chanson *L'espoir que j'ai* and to historic French music in general proves the enduring success of the mid-nineteenth-century inscription of French music as gracious, tender and natural.

As proclaimed on the cover of *Echos*, the melodies therein were given a new piano accompaniment by Weckerlin. Citing the static accompaniment and guitar-like triplet arpeggio of the *Chanson mexicaine* from Volume Three, musicologist Jann Pasler argues that the nature of Weckerlin's arrangements of the “ethnic” numbers suggests that “his interest in this music is as emblems of race that composers could adapt and use as signs to exotic cultures.”<sup>43</sup> The corollary argument is that his arrangements of French music – the bulk of the anthology – also promote a concept of race, i.e. a notion of “Frenchness”. Later in the century, after the formation of the Third Republic in 1871, the melodies of France would become important tools in both the attempt to define France as a nation with a unified cultural identity (the Republican agenda) and the counter-image highlighting the regional qualities of the provinces (the aristocratic agenda, e.g. Vincent d'Indy and the *Schola Cantorum*).<sup>44</sup> The melodies used in this debate were *chansons populaires*, defined by the *Institut de France* in 1885 as “popular melodies and songs in France, from the beginning of the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth centuries.”<sup>45</sup> Although a great deal of emphasis

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 77.

<sup>43</sup> Jann Pasler, “Race and Nation: Musical Acclimatization and the Chansons Populaires in Third Republic France,” in *Western Music and Race*, ed. by Julie Brown (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007): 148.

<sup>44</sup> See Pasler, “Race and Nation” and Jann Pasler, “The *chanson populaire* as a Malleable Symbol in Turn-of-the-century France,” in *Tradition and its Future in Music: Report of SIMS 1990 Osaka*, ed. by Yoshihiko Takumaru (Osaka, Japan: Mito, 1990).

<sup>45</sup> Cited and translated in Pasler, “Malleable symbol,” 204.

was placed on folk melodies, collected from the provinces since the 1830s, the desire to create a lineage of French song caused certain kinds of early music to be included under the rubric "*chanson populaire*". The nineteenth-century trend of describing Frenchness using a combination of historic and folk melodies is evident in the inclusion of both in the first volume of *Echos*, as well as in later collections with more explicitly articulated nationalistic intents.<sup>46</sup> The early music movement and the folksong revival movement had similarly nationalistic goals, and were largely led by the same people. The types of melodies included in Weckerlin's collection, and the nature of his arrangements, can therefore be seen as an early attempt to prove the lineage of a French style preserved since the sixteenth century in the folksongs of rural regions. With this background in mind, we will take a brief survey of Weckerlin's arrangements of historic French music in the first volume of *Echos*, in order to discern how his harmonization of *L'espoir que j'ai* represents a nineteenth-century ideal of French style – a representation, moreover, that was quite appealing to Jehan Alain.

The harmonizations in *Echos du temps passé* attempt to make historic melodies appealing to audiences accustomed to Western art song while highlighting their "folk" nature. Introductions and dynamics are added, and rhythms are smoothed out to make contrapuntal works into solo melodies. Drones are found throughout the collection, particularly in works with pastoral references or Christmas themes, as well as dance melodies and regional folk songs. The drone technique highlights the (purported) naïveté of the melodies, and is a marked contrast to counterpoint, disparaged at the time as "anti-expressive, scholastic, and (pejoratively) virtuosic."<sup>47</sup> The simplicity of the melodies is emphasized with homophonic harmonizations and uncomplicated chord progressions. Weckerlin states in his preface that he tried to adhere to the harmony of the century in which the melody was composed, except that "sometimes it was necessary to depart from

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<sup>46</sup> E.g. Julien Tiersot's *Histoire de la chanson populaire en France* (Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit, 1889), which beat Jean-Baptiste Weckerlin's work *La chanson populaire* (Paris: Firmin-Didot et cie, 1886) for a government prize on the subject, includes examples from both historic manuscripts and the oral tradition.

<sup>47</sup> Ellis, *Interpreting*, 34.



Weckerlin references Machaut's notational system in the introduction to this piece, including the black perfect and red imperfect notes of mensural rhythmic notation; he most likely saw the actual manuscript.<sup>50</sup> Either he did not fully understand this rhythmic system or he disliked the medieval flavor of the original. His version in triple time is more melodically expressive, and the text stresses more modern; the triplets at the end of the first phrase are perhaps his attempt to portray a lyrical troubadour, rather than the stilted, syncopated rhythm of the original. With the exception of the second bar of the melody, all the leading tones in Weckerlin's arrangement are raised, and the tonic cadences major.

Weckerlin's liking for leading-tone cadences with Picardy thirds is evident in the other two modal minor examples as well. The Pavane *Belle qui tiens ma vie*, which Weckerlin cites as transcribed from the 1589 edition of Thoinot Arbeau's *L'Orchésographie*, "preserving the 4-part harmony," also uses this harmonic scheme.<sup>51</sup> Examination of his source (Example 21) confirms that he did copy the harmony, albeit with a few changes. First, he made the homophonic accompaniment more elegant (in the terms of his own century) by changing the inner voices to a rocking eighth-note pattern (Example 22). Second, in the 1589 publication the first B-phrase ends on an F-natural (lowered- $\hat{7}$ ) and the second ends on an F-sharp (leading tone); Weckerlin's version uses the F-sharp to make a major V chord both times. Weckerlin mentions several printings of Arbeau's treatise in his introduction to this work; had he consulted more than one he would have seen that later printings use the lowered F-natural for both B-phrase half-cadences.<sup>52</sup> However, the lack of

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<sup>50</sup> Weckerlin cites Machaut's works as found in manuscripts 81 and 2771 in the Lavallière collection (*Echos*, 13), i.e. the library of the Duke of La Vallière (1708-1780), which was given to the Bibliothèque du Roy after the duke's death (see Lawrence Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013): 103).

<sup>51</sup> Weckerlin, *Echos*, Vol. 1, 36.

<sup>52</sup> Thoinot Arbeau, *Orchesographie. Et traicte en forme de dialogve, par leqvel tovtes personnes pevvent facilement apprendre & practiquer l'honneste exercice des dances*. (Lengres: Iehan des Preyz, 1596; Accessed online [http://japanese.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/3/31/IMSLP30806-PMLP15048-Orch\\_sographie.pdf](http://japanese.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/3/31/IMSLP30806-PMLP15048-Orch_sographie.pdf) (11/10/2014)): 30-32.

a minor v chord at any cadence (half or authentic) in *Echos* indicates Weckerlin's disinterest in preserving such a degree of modalism.<sup>53</sup>

Superius

Bel le qui tiens ma vi e cap tive dans tes  
Contra tenor.

Bel le qui tiens ma vi e cap tive dans tes  
Tenor

Bel le qui tiens ma vi e cap tive dans tes  
Bassus.

Bel le qui tiens ma vi e cap tive dans tes

Example 21: Pavane from Arbeau, *L'orchésographie* (1589), measures 1-7

All<sup>to</sup> mod<sup>to</sup>  
*pp*

CHANT

Bel - le qui tiens ma vi - e Cap - ti - ve dans tes yeux,

All<sup>to</sup> mod<sup>to</sup> (♩ = 96)  
*pp*

PIANO

Example 22: Pavane arranged by Weckerlin, mm. 1-8

<sup>53</sup> One of the only instances where Weckerlin retains a melodic lowered- $\hat{7}$  is at a cadence is in *Le Paradis: Chanson Bretonne* (*Echos*, 107-109), a melody he attributes to a seventeenth-century missionary. However, he avoids a minor v chord, instead harmonizing the melodic line  $\hat{1}-\hat{2}-\hat{1}$ -lowered- $\hat{7}$  with a PAC in VII (which practically screams "nineteenth century!", especially as it is approached with an augmented sixth chord).



felt this piece to be particularly uninteresting harmonically that he gave this arrangement a stronger modal flavor than any of the others. Weckerlin took this melody from *Trente-et-un chansons musicales à quatre parties*, published by Pierre Attaignant in 1529, making significant changes to the rhythm and structure in order to eliminate the contrapuntal character of the original. The original imitative relationship between the lower parts and the *Superius* would not have appealed to him aesthetically, for it minimizes the prominence of the melody. Therefore he reduced the number of parts from four equal voices to primarily three unequal voices, with a fourth added occasionally to fill out the harmony (Example 25). The melody and bassline are copied from the source, with some modal and rhythmic alterations; the inner voice moving at twice the rate of the bassline is a loose composite of the *Contra-tenor* and *Tenor* lines (Example 26).

The image shows a musical score for a piece titled "L'espoir que j'ai d'acquies-rir vo-tre grâ-ce, Et de jou-ir du bien que je pour-chas-". The score is arranged for voice and piano. The tempo is marked "Allegretto moderato" with a metronome marking of quarter note = 84. The key signature is one flat (B-flat major/D minor) and the time signature is 4/4. The score consists of two systems. The first system shows the vocal line (CHANT) and the piano accompaniment (PIANO). The piano part has a treble and bass clef. The second system continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "L'es - poir que j'ai d'ac - qués - rir vo - tre grâ - ce, Et de jou - ir du bien que je pour - chas -".

Example 25: *L'espoir que j'ai*, arranged by Weckerlin, measures 1-9

The image shows a musical score for the piece 'L'espoir que j'ai'. It features five staves. The top staff is labeled 'Superius' and contains a melodic line. The second staff is labeled 'Contratenor' and contains a vocal line with lyrics: 'L'es-poir que j'ay d'ac - qué - rir vo - stre gra - ce, Et de jou-yr du'. The third staff is labeled 'Weckerlin middle voice' and contains a melodic line. The fourth staff is labeled 'Tenor' and contains a vocal line with lyrics: 'L'es-poir que j'ay d'ac - qué - rir vo - stre grac - ce, Et de jou'. The bottom staff is labeled 'Bassus' and contains a vocal line with lyrics: 'L'es-poir que j'ay d'ac - qué - rir vo - stre gra - ce, Et de jou-yr du'. The score is in common time (C) and has a key signature of one flat (B-flat).

Example 26: *L'espoir que j'ai*, middle voice from Weckerlin's arrangement superimposed upon Pierre Attaignant's 4-voice arrangement, in same time signature

This is similar to the technique Weckerlin used for the middle voice of *Belle qui tiens ma vie*, but whereas the homophonic texture of the Pavane allowed for a straightforward rocking motion between the notes of the original inner parts, the contrapuntal texture of *L'espoir que j'ai* required a more complex reduction. The result is an elegantly flowing inner voice that retains vestiges of the imitation of the original, without seeming intellectual or contrived in its design. Weckerlin also added syncopation to measures whose texture would otherwise have been homophonic (e.g. Example 26, measure 2), enhancing the flowing nature of this voice. In addition, the metric change from cut time with quarter- and eighth-notes to common time with half- and quarter-notes slows the rate of motion by a factor of four and presents a score with a more lyrical aesthetic.<sup>55</sup>

Rhythmically, Weckerlin alters the chanson's *Superius* in order to change its function from the top line in an imitative texture to a solo melody with supportive accompaniment.

<sup>55</sup> Weckerlin increased the length of note values from the source by a factor of two (i.e. quarter notes from the source become half notes), but the rate of motion is one-quarter of that of the original because of the change from cut time to common time (i.e. the first quarter note in the source is half a beat of cut time, whereas the first half note in Weckerlin's melody is two beats of common time).

All but one of the melodic phrases in Attaignant's arrangement begin with a beat of fore-imitation in the lower three parts, necessitating rests in the *Superius* every phrase (as in Example 26, measure 4, last two beats). Weckerlin eliminates these rests, creating a melody that leads the accompaniment rather than a melody that emerges from an imitative texture. He also makes a few changes to the melodic rhythm within phrases, all of which serve to keep the elegant melodic flow going. For example, in measure six the second melodic phrase enters directly after the close of the first: not only is the rest in-between phrases missing, but the final note value of the first phrase is cut from four beats to one beat, and the first note of the second phrase is a quarter rather than a half (Example 27).

Attaignant, measures 3-5

5 Attaignant, measures 3-5, transcribed to Weckerlin's meter

13 Weckerlin, measures 4-7

Example 27: Rhythmic difference in *L'espoir que j'ai* melody between Attaignant, measures 3-5, and Weckerlin, measures 4-7

This eliminates the “full stop” character of the first phrase ending of the source, instead eliding the phrases to mask the importance of the first phrase's cadence and maintain the flow of melody. Weckerlin also alters the rhythm at the cadence to III at the end of the third phrase, shortening the note values of the two notes preceding the cadence – again, enhancing melodic flow. Had Weckerlin preserved the original rhythm of this cadence, shown in Example 28, the word “votre” in Weckerlin’s arrangement would get a whole note and the syllable “ap-” a half-note, rather than the quarter-notes he gave to both (Example 29; note that he also changed the alignment of the text).

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at - ten - dant vostre ap - ppoint,  
 ten - dant vostre ap - ppoint,  
 en at - ten - dant vostre ap - ppoint,  
 at - ten - dant vostre ap - ppoint.

Example 28: *L'espoir que j'ay*, arranged by Attaignant, measures 10-12<sup>56</sup>

...dant, en at - ten - dant votre ap - point;

Example 29: *L'espoir que j'ai*, arranged by Weckerlin, measures 15-18

Lastly, Weckerlin heightens the expressivity of the two repetitions of the text "*force sera*" in the final phrase by changing the rhythm, creating both a variation with the opening phrase rhythm and, via the rest, a sense of expectancy:

Attaignant, measures 16-20

For - ce se-ra, For - ce se - ra

6 Weckerlin, measures 24-31

For - ce se - ra, For - ce se - ra

Example 30: Rhythmic comparison between Attaignant and Weckerlin of final phrase of *L'espoir que j'ai*

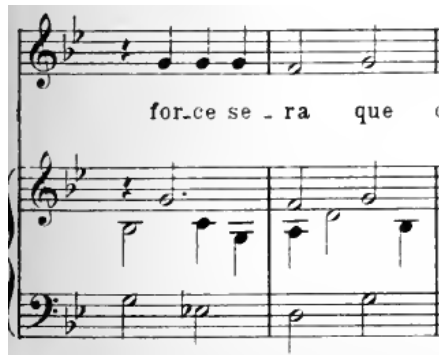
<sup>56</sup> Transcription cited in Hafner, "Zur Forlage," 100.

Modally, Weckerlin's only changes are to raise the leading tone at phrase endings, including the leading tone to tonic at the end of the first, second and final phrases, and the half cadence at the end of the fourth phrase. This chanson includes so many  $\hat{7}$ s that it would not have been possible to raise all of them without creating an entirely new melody; although he always uses a leading tone at the phrase endings, Weckerlin does use v-I motion at other points, such as in measure 2 (see Example 25). Whether Weckerlin raised leading tones to reflect his interpretation of *musica ficta* practice, to modernize the melodies, or some combination of both, is unclear. Weckerlin's striking harmonization of the end of the first phrase – “flat- $\hat{7}$  - $\hat{1}$ -raised- $\hat{7}$  - $\hat{1}$ ”, harmonized v-i-V-i – seems more a Romantic reflection of Renaissance music than an attempt at either authenticity or modernity. By raising only the final leading tone at this cadence, Weckerlin is able to have both the obligatory (for nineteenth-century ears) perfect authentic cadence and the nostalgically modal v-i in the same phrase ending: a solution that certainly avoids the “monotony” of “*unitonique*” music. This modality is further emphasized by Weckerlin's use of raised- $\hat{6}$  in the harmony, giving the entire arrangement a Dorian flavor, another departure from Attaignant, who begins with an E-flat (flat- $\hat{6}$ ) in the *Contratenor*.<sup>57</sup> It is possible that, as Weckerlin did not include the opening C-minor (iv) chord in his arrangement (see Example 26), he missed this E-flat and its implications for later accidentals. In the bassline he exactly copies the accidentals, leaving Attaignant's E-natural in measure one but copying Attaignant's E-flat in the final repetition of this phrase, highlighting this difference with a courtesy accidental (Example 31). This mixture of precision and license in transcribing Attaignant's mode makes it difficult to distinguish the

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<sup>57</sup> Attaignant, Pierre. *Trente-et-Un Chansons Musicales À Quatre Parties*. Paris: Pierre Attaignant, 1529. [http://conquest.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/e/eb/IMSLP274754-PMLP446214-attainnant\\_31\\_chansons\\_completo.pdf](http://conquest.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/e/eb/IMSLP274754-PMLP446214-attainnant_31_chansons_completo.pdf) (accessed 11/10/2014): 21 [Contratenor partbook iii].

changes that Weckerlin made for aesthetic reasons from those he believed were authentic replications of historic practice.



Example 31: Courtesy accidental in the bass, Weckerlin, *L'espoir que j'ai* measures 24-25

The net effect of these changes to Attaignant's publication is to make the modality of *L'espoir que j'ai* more striking by adding variation to the quality of  $\hat{7}$ ; the harmony more directional, yet retaining a modal flavor; and the rhythm more flowing and expressive. By implementing these changes, Weckerlin took a piece that he himself described as lacking and gave it a degree more interest and elegance. This is most markedly apparent in his refashioning of the counterpoint, from the original Renaissance imitative four-part texture of equal voices to a more palatable Romantic version with its clearly differentiated melody, the element of counterpoint remaining only in the elegantly flowing middle voice. Through a combination of the characteristics of this melody and the choices Weckerlin made in his arrangement, Weckerlin created a portrayal of historic French music that would appeal to a twentieth-century Frenchman with a penchant for modal music, thoroughly steeped in the nineteenth-century construction of French music as gracious and elegant. As Wilhelm Hafner also concludes, the idealized presentation of Renaissance music is part of what made this arrangement so appealing to Alain.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Hafner, "Zur Forlage," 103.

## **Alain's exposure to early music and reaction to *L'espoir que j'ai***

It is thanks to Albert Alain that Jehan was exposed to early music from a young age. Albert had been a student of Guilmant at the Conservatoire, and shared his teacher's enthusiasm for early and Baroque music and the restoration of historic organs. Albert's compositions reflect the modalism of plainchant and early music, and he owned many new editions of early music from the explosion of such publications in late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century France. Jehan would have heard his father play Baroque music during Mass, including the works of Bach (Albert Alain was one of the first French organists to perform Bach in Catholic services).<sup>59</sup> Thus Jehan was conversant with early music from a young age, as shown by his 1928 drawing imitating the illustrated cover of *Les Maîtres français de l'orgue aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*.<sup>60</sup>

When Jehan was 20 years old and convalescent at home with the flu, he immersed himself further in his father's music library. As he describes to his friend Denise Billard,

All things considered, it was good that I had the flu. I found magnificent things in Papa's boxes, from the virginalists and clavecinists prior to Scarlatti. I am working to adapt these for organ and for the moment I'm learning them by heart... Have you heard talk of Kuhnau, I never have, he wrote things... delightful, uproarious, moving... [detailed description of Kuhnau's *Sonata* depicting the battle between David and Goliath]... all of this in a candid, sincere style...

What I find splendid about this music [*Tympanon* by Dandrieu; a Balbastre *Noël*], is its freshness! I learned *Le coucou* by Daquin on the organ, it works very well. I want to study two minuets by Rameau during the vacation, they are *très chics*.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Décourt, *Biographie*, 33.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>61</sup> Letter of June 24, 1931 to Dénise Billard. "*Dans le fond, j'ai bien fait d'être grippu [sic]. J'ai trouvé des choses magnifiques dans les cartons de Papa, parmi les virginalistes [virginalistes] et les clavecinistes antérieurs à Scarlatti. J'ai travaillé ça pour l'adapter à l'orgue et pour le moment j'apprends par Coeur... Aviez-vous entendu parler de Kuhnau, moi jamais, il a écrit des choses... délicieuses, tordantes, émouvantes... [Combat de David et Goliath] ...tout cela dans un style candide, sincère... Ce que je trouve épatant dans cette musique, c'est cette fraîcheur! J'apprends Le coucou de Daquin à l'orgue, cela rend très bien. Je voudrais étudier pendant les vacances deux menuets de Rameau qui sont très chics.*" *Ibid.*, 85.

In the same letter, Jehan also discusses with interest an article on early fingering he read in *Le Monde musical* when searching for information to help with his interpretation of the Kuhnau.<sup>62</sup>

The next month, he met the scholar and guitarist Louis Baille in Besançon, where Alain was preparing to give a recital.

There is a splendid museum where there are splendid lute tablatures from the 15th and 16th centuries. You know this notation! I met an old, learned painter, musician, archeologist, historian and above all else a man of exquisite taste, a splendid guy, and yesterday we transcribed old tablatures until 7 pm at night. There are splendid *Fantaisies*! It's like Bach before Bach. This old, learned gentleman told me about wonderful things. I didn't really understand the abbreviations that were used to notate rhythms... It's fantastic that one is touched when one finds lovely things like that! and little known by the public!<sup>63</sup>

Alan was so inspired by these lute tablatures that he transcribed several works by Campion for organ. He performed them regularly in concert, such as on a program in the *Hall Cavillé-Coll*, Paris that also included works by Titelouze, Gigault, Jullien, Dandrieu and Daquin (December 10, 1932).<sup>64</sup>

There are a number of other references to early music in his letters of this period. A list of easy pieces he sends to a friend as suggestions for teaching pieces are primarily Baroque works, including pieces by Dandrieu, Frescobaldi, Kuhnau, Galuppi, Lully, Scarlatti, Rameau, CPE Bach, JS Bach, Purcell, Daquin, Clérambault, Handel and Pasquini.<sup>65</sup> He repeats the adjective *fraîcheur* – used in the previously quoted letter to describe works by Balbastre and Dandrieu – when he describes a setting of *Ave Maris Stella* by Jullien as “a

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 86.

<sup>63</sup> Letter of July 18, 1931 to Dénise Billard. “*Il y a un musée épatant où il y a des tablatures de luth du XVe et XVIe épatantes. Vous connaissez cette notation! on m’a présenté à un vieil érudit peintre, musicien, archéologue, historien et par dessus tout homme de goût et de finesse, un type épatant, et hier jusqu’à sept heures du soir nous avons traduit de vieilles tablatures. Il y a des Fantaisies épatantes! c’est du Bach avant Bach. Ce vieux monsieur érudit m’a raconté des choses merveilleuses. Je ne connaissais pas bien les abréviations dont ils se servent pour notes les rythmes... C’est fantastique comme on est ému quand on trouve des choses belles comme ça! et peu connues du public!*” Ibid., 96.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 71.

<sup>65</sup> Letter of July 26, 1931 to Denise Billard. Ibid., 97.

marvel of freshness and vitality!”,<sup>66</sup> and describes the “*Cadenzas of Bach’s Concerto*” as “the most *fraîche* thing I have encountered in a long time.”<sup>67</sup> He also references with enthusiasm the sounds of old organs. In a letter of April 1931 in he describes the eighteenth-century Dallery organ at the Abbey of Valloires, whose “*chic cromorne...superbly rendered*” a Daquin *Noel* and Dandrieu’s *Le Tympanon*.<sup>68</sup> He later describes the Prestant on the Récit of this instrument as “something delicious.”<sup>69</sup> Of a restored cabinet organ from the time of Louis XIV, he says, “And on [the organ] with the old, authentic *jeux* which are delightful... there is an ancient flute (not harmonic, something... extra terrestrial!).”<sup>70</sup> He was particularly struck by the reeds, nazards, pleins-jeux and cornets of historic instruments: the colorful stops.<sup>71</sup>

Alain remained interested in pre-Romantic music throughout his life, although the references in his letters are fewer later in the 1930s. Although early music’s contrast with the “excesses” of late Romanticism was motivation for some composer’s interest in Baroque repertoire, Alain’s passing remarks about a composition by Vincent d’Indy (1851-1931) show his awareness of the naivety of a simplistic comparison of styles:

In Dukas’ class this morning we studied Vincent d’Indy’s *L’Etranger*. He must have his chromatic timpanis, valve trombones, trumpets in D, bass clarinets... I like better the guitar of Campion, or one of the old anonymous noels of the 16th-century. These comparisons are dangerous and arbitrary. *Peste!* [what a nuisance!]<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Letter of July 4-5, 1932 to Lola. “...*celle de Jullien est une merveille de fraîcheur, de vitalité!*” In *Ibid.*, 112.

<sup>67</sup> Letter of July 1931 to Denise Billard. “*c’est la chose la plus fraîche que j’ai rencontrée depuis longtemps.*” *Ibid.*, 95.

<sup>68</sup> Letter of April 1931 to Lola. *Ibid.*, 75.

<sup>69</sup> Letter of July 1931 to Lola. *Ibid.*, 91.

<sup>70</sup> Letter of July 1931 to Lola. “*Et là dessus des vieux jeux authentiques qui sont ravissants... il y a une vieille flute (non harmonique quelque chose de... supra terrestre!)*” *Ibid.*, 91.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.

<sup>72</sup> Letter of late 1934 to Denise Billard. “*Chez Dukas ce matin nous avons regardé L’Etranger de Vincent d’Indy. Il lui faut des timbales chromatiques, des trombones à pistons, des trompettes en ré, des clarinets basses... J’aime mieux la guitare de Campion, ou un de ces vieux Noël anonymes du XVIIe. Ces comparaisons-là sont dangereuses et arbitraires. peste!*” *Ibid.*, 172.

Alain continued to program Baroque works, particularly early French works, on his recitals, as was common for organists of the time. Like many of his contemporaries, he also arranged Baroque works for trumpet and organ (JA 126-128 are arrangements of Bach and Handel for two trumpets and organ). His interest in early music influenced his composition to the end of his life, as evidenced in a comment to his wife in 1939 that "I took the ornamented style of Renaissance motets" for a work in four voices written for his army chorale.<sup>73</sup>

Jehan's descriptions of early music and historic organs brim with enthusiasm, and the wording of the letters quoted above is that of a young man, barely out of his teens – as in his description of meeting Louis Baille, when he repeatedly uses the word "splendid" (*épatant*). Also in his language, however, we can see the influence of the nineteenth-century inscription of Frenchness in specific descriptive terms. Katharine Ellis's summary of the vocabulary of Frenchness developed from the 1850s onward is remarkably similar to Alain's descriptors, minus the adolescent patina: "grace, alertness, exquisite feeling, and elegance became key signifiers, alongside tenderness and vivacity."<sup>74</sup> Consider the descriptive similarities between Alain's passing reference to "our old French masters, tender and delicate" in a 1931 letter,<sup>75</sup> his 1937 instruction that "this piece [*Jannequin*] must be played 'as the Preludes of which Couperin spoke... with freshness and tenderness'",<sup>76</sup> and the observation from an early twentieth-century dictionary of piano music that "one admires in particular the grace and *fraîcheur* of *Tendre Nanette*" [from Couperin's *Pièces de clavecin*].<sup>77</sup> Many of these adjectives derive from historic sources, such as Louis-Claude Daquin's indication "*Très tendrement*" on *Noël en musette, en dialogue, et en duo*, or Couperin's indications "*gracieusement*" on *La tendre Nanette* and "*naïvement*" on *La*

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<sup>73</sup> Letter of December 25, 1939 to Mme Payan-Alain. Ibid., 261.

<sup>74</sup> Ellis, *Interpreting*, 142.

<sup>75</sup> Letter of July 18, 1931 to Dénise Billard. "...nos vieux maîtres français, tendres et délicats..." Ibid., 96.

<sup>76</sup> On the fly-leaf of Alain's personal manuscript. Translation in Alain, *Critical Notes*, 59.

<sup>77</sup> Eugène Rapin, *Histoire du piano et des pianistes* (Paris: A. Bertout, 1904): 43.

*Pastorelle*.<sup>78</sup> Alain consulted editions of historic works; he would have seen these adjectives in their original iterations. He also had access to contemporary writings about music, which further identified French music in these terms. As seen in the examination of Weckerlin's anthology, these adjectives were given much traction in the nineteenth-century inscription of "French" qualities.

The notion of a lineage of French qualities extending from Renaissance and Baroque music into contemporary compositions appealed to Jehan and other modernist composers of his time. The image of a connection across the centuries is evident in the inscriptions Jehan wrote on copies of *Jannequin* given to friends:

Modern music, or at least that which it is convenient to call modern music in 1937, allies itself more directly with old music than with Romantic or Classical music. By the simple game of musical spelling, one ought to be able to pass imperceptibly from one to the other and preserve the freshness and tenderness of the sixteenth century.<sup>79</sup>

I believe that two thoughts and two styles are able to meet up over several centuries.<sup>80</sup>

It should be possible for a musician of the twentieth-century to preserve the soul of this old music. The language matters little; only the spirit speaks.<sup>81</sup>

In addition, Jehan's image of reaching across the centuries is reflected in a penciled notation at measure 50 on his personal manuscript, "long lines of women singing ancient chants."<sup>82</sup> The melody in mm. 51-53 is harmonized with parallel triads from the octatonic collection (with the exception of one E-flat) – the texture could perhaps suggest "long lines of women singing", but what extraordinary ancient chants are these (see Example 9)! Alain's reiterated comments about the connection between ancient and modern music through the

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<sup>78</sup> Louis-Claude Daquin, *Nouveau livre de noëls: pour l'orgue et le clavecin, dont la plupart peuvent s'exécuter sur les violons, flutes, hautbois, &c* (New York: Performers' Facsimiles, 1989): 10. François Couperin, *Pièces de clavecin, premier livre*. (Paris: Chez l'Auteur, Le Sieur Foucaut, 1713 (1717 printing)): 11, 17.

<sup>79</sup> Dedication on manuscript given to Aline Pendleton. Translation in Alain, *Critical Notes*, 59.

<sup>80</sup> Dedication on copy of *Trois pièces* belonging to Larie-Louise Girod; April 21, 1939.

"*Le Jannequin, parce que je crois que deux pensées et deux styles peuvent se rejoindre par dessus plusieurs siècles*" Cited in Décourt, *Biographie*, 302.

<sup>81</sup> Dedication on manuscript given to Pierre Segond. Translation in Alain, *Critical Notes*, 59.

<sup>82</sup> Cited and translated in *Ibid.*, 60.

preservation of “spirit” and “musical spelling” underscore both what struck him about this chanson theme and what in his estimation was important about his own composition – a modernism we will return to in Chapter 5.

These quotes also indicate that Alain thought of the chanson in Weckerlin's collection as unqualified early music, rather than as a Romanitized refashioning of early music. Henry Expert's 1897 transcription of Attaignant's 1529 collection – which presented the original harmonization in modern open score – was also in Albert Alain's library, but Jehan does not reference it either in his score or in his comments about this piece. Whether Jehan was aware of the Expert edition is unknown, but given the capricious nature of his inspiration and the rapidity with which he translated inspiration into composition, it is likely that he was struck by Weckerlin's arrangement and composed his response without further investigation. If Alain had given consideration to the fact that a nineteenth-century harmonization must have introduced changes into the sixteenth-century source, would it have affected his approach to this composition? Everything we know about his creative process suggests no. Alain was inspired by the spirit of the text as he found it, as evidenced by his almost verbatim transcription of Weckerlin's harmonization. A facsimile of the Alain family copy of *Echos du temps passé*, the cover signed by both Albert and Jehan, is reproduced in Marie-Claire Alain's *Notes critiques*.<sup>83</sup> Comparison between this edition of *L'espoir que j'ai* and Alain's transcription reveals only two changes, aside from the rearrangement of parts to two manuals and pedal.<sup>84</sup> As described in Chapter 2, Jehan deletes the fourth voice at the cadences in measures 5 and 10, where it is unnecessary for the harmony, but retains Weckerlin's occasional fourth voice where it is not doubling another voice. The second change is in the addition of a tempo change: in the last phrase, the rhythm of which Weckerlin already altered to increase expression, Alain goes farther still by indicating *Poco più lento* over the first instance of “ $\hat{1}$ - $\hat{1}$ - $\hat{1}$ -lowered- $\hat{7}$ ” and *a Tempo* at

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 58.

<sup>84</sup> Note that later Durand editions of *Echos* change the E-natural in measure 16 to an E-flat.

the second instance (see Example 7). Thus, far from correcting the changes Weckerlin introduced into Attaignant's publication, Alain's transcription enhances the nostalgia of Weckerlin's presentation of early French music.

The voicing and contrapuntal shape of Alain's first variation also derive from Weckerlin's arrangement, although refashioned with modern tonalities; this is Alain's way of bridging the centuries, passing "imperceptibly" from the old to the new. Note the similarities in the middle and lower voices between the theme (Example 32) and the opening of the first variation (Example 33):

Example 32: *Jannequin* Theme, measures 1-7

Example 33: *Jannequin* Variation One, measures 32-38

Alain's friend and early biographer Bernard Gavoty quotes him as saying of this piece,

Imperceptibly I pass from the style of the theme, which is extraordinarily sober and refined, to a freer style. Because I am profoundly sure that only the spirit of music counts and that its language matters less. If this work is to be successful, it must have the same cohesion as a work that is completely my own.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>85</sup> "Insensiblement je passe du style du thème, qui est extraordinairement sobre et châtié jusqu'au style le plus libre. Car je suis intimement persuadé que seul compte l'esprit d'une musique et que peu importe le langage. Si mon oeuvre est réussie, elle doit avoir la même

By "language" Alain is referring to the eclectic mix of modal and synthetic scales so evident in his composition, but he could as easily be referring to Weckerlin's harmonization. As we have seen, Weckerlin not only retained "the spirit" and "the soul of this old music", he enhanced it according to nineteenth-century ideas of Frenchness. Would Alain have been as enchanted with an arrangement of this chanson without the varied inflections of the leading tone, the elegant, not overly contrapuntal alto line, or the graceful and expressive rhythms of the final phrase? Although Alain was unquestionably interested in and moved by authentic early music,<sup>86</sup> he was also a product of a French tradition that intentionally sought to define the "French style" in certain terms. As Weckerlin's arrangement better illustrates this "French style" than does the 1529 chanson harmonization, it is no surprise that Alain responded so positively to the version presented in *Echos*.

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*unité qu'une oeuvre uniquement mienne."* Cited in Bernard Gavoty, *Jehan Alain, musicien français (1911-1940) Avec un choix de lettres et de dessins inédits* (Paris: A. Michel, 1945): 18. Note that this quote, like many of Gavoty's quotations, is neither given a citation by Gavoty nor correlated to any known letter or writing of Alain.

<sup>86</sup> Alain was interested in the many contemporary editions of early French organ music that were reproductions of seventeenth-century prints, such as Guilmant's *Archives des Maîtres de l'Orgue* (1898-1914); although "modernized" with added pedal indications and registrations for nineteenth-century organs, the notes, rhythms, ornaments, etc. in many such editions were unchanged.

## Chapter 4

### Form vs Spirit: the Influence of Early Music in *Variations sur un thème de Clément Jannequin*

#### The “spirit” of the past in early twentieth-century French thought

After listening to a recording of a vocal motet by the French Renaissance composer Anthoine de Bertrand, Jehan wrote,

I believe I have never been more moved by music, it's because of the atmosphere that it has... the feelings that strike our most intimate feelings at their most sensitive point!<sup>87</sup>

Décourt describes Jehan's response to early music, and how it inspired him:

Thus, Jehan confesses that [early French] music moves him and that it strikes up intimate feelings in him; in it he finds inspiration. The word “strike” [*frapper*] is as always well chosen: like the hammer of a piano key, which creates resonance and then a feeling; as one is struck by an idea, sudden and clear. Jehan seeks the same effect in his own music.<sup>88</sup>

All of Alain's recorded reactions to early music, as well as the general portrait of his personality presented earlier, underscore the emotive nature of his relationship to this repertoire. He was struck by it, he found certain pieces “splendid”, “fresh” and “chic”; ultimately he was moved, and he transmits this reaction into his own music. The emotional nature of his relationship with early repertoire is underscored by the indication “*Affetuoso*” at the beginning of *Jannequin*. Alain was not unique in his emotional – even fantastical – response to earlier repertoires. Contemporary references to past repertoires were fraught with nationalistic nostalgia, as when Claude Debussy (1862-1918) described François Couperin (1668-1733) as “the most poetic of our harpsichordists, whose tender melancholy

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<sup>87</sup> Letter of July 18, 1931 to Dénise Billard. “*Je crois que je n'ai jamais été aussi ému par de la musique, est-ce à cause de l'ambiance qu'il y avait... des sentiments qui frappent vos sentiments les plus intimes à leur point sensible!*” In Décourt, *Biographie*, 96.

<sup>88</sup> “*Ainsi, Jehan avoue que cette musique l'émeut et qu'elle frappe en lui des sentiments intimes; là se trouve l'inspiration. Le terme "frapper" est comme toujours bien choisi: comme le marteau d'une note de piano, qui laisse résonner ensuite le sentiment; comme on est frappé d'une idée soudaine et claire. Jehan cherche le même effet dans sa propre musique.*” Décourt, “Les voies,” 138.

is like that enchanting echo that emanates from the depths of a Watteau landscape, filled with plaintive figures...<sup>89</sup>

Jehan Alain's comments about the "spirit" of ancient music being the important aspect to transmit into modern compositions also reflect a larger trend. Late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century French composers did not create derivative works by copying early formal schemes or compositional techniques; rather, they composed modern music with referential elements to pre-Romantic music. The perceived "spirit" of early music, which contrasted so vividly with the excesses of Romanticism in general and German music in particular, offered composers a source of inspiration that would imbue their compositions with the "superior" qualities of historic French music. Debussy was particularly vocal on the admirable qualities of French music in relation to German, as when he wrote in a 1903 newspaper article:

We have, however, a purely French tradition in the [operatic] works of Rameau. They combine a charming and delicate tenderness with precise tones and strict declamation in the recitatives – none of that affected German pomp...<sup>90</sup>

Alain was not immune to the prevailing trend of comparing the French with the German, writing of a recital program, "I played Titelouze, Marchand, Gigault, Couperin. Subtlety, energy, strength, tenderness and none of that German 'petty officiousness'! It's thrilling!"<sup>91</sup> The perception of a lineage of French qualities across history is reflected in musicologist Albert Lavignac's conclusion to his discussion of the national French style in his 1895 book *La musique et les musiciens français*,

It is impossible to finish this chapter without urging young French composers to concern themselves before anything else with conserving the characteristic qualities

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<sup>89</sup> Bulletin de la société internationale de musique, 1912. Cited and translated in Scott Messing, *Neoclassicism in Music: From the Genesis of the Concept Through the Schoenberg/Stravinsky Polemic* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1996): 44.

<sup>90</sup> *Gil blas*, 1903. Cited and translated in *Ibid.*, 41.

<sup>91</sup> Letter of July 11, 1932 to Lola. "Je joue du Titelouze, Marchand, Gigault, Couperin. Finesse, de l'énergie, de la force, de la tendresse et rien du 'caporalisme' allemand! c'est emballant!" In Décourt, *Biographie*, 114. Décourt observes in her footnote to this letter that Alain did not disparage all German music, e.g. he praised Bach when he wrote "Quelle splendeur cette musique ! voila qui en remonterait a ceux qui disent que Bach est lourd ! comme on sent bien que l'esprit allemand n'était pas encore constitue a cette époque."

of our national art, which have always been its glory, which one finds in all great eras and which are *clarity, elegance and sincerity of expression*.<sup>92</sup>

The importance of the discourse of the historical roots of Frenchness can also be seen in critiques of contemporary composers, such as Ravel biographer Alexis Roland-Manuel's 1914 claim that "Maurice Ravel miraculously renews the broken thread of our purest tradition...of Couperin and Rameau."<sup>93</sup>

Perceptions of which "French" characteristics were most valuable in music varied, but composers and historians throughout this era looked to pre-Romantic music to identify national style qualities and find inspiration. This trend amplified when France lost territory to Germany in 1871 following the Franco-Prussian war, after which the *Société Nationale de Musique* encouraged works "*dans le style ancien*". The result was both "high-minded nationalistic fluff" and "some of the first 'modern music,'" including Satie's *Trois sarabands* (1887) and Debussy's *Suite bergamasque* (1890).<sup>94</sup> The influence of pre-Romantic music in such compositions can be described as referential rather than replicative, ideological rather than concrete. Scott Messing explains that Debussy "found traits of the eighteenth century which he accommodated to his own language and, at the same time, confirmed the legitimacy of his cultural heritage."<sup>95</sup> Composers like Debussy and Satie did not study early music with the intention of replicating compositional techniques, nor were they overly concerned with the historical accuracy of their musical references; instead, they were inspired by the overall qualities of music that suggested new, post-Romantic modes of expression while maintaining an ideological lineage of French artistry.

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<sup>92</sup> Cited and translated in Annegret Fauser, "Gendering the Nations: The Ideologies of French Discourse on Music (1870-1914)," in *Musical Constructions of Nationalism: Essays on the History and Ideology of European Musical Culture, 1800-1945*, ed. by Harry White and Michael Murphy (Cork, Ireland: Cork University Press, 2001): 89.

<sup>93</sup> Cited and translated in Barbara L. Kelly, "Re-presenting Ravel: Artificiality and the Aesthetic of Imposture," in *Unmasking Ravel: New Perspectives on the Music*, ed. by Peter Kaminsky (Rochester, NY: University Rochester Press, 2011): 42.

<sup>94</sup> Richard Taruskin, "Back to Whom? Neoclassicism as Ideology," *19th-Century Music* 16, no. 3 (1993): 290.

<sup>95</sup> Messing, *Neoclassicism*, 48.

As an example, take Debussy's *Hommage à Rameau* (from *Images, 1ère series*, 1905), marked "dans le style d'une Sarabande, mais sans rigueur". Terry Lynn Hudson describes Debussy's composition as "a slow, solemn work in triple meter without an upbeat," as in the Baroque model (Example 34).<sup>96</sup> Dotted rhythms stressing beat two are not explicitly present in Debussy's work, however, and Hudson describes Debussy's "conflict between metric divisions of two and three in 3/2 time" as a reference to eighteenth-century French music, but more to the courante than the sarabande.<sup>97</sup>



Example 34: Claude Debussy, *Hommage à Rameau*, measures 1-3

In addition, Debussy's *Hommage* is in ABA form, rather than the binary form of French Baroque sarabandes, and his harmonic language is completely modern. Debussy's work therefore refers to the character of the Baroque sarabande without replicating in detail its formal and rhythmic characteristics. The sarabande's technicalities were not Debussy's source of inspiration; Rameau's general style and the cultural meaning Debussy ascribed to it were his muses. Rameau's music was the epitome of "French style" to Debussy, who argued that his own compositions were the natural extension of the positive qualities of Rameau's music.<sup>98</sup> As with Weckerlin's interest in the early music collected in *Echos*,

<sup>96</sup> Terry Lynn Hudson, "Links between Selected Works of Paul Dukas, Claude Debussy, and Maurice Ravel and the Keyboard Works of François Couperin and Jean-Philippe Rameau" (DMA dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1997): 80.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 80-81.

<sup>98</sup> Debussy's writings highlight both his opinion that Rameau's was the "purely French style" and his belief that his music showed kinship with Rameau's. This view was echoed in his friend Louis Laloy's eulogy, which described Debussy as Rameau's "most worthy successor," who prolonged Rameau's tradition and enriched it with modern sensibilities." Anya

Debussy's interest in Rameau was simultaneously musical and ideological – an aesthetic attraction to perceived musical qualities that defined and validated "French style". Barbara Kelly describes *Hommage à Rameau* as "a claim for equal status: the tribute from one French master to another"<sup>99</sup> – Debussy positioning himself as Rameau's heir.

Debussy and his contemporaries were therefore not seeking to reproduce the French style of the past, but to carry the torch of the old masters into modern music. Their musical references to historic music are correspondingly vague, being ideological more than imitative, and cite the "idea" of early music more than its specifics. This can be seen in diverse compositions and references from the late nineteenth through early twentieth centuries. For example, in 1880 writer Romain Rolland said of César Franck's *Prelude, fugue et variations* for piano and harmonium, "the *thought* of Bach is mingled with a quite modern tenderness."<sup>100</sup> Even compositions quoting a specific historic work exhibit the French preference for the spirit of early music over its techniques. Paul Dukas's 1902 piano work *Variations, interlude et final sur un thème de Rameau* is a variation set on a menuet from Rameau's *Pièces de clavecin*. Hudson's formal analysis of this work concludes, "the dissimilarities in [Rameau's and Dukas's] variation treatment far outweigh the similarities," and she posits, "Dukas was attempting to emulate the character of Baroque dances without adopting all of their distinguishing features."<sup>101</sup> Other critics find more stylistic links between Dukas's work and Beethoven's piano variations than any Baroque forms, although as pianist Alfred Cortot remarked,

...while in Beethoven [we see] the capricious paradox of a genius amusing himself by annihilating a banal melody with blow after blow of sheer inspiration, Dukas, on the

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Suschitzky, "Debussy's Rameau: French Music and Its Other," *The Musical Quarterly* 86, no. 3 (2002): 399.

<sup>99</sup> Barbara L. Kelly, "Debussy's Parisian Affiliations," in *The Cambridge Companion to Debussy*, ed. by Simon Trezise (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003): 40.

<sup>100</sup> Cited and translated in Robert James Stove, *César Franck: His Life and Times* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2012): 174. Emphasis added.

<sup>101</sup> Hudson, "Links between Selected Works," 63 and 65.

contrary, had no intention except to glorify, to canonize a memory, to reveal his artistic parenthood.<sup>102</sup>

Although Jehan Alain did not explicitly participate in the ideological positioning of French music to the extent that Debussy and Dukas did, his music follows the trend of referencing early music's character over its specifics. Even in his composition most blatantly derived from early music, the 1932 homework exercise *Variations sur Lucis Creator*, historic references are jumbled and non-exact. The texture of the theme is reminiscent of the five-voice *cantus firmus en taille* style of the French Baroque, such as Nicolas de Grigny's (1672-1703) opening *Plein jeu* in his suite on *Veni Creator*.

**VENI CREATOR**  
EN TAILLE À 5<sup>(\*)</sup>

(All: mod!?)

Example 35: Nicolas de Grigny, *Veni Creator en taille à 5*, edited by Alexandre Guilmant, measures 1-12

However, Alain does not copy exactly the codified characteristics of this Baroque form, where the tenor *cantus* moves in long notes relative to the other contrapuntal voices;

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<sup>102</sup> Cited in Daniel Glover, "Introduction," in *Piano Works: Including "The Sorcerer's Apprentice" for Two Pianos* by Paul Dukas (Mineola, NY: Dover, 2013): viii.

Alain's *cantus* moves at the same rate as the harmony and the *cantus* is heard in the soprano/alto range (Example 36).<sup>103</sup>

Example 36: *Variations sur Lucis Creator*, measures 1-2

Variation One of *Lucis Creator* resembles a German chorale prelude more than any historic French form (Example 37). Similar to short chorale-based works such as those in Bach's *Orgelbüchlein*, this variation utilizes one textural concept to accompany the chant melody. As in many Baroque examples, the accompanying figuration references the *cantus firmus* with its opening shape, but has an independent affect, in this case a flowing, lyrical character. The melody is played on a separate stop from the accompaniment, as in Baroque examples, but Alain adds a harmonizing voice – rarely found in German chorale preludes – to the *Grand Orgue* melody. Alain also changes the rhythm of the *cantus* and extends each melodic phrase with four measures of added material (the *cantus* melody ends in measure 10 of Variation One, Example 37).

<sup>103</sup> Alain specifies Clarion 4' for the chant melody in the pedal, which in a Baroque composition would have been played on an 8' reed; in Guilmant's edition of de Grigny, likely known by Alain, the pedal registration is 8' and 4' reeds.

VARIATION 1 (♩ = 92) GO: Salicional 8

Réc: Bourdon 8, Flûte 4

Ped: Soubasse 16, Bourdon 8

Example 37: *Lucis Creator*, Variation One, measures 1-12

The second variation is a fugue, a form common to both French and German *cantus firmus* works. In French Baroque suites with varied movement forms the fugue is typically the second variation, directly following the *Plein jeu*. Although Alain's fugue is labeled "Variation 2" it is in fact the third section of his work, and is separated from the *Plein jeu*-like theme by a variation that does not reference any French Baroque verset form. Alain's fugue is divided in two halves: the first is a three-voice treatment of a subject derived from the *Lucis Creator* theme (Example 38); the second uses fore-imitation in three manual voices to set up the *cantus* in slower notes in the pedal (*a tempo*, Example 39).

VARIATION 2 - THEMA FUGATUM GO.Pos. Rééc.:Fonds 8,4,2 Péd.: Tir. Pos.

Example 38: *Lucis Creator*, Variation Two (Thema Fugatum), measures 1-10

+ Mixtures  
Pos. a Tempo

rit.

(GO)

en dehors

+ Anches 16. 8. 4

GO

Example 39: *Lucis Creator*, Variation Two (Thema Fugatum), measures 30-37

Fore-imitation was used in versets by early French composers, although the *cantus* was generally heard in whole notes rather than the quarter notes used by Alain. In *Pange Lingua Gloriosi* by Jean Titelouze (1562-1633), for example, fore-imitation of a *cantus* in longer notes is used in only one of the three versets, and the *cantus* is presented in whole

notes above an imitative texture (Example 40). Fore-imitation was also common in German chorale-based works, and Alain's structure of an extended fugue leading into a closing section in which the *cantus* is heard in the pedal in longer notes is more reminiscent of works by German composers like Johann Pachelbel than any French verset form.

Example 40: Jean Titelouze, *Pange Lingua Gloriosi*, verset 3, measures 1-13

Thus, although there are techniques reflective of both French and German Baroque forms in this work, Alain clearly did not set out to imitate the form and characteristics of any specific Baroque model. Alain references the French Baroque organ suite without imitating its codified forms, transmitting the spirit of the genre without creating a retrospective replication. Recall his comments on *Jannequin*: “one ought to be able to...preserve the freshness and tenderness of the sixteenth century;”<sup>104</sup> and, “It should be possible for a musician of the twentieth century to preserve the soul of this old music. The language matters little; only the spirit speaks.”<sup>105</sup> As with other French composers of his era, for Alain it was the elusive and emotive essence of historic genres that was important to capture in modern composition, not specific compositional techniques.

<sup>104</sup> Translated in Alain, *Critical Notes*, 59.

<sup>105</sup> Translated in *Ibid.*, 59.

## **Musical References to Historic Forms in *Variations sur un thème de Clément Jannequin***

While Jehan Alain was in the army, his friend Noëlie Pierront was preparing an organ concert on the themes of Nativity, Passion and Resurrection. Discussing which of his pieces would best fit the program, Jehan wrote to his father, "In my opinion, *Jannequin* is the best suited to the proposal, 'Nativity,'" and the following day he remarked to Noëlie, "*Jannequin* is for me a *noël*."<sup>106</sup> Although the variation set was a common form in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, this comment suggests a specific correlation between the variation form of *Jannequin* and a historic French genre, the organ *Noël*.

*Noël* is a term for "non-liturgical, strophic verse of popular character... often sung to the tunes of chant, popular songs or dances" since the fifteenth century.<sup>107</sup> In the mid-seventeenth century it became an important form in organ composition. Organists created variation sets on popular *Noël* tunes of the day, from early publications by Nicolas Lebègue (1676) and Nicolas Gigault (1682) through the explosion of *Noël* collections in the eighteenth century.<sup>108</sup> The popular origin of the tunes and their vernacular texts – often with rustic and pastoral settings – made this genre appealing in the mid-nineteenth century revival of French historic and folk music. Weckerlin, for example, included many *Noëls* in the three volumes of *Echos*, describing their melodies as "*naïves et gracieuses*."<sup>109</sup> Among organists, however, the revival of the form came earlier. As is characteristic of French music that references earlier forms, the Baroque structure and figuration was not faithfully replicated in nineteenth-century *Noëls*.

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<sup>106</sup> Letters of February 4, 1940 to Albert Alain and February 5, 1940 to Noëlie Pierront. In Décourt, *Biographie*, 272.

<sup>107</sup> Frank Dobbins, "Noël," *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed March 24, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/20020>.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>109</sup> Weckerlin, "Avant-propos," ii.

One of the earliest Romantic *Noël* references is the 1847 publication *Quatorze préludes ou pièces d'orgue avec pédale obligée composés sur des cantiques de Denizot (du 16e siècle)* by Alexandre-Pierre-François Boëly (1785-1858). This collection is notable for its use of Renaissance melodies, but as Craig Cramer's analysis shows, their compositional techniques reference German rather than French music.<sup>110</sup> Each melody is presented only once and the collection utilizes varied harmonization figurations, conjuring up associations with Bach's *Orgelbüchlein* rather than the variation form of the French *Noël*. Later in the century, the influential Romantic organist César Franck composed *Offertoire sur un Noël Breton* (1867), which reframes the Baroque form in Romantic language. The work has two contrasting themes (one *Andante*, one *Allegretto*), presented first with straightforward harmonization, then each subjected to variation. The first variation of the *Allegretto* theme is extended with a short development section that leads into the second variation of the *Andante* theme, triumphantly transposed into major in the dominant for a couple phrases before quieting and returning to the minor tonic. Example 41 shows the opening *Andante* theme; Example 42 shows the *crescendo* leading up to the symphonic transformation of this theme into *fortissimo* and major. The work concludes with a coda based on the end of the *Andante* theme, with atypical (for Franck) static open fifths in the left-hand reflecting the contemporary nostalgia for the pastoral associations of the *Noël*.



Example 41: César Franck, *Offertoire sur un Noël Breton*, measures 1-5

<sup>110</sup> Craig Cramer, "Boëly's *Quatorze Préludes Sur Des Cantiques de Denizot*, Op. 15, and the Creation of a French 'Christmas' *Orgelbüchlein*," in *French Organ Music: From the Revolution to Franck and Widor*. ed. by Lawrence Archbold and William J. Peterson (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1995): 39-47.

Example 42: Franck, *Offertoire*, measures 85-93

Although Franck's *Offertoire* was published on two staves to accommodate harmonium players (it was published in the church music journal *L'Athénée musicale* on October 15, 1867),<sup>111</sup> its dynamics and registration indications reflect Franck's characteristically Romantic treatment of the organ. Guilmant's four books of *Noëls* (Op. 60, 1883-1896) also exhibit a Romantic treatment of the organ with their dramatic dynamic contrasts, crescendos and decrescendos, and use of colorful stops for soloed phrases. Guilmant's *Noëls* follow a more typical Baroque variation format, without Franck's quasi-symphonic two-themed structure, but contain little explicit correlation to Baroque figuration or techniques.

Like Franck and Guilmant, Alain adapts the *Noël* form to his own harmonic language and formal scheme – if indeed he considered *Jannequin* a *Noël* at the time of its composition. Alain's comment linking it with the *Noël* genre dates from three years after *Jannequin* was written, and while his references to early music in letters of the early 1930s document his knowledge of and enthusiasm for Baroque *Noëls*, it is possible this correlation occurred to Alain later. The Baroque organ *Noël* was a variation set on a non-liturgical Christmas song; *Jannequin* is a variation set on a secular song with no Christmas references. Unfortunately, the details of the correlation Alain drew between his work and the Baroque genre is not documented, and we are left to posit that the variation form on a

<sup>111</sup> Stove, *Franck*: 119-120.

vocal melody is the primary connection. The variation form also happens to be a perfect vehicle for a composer disinterested in large-scale formal schemes, whether based on harmonic progression or on the intellectual manipulation of thematic material, so Alain's use of it may have resulted from multiple motivations.

There are other passing references to early music in *Jannequin*, although not supported with comments from Alain's letters. First is the written-out ornamentation in the opening melody of the second variation, similar to the embellishments added to vocal works in sixteenth-century keyboard intabulations (see Example 10). As Jean-Baptiste Robin also observes, Alain's approach in this piece recalls chansons transcribed for organ in the early Baroque period.<sup>112</sup> The intabulation form was a transcription of a complete vocal work, including all contrapuntal voices, and in this sense Alain's transcription to organ of Weckerlin's arrangement is intabulation-like. Most composers in the sixteenth century, however, elaborated the vocal model with embellishments and figuration patterns throughout, whereas Alain's embellishment in the second variation treats only the first melodic phrase and none of the other contrapuntal voices. As with the historic references examined in *Variations sur Lucis Creator*, elements of this piece are suggestive of sixteenth-century intabulation practice, without containing explicitly derived techniques.

The other potentially historic reference is the "*fugato*" marking above the second variation (see Example 10), although as fugue was a required subject for all composition students at the Conservatoire and an important improvisational form for organists, it was also a technique of contemporary value. Alain struggled to obtain his *prix* in fugue, and his lack of interest in the traditional strictures of the form can be seen in this example. *Fugato* initially seems a mistaken indication, as the variation begins with a melody harmonized by non-imitative voices, rather than with the solo statement of a fugue theme. Instead, the

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<sup>112</sup> Jean-Baptiste Robin, "La Griffes Jehan Alain," in *Jehan Alain, livre du centenaire, 1911-2011*, ed. by Aurélie Gommier-Décourt (Saint-Germain-en-Laye: Presses Franciliennes Editions, 2012): 86.

indication refers to the reiteration of the embellished theme in different keys, with transitional material between, as a fugue subject is heard in various keys with episodes between. There are not a consistent number of voices within either the *fugato* theme's statements or the episodes, nor does the only moment of imitation in this variation particularly recall Baroque examples (see Example 15). A brief *stretto* occurs in the final variation, *Grave*, but the overall flavor of the *Fugato* and *Grave* sections is of fantasy rather than fugue. Most striking in these variations is Alain's unique conglomeration of harmonies and modes, as well as the seemingly unstructured yet exquisite flow of thematic material. Alain's comments on his studies of fugue at the Conservatoire indicate that even for an examination composition he prioritized affect and expressivity over technical structure:

I am going to write the exposition, first episode and *relatif* [answer] for my examination fugue. It is a little fugue, delicate and clear like this morning's light... [It has] slightly subtle modulations that make one think of cool wind that sticks in your nose and swoops down on your shoulders when you find yourself in the bend of a hedge on a morning like this one. I would like to make something nice that is a tribute to the Creator who has given me the ability to think in music. a [sic] sincere homage.<sup>113</sup>

As always for Alain, technical details were quickly subsumed into his capricious associations of imagination and underlying passion for expression. The *fugato* indication in *Jannequin* follows this trend, the technique it references only loosely applied in favor of Alain's greater quest for expression.

To modern interpreters, Alain's choice to call Variation Two a *fugato* is similar to his reference to the entire work as a *Noël*, in that without these extra-musical indications we would not have enough evidence in the music itself to justify detailed comparison to these forms. The "spirit" of early music pervades Alain's compositional output, as do the "spirits" of a myriad of other influences; it is only in a few cases that the references are explicit

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<sup>113</sup> Letter of spring, 1933 to Lola. "Je viens faire l'exposition, le 1er divertissement et le relatif de ma fugue d'examen. C'est une petite fugue légère et claire comme la lumière, ce matin....J'ai des modulations un peu subites que font penser au vent frais que se collete sur votre nez et fond sur vos épaules quand on se trouve au détour d'une haie dans un matin comme celui-ci. Je voudrais faire quelque chose de joli qui soit un hommage au Créateur de m'avoir prêté la faculté de penser en musique. un hommage sincère." In Décourt, *Biographie*, 137.

enough to analyze, and correlated to non-musical indications. This examination of the freedom with which Alain interprets the *Noël*, the intabulation and the *fugato* – in which the essence rather than the full technical working out of each is most apparent – is a microanalysis of the way in which the qualities of so many musical influences are assimilated into Alain's unique musical style. Finally, although *sui generis* to Alain's compositional voice, *Jannequin* must also be understood as a product of Alain's culture. The ideological climate that sought to elevate certain characteristics of historic and modern French music dictated the early repertoire that Alain would have heard in concert and seen in new editions; the reverence towards early French composers in intellectual discourse and musical *Hommages* would have resonated with Alain's naturally emotive response to the repertoire; and the compositional approach of referencing early French music without technical replication was well-established in the music of the Alain's predecessors, including in a variation set beginning with a verbatim early work by his composition teacher Paul Dukas (*Variations, interlude et final sur un thème de Rameau*). Thus the imprint of a diversity of both musical and cultural influences can be discerned in the formal elements of *Jannequin*, overlain by the intensely creative structure and expressive peculiarities of Alain's style.

## Chapter 5

### Alain's Modalism: Sources and Complications

As we have seen in our examination of Alain's references to early music in *Jannequin*, the correlation between historic forms and techniques and this work is vague at best, existing on the surface rather than permeating the compositional fabric. Given the theme for these variations, it is clear that early music was an initial point of inspiration, but this piece ultimately reflects the hybridization of influences so characteristic of Alain's compositions. The work's most defining musical feature is its treatment of mode and scale, incorporating early modes, octatonic scales and complex, innovative harmonies in a surprisingly coherent whole. Recall the diverse musics that Alain found inspiring: early French music; nineteenth-century Russian compositions; non-Western music; plainchant and Debussy. A common thread between these disparate repertoires is their use of scales and harmonies outside the language of common-practice Western tonality. An overview of important sources of modal music that Alain was exposed to will illustrate the pervasiveness of modalism in France at this time, and the consequent impossibility of attributing its presence in a twentieth-century composition to a specific source of influence without extra-musical evidence.

#### Contexts for Alain's Exposure to Modalism

Alain was exposed to modal music in several arenas. A formative locus of exposure for many French composers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was the music history class at the Paris Conservatoire. The course, begun in 1871 by Louis-Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray (1840-1910), was initially optional; Maurice Emmanuel (1862-1938) took it over in 1909 and it became a required class between the wars. The class covered both Western and global music across the centuries; the modal music studied ranged from ancient Greek music (Emmanuel's doctoral thesis was on ancient Greek dance), plainchant,

and early Western music to folksong, Hindu scales and “exotic” music collected from around the world. Both men had an explicit agenda in teaching these repertoires: to give young composers resources that would rejuvenate French composition and counter what Emmanuel called “*le tyran Ut*”, or the “tyranny” of the major scale, the conventional tonal cadence, and the dominant seventh.

Soon after Emmanuel’s appointment to the Conservatoire, Bourgault-Ducoudray wrote his protégé a letter, exhorting:

It is time that the atrocious routine that presides over education in the conservatories was victoriously demolished. It is time that we take notice of modal and rhythmic developments that are found in antique music, plainchant and popular art. You have a fine role in introducing the young generation *in practice* to the ‘circulation’ in modern music of expressive resources too long misunderstood and forgotten.<sup>114</sup>

In a speech given to the Conservatoire upon his appointment, Emmanuel set forth his credo of teaching, in line with Bourgault-Ducoudray’s views. “The history of music is not a dead matter, rather it allows us to open our minds to new things by offering examples drawn from past centuries and other cultures.”<sup>115</sup> Later in the same speech he declared that it would be through “the practice of ancient styles” that current musicians would find “the means to make our touch flexible and modernize our art.”<sup>116</sup> In a brief history of the revival of the organ after the Romantic period, Alain makes a passing reference to Emmanuel that

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<sup>114</sup> Letter of January 29, 1910 to Maurice Emmanuel. “*Il est temps que la routine exécrationnelle qui préside à l’enseignement dans les conservatoires soit battue en brèche victorieusement. Il est temps que l’on tienne compte des faits modaux et rythmiques que présentent la musique antique, le plain-chant et l’art populaire. Vous avez un beau rôle en initiant pratiquement la jeune génération à la “mise en circulation” dans la musique moderne de ressources d’expression trop longtemps méconnues et oubliées.*” Cited in Christophe Corbier, *Maurice Emmanuel* (Paris: Bleu nuit, 2007): 99.

<sup>115</sup> “*L’histoire de la musique n’est pas une matière morte, mais elle permet de s’ouvrir à la nouveauté en offrant des exemples puisés dans les siècles passés et dans les autres cultures.*” Cited in *Ibid.*, 100.

<sup>116</sup> “*C’est à trouver dans la pratique d’un style ancien, adapté à nos penchants modernes, le moyen d’assouplir votre main et de rajeunir votre art.*” Cited in *Ibid.*, 100.

shows that this project was successful. "We cite...Maurice Emmanuel who showed us a new way: that of the ancient monodic modes that we can make more flexible in polyphony."<sup>117</sup>

Nor was it only in music history class that a variety of modes were highlighted. Marcel Dupré (1886-1971), organ teacher at the Conservatoire from 1926-1954, used modes extensively in his improvisation class. His 1925 treatise on improvisation describes the plethora of modes – in his words, the "plastic material" of melody – available to the modern musician: eight Greek modes; eight modes of Plainchant; a theory of Hindu modes constructed from tetrachords, giving 72 distinct scales; "Gypsy" and "Arab" modes, including scales with eight notes; pentatonic scales, cited from both east Asian and Native American music; and quarter-tone scales (although these were not possible on the organ of the time).<sup>118</sup> Although Alain's penchant for modes was well established by the time he entered Dupré's class, Dupré's treatise illustrates the prevalence of awareness about modes in France by the time of Jehan's youth. Dupré was a much less experimental composer than many of his contemporaries, and less inclined than others to use non-Gregorian sources of modalism in his compositions, yet he still felt it important and appropriate to include a global survey of modes in his treatise.

In addition to the Conservatoire classes cited above, Alain would have been exposed to modal music in a variety of other contexts: at the 1931 Paris *Exposition coloniale internationale*, which his letters confirm that he visited; through the plainchant and early music revival movements, with which Albert Alain was closely involved; in the daily work of improvising on chant during the liturgy; and in the music of French composers like Debussy, whose avant-garde modalism is itself indebted to ancient and non-Western music.

Languages that provided an alternative to common-practice Western harmony were

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<sup>117</sup> Undated text [editor's note: "without a doubt written for the *causerie-audition* given in Nancy, June 1934]. "*Citons...Maurice Emmanuel qui nous montra la nouvelle piste: celle des anciens modes monodiques que nous devons assouplir à la polyphonie.*" In Décourt, *Biographie*, 301.

<sup>118</sup> Marcel Dupré, *Cours complet d'improvisation à l'orgue, Tome II* (Paris: Leduc, 1925): 28-33.

abundantly available in interwar musical culture, and Alain was one of many in his generation who developed a unique voice in which the vestiges of these influences can be identified but never satisfactorily teased apart.

Two published analyses of the scale used in the beginning of *Deuils*, the second of *Trois danses*, provide a window into Alain’s relationship with two different sources of modes: non-Western music (specifically, Hindu) and ancient Greek music. These analyses also illustrate the ease with which multiple attributions of influence can be made in describing Alain’s music. The opening pedal line of *Deuils* contains striking modal inflections:

The image shows a musical score for the piece 'Deuils'. It consists of two staves. The top staff is for 'Réc. Gambe, Voix céleste' and the bottom staff is for '(4) 16.8 Tir. Réc.'. The tempo is marked 'Adagio' with a metronome marking of 63-69. The time signature is 3/4. The bottom staff contains a complex rhythmic pattern with eighth and sixteenth notes, including triplets and a final measure marked '+32'.

Example 43: *Deuils*, measures 1-6

Jean-Ann Johnson suggests that this scale comes from a Hindu mode. She cites a suggestion made by Marie-Claire that since the article on Hindu modes in the *Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du Conservatoire* immediately precedes a required article on Greek modes, Alain could easily have come across it while doing his homework.<sup>119</sup> Johnson suggests that the North Indian raga “Bhairav” – F-G $\flat$ -A-B $\flat$ -C-D $\flat$  – could have been a model for the pitch collection that opens *Deuils*.<sup>120</sup> The fact that Alain does not mention Hindu modes in his letters or writings, either in general or by specific name, does not negate the possibility of his having read this article with interest; Alain’s letters discuss in detail very little about music, whether his own or other people’s. We know only that Alain was strongly attracted to non-Western music, and that like many of his contemporaries, he conflated

<sup>119</sup> Organ lesson with Marie-Claire Alain. Cited in Jean Ann Johnson, “An Analysis of *Trois danses* by Jehan Alain” (DMA dissertation, University of Alabama, 1996): 26.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

music from unrelated traditions and spoke of “exotic music” without specificity and with frequent misattribution. For example, manuscript HA1 of the first of *Deux danses à Agni Yavishta* – a Hindu reference – is subtitled “*Médine*” – a North African reference – and the music contains no clear references to either locale, its exoticism consisting of the same complex modalism and repetitive phrase structures typical of many of Alain’s works.<sup>121</sup>

As with early music, Alain’s primary interest in non-Western music lay in its ability to move him, rather than in its technicalities. From the Front he wrote to an old friend, Lola Blum:

...they [men from his regiment] sang to me, murmuring “fandangos” “flamenco” “malaguena” and others. Songs like those on your records from Morocco that move me most deeply and make me crazy...if I have a musical fiber in me, it’s that of this music. When they sing, it seems to me they are speaking my native language, what obscure and implacable atavism could my brain have been modeled on...<sup>122</sup>

Later in the same letter he writes that he thought of her that evening because “...it was you who unveiled my ‘exotic’ ancestry that I had suspected at the *Exposition coloniale*.”<sup>123</sup> He recalls their hours spent together listening to “this music that the *Conservatoire* ignores, that its musicians judge childish or monotonous,” concluding, “But you ‘understand’, right? this [sic] perfect expression of the life of people there?”<sup>124</sup> This letter illustrates the personal nature of his relationship to exotic music, as well as his belief that such music is appealing not merely in aesthetic terms but also because it is expressive of the lives of others. The primacy of emotion and expression in Alain’s reaction to and interest in exotic music, coupled with his spontaneous and non-technical compositional approach, makes it unlikely that Alain intentionally quoted a specific Hindu scale. Rather, the flavor of the wide range of

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<sup>121</sup> Manuscript description in Alain, *Critical Notes*, 67.

<sup>122</sup> Letter of March 27, 1940 to Lola. “...ils m’ont chanté, murmuré des ‘fandangos’ ‘flamenco’ ‘malaguena’ et autres. Ces chants qui comme tes disques du Maroc remuent en moi le plus profond et me rendent fou... s’il y a en moi une fibre musicale, c’est celle de cette musique. Quand ils chantaient, il me semblait entendre parler ma langue natale, quel obscur et implacable atavisme a pu me modeler la cervelle...” In Décourt, *Biographie*, 279.

<sup>123</sup> “...c’est toi qui m’as dévoilé mes ascendances ‘exotiques’ que j’avais soupçonnées à l’*Exposition coloniale*...” Ibid., 279.

<sup>124</sup> “Cette musique que le *Conservatoire* ignore, que les musiciens jugent puérile ou monotone...” “Mais nous ‘comprenons’, n’est pas? cette expression parfaite de la vie des hommes de là-bas...” Ibid., 279.

non-Western musics that he was exposed to – of which Hindu modes were just one example – contributed to the development of his personal style and the modalism of *Deuils*.

Christophe Corbier offers a different interpretation of the derivation of the pitch collection that opens *Deuils*: Maurice Emmanuel's teaching on Greek modes. Corbier cites a fragment of *Oreste* by Euripides written in Alain's hand, copied from a publication by Emmanuel, in which mode is given a chromatic rather than diatonic treatment.<sup>125</sup> Corbier describes the mode of *Deuils* as "two forms" of Emmanuel's "mode Doristi", one form using two diatonic tetrachords ("F-E $\flat$ -D $\flat$ -C-B $\flat$ -A $\flat$ -G $\flat$ -F") and the other using "néo-chromatiques" tetrachords ("F-E $\sharp$  -D $\flat$ -C-B $\flat$ -A $\sharp$  -G $\flat$ -F"); in other words, Alain used both diatonic and chromatic versions of the Greek mode.<sup>126</sup> That Alain was familiar with Emmanuel's teaching on Greek modes is clear not only from the fragment of *Oreste* in his hand, but also from the scales used in *Choral dorien* and *Choral phrygien*. Emmanuel interpreted Greek Dorian as a minor scale with flat- $\hat{2}$ , and Greek Phrygian as a minor scale with raised- $\hat{6}$ , nomenclature matching the modes used in Alain's two chorales. Corbier's description of the opening pedal line of *Deuils* as a fusion of diatonic and chromatic treatment of Greek Dorian is technically accurate, but there remains no causal evidence to link the intentional application of such a technique to Alain's compositional approach or this specific work. The use of diatonic and chromatic inflections of a mode was hardly a unique feature of composition at the time, and could have easily occurred spontaneously in Alain's music. As with early and exotic music, ancient Greek music can be viewed as a repertoire whose essence influenced Alain's growth as a musician without leaving many unequivocal traces in his compositions.

Multiple repertoires can be argued to have significantly contributed to Alain's sound-world – as shown by the reflections of non-Western and ancient Greek modes in *Deuils* – but an analytical approach that attributes the pitch classes of a composition to a specific

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<sup>125</sup> Christophe Corbier, "Modes grecs et rythmique antique: Influences sur Jehan Alain," in *Jehan Alain, livre du centenaire, 1911-2011*, ed. by Aurélie Gommier-Décourt (Saint-Germain-en-Laye: Presses Franciliennes Editions, 2012): 16.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

source of influence perhaps misses the mark. Such an approach does not bring us any closer to understanding either the meaning or the construction of a piece. The ultimate mystery and allure of Alain's music is its hybridization of diverse influences into a unique, modern product. A hybridized musical language was the explicit goal of Emmanuel, who described "the modes of folklore, of the Middle Ages, of Antiquity and of Hindus...the magnificent (although voluntarily narrow) Classical language...also the chromaticism of Debussy" as "equivalent means", concluding, "I have tried to fuse all these languages."<sup>127</sup> This fusion of diverse musical languages into something new was one of the defining characteristics of modernist French music, begun by Satie and Debussy and continued (albeit with lesser innovation) in the works of Emmanuel, Dukas and others. Alain was one of a generation of young composers that brought the complex modalism already established in French piano, vocal and orchestral music into organ music. In the 1930s, Olivier Messiaen, Jean Langlais, Gaston Litaize and André Jolivet also composed organ music indebted to a combination of ancient, non-Western and artificial modes. Alain's approach to modalism was perhaps more creative, unrestrained, and expressive than that of some of his contemporaries – reflecting his capricious personality and ubiquitous originality – but the vagueness of trajectory from modal influences into modern composition was customary for his time.

### **Charles Tournemire's Treatment of Mode as a Framework for Analyzing the Modalism of *Jannequin***

The modalism of Alain's work in general, and *Jannequin* in particular, presents the analyst with significant challenges. The abundance of modal music and the diversity of its sources during Alain's time make a musicological explication of the influences on specific

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<sup>127</sup> "...les modes du folklore, du Moyen Âge, de l'Antiquité et des Hindous (qui les pratiquent tous)...la magnifique (bien que volontairement étroite) langue classique des professionnels et aussi le chromatisme de Debussy"... "comme des moyens équivalents"... "j'ai tenté la fusion de tous ces langages." Cited in Corbier, "Modes grecs," 19.

works elusive, if not unreasonable. A reductionist approach examining the relationship of one repertoire to the compositional features of one work may elucidate Alain's relationship to that repertoire, but it cannot explain the technical complexity of Alain's treatment of modes. A purely theoretical approach, considering only the pitch-classes used in a piece and their structural implications, leaves out the rich historical context of modalism in 1930s France. The writings of organist and composer Charles Tournemire (1870-1939) suggest an alternative perspective for understanding French modalism of this time: hybridized modernism via the complication of one modal system of cultural value with an unrelated scale. An introduction to Tournemire's work and philosophy will set the stage for analysis of *Jannequin*.

Charles Tournemire deliberately set out to fuse modern language with ancient modalism in his magnum opus, *L'Orgue mystique* (composed 1927-32; published 1928-36), 51 sets of five movements each covering the Roman Catholic liturgical year and paraphrasing Gregorian chants of each day. In his unpublished *Mémoires* Tournemire described his compositional intention:

The interest I had in writing this work resided principally in the great modal tradition of the masters anterior to Bach. Tradition renewed in *L'Orgue mystique*, after 250 years of oblivion. I tried hard to continue these masters while at the same time serving modern polytonality, like clothing. However, I always respected the lightness of the Gregorian lines, the fluidity of the aerial paraphrases.<sup>128</sup>

He goes on to compare his work with Bach's treatment of the Protestant chorale, except that whereas Bach worked within a primarily tonal system, "I offered commentary on Gregorian chant in the modal system which, furthermore, did not know how to exclude chromaticism."<sup>129</sup> The novel pairing of Gregorian mode and modern chromaticism caught the attention of contemporary listeners, as evidenced by reviews. Bérenger de Miramon Fitz-James described the work as exhibiting a "powerfully original organ style" which was like the "crystallization" of seemingly opposing components, "primitive Gregorian forms" and

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<sup>128</sup> Cited and translated in Stephen Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism: Mystic Modernism in Postwar Paris, 1919-1933* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005): 305-306.

<sup>129</sup> Cited and translated in *Ibid.*, 304.

the “systematic audacities of our contemporary musical language.”<sup>130</sup> Olivier Messiaen described the *Pièces terminales* of the offices of *L’orgue mystique* in rhapsodic terms, concluding with a remark on Tournemire’s fusion of ancient and modern:

The ethereal fantasy of its rhythms, its sumptuous harmonies, the glittering reflections of its chameleonesque modes, the precious stones of its mixtures and above all the joyous and subtle fantasy of its alleluiatic melodies, which seem to move through with the mysteriousness of a *corps glorieux*, combine in a marvel of dazzling originality: half gothic, half ultra-modern.<sup>131</sup>

Tournemire’s approach, as described by himself and as understood by his contemporaries, was therefore a fusion of old and new, the expansion of ancient scales with modern means to make historic resources relevant to modernist composition. This concept of enriching a mode with chromaticism is similar to Corbier’s explanation of *Deuils* – that composers used both diatonic and chromatic inflections of Greek modes – but Tournemire’s philosophy better highlights the fusion of disparate musical elements. Key to understanding the work of both Tournemire and Alain is the diffuse relationship between cited sources of inspiration and the musical elements of a composition; their music reflects the hybridization of many languages rather than the exclusive treatment of source material.

In his concert programming, Tournemire linked *L’Orgue mystique* not to the plainchant upon which this work is based, but to the early music he claims his work “renews”. Tournemire began concerts with seventeenth-century works by composers such as de Grigny, Frescobaldi and Buxtehude, followed by selections from *L’Orgue mystique*. A contemporary reviewer wrote of the early music that opened the *L’Orgue mystique* concert programs,

The compositions of M. Tournemire consciously take their inspiration from this modal music which, by means of plainchant, stretches backward from the sixteenth century all the way to the Roman epoch and perhaps even much farther yet.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> *Le Courier Musical*, July 1929. Cited and translated in *Ibid.*, 312.

<sup>131</sup> *La Sirène*, May 1938. Translated in Stephen Broad and Olivier Messiaen, *Olivier Messiaen: Journalism 1935-1939* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012): 102.

<sup>132</sup> Cited and translated in Schloesser, *Jazz Age*, 315.

As this comment illustrates, the music that Tournemire's modalism references is blurred – it is both Gregorian chant and the Renaissance and Baroque repertoires whose modalism was derived from chant but complicated by new techniques. Tournemire further complicates this modalism with twentieth-century techniques, including chromaticism, polytonality and non-functional harmony. Thus, Tournemire created a new musical language indebted to the past, and therefore historically relevant (a preoccupation of intellectuals in France at the time – recall Debussy's attempt to present himself as the successor of Rameau). As historian Stephen Schloesser explains, "by omitting the period 1700 – 1929 from his performances, Tournemire made modernity seem to be the logical heir to antiquity."<sup>133</sup>

If the treatment of mode in French modernist, modal music can be understood as chromatic complications of ancient scales, we gain a new perspective for understanding the construction of *Jannequin*. Although at first glance it seems that too much of *Jannequin* is non-functionally chromatic or octatonic to be related to the Dorian mode of its theme, upon analysis it is clear that these modern complications emerge in stages from the Dorian and ultimately disappear. If we imagine the complexity of mode to be an expressive and dynamic resource, the work can be understood as a *crescendo* of modal complexity from pure Dorian to complex chromaticism, achieved through a series of increasingly intricate "hairpins" of complexity in the first variation. Alain revels in a *fortissimo* of modal complexity during the *Fugato* variation, then uses the final section, *Grave*, to summarize the motives of the piece and *decrescendo* in mode back to the original, simple Dorian universe of the Theme. Thus Alain's commentary on a Renaissance theme complicates but does not abandon the Theme's mode (although as discussed in Chapter Three, the Theme's mode was altered by Weckerlin from Attaignant's Aeolian to Dorian, and the mode that Alain preserves throughout this piece is therefore a Romanticized idea of Renaissance mode).

Chromaticism enters immediately in Alain's first variation, *Maggiore*:

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<sup>133</sup> Ibid., 317.

2 **Maggiore**

Example 44: *Jannequin*, measures 32-37

The strangeness of the first measure of this variation results from Alain's "transition" from G-Dorian of the preceding Theme to D-Aeolian of this first variation, moving from a common chord (B-flat major) to minor-v in D (A-minor) without functional modulation. The B-flat chord does not reappear as a tonal center in the variation, whose melody is the theme transposed into D and whose harmonies at phrase beginnings and endings are all relevant to D-minor. The true tonality of this phrase can therefore be understood to start in measure 33.

While the pedal line of this phrase creates vertical harmonies with the melody in the same rhythmic relationship as the Theme's pedal, the left hand quickly veers away from the shape of the Theme's inner voice and moves in parallel motion with the melody from measure 33 to the downbeat of measure 36. Within this parallel motion, Alain introduces chromaticism that moves from nostalgically modal in measure 33 (the v-I motion so prevalent in this piece), to non-functionally chromatic in measures 34 and 35, back to the D mode in 36-37 (cadencing VII-v-I). This phrase is thus a "hairpin" of modal complexity, moving away from the D mode (Aeolian, with Picardy thirds), through chromaticism generated by horizontal parallels with the melody, then returning to D. In his dissertation on octatonicism in Alain's music, James Denman points out that the left hand in measures 34-36 falls within the octatonic pitch-class Collection I, setting up more the more explicit

octatonicism later in the piece.<sup>134</sup> Although this is true, the octatonicism here is a by-product, not a goal – it arises from chromatic alterations within parallel motion, the generative chromatic technique in this variation.

The melody of the second phrase of the Theme being the same as the first, Alain takes the complication of mode a step further: now the lowest voice abandons the half-note rhythm of the Theme’s bass, and instead moves in parallel motion with the melody in measure 39 (forming parallel triads, rather than the sixths of the first phrase).



Example 45: *Jannequin*, measures 37-42

Alain adds a fourth voice to the texture in measure 40, contrasting the overall parallel-triad motion in the left hand. Again, the mode moves from D, through striking chromaticism, and back to a v-I cadence in D.

In the fourth phrase, the chromaticism peaks, with the lower voices in measures 51-54 moving in parallel triads independent of the melody, although related to its contour.



Example 46: *Jannequin*, measures 50-55

<sup>134</sup> James Denman, “The Keyboard Idiom of Jehan Alain: A Survey of Musical Structures in Representative Works” (DMA diss., University of Washington, 2008): 80.

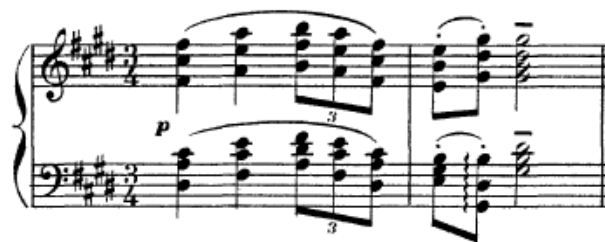
With the exception of one note (E-flat), these measures are completely octatonic, and the phrase's cadence has the least reference of any within this variation to the D tonal center. The final phrase of this variation, however, returns to a primarily D modal universe, with only an echo of parallel chromaticism in the middle of the phrase. Thus, the entire variation can be viewed as a *crescendo* of chromatic complexity, becoming more and more audacious with each phrase to the peak in phrase four, and quieting back to D with only a faint chromatic complication in the last phrase. This analysis is summarized in Table 1.

**Table 1: Development of modal complexity from parallel motion in Variation One**

Measures of parallel motion

33-36	<b>Phrase 1:</b> LH parallel 6 <sup>th</sup> s with melody while pedal in slower rhythm (as in Theme); LH 34-35 octatonic
38-40	<b>Phrase 2:</b> LH and pedal parallels triads with melody, most with outer interval of 6 <sup>th</sup> ; chromaticism more complex
42-49	<b>Phrase 3:</b> Mixture of parallel 6 <sup>th</sup> s and triads with melody in LH, while pedal moves in slower rhythm
51-53	<b>Phrase 4:</b> Parallel triads move independently, although still related to melodic contour; octatonic (except Eb)
59-60	<b>Phrase 5:</b> LH parallel 6 <sup>th</sup> s with melody for shorter segment than Phrase 1; pedal returns to rhythm from Theme; less chromatic

The use of parallel motion to generate complex and non-functional harmonies was well-established in France by the time of this composition. Consider the opening measures of Debussy's *Sarabande* from *Suite pour le piano*, published in 1901:



Example 47: Debussy, *Sarabande* from *Suite pour le piano*, measures 1-2

Parallel fifths and octaves with the melody informs the harmony of the right hand, while the slightly less formulaic left hand still derives from diatonic parallel motion.<sup>135</sup> Later in the piece, Debussy introduces chromatic parallel motion related to the contour of the melody but not completely derivative (as with Alain's parallel triads underlying Phrase 4 above):



Example 48: Debussy, *Sarabande*, measures 9-12

In the first presentation of this melodic motive (measures 9-10), Debussy harmonizes it with chromatic, third-related chords. In the second iteration the motive is accompanied by major-minor seventh chords moving in parallel whole-steps, creating an atmospheric effect rather than motion to or from a pitch center. Parallelism generating harmonies divorced from functional progression was a technique used by many French composers beginning in the late nineteenth-century and early twentieth century, including Satie, Debussy and Ravel, and organists Louis Vierne, Maurice Duruflé, Jean Langlais and Olivier Messiaen. Parallelism is similarly a defining feature of Alain's music – consider the gradual build-up of parallel harmonies over the opening baseline of *Deuils*, or the parallel fifths harmonizing the melody of *Le Jardin suspendu*. In Variation One of *Jannequin*, Alain thus uses an established compositional technique, parallel motion, to overlay the mode of an ancient melody with modern chromaticism.

In the second variation, *Fugato*, the chromatic "hairpins" of mode also enter the melody. In all four statements of the *Fugato* theme (an ornamented version of the Theme's

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<sup>135</sup> For an overview of parallel harmonies in Debussy, see Mark DeVoto, "Some Aspects of Parallel Harmony in Debussy," in *Liber Amicorum Isabelle Cazeaux: Symbols, Parallels and Discoveries in Her Honor*, ed. Paul-André Bempéchat (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2005): 459-485.

first phrase), within five bars Alain moves from the diatonic Dorian beginning, through increasing chromaticism to a peak on chromatically-altered  $\hat{5}$ , then falls back in melodic line and chromatic complexity to a diatonic modal cadence. In the first, second and fourth statements of the ornamented theme, the peak is flat- $\hat{5}$  (the D-flat in Example 49), whereas in the third statement the peak is raised- $\hat{5}$  (the B-natural in Example 50).

Example 49: *Jannequin*, measures 64-68

Example 50: *Jannequin*, measures 78-82

In Example 50 the harmonic motion moves from a Dorian opening (i-IV in E-flat Dorian, measure 78) through non-functional chromaticism and back to a Dorian cadence in measure 82 (in all cases but the first statement of the *Fugato* theme, the final cadence is harmonized v-I). Hints of parallelism remain in the harmony underneath the chromatically ornamented melody, as in measure 66-67 in the left hand and pedal (Example 49).

The sense of chromaticism emerging from modalism is also present in the episodes of the *Fugato*. The first episode is Dorian (with multiple pitch centers) and highlights the scalar fragment “ $\hat{5}$ -raised- $\hat{6}$ -flat- $\hat{7}$ - $\hat{8}$ ” in the right hand:



Example 51: *Jannequin* measures 72-77

This fragment of the Dorian scale overlaps with the octatonic scale, and forms the opening four notes of the top voice of the first octatonic interlude.



Example 52: *Jannequin*, measures 86-90

In this way, the octatonic collection seems to emerge organically from the Dorian, making the baldly stated octatonic scales in these interludes feel coherent with the whole.<sup>136</sup> In addition, as described in the opening structural analysis (Chapter 2), each octatonic interlude is brought back to functional modality with a v-I cadence using the “flat- $\hat{7}$ - $\hat{1}$ -flat- $\hat{7}$ - $\hat{1}$ ” melodic motive from the chanson ending. Therefore, the influence and importance of the Dorian mode cannot be eliminated from any portion of the composition, but its presence is at times complicated by the introduction of modern chromaticism.

<sup>136</sup> James Denman describes the relationship between these episodes as a minor tetrachord (0235) expanded to an octatonic hexachord (023568). James Denman, “The Keyboard Idiom of Jehan Alain: A Survey of Musical Structures in Representative Works” (DMA diss., University of Washington, 2008): 80-81.

In the final section, *Grave*, Alain summarizes the material of the preceding variations while bringing the mode back to pure Dorian. This section opens with an ornamented Dorian presentation of the opening of the chanson Theme:

Example 53: *Jannequin*, measures 106-108

Alain then presents the chromatically altered *Fugato* theme in a short stretto, followed by a short octatonic interlude that incorporates the “flat- $\hat{7}$  -  $\hat{1}$  - flat- $\hat{7}$  -  $\hat{1}$ ” melodic motive and leads to a closing Dorian section elaborating the final phrase of the Theme:

Example 54: *Jannequin*, measures 121-130

The *Grave* section thus reiterates the major motives and themes of the piece while presenting a final *crescendo* and *decrescendo* of modal complexity, bringing the mode to rest in its original uncomplicated state.

Recall Alain's comments on this work to Aline Pendleton:

Modern music, or at least that which it is convenient to call modern music in 1937, allies itself more directly with old music than with Romantic or Classical music. By the simple game of musical spelling, one ought to be able to pass imperceptibly from one to the other and preserve the freshness and tenderness of the sixteenth century.<sup>137</sup>

The "game of musical spelling" is Alain's way of describing his treatment of mode, and his motion away from the (Romanticized) sixteenth-century harmonic universe into his modern one is perhaps not "imperceptible", but upon close analysis can be understood to occur in stages. Alain's idea that his transition from ancient to modern sound worlds in *Jannequin* was seamless is also echoed in a comment attributed to him by his friend and biographer Bernard Gavoty:

Imperceptibly I pass from the style of the theme, which is extraordinarily sober and refined, to a freer style. Because I am profoundly sure that only the spirit of a music counts and that its language matters less.<sup>138</sup>

As the preceding analysis has demonstrated, the Dorian mode of the Theme underlies the entire composition, and within his variations Alain makes repeated excursions to and from a chromatically enhanced Dorian, using variations in the complexity of mode as an expressive compositional resource. His willingness to distort the mode of the Theme in a piece that was clearly an emotional tribute to a piece representing a valued repertoire (early French music) comes from both the compositional context of his time, in which the fusion of ancient mode and modern chromaticism was already present, as well as his stated belief that it is the "spirit" of music that matters, while "its language matters less."

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<sup>137</sup> Translation in Alain, *Critical Notes*, 59.

<sup>138</sup> Gavoty, *Jehan Alain*, 18.

## Conclusion

The composition *Variations sur un thème de Clément Jannequin* provides a unique point of entry into contextualizing the musical influences on Jehan Alain and explicating their expression in his music. Unusually for Alain, this work starts with a transcription of another piece, the chanson *L'espoir qui j'ai* adapted by Jean-Baptiste Weckerlin from a sixteenth-century publication by Pierre Attaingnant. The modifications Weckerlin made in his arrangement reflect nineteenth-century perceptions of positive French qualities, notions that comments from Alain's letters show he shared. The distortions in the transmission of an early work via Weckerlin into Alain's composition – often described simply as a “[reflection] of Alain's interest in early music (and in old instruments)”<sup>139</sup> – illustrate the first layer of complexity in the impossible task of attributing specific influence in Alain's compositions.

Further layers of complexity are evident upon analysis of the compositional references to historic music in *Jannequin*. Alain's reference to this work as a *Noël* in a letter suggests one point of comparison with historic forms; his marking “*Fugato*” on the second variation and its intabulation-like ornamentation suggest two other forms for examination. Although loose correlations can be found with all three historic forms, Alain did not copy the characteristics of any one of them, and the sum of his composition is greater than these historical models can explicate. Instead, his emphasis on the “spirit” rather than language of music in his comments on this piece illustrate the most important link between historic music and this composition, an abstract relationship that is also apparent in the music of his contemporaries.

The modalism that pervades Alain's music, and twentieth-century French music in general, is also shown to be only loosely related to any specific source of influence, be it early music, non-Western music, ancient Greek music or plainchant. As is characteristic of modernist French composers, Jehan Alain assimilated disparate musical genres into a

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<sup>139</sup> Nigel Simeone, “Church and Organ Music,” in *French Music Since Berlioz*, ed. by Richard Langham Smith and Caroline Potter (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006): 168.

unique style, and the direct influence of any one source of influence is impossible to tease apart from his overall style. The combination of Dorian mode, non-functional chromaticism and octatonicism into a musically coherent work is explained using Tournemire's description of fusing the ancient and the modern by introducing chromaticism to Gregorian modes. We can thus understand modal complexity as an expressive resource, used in *crescendos* and *decrescendos* throughout *Jannequin* to complicate, then return to, the underlying Dorian.

Shaped by the ideological and musical climates of his time, Alain's works exhibit the trends of twentieth-century French music as well as the forceful originality of his personal aesthetics. Through the loose applications of established techniques – including the non-specific reference to historic forms, the fusion of modalism from multiple sources and the use of parallel motion to generate chromaticism – Alain created an innovative yet contemporarily situated work whose overall impact is one of emotion. Jehan Alain described his ultimate compositional aim thus: "And always my goal in writing music: if it touches you, if you find in it a little of yourself, so will I be content."<sup>140</sup> *Jannequin* – a modernist tribute to ancient music by a sensitive, expressive young composer, whose feeling for the work's Theme and his desire for its impact is summarized in its character indication, "Affetuoso" – has succeeded in this goal, and continues to move generations of listeners.

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<sup>140</sup> Letter of late 1934 to Denise Billard. "Et toujours mon but en écrivant de la musique, si elle vous touchant, que vous y retrouviez un peu de vous même, je serais si content." In Décourt, *Bibliographie*, 172.

## Appendix 1: Table of Contents, *Echos du temps passé*, Volume I

Merci clamant	Chanson du Châtelain de Coucy (1180)
Pour mal tems ni pour gelée	Chanson de Thibaut de Champagne (1255)
Robin m'aime	Rondel du Jeu de Robin et Marion d'Adam de la Halle (1285)
J'ai encore un tel pâté	Rondel du Jeu de Robin et Marion d'Adam de la Halle (1285)
Douce dame jolie	Chanson de Guillaume de Machault (1550)
Dieu! Qu'il la fait bon regarder	Chanson de Charles Duq d'Orleans (1415)
Alla trinità beata	Cantique du 15 <sup>e</sup> siècle (Auteur inconnu)
Quand la nuit sombre	Hymne du soir des Frères Mobaves (2 <sup>e</sup> moitié du 15 <sup>e</sup> siècle)
O triste départir	Chanson de François I <sup>er</sup> (1520)
Un dieu puissant est notre dieu	Choral de Luther (1521)
L'espoir que j'ai	Chanson de Cl. Jannequin (1550)
Plus ne suis ce que j'ai été	Chanson de Clément Marot (1552)
Il bianco cigno	Madrigal d'Arcadelt (1540)
Chantons, je vois en prie	Noël Français (1550) Auteur inconnu
Mon cœur se recommande à vous	Chanson d'Orlando de Lassus (1560)
Las! En mon douz printems	Chanson de Marie-Stuart (1560)
Belle qui tiens ma vie	Pavande (1579) Auteur inconnu
Je suis de tous les Dieux	Air de Mercure dans <i>le Ballet de la raine</i> , par Beaujoyeux (1581)
La Romanesca	Air de danse de la 2 <sup>e</sup> moitié du 16 <sup>e</sup> siècle
Cruelled épartie	Chanson tirée de l'ouvrage de Bésard (1605) Auteur inconnu
Charmante Gabrielle	Chanson attribuée à Henri IV, musique de Du Courroy
Ma belle si ton àme	Chanson de Gilles Durant (1605)
Avec les séraphins du ciel Noël Anglais (Auteur inconnu)	
Le croisé captif	Madrigal d'Orlando Gibbons (1612)
Las! Il n'a nul mal	Chanson de J. Lefèvre (1615)
L'Amour au mois de mai	Chanson de J. Lefèvre (1615)
Amaryllis	Chanson du roi Louis XIII (1620)
Il n'est point d'amour sans peine	Chanson de Lambert (1650)
Dans notre village	Brunette (Auteur inconnu)
Mes belles amourettes	Brunette (Auteur inconnu)
Dedans une plaine	Brunette (Auteur inconnu)
Ariette et chœur du Ballet <i>La mascarade de Versailles</i> , de Lully	
Rose inhumaine	Chanson de Campre (1710)
Ah! Qu'il est doux	Cantatille de M <sup>r</sup> Lancel (1745)
Rochers inaccessibles	Brunette (1750) Auteur inconnu
Air et chœur d' <i>Hyppolite et Aricie</i> , de Rameau	
Le Rosier	J.J. Rousseau

### CHANSONS POPULAIRES

Le paradis	Chanson Bretonne
Marie	Chanson Bretonne
Chanson de la mariée	Air Breton
Chanson d'Adam Billault	
Les trois princesses	Chanson de la Franche-Comté
Chanson Normande	
Chanson Gasconne	
Roussignoulet	Chanson Béarnaise
Le pêche des moules	Chanson de la Saintonge
L'Etoile du matin	Chanson Alsacienne
L'Adieu des fiancés	Chant Polonais
Chanson de matelot	
Lisetto	Chanson Nègre

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