Conceptions of Mode in Maurice Emmanuel's *XXX Chansons Bourguignonnes*

by

Edwin M. Sheard
BMus, Humber College, 2012

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We acknowledge and respect the Lək'wəŋən (Songhees and Esquimalt) Peoples on whose territory the university stands, and the Lək'wəŋən and W̱SÁNEĆ Peoples whose historical relationships with the land continue to this day.

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## Abstract

This thesis explores intellectual and ideological contexts surrounding the French composer Maurice Emmanuel's (1862–1938) arrangements of Burgundian folk songs, published in the collection *XXX Chansons Bourguignonnes* (1917). Equal parts scholar and composer, Emmanuel believed that the songs in *XXX Chansons* substantiated his distinctive compositional methods and linked them to an "opulent" Indo-European heritage largely extinct in contemporary art music. Focusing on Emmanuel's lifelong desire to rejuvenate diatonic practices, I compare his treatment of mode in music-historical writings with composition techniques in *XXX Chansons*. I suggest that *XXX Chansons* serves as an arena for Emmanuel to workshop and perform modal gestures that convey his attitude towards historical topics, formed largely in reaction to the institutionalization of common-practice tonality. Further, I situate Emmanuel's work within a nineteenth-century French tradition of folk-song transcription and arrangement linked to the construction of music-historical narratives. Given Emmanuel's position as chair of music history at the Paris *Conservatoire* (1909–36), the relatively simple arrangements in *XXX Chansons* read as an unofficial treatise on modal harmonization in a contemporary context—particularly as a secular complement to his *Traité de l'accompagnement modal des psaumes* (1913). Through the lens of *XXX Chansons*, Emmanuel's intellectual activity provides a unique insight into undercurrents in the development of French modernist musical aesthetics at the turn of the twentieth century.

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## Acknowledgments

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# Chapter One: Modal identities

My thesis explores intellectual and ideological contexts surrounding the French composer Maurice Emmanuel's (1862–1938) arrangements of Burgundian folk songs, published as the collection *XXX Chansons Bourguignonnes* (1917). Equal parts scholar and composer, Emmanuel believed that the songs in *XXX Chansons* substantiated his distinctive compositional methods and linked them to an "opulent" Indo-European heritage largely extinct in contemporary art music.[1] Emmanuel held the chair of music history at the Paris *Conservatoire* between 1909 and 1936—a position which afforded him both influence and a public platform to disseminate his theories to a wide audience over decades. Despite a relative wealth of recent Emmanuel scholarship, his *XXX Chansons* arrangements remain largely unexplored.[2] My thesis values these arrangements as essential components of Emmanuel's identity and considers their implications in the context of French musical thought in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Emmanuel's musicological scholarship and Hellenistic inclinations were directed in part by a lifelong desire to rejuvenate modern conceptions of mode. This desire can be traced throughout his writings, in which he mines various stages of European music history to develop a modal apparatus that subverts common-practice function theories in favour of a varied and colouristic approach to scale structure and harmonic syntax. Emmanuel's work on *XXX Chansons* coincides with his publication of three major music-historical texts: *Histoire de la*

[1] Maurice Emmanuel, "Mes Avatars," *Zodiaque* 139 (1984): 37.
[2] See, for example: Peter Asimov, "Comparative Philology, French Music, and the Composition of Indo-Europeanism from Fétis to Messiaen" (Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 2020), accessed February 16, 2023, https://doi.org/10.17863/CAM.59302; Christophe Corbier and Sylvie Douche, *L'enseignement de Maurice Emmanuel: musique, histoire, éducation* (Sampzon, France: Éditions Delatour France, 2020); Benedikt Leßmann, "«L'anachronisme Le plus Musical.» L'accompagnement Du Plain-Chant et l'idée de Modalité Libre En France Dans l'entre-Deux-Guerres," *Revue de Musicologie* 105, no. 2 (2019): 357–96; Christophe Corbier, "Des Hymnes Delphiques à Salamine: Théodore Reinach, Maurice Emmanuel et La Musique Grecque Antique," in *Au-Delà Du Savoir: Les Reinach et Le Monde Des Arts*, Cahiers de La Villa Kérylos, Beaulieu-Sur-Mer (Alpes-Maritimes) (Paris: Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 2017), 19–60.

*langue musicale* (1911), *Grèce (Art Gréco-Romain)* (1913), and *Traité de l'accompagnement modal des psaumes* (1913). Embracing the proximity of these works and the unique perspective Emmanuel holds as a dedicated musicologist-composer, I consider his scholastic and musical labours holistically. In Chapter One, I provide an overview of folk-song transcription and arrangement in France as an intellectual tradition that developed in the nineteenth century, followed by a summary of Emmanuel's life and work. In Chapter Two, I build a framework for the analysis of *XXX Chansons* by exploring Emmanuel's "polymodal" critique of tonal theories in *Grèce*, the *Histoire*, and the *Traité*. In tracing Emmanuel's historical re-interpretations of scale and mode in these works, I demonstrate his ambition to justify the superiority of pre-tonal approaches to mode contra standard teleological narratives. In Chapter Three, I identify recurring compositional techniques in *XXX Chansons* that reflect Emmanuel's modal thought and define his efforts to promote a personal, non- "functional" approach to diatonic harmony.

### *Chansons populaires*

The widespread transcription of provincial folk songs (generally referred to as *chansons populaires*) in nineteenth-century France presents an interesting case in the development of French music. As Jann Pasler elucidates, most early folk-song collectors looked to these songs as historical artifacts, capable of revealing "unmediated truths" about the past and the regions in which they were found.[3] Betraying the fallacy of this logic, the monophonic transcriptions these collectors published often bear the imprint of contemporary ideologies. For example, Paul-André Bempéchat suggests that the Breton philologist Théodore Hersart de la Villemarqué (1815–1895) "westernized" the modality of folk songs to align their melodies with major and minor scales in

[3] Jann Pasler, "Race and Nation: Musical Acclimatisation and the *chansons populaires* in Third Republic France," in *Western Music and Race* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 151.

his 1839 collection of Breton songs the *Barzaz-Breiz*.[4] Later in the nineteenth century, accomplished musicians such as Louis-Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray (1840–1910) and Julien Tiersot (1857–1936) published more elaborate collections, featuring specific arrangements for voice and piano.[5] Unlike Hersart de la Villemarqué, Bourgault-Ducoudray produced consciously modal arrangements of Breton folk songs to showcase harmonic practices that did not align with common-practice tonality.

A significant body of scholarly literature explores ethnographic research in France and the evolution of a folk-music consciousness. The ethnomusicologist Luc Charles-Dominique traces the distinction between "popular" (or folk) music and "intellectual" (or art) music to thirteenth-century sonic-religious symbols of "profanity" and "sanctity," respectively.[6] Persistent in the nineteenth-century, this problematic dichotomy between oral and literate traditions permeates early regional ethnography in a manner that Charles-Dominique refers to as "internal exoticism."[7] He also suggests that nineteenth-century "Romantic collecting trends" in Western Europe (and France, especially) directly informed the pioneering research of ethnomusicologists such as Béla Bartók (1881–1945) and Constantin Brăiloiu (1893–1958) at the start of the twentieth century. Thus, his work provides a detailed sociological narrative of the *chanson populaire* tradition and its influence on the field of ethnomusicology in its nascent stages.

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[4] Paul-André Bempéchat, "Toward a Breton Musical Patrimony: Symbiosis and Synthesis of the Folkloric, the Classical and the Impressionistic," *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 22 (2002): 1–4.
[5] Louis-Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray, *Trente mélodies populaires de Basse-Bretagne* (Paris: Henry Lemoine, 1885), accessed February 16, 2023, http://hdl.handle.net/1802/21040; Julien Tiersot, *Mélodies populaires des provinces de France* (Paris: Heugel, 1887).
[6] Luc Charles-Dominique, *Musiques Savantes, Musiques Populaires: Les Symboliques Du Sonore En France, 1200-1750* (CNRS, 2006).
[7] Luc Charles-Dominique, "Traditional Music and Its Ethnomusicological Study," in *The Cambridge Companion to French Music*, ed. Simon Trezise, Cambridge Companions to Music (Cambridge, UK ; Cambridge University Press, 2015), 264.

Another factor contributing to the emergence of *chansons populaires* collections is the nineteenth-century search for racial origins. As Pasler documents, the Belgian musicologist François-Joesph Fétis (1784–1871) begins his monumental history of music (*Histoire générale de la musique...*) by echoing the prevalent belief that "popular music was a key to understanding race and racial differences."[8] Fétis also popularized the notion of common-practice tonality in the 1830s and 40s, founding his theories according to a belief in the interdependence of mode and race. As Thomas Christensen demonstrates, Fétis developed his conception of tonality according to a teleological narrative in which common-practice tonality superseded modal practices of the Middle Ages and Renaissance. By contrast, other musicologists viewed common-practice tonality as the deterioration of a rich tradition inherited from Classical antiquity. Peter Asimov outlines the processes by which composers such as Bourgault-Ducoudray and Maurice Emmanuel theorized the existence of ancient Greek modes in French folk song and applied them in their own works as a project to reclaim their "Indo-European" patrimony.[9]

The popularity of *chansons populaires* collections in France coincided with the burgeoning of regionalist movements across Europe.[10] In late nineteenth-century France, public discontent over uneven power dynamics between Paris and the rural provinces (already commonplace since the 1830s) evolved from the political sphere into "cultural regionalism"—a movement that Katharine Ellis describes as "[the] celebration of ancient forms of diversity rooted in language, dialect, history and *terroir*, which brought accepted hegemonies into

[8] Pasler, "Race and Nation," 147. For detailed accounts of Fétis's anthropological aspirations and entanglements with racial theories, see Asimov, "Comparative Philology," 39–50; Thomas Christensen, *Stories of Tonality in the Age of François-Joseph Fétis* (University of Chicago Press, 2020), 183–192, accessed July 26, 2022, doi: 10.7208/chicago/9780226627083.001.0001.
[9] Asimov, "Comparative Philology."
[10] "Substate Regionalism," in *Encyclopedia of Governance*, vol. 2 (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Reference, 2007), 939–43, accessed May 31, 2024, https://link-gale-com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/apps/doc/CX3470200509/GVRL?u=uvictoria&sid=bookmark-GVRL&xid=cedbb3aa.

question."[11] In this context, *chansons populaires* offered a natural outlet for the promotion and celebration of local cultures, particularly among provincial composers who had moved to Paris in search of a career. *Chansons populaires* were equally adopted by the state as exemplars of French nationality, under the banner of "unity in diversity." As Ellis further demonstrates, the French Third Republic (1870–1940) strove to control and neutralize regional difference via folk-music programs in public schools. This Republican approach to folk song is reflected in the work of Julien Tiersot, whose nation-wide studies focused on identifying underlying connections between these repertoires.[12]

Considering the wealth of research connecting the emergence of *chansons populaires* collections to political movements, aesthetic debates, notions of race, exoticism and the expression of regional cultures, it is surprising that there are few close readings of the musical works themselves. Thomas Christensen traces debates over the tonal or modal quality of French folk songs across a defining portion of *chanson populaire* repertoire.[13] Jann Pasler and Sindhumathi Revuluri both compare disparate arrangements of a single song (*La Pernette* and *Auprès de ma blonde,* respectively) in collections by Julien Tiersot and Vincent d'Indy (1851–1931), demonstrating the ways in which harmonic choices were used to contest differing historical narratives.[14] Revuluri has also examined Maurice Ravel's (1875–1937) *Chants*

[11] Katharine Ellis, "Paris and the Regions from the Revolution to the First World War," in *The Cambridge Companion to French Music*, ed. Simon Trezise (Cambridge University Press, 2015), 362.
[12] Katharine Ellis, *French Musical Life: Local Dynamics in the Century to World War II* (Oxford University Press, 2021), 270–71, accessed February 18, 2023, https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/10.1093/oso/9780197600160.001.0001.
[13] Thomas Christensen, "Song," in *Stories of Tonality in the Age of François-Joseph Fétis* (University of Chicago Press, 2020), 115–157, accessed July 26, 2022, doi: 10.7208/chicago/9780226627083.001.0001.
[14] Pasler, "Race and Nation," 160–66; Sindhumathi Revuluri, "French Folk Songs and the Invention of History," *19th-Century Music* 39, no. 3 (2016): 263–68.

*populaires* (1909–10), comparing Ravel's approach to three ethnically "Other" songs in the collection (Spanish, Italian, Jewish) to that of a fourth, French song.[15]

Unsurprisingly, then, Emmanuel's *XXX Chansons Bourguignonnes* has received little scholarly attention.[16] Benedikt Leßmann considers it in his discussion of Emmanuel's position in *fin-de-siècle* Francophone debates surrounding plainchant accompaniment; Christophe Corbier mentions it in passing in his concise biography of Emmanuel, including a brief discussion of the song *Complainte de Notre-Dame*; and Henri Gonnard cites Emmanuel's prefatory *Étude* to *XXX Chansons* in his broad study of modal thought in France from Berlioz to Debussy.[17] The most comprehensive analytical study of *XXX Chansons* to date is a two-page overview written by Olivier Messiaen (1908–1992) in a 1947 commemorative issue of *La revue musicale* dedicated to Emmanuel.[18] The bulk of scholarship concerning Maurice Emmanuel focuses instead on his interest in ancient Greek music and his influence as the chair of music history at the Paris *Conservatoire* from 1909 to 1936. Corbier, Dorf, and Douche have written about Hellenistic influence in Emmanuel's three major works for the stage: *Prométhée enchaîné* (1916–8), *Salamine* (1921–3) and *Amphitryon* (1936).[19] A common theme that arises is the conflict

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[15] Sindhumathi Revuluri, "Maurice Ravel's Chants Populaires and the Exotic Within," in *Rethinking Difference in Music Scholarship* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 238–59.

[16] This is not aided by the fact that there are few recordings of *XXX Chansons*. A single recording of the complete collection exists, released in 1997 under the title *Songs of Burgundy* on the Marco Polo label with support from the *Conseil régional de Bourgogne*. A near-complete selection of songs from *XXX Chansons* was also released under the Hungaroton label in 2002, alongside settings of Renaissance poetry by Jean Langlais and Germaine Tailleferre's *6 chansons françaises*. Though unpublished, Emmanuel orchestrated sixteen of the thirty songs in *XXX Chansons* between 1914 and 1936. Six of these orchestral arrangements appear alongside Joseph Canteloube's *Chants d'Auvergne* on an album released by the Erato label in 2006. These are the only recordings to date in which *XXX Chansons* occupies a significant portion of the repertoire. Although they indicate a slight resurgence of interest in the collection since the 1990s, the most recent examples are still nearly twenty years old and there remains much room for interpretation. Nine of the orchestral arrangements remain unrecorded.

[17] Leßmann, "«L'anachronisme Le plus Musical.»," 377; Christophe Corbier, *Maurice Emmanuel* (Paris: Bleu Nuit, 2007), 112–17; Henri Gonnard, *La Musique Modale En France de Berlioz à Debussy*, Musique-Musicologie (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2000), 69–70.

[18] Olivier Messiaen, "Maurice Emmanuel: Ses 'Trente Chansons Bourguignonnes,'" ed. Robert Bernard, *La Revue Musicale: Revue Mensuelle Internationale d'art Musical Ancien et Moderne* 23 (1947): 107–8.

[19] Corbier, "Des Hymnes Delphiques à Salamine;" Christophe Corbier, *Poésie, musique et danse: Maurice Emmanuel et l'hellénisme*, Perspectives comparatistes (Paris: Éditions Classiques Garnier, 2010); Sylvie Douche,

between tradition and modernity (or historical scholarship and timeliness) in Emmanuel's work. This trait is of particular importance considering contemporaneous efforts to revitalize ancient music and the rhetoric of archaism surrounding *chansons populaires*.

## Maurice Emmanuel

Maurice Emmanuel (1862–1938) was born in Bar-sur-Aube, a town located in the historical Champagne province. Shortly thereafter, his family moved to Beaune, a city in the historical region of Burgundy whose local area would feature in Emmanuel's collection *XXX Chansons Bourguignonnes du Pays de Beaune*. In the 1880s, Emmanuel moved to Paris to undertake studies at the *Conservatoire*, which he complemented with courses in the humanities at the *Sorbonne* and the *Collège de France*. Although his vocational interests lay primarily in composition, he simultaneously pursued an academic career obtaining a *License ès lettres* in 1887 and a *Doctorat ès lettres* in 1896, both from the *Sorbonne*. In 1909, Emmanuel was offered the chair of music history at the *Conservatoire* and subsequently published major texts throughout the 1910s, including a history of Western music, a sizeable article on ancient Greek music for the *Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du conservatoire*, and a treatise on the modal accompaniment of medieval psalms.[20] Following these academic achievements, Emmanuel devoted more time to composition and began to achieve success as a composer in the 1920s. During this time, he belatedly published many of his earlier works, which had remained

*Amphitryon de Maurice Emmanuel: Musique de Scène d'après Plaute*, Musique Écritures: Série Études (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne (PUPS), 2012); Samuel N. Dorf, "Atossa's Dream Yoking Music and Dance, Antiquity and Modernity in Maurice Emmanuel's Salamine (1929): Les Cahiers de La Société Québécoise de Recherche En Musique. XIII/1–2 (Septembre 2012): Danse et Musique: Dialogues En Mouvement," *Les Cahiers de La Société Québécoise de Recherche En Musique* 13, no. 1–2 (September 2012): 27–34, accessed January 17, 2023, https://doi.org/10.7202/1012347ar. None of these Emmanuel's stage works have been published as orchestral scores, although Emmanuel did extract and publish the orchestral overtures from *Prométhée enchaîné* and *Salamine*.

[20] Maurice Emmanuel, *Histoire de La Langue Musicale* (Paris: Laurens, 1911); Maurice Emmanuel, "Grèce (Art Gréco-Romain)," in *Encyclopédie de La Musique et Dictionnaire Du Conservatoire*, ed. Albert Lavignac (Delagrave, 1913); Maurice Emmanuel, *Traité de l'accompagnement Modal Des Psaumes* (Janin frères, 1913).

unpublished since they were composed between 1887 and 1910. He continued to teach, write, and compose well into the 1930s, inspiring many of his students including Olivier Messiaen, Henri Dutilleux (1916–2013), and Yvonne Lefébure (1898–1986).

Mode was a primary concern of Emmanuel in both his writings and compositions (Figure 1). Emmanuel's sustained engagement with modal thought is evidenced in two chamber works that span his career: the *Cello Sonata*, Op. 2 (1887), and the *Bugle Sonata*, Op. 29 (1936).[21] In both pieces, Emmanuel integrates atypical diatonic structures into classical forms that are generally associated with tonal syntax and rhetoric. The *Cello Sonata* is in B phrygian, a mode characterized by its lowered second degree (C♮) in relation to common-practice B minor; accordingly, the first and last movements incorporate C♮ at a thematic and structural level. Nevertheless, Emmanuel employs rhetorical gestures throughout that juxtapose scale degrees $\hat{1}$ and $\hat{5}$ in a manner that recalls traditional tonic-dominant polarity. Composed nearly fifty years later, the *Bugle Sonata* in F Lydian—a major mode characterized by its raised fourth degree (B♮)—exhibits similar techniques and tensions. In these pieces, Emmanuel accentuates the concept of mode by substituting alternative pitch structures within common-practice formal conventions.

[21] Maurice Emmanuel, *Sonate Pour Violoncelle et Piano* (Paris: Éditions Maurice Senart, 1921); Maurice Emmanuel, *Sonate Pour Cornet Ou Bugle (Bb) et Piano* (Paris: Éditions Musicales Buffet-Crampon, 1937).

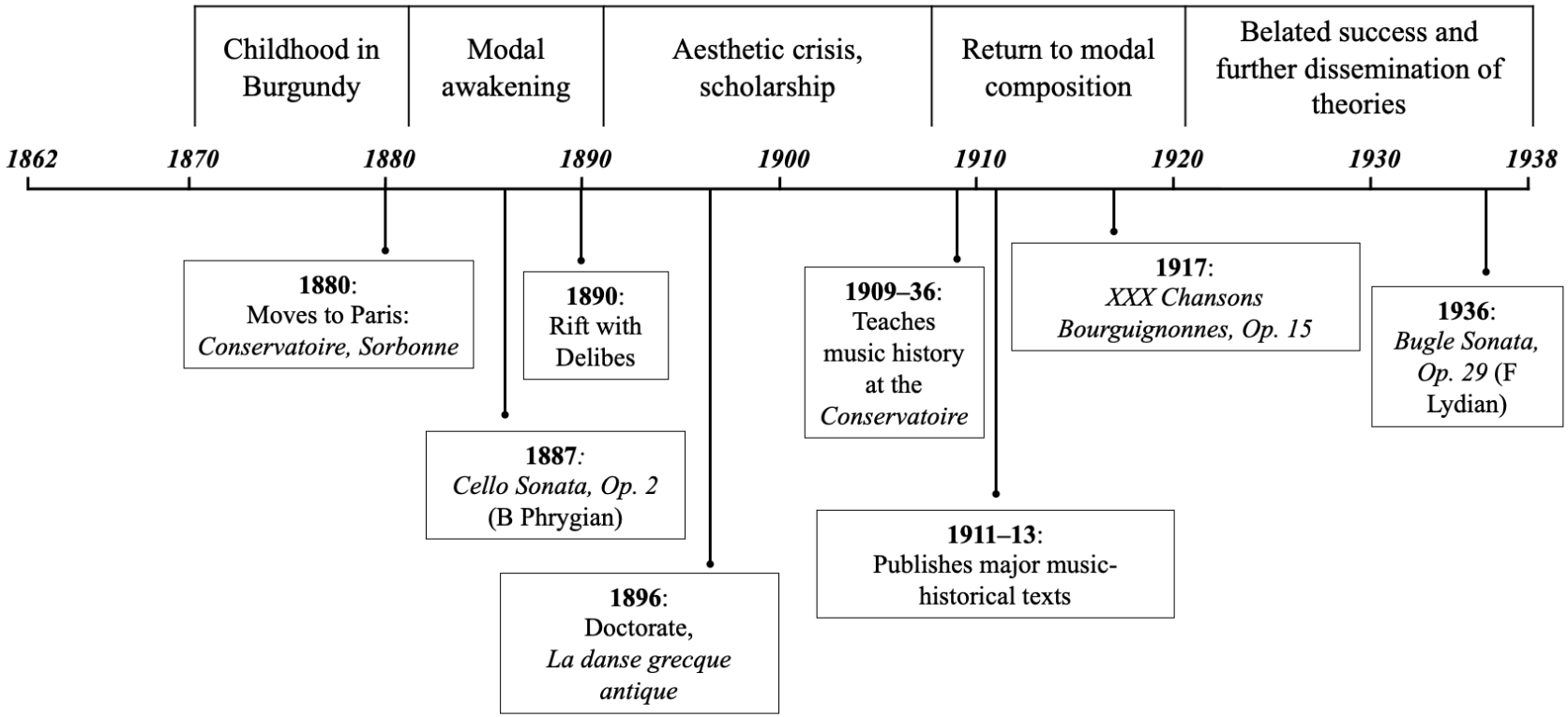


*Figure 1. A timeline depicting events and accomplishments in Emmanuel's life as they relate to stages in his modal thought that I've extracted from autobiographical accounts.*

Emmanuel's modal experiments in his early compositions such as the *Cello Sonata* and an unpublished *String Quartet* (1890) "in the Dorian mode" ("*en mode de ré"*) precipitated a rift with his professor at the *Conservatoire*, Léo Delibes (1836–1891).[22] In 1890, Emmanuel presented these works to Delibes in lieu of a traditional cantata in preparation for the *Prix de Rome* competition. According to Emmanuel, Delibes believed classicism to be a "closed house" and flatly refused to sponsor a student who aspired to expand or alter the norms of common-practice tonality.[23] The cost of this rift was great; lacking the endorsement of his professor, Emmanuel could not compete for the *Prix de Rome* and ultimately felt compelled to leave the *Conservatoire*.[24]

The story of Emmanuel's rift with Delibes at the *Conservatoire* has often been framed within a narrative of injustice.[25] However, most accounts derive from Emmanuel himself in various letters and publications written following his belated success as a composer in the 1920s. As Christophe Corbier notes, a study of Emmanuel's correspondence during this period demonstrates that he recounted this story strategically to artists or intellectuals who occupied institutional positions and could disseminate his narrative to the public with authority.[26] In these letters, Emmanuel also stressed his works' continued timeliness, suggesting that his erstwhile

[22] "The [Cello] Sonata was decidedly in an ancient minor mode . . . in the *String Quartet*, the theme and variations were written in a different folkloric [*populaire*] minor mode." Emmanuel, "Mes Avatars," 36. Christophe Corbier notes the date of completion (1890) and identifies this *First String Quartet* as being subtitled "*en mode de ré*," Corbier, *Maurice Emmanuel*, 170.
[23] Maurice Emmanuel, *Pelléas et Mélisande de Claude Debussy: Étude Historique et Critique, Analyse Musicale*, Les Chefs d'œuvre de La Musique Expliqués (Paris: Paul Mellottée, 1926), 6.
[24] Eleanor Anne Carlson, "Maurice Emmanuel and the Six Sonatines for Piano." (A.Mus.D., Boston University School for the Arts, 1974), 14–5.
[25] Emmanuel, *Pelléas et Mélisande de Claude Debussy*; Corbier, *Maurice Emmanuel*; Ronald Stevenson, "Maurice Emmanuel: A Belated Apologia," *Music & Letters* 40, no. 2 (1959): 154–65, accessed January 17, 2023, https://www.jstor.org/stable/728986; Robert Orledge, "Emmanuel, (Marie François) Maurice," in *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001–), accessed April 7, 2023, https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.08770; Carlson, "Maurice Emmanuel."
[26] Christophe Corbier, "Reconnaissance et Identité: Comment Maurice Emmanuel Est Devenu Compositeur," in *Maurice Emmanuel: Lettres Choisies*, ed. Christophe Corbier, MusicologieS (Paris: Vrin, 2017), 25–6.

controversial aesthetics had been prescient.[27] Notably, Emmanuel's first documented account of the Delibes story was in his monograph study of Debussy's *Pelléas et Mélisande*.[28] It is thus possible that Emmanuel first publicized the Delibes story to frame himself as a forgotten maverick and align his early works with those of Debussy's. Emmanuel's study of *Pelléas* is one of many documents that he published throughout the 1920s to promote historical and aesthetic opinions alongside his newfound musical successes.[29]

Corbier suggests that the rift between Emmanuel and Delibes may have been equally influenced by Emmanuel's vacillating loyalty to multiple institutions: the *Conservatoire*, the *Sorbonne*, and the *Collège de France*. In an 1882 letter to his parents, Emmanuel wrote derisively of his first years at the *Conservatoire*, stating: "my aesthetics certainly developed more at the Sorbonne than at the Conservatory. The harmony lessons are busy work, that is all. M. [Henri] Joly . . . the Louvre, the Opéra, and concerts are my true professors."[30] In his accounts of the incident with Delibes, Emmanuel assumes a graciously neutral tone and expresses continued respect for his old master. He seems to deliberately avoid mention that he and Delibes were often on good terms and that the latter had also supported some of his youthful efforts.[31] However unjustly Delibes may have treated Emmanuel, it is thus possible that his

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[27] For example, in a 1923 letter to the composer and professor Charles Koechlin, Emmanuel compares his *Ouverture pour un conte gai* (which had been performed for the first time in 1920) to Stravinsky. Christophe Corbier, ed., *Maurice Emmanuel: Lettres Choisies*, MusicologieS (Paris: Vrin, 2017), 397–8.
[28] Emmanuel, *Pelléas et Mélisande de Claude Debussy*; Corbier, *Maurice Emmanuel*, 139–40.
[29] Others include Maurice Emmanuel, "La Chanson Populaire. Emprunts Au Folklore National," *La Revue de Bourgogne* 11 (1923): 349–71; Maurice Emmanuel, "L'art Choral Bourguignon," in *Mémoires de l'Académie Des Sciences, Arts et Belles Lettres de Dijon*, 1926, 3–18; Maurice Emmanuel, "Le Rythme d'Euripide à Debussy," in *Compte Rendu Du 1er Congrès Du Rhythme: Tenu à Genève Du 16 Au 18 Août 1926* (Genève: Institut Jaques-Dalcroze, 1926), 103–46; Maurice Emmanuel, "La polymodie," *La Revue musicale* 9, no. 3 (1928): 197–213.
[30] "Je me suis certainement plus développé en esthétique à la Sorbonne qu'au Conservatoire. Les cours d'harmonie sont du métier et voilà tout. M. Joly . . . le Louvre, l'Opéra, les concerts sont mes vrais professeurs." Letter to his parents cited in Corbier, *Maurice Emmanuel*, 27. Henri Joly (1839–1925) taught philosophy, criminology, and comparative psychology at the *Sorbonne*. Emmanuel took courses with Joly and may have felt a particular affinity to him because they were both from Burgundy.
[31] Emmanuel, *Maurice Emmanuel: Lettres Choisies*, 108–109, 141.

irritability was partly fueled by Emmanuel's youthful uncertainty and audacity. Regardless, Emmanuel was vindicated in 1909 when his former history professor at the *Conservatoire* Louis-Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray nominated him as successor to the post upon his retirement later that year.

Emmanuel experienced self-doubt concerning the aesthetic validity of his modal approach to composition following his departure from the *Conservatoire* in 1890. In a biographical sketch titled *Mes Avatars*, he documents this period of uncertainty:

> I did not renounce music. But alas! I weakly believed that tonal art [*l'art classique*] . . . should be my only guide and, regressively, I began composing sonatas for various instruments, a symphony in four parts, melodies, a sextet, a quartet... in an old-fashioned style following formal plans extracted from the music of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. I even constrained myself to a series of modulations borrowed from masterpieces, which I stupidly imitated to *detoxify* myself, just as Delibes had suggested![32]

Given Emmanuel's frequent recourse to ancient Greek music in his promotion of modal practices, it is intriguing that he would refer to Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven as "old fashioned." As my thesis suggests, however, much of Emmanuel's investment in folk music rests on his desire to situate historical practices in a living, oral tradition. This rhetorical strategy allows him to position the "classics" of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—and thus, tonal practices—as aesthetically "old fashioned" compared to modal repertoires. Emmanuel claims to have destroyed an astonishing fifty-six pieces of these purportedly tonal pieces composed between 1891 and 1906 in the 1920s, feeling that "not one page deserved to be kept."[33] In the

[32] "Je ne renonçai pas à la musique. Mais hélas ! j'eus la faiblesse de croire que. l'art classique . . . devrait être mon seul guide et, faisant machine arrière, je me mis à écrire des sonates pour divers instruments, une symphonie en quatre parties, des mélodies, un sextuor, un quatuor... dans un style vieillot, suivant des plans extraits des œuvres de Haydn, de Mozart, de Beethoven. Je m'astreignais même à des séries de modulations pareilles à celles que je relevais dans des chefs-d'oeuvre, que j'imitais stupidement, afin, comme me l'avait suggéré Delibes, de me *désintoxiquer !*" Emmanuel, "Mes Avatars," 36. Italics are in the original.
[33] Emmanuel, "Mes avatars," 36.

context of his relatively small catalogue (containing twenty-nine opus numbers), this sizeable purge impresses the emotional impact of Emmanuel's aesthetic struggles in his formative years.

A few pieces that Emmanuel composed between 1891 and 1906 survived his purge in the 1920s, including two piano *Sonatines* (1893, 1897), a *Violin Sonata* (1902), and a *String Quartet* (1903). The first *Sonatine*—titled "*Bourguignonne*"—foreshadows *XXX Chansons Bourguignonnes* in its allusions to Emmanuel's youth in Burgundy: carillon melodies from cathedrals in Beaune and Dijon, an "air" sung by the *carilloneur* from the *Hôtel-Dieu de Beaune* (an almshouse), and dance rhythms associated with the *branle* and the *ronde*.[34] The second, titled *Pastorale,* is a more general homage to nature and rural life—and, more specifically, to the second movement of Beethoven's *Pastorale* Symphony, Op. 68. Emmanuel boldly expands on Beethoven's bird-call themes, composing each of the three movements around a specific call—the quail, the nightingale, and the cuckoo. Although the *Sonatines* contain diatonic modal passages, they exhibit a wider range of scalar genera and chromatic gestures than his previous *Cello Sonata*. In this way, they anticipate his later works and are arguably his earliest works in a mature style. The *Violin Sonata* and *String Quartet* exhibit a more overtly tonal chromatic style reminiscent of contemporary chamber pieces by disciples of César Franck (1820–1890), such as Vincent d'Indy (1851–1931) and Guy Ropartz (1864–1955). Although French music of this era is often not easily identified as purely modal or tonal, the *Violin Sonata* and *String Quartet* are different enough from Emmanuel's other works that they align with accounts of his attempts to adopt more traditional common-practice methods during this era.

Emmanuel focused his efforts largely on scholarly activities during his years away from the *Conservatoire* (1891–1908). He completed a doctoral thesis at the *Sorbonne*, studied with the

[34] Maurice Emmanuel, *Trois Sonatines* (Paris: Heugel & Cie, 1923).

Belgian musicologist François-Auguste Gevaert (1828–1908), undertook a trip to Germany and Austria to study pedagogical techniques, and occupied teaching posts in art history at women's secondary schools (*lycées*).[35] Emmanuel's doctoral thesis at the *Sorbonne* constitutes an attempt to reconstruct ancient Greek dance by studying figures on preserved images from pottery and other media. Although this project represents a shift away from mode, Emmanuel's deepening interest in ancient Greek culture was largely spurred by François-Auguste Gevaert's monumental text *Histoire et théorie de la musique de l'antiquité* (2 vols., 1875–81). Gevaert's work on Greek music and mode would greatly influence Emmanuel's later publications, including an article on ancient Greek music for the *Encyclopédie du Conservatoire* (1913) and his *Histoire de la langue musicale* (1911). Meanwhile, Emmanuel met prominent German scholars of music such as Philipp Spitta and Eduard Hanslick during his voyage to Germany and Austria. Despite reservations concerning the relative merits of their methods, Emmanuel appreciated both for their scientific approach to musicological subjects and described Spitta as "having single-handedly birthed the science of musical philology in Germany."[36] As a professor at the *Lycées Racine* and *Lamartine* between 1898 and 1904, Emmanuel taught a comparative history of the arts covering a variety of subjects.[37] These activities had a formative influence on Emmanuel's aesthetic maturation and paved the way for major texts he would publish in his early years as a professor of history at the *Conservatoire*.

Emmanuel would argue later in life that he had turned to scholarship out of necessity, going so far as to suggest that he disliked scholarship due to his inability to retain information.[38]

[35] For a rich overview of this period in Emmanuel's life, see Corbier, *Maurice Emmanuel*, 46–95.
[36] Noel Verzosa, "Realism, Idealism and the French Reception of Hanslick," *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 14, no. 1 (2017): 56, accessed May 10, 2023, https://doi.org/10.1017/S1479409816000288.
[37] Corbier, *Maurice Emmanuel*, 72.
[38] Emmanuel, "Mes Avatars," 37.

Ironically, he was an active figure during a fertile period in French musicology and likely benefitted from association with this growing community. In 1900, he served on a conference committee at the Paris World's Fair (the *Congrès International d'Histoire de la Musique*) alongside such figures as Camille Saint-Saëns (1835–1921), Bourgault-Ducoudray, Julien Tiersot (1857–1936), Romain Rolland (1866–1944), Camile Bellaigue (1858–1930), Pierre Aubry (1870–1910), Jules Combarieu (1859–1916), Charles Bordes (1863–1909), and Vincent d'Indy (1851–1931).[40] As evidenced by this list, the *Congrès* was an arena for the exchange of ideas between composers and musicologists associated with various institutions and schools of thought. Indeed, this membership reads as a "who's who" of French musicology at the *fin de siècle*; most members would pursue active roles in the development of musicological journals at the start of the twentieth century.[41] Contra Emmanuel's anxieties about being typecast as a scholar, the presence of Saint-Saëns and d'Indy (who were arguably better known as composers than as musicologists) also demonstrates an appreciation for disciplinary flexibility on both a personal and institutional level. A greater fear may have been the attribution of scholarship with conservativism. Although Saint-Saëns and d'Indy had been relatively progressive figures in the second half of the nineteenth century, both represented conservative ideologies as bastions of an older generation.[42]

Emmanuel served a stint as *maître de chapelle* (or *Kapellmeister*) at the *Sainte-Clotilde* basilica in Paris between 1904 and 1907. Inspired by contemporary efforts to reform plainchant in France, he approached his post with a plan to institute dramatic changes to performance

[40] Michel Duchesneau, "French Music Criticism and Musicology at the Turn of the Twentieth Century: New Journals, New Networks," *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 14, no. 1 (2017): 20–1.
[41] *Revue Musicale*, *La Tribune de Saint-Gervais*, etc.
[42] Michel Duchesneau, "Maurice Ravel et La Société Musicale Indépendante: 'Projet Mirifique de Concerts Scandaleux,'" *Revue de Musicologie* 80, no. 2 (1994): 252–53.

practices. Emmanuel had been impressed by choirs in Germany and Austria during his travels and wished to elevate the quality at *Sainte-Clotilde* to a similar level of quality.[43] Most importantly, he was invested in recent debates over the appropriate treatment of plainchant accompaniment. The advance of early music scholarship in conjunction with ecclesiastical chant's inherently religious associations led to increasingly restrictive positions among various scholars and ideologues—to the point where Camille Saint-Saëns refused to read Emmanuel's *Traité de l'accompagnement modal des psaumes* (1913), believing that psalms should never be accompanied. As Emmanuel points out, had Saint-Saëns cared to read the preface (*Avertissement*) to the *Traité*, he would have discovered that Emmanuel largely shared his sentiment and had made great efforts to guard against this type of knee-jerk reaction.[44]

The period following Emmanuel's resignation from *Sainte-Clotilde* marks his return to a modal style of composition, evidenced in his *Sonate pour clarinette, flûte et piano*, Op. 11 (1907) and *Trois Odelettes Anacréontiques*, Op. 13 (1911).[45] Characteristically, Emmanuel attributes his return to modal composition solely to his investment in folk music:

> I perceived with the strength of evidence that folk music decidedly spoke in an admirable language, supple and opulent . . . that this language could have a strong and useful impact on the language of professional musicians; that by gradual insinuation it would regain its ancient and rightful place, unduly contested; that it would not comprise the infiltration of archaism, but that founded on broad principles—unexpired, and, strictly speaking, perpetual—it could indeed furnish musicians with new methods of expression just as well as—and alongside—Debussy and his antimodal chromaticism.[46]

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[43] Corbier, *Maurice Emmanuel*, 82.

[44] Henri Classens, "Maurice Emmanuel, Professeur," ed. Robert Bernard, *La Revue Musicale: Revue Mensuelle Internationale d'art Musical Ancien et Moderne* 23 (1947): 118.

[45] Emmanuel credits the *Sonate pour clarinette, flûte et piano*(1907) as his first mature work to fully integrate modal, tonal, and "chromatic" practices: "from that moment on, without dogmatism, without seeing all useable musical elements in the *modes* of folklore, the Middle Ages, antiquity, and the Hindus (who practice them all), and considering the magnificent (albeit voluntarily restrictive) classical language of professional musicians and also Debussy's chromaticism as equivalent methods, I attempted to synthesize all of these languages." Emmanuel, "Mes Avatars," 37.

[46] "Je sentis avec la force de l'évidence que l'art populaire parlait décidément une langue admirable, souple et opulente . . . que cette langue pouvait réagir utilement et fort à propos sur celle des musiciens professionnels; qu'en s'y insinuant peu à peu elle ne ferait d'ailleurs que reconquérir des droits anciens, indûment contestés; que non seulement elle ne serait pas une infiltration d'archaïsme, mais que fondée sur de larges principes, non périmés, et, à

Despite the suggestive overlap between his post at *Sainte-Clotilde* and his creation of the *Sonate*, Emmanuel conspicuously omits to draw a connection between these events in his narrative of modal reawakening.

In 1909, Emmanuel was appointed the chair of music history at the *Conservatoire* by his former professor Bourgault-Ducoudray upon his retirement. This event would mark the end of the professional turbulence characteristic of Emmanuel's formative years and he would retain his post at the *Conservatoire* until 1936—two years before his death. The publication of three aforementioned texts in Emmanuel's early years at the *Conservatoire* would also mark the culmination of his scholarship over the previous twenty years: *Grèce (Art Gréco-Romain), Histoire de la langue musicale*, and *Traité de l'accompagnement modal des psaumes*. In these texts, which I will explore in Chapter Two, Emmanuel builds a harmonic modal system that runs counter to dominant theories of mode and tonality in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Francophone literature.

proprement parler, perpétuels, elle pourrait tout aussi bien que le chromatisme antimodal de Debussy, et à côté de lui, fournir en effet au musicien des moyens d'expression nouveaux." Emmanuel, 37.

# Chapter Two: Diatonic descents

## Modal contexts in nineteenth-century France

The topic of "mode" in nineteenth-century Francophone musicology is inextricably tied to the codification of common-practice tonality. By 1800, "practising musicians on the Continent" commonly accepted that historical and diverse diatonic systems (such as ancient Greek octave species, or the medieval octonary modes) had been distilled into two essential affective types: the common-practice major and minor modes.[47] Thus, whilst coining the term "*tonalité*," Alexandre Choron (1771–1834) writes in 1810:

> The network or system of . . . [tonal] relationships constitutes the *musical mode*, and if we arrange a portion of these notes encompassing the space of an octave in a sequential order beginning on the tonic, we will obtain the modal scale [*l'échelle du mode*]. . . . It is possible to conceive a very large number of different modes, from which can be formed diverse systems. . . . We have shown, or at least indicated, the constitutional principles of [ancient] Greek tonality, from which ecclesiastic tonality is derived. As for ours, it comprises only two modes: the major mode. . . . And the minor mode.[48]

This phenomenon is reflected in many nineteenth- and twentieth-century Francophone treatises, causing Maurice Emmanuel to quip in 1928 about the "lone Major [mode] and its bastardized Minor, sole occupants of our *solfèges*."[49] As Brian Hyer notes, early codifiers of common-

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[47] Harold S. Powers et al., "Mode," in *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001–), §IV, 1, accessed May 11, 2023, http://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.43718.

[48] "L'ensemble ou le système de ces rapports est ce qui constitue le *mode musical*, et si l'on range entr'eux, dans l'ordre le plus immédiat, à partir de la tonique, la partie de ces sons compris dans l'espace d'un octave, on aura l'échelle du mode. . . . On conçoit, comme possibles, un très-grand nombre de modes différens [sic], dont on peut former divers systèmes. . . . Nous avons fait voir, ou du moins indiqué, en quoi consistait la tonalité des Grecs, d'où dérivait la tonalité ecclésiastique. Quand à la nôtre, elle ne contient que deux modes, savoir: le mode majeur. . . . Et le mode mineur." Alexandre-Etienne Choron, "Sommaire de l'Histoire de La Musique," in *Dictionnaire Historique Des Musiciens* (Paris: Valade et Lenormant, 1810), xxxvii. Italics are in the original. For a history of the term "tonality," see Brian Hyer, "Tonality," in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Christensen, The Cambridge History of Music (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 726–52.

[49] 'La Polymodie, c'est un répertoire modal nombreux, illimité, où le musicien peut puiser selon convenances et fantaisies, pourvu qu'il ne se croie plus enserré dans les étroites limites, et raccornies, du Majeur unique et du Mineur bâtard, seuls occupants de nos solfèges." Emmanuel, "La polymodie," 197. For some textbook examples, see Le Roy et al., *Principes élémentaires de musique : pour servir à l'étude dans cet établissement arrêtés par les membres du Conservatoire* (Paris: à l'Imprimerie du Conservatoire de Musique, Faubourg Poissonnière, 1799), §XI; Émile Durand, *Cours complet d'harmonie* (Paris: A. Leduc, 1881), 1; Adolphe-Leopold Danhauser and Henri Benjamin Rabaud, *Theorie de La Musique: Edition Revue et Corrigee Par Henri Rabaud* (Lemoine, 1929), 57–58.

practice tonality such as Choron and the Belgian musicologist François-Joseph Fétis (1784–1871) demarcated this bi-modal system as a unique stage in the culmination of a teleological process.[50] As a blanket term for post-1600 musical practice, the concept of common-practice "tonality" itself (*tonalité moderne*) was thus intellectualized largely in contrast to "modality" (*tonalité antique*, or *ancienne*), in the sense of historical systems of diatonic organization.

Two divergent albeit related conceptual frameworks for common-practice tonality coexisted in nineteenth-century Francophone thought: an acoustic framework founded on canonics and resonance, and an ethnographic framework founded on cultural (or racial) differentiation.[51] Predating Choron's historiographic conception of *tonalité*, the acoustic tradition stems largely from the theories of Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683–1764). Throughout his writings, Rameau attempts in various ways (with "more or less success") to reduce musical practices of the French Baroque to a network of harmonic ratios and proportions derived from a single fundamental.[52] Thus, in his *Génération harmonique* (1737), Rameau locates all constituents of the major mode in a "constellation" of triads related by a series of perfect fifths: subdominant, tonic, and dominant.[53] According to this "quasi-Newtonian" model, a centric tonic "exerts a

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Although the Paris *Conservatoire solfège* tradition was inherited from Italian *solfeggio* ("a term originally referring to the singing of scale, intervals and melodic exercises"), it developed "into an elaborately systematic regimen in basic musicianship" including theory and notation. Owen Jander, "Solfeggio," 2001, in *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Presss, 2001–), accessed May 28, 2024, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.26144.

[50] Hyer, "Tonality," 747–48. Fétis divides *tonalité moderne* further into successive "orders:" *ordre transitonique*, *ordre pluritonique*, and *ordre omnitonique*. Fétis's *ordre pluritonique* marks the "culmination and perfection of *tonalité moderne*" (exhibited in the music of Mozart and Rossini, among others), whereas the *ordre omnitonique* foreshadows increased chromatic decadence (as heralded in the works of Berlioz and Wagner).

[51] "Canonics" refers to a system of pitch derivation and classification that is based on mathematical ratios and expressed as the divisions of a string (on a monochord, or "canon"). See Jan Herlinger, "Medieval Canonics," in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Christensen, The Cambridge History of Music (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 168–92. These two strands of tonal theory relate more broadly to theoretical traditions that Hyer identifies as "the function theories of Rameau and Riemann," and "the scale-degree theories of Weber and Schenker," respectively. Hyer, "Tonality," 733.

[52] Thomas Christensen, *Rameau and Musical Thought in the Enlightenment*, Cambridge Studies in Music Theory and Analysis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 5.

[53] Christensen, 180.

gravitational pull" on its orbital subdominant and dominant poles.[54] Further, Rameau crystallizes these gravitational relationships as archetypal cadential formulae, whereby characteristic dissonant subdominant or dominant harmonies resolve to a consonant tonic triad (Figure 2).

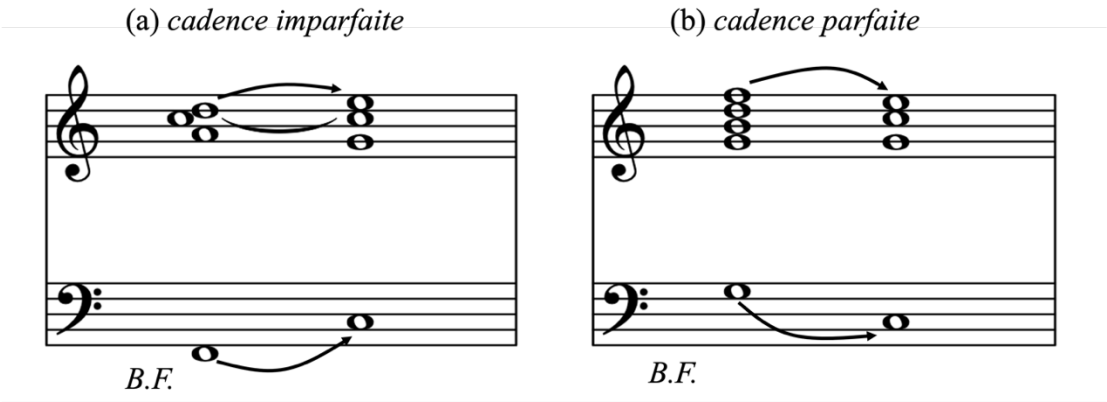


*Figure 2. My transcription of a figure by Brian Hyer depicting Rameau's archetypal cadential formulae as conceptualized in his* Génération harmonique *(1737).*[55] *The subdominant (F) and dominant (G) poles are related by perfect fifth to a centric tonic (C). Rameau accords these fundamental bass notes (B.F.) archetypal harmonic identities: the subdominant and dominant triads are expanded with added dissonances (*$\hat{2}$ *and* $\hat{4}$*, respectively), both of which resolve to* $\hat{3}$ *of the consonant tonic triad.*

The ethnographic tradition in the Francophone theorization of common-practice tonality largely stems from the writings of François-Joseph Fétis. Contra Rameau's appeal to natural (or mathematical) forces, Fétis conceived of tonality as the result of an evolutionary process determined by human cognition, intuition, and will:

> Nature furnishes as the elements of music only a multitude of sounds that differ from one another in intonation, duration, and intensity, by the greatest or least nuances. . . . The idea of there being relationships between them arises in the intellect, and under the operations of sensibility on the one hand and will on the other, the mind arranges them into differing series, each one of which corresponds to a particular order of emotions, feelings, and ideas. These series then become types of tonalities and rhythms that have necessary consequences, under the influence of which the imagination assumes its duties in the creation of beauty.[56]

[54] Hyer, "Tonality," 734.
[55] Hyer, "Tonality," 734.
[56] "La nature ne fournit pour éléments de la musique qu'une multitude de sons qui diffèrent entre eux d'intonation, de durée, et d'intensité, par des nuances ou plus grandes ou plus petites. . . . L'idée des rapports qui existent entre

According to Fétis, humans thus subjectively select scale system from a wide array of registral quanta and subsequently impose "tonality" on these scales according to their structural constitution. In principle, Fétis's theory of tonality is more open than Rameau's to systems of pitch organization that do not conform to European models (and the diatonic genus, in particular). Indeed, Fétis developed his theory partially in response to a growing body of Orientalist research in nineteenth-century Europe, thus positing that there are as many forms of "tonality" as there are distinct musical cultures.[57] However, he leans on this variable theory of tonality to equate culturally differentiated scale types with essentialist, racial stereotypes.[58] Unsurprisingly, then, common-practice tonality (and its accompanying harmonic system) occupies pride of place in Fétis's teleological narrative, while the music of other cultures is relegated to historical accounts of "ancient" scales and modes.[59]

Rameau's and Fétis's theories of common-practice tonality were conceived in dialogue with well-established European art music practices.[60] In reaction to this increasingly systematized bi-modal ethos, efforts to re-introduce modal variants within a triadic, diatonic

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eux s'éveille dans l'intelligence, et sous l'action de la sensibilité d'une part, et de la volonté de l'autre, l'esprit les coordonne en séries différentes, dont chacune correspond à un ordre particulier d'émotions, de sentiments et d'idées. Ces séries deviennent donc des types de tonalités et de rhythmes [sic] qui ont des conséquences nécessaires, sous l'influence desquelles l'imagination entre en exercice pour la création du beau." François-Joseph Fétis, *Traité Complet de La Théorie et de La Pratique de l'harmonie: Contenant La Doctrine de La Science et de l'art* (Brandus, 1853), xi–xii. English translation borrowed from Christensen, *Stories of Tonality*, 11–12.

[57] Christensen, *Stories of Tonality*, 165–73.

[58] For example: "The aesthetic principle of the art based on these scales of small and variable intervals that is found in all peoples of the Orient is that of a languid and sensual music, conforming to the customs of the nations where they were conceived. . . . On the other hand, among the rugged and serious populations descended from the yellow or Mongolian races, the music, serious and monotonous, strange and austere for Europeans, is the product of a system of tonality where the semitone very often disappears, and in which the incomplete scale is composed of only five tones placed next to each other at intervals of a tone, with gaps where there are the semitones of the so-called *diatonic* scale." François-Joseph Fétis, *Complete Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Harmony*, trans. Peter M. Landey, Harmonologia: Studies in Music Theory 12 (Pendragon Press, 2008), lix.

[59] Jann Pasler notes that Fétis "saw progress, or the ability to develop progressively over time, as characteristic of the Aryan race." Pasler, "Race and Nation," 147.

[60] Both Fétis and Choron situated the origins of common-practice tonality around 1600, in the music of Claudio Monteverdi. Christensen, *Stories of Tonality*, 4.

framework can be traced in France throughout the nineteenth century.[61] These attempts to expand the expressive range of tonal practices via modal variance have been documented and theorized by scholars over the past century. Writing in the 1930s, the American composer John Vincent (1902–1977) identifies these developments as a pan-European movement that he refers to as "harmonic modality."[62] A couple of decades later, Maurice Emmanuel's student Jacques Chailley (1910–1999) refers to similar approaches in a Franco-centric context as "tonal modality" (*modalité tonale*).[63] More recently, the theorist Nathan Lam has developed a compelling analytical framework for "diatonic-modally extended common-practice music," which he refers to as "relative diatonic modality." Lam's thesis focuses on the aesthetic implications of a system of diatonic modal pitch hierarchy that admits multiple (often simultaneous) potential tonal centres. Specifically, his reading of nineteenth-century repertoires foregrounds a mode of composition in which centric ambiguity is exploited via modal theories as an alternative to "the pervasive and deeply rooted concept of unity and coherence in the singular, unambiguous tonic."[64]

The evolution of diatonic modal thinking as an extension of the common-practice system in nineteenth-century France is also tied to a variety of intellectual concerns. As many sources suggest, prominent modal stimuli included: musicological inquiry into historical practices

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[61] For example, the composer and *Conservatoire* professor Anton Reicha (1770–1836) developed and propounded a system of modal composition in the early 1800s. In 1857, the composer and pedagogue Louis Niedermeyer (1802–1861) and the musicologist Joseph d'Ortigue (1802–1866) published an influential treatise on the modal, harmonic accompaniment of plain chant, Louis Niedermeyer and Joseph d'Ortigue, *Traité théorique et pratique de l'accompagnement du plain-chant* (Paris: Heugel, 1857). Later in the century, methods derived from chant accompaniment were adapted to modern composition and referred to as "Gregorian tonality," as exhibited in the works of Alexandre Guilmant (1837–1911), among others. Guilmant is one of the founders of the influential *Schola cantorum de Paris* (1894–), a private conservatory that fosters the study of historical genres.

[62] John Vincent, *The Diatonic Modes in Modern Music* (California: Curlew Music Publishers, 1974), v. Although the first edition was not published until 1951, Vincent claims that the complete text had been circulated in manuscript form as early as 1938.

[63] Jacques Chailley, *L'imbroglio Des Modes* (Paris: Alphonse Leduc, 1960), 9.

[64] Nathan L. Lam, "Relative Diatonic Modality in Extended Common-Practice Music," (Ph.D., Indiana University, 2019), 3, ProQuest Dissertations & Theses 22584215.

(church modes, *couleur antique*); associations with Medievalism; interest in folk song, "local colour" (*couleur locale*), primitivism, and the presumption of "folk modality;" and Orientalist research.[65] An interesting parallel can be drawn between these intellectual currents and a map of "conceptual elements" created by Jeremy Day O'Connell in his study of pentatonicism in European art music covering this same period (Figure 3).[66] As the relationship between modal contexts and those represented in O'Connell's map suggests, these topics relate more broadly to an expansion in European thought concerning the referential power of "scale" and "mode" (whether pentatonic, diatonic, or otherwise). To this point, Peter Asimov traces a compelling network of intellectual activity in France at the intersection of musicology, philology, linguistics, and anthropology.[67] Specifically, Asimov identifies a distinct musicological tradition through which pitch systems were abstracted as scalar and modal quanta and subsequently assimilated into European art music practices. Maurice Emmanuel's writings on mode reveal an investment in these various intellectual traditions and accordingly form an indispensable corpus for the study of musical thought in *fin-de-siècle* France.

[65] In his study of French modality "from Berlioz to Debussy," Henri Gonnard foregrounds *chansons populaires* and chant reform as the "historical conditions" surrounding contemporary modal practices. Gonnard, *La Musique Modale*. Similarly, Thomas Christensen highlights plainchant reform, folk song, and Orientalist scholarship as arenas of debate in nineteenth-century tonal discourse. Christensen, *Stories of Tonality*, 2020. Katharine Ellis deconstructs blanket "medievalism" in nineteenth-century France (as a pan-historical trope) and assigns it the neologism *couleur antique* in reference to the pan-regional operatic tradition of *couleur locale*. Musically, these two categories (*antique* and *locale*) denote historicist and folkloric modality, respectively. Katharine Ellis, "Patrimoine in French Music," in *Historical Interplay in French Music and Culture, 1860–1960* (London: Routledge, 2016), 22–28. Broader associations between musicological inquiry and medievalist thought are also at play; see, for example, Meyer, Stephen C., and Kirsten Yri, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of Music and Medievalism* (Oxford University Press, 2020), accessed August 13, 2024, https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190658441.001.0001. In a pan-European context, John Vincent cites three principal factors: folk song, textbooks, and "church" music. Vincent, *The Diatonic Modes in Modern Music*, 264–68.

[66] Jeremy Day-O'Connell, *Pentatonicism from the Eighteenth Century to Debussy*, Eastman Studies in Music (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2007), 9.

[67] Asimov, "Comparative Philology."

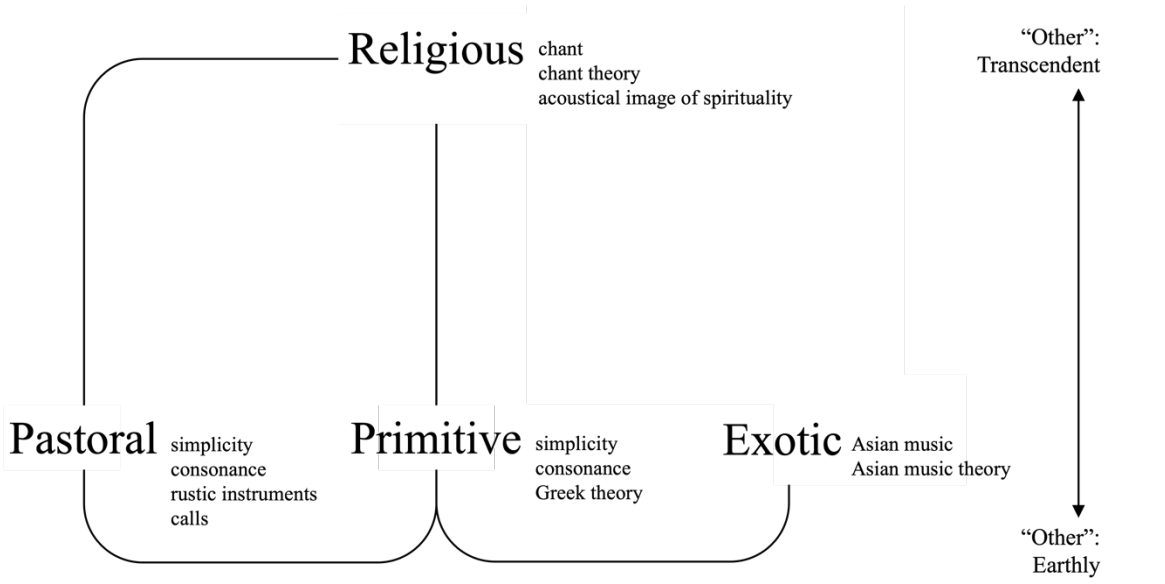


*Figure 3. My transcription of Day O'Connell's map of conceptual elements tied to pentatonicism in post-1700 European art music.*[68] *These elements correspond directly with dominant categories in nineteenth-*century *modal thought: "religious" with liturgical chant and historical practices, "pastoral" with folk music, and "exotic" with Orientalist research. Uncomfortably, the "primitive" category overlaps with the pastoral and the exotic. O'Connell positions these categories along a spectrum of "Other"-ness spanning from the earthly to the transcendent.*

In sum, my brief overview of modal thought in France reveals that the theorization of mode was an intellectual priority tied to emerging conceptions of common-practice tonality. In the century leading to Emmanuel's training, prominent theorists promoted diverse models that pitted a reductionist, teleological narrative (expounding the dominance of a major and minor tonal system) against more flexible and inclusive conceptions of mode. By the early twentieth century, Emmanuel and others were prepared to challenge the dominance of common-practice tonality and its associated leading-tone cadential rhetoric. Scholars such as Emmanuel returned to historical conceptions of mode to propose alternative systems of diatonic organization with access to alternative options for tonics.

[68] Day-O'Connell, *Pentatonicism*, 9.

In the following chapters, I borrow some basic modal concepts and terminology from Nathan Lam's dissertation on "relative diatonic modality."[69] Lam articulates two common approaches to the generation and comparison of diatonic modes: relative and parallel (Figure 4). "Relative" modes constitute octave-species rotations of a single diatonic scale, as expressed in the relationship between common-practice major and minor modes (for instance, A natural minor and C major share the same scale [0♮] and are thus traditionally referred to as *relative* minor and major).[70] In other words, relative modes constitute all possible dispositions of a single scale. In the diatonic system, each disposition is characterized by the placement of two diatonic semitones in relation to a fundamental pitch (scale degree $\hat{1}$). "Parallel" modes are these same modes generated from a common fundamental. From the perspective of a shared fundamental, subtle distinctions between parallel modes can be easily interpreted as inflections in relation to the common-practice major and minor modes.[71] Following Lam, I specify scale degrees in a modal context as inflections of major or perfect intervals (in other words, as inflections of the tonal major scale). Major or perfect intervals are thus always unaltered ($\hat{3}$), minor or diminished intervals are flat ($\flat\hat{3}$, $\flat\hat{5}$), and augmented intervals are sharp ($\sharp\hat{4}$). The triadic relationships generated by these parallel diatonic systems allow for a wealth of variety and nuance in harmonic practices (Figure 5).

[69] Lam, "Relative Diatonic Modality."
[70] I also borrow this system of designating diatonic scales via key signature from Lam. C major and A minor contain no accidentals, and thus constitute dispositions of the 0♮ scale. G major and E minor both contain one sharp, so they belong to the 1♯ scale (and so on).
[71] For example, the German theorist Hugo Riemann (1849–1919) theorized modal inflections as alterations of "characteristic" major and minor scale degrees, referring to ♯4 in a major context as the "Lydian fourth," ♭2 in a minor context as the "Phrygian second," and so on. Lam, "Relative Diatonic Modality," 14–15.

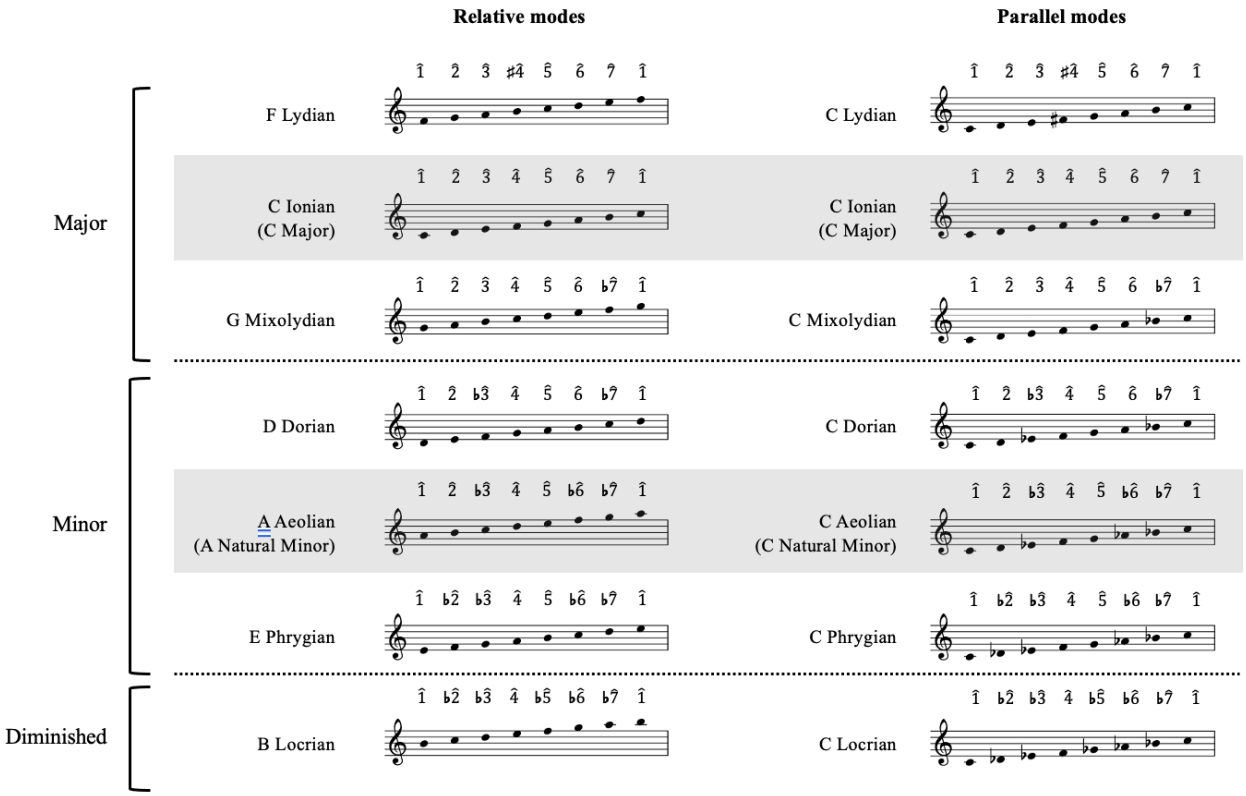


*Figure 4. My transcription of a figure created by Nathan Lam representing two forms of diatonic modal relationship.*[72] *Relative modes are octave-species dispositions of a single diatonic gamut (in this case, the 0♮ or "white key" gamut). Parallel modes echo this same principal starting from a single fundamental (C, in this case). The dotted lines separate modal "families" based on the quality of their fundamental triads: major, minor, and diminished (brackets and labels are my additions). Gray boxes indicate diatonic modes that correspond to the common-practice major and (natural) minor modes. Inflected scale degree symbols above the notes indicate each mode's characteristic structure as a series of intervallic qualities in relation to its fundamental.*

[72] Lam, "Relative Diatonic Modality," 15.

**Triadic relationships in parallel modes with a C fundamental**

→

| | $\hat{1}$ | $\hat{2}$ | $\hat{3}$ | $\hat{4}$ | $\hat{5}$ | $\hat{6}$ | $\hat{7}$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *C Ionian/Major* | C Maj | D Min | E Min | F Maj | G Maj | A Min | B Dim |
| *C Dorian* | C Min | D Min | E♭ Maj | F Maj | G Min | A Dim | B♭ Maj |
| *C Phrygian* | C Min | D♭ Maj | E♭ Maj | F Min | G Dim | A♭ Maj | B♭ Min |
| *C Lydian* | C Maj | D Maj | E Min | F♯ Dim | G Maj | A Min | B Min |
| *C Mixolydian* | C Maj | D Min | E Dim | F Maj | G Min | A Min | B♭ Maj |
| *C Aeolian/Minor* | C Min | D Dim | E♭ Maj | F Min | G Min | A♭ Maj | B♭ Maj |
| *C Locrian* | C Dim | D♭ Maj | E♭ Min | F Min | G♭ Maj | A♭ Maj | B♭ Min |

*Figure 5. This figure lists the diatonic triads (major, minor, and diminished) formed on each scale degree in parallel C-based diatonic modes and their harmonic implications in relation to the tonal C major mode (outlined in black). The colour gradients mark each triad as a fixed entity in a series, foregrounding the rotational relationship between parallel modes. For example, each white box can be read as scale degree* $\hat{1}$ *of a common-practice major mode (C major, B ♭ major, A ♭ major, and so on).*

## Emmanuel's writings on mode

On December ninth, 1909, Emmanuel delivered an opening address in his first lecture as chair of music history at the Paris *Conservatoire* (*Leçon d'ouverture*).[73] In this address, he frames the importance of historical study in combative, political terms. In the case of mode, his target of attack is the "tyrannical" Ionian mode, "that absolute monarch of our modern [common practice] regime:"

[73] The lecture was recorded and published shortly thereafter. See Maurice Emmanuel, "Leçon d'ouverture Au Conservatoire Le 9 Décembre 1909," *L'Actualité Musicale: Annexe de La Revue Musicale S.I.M.*, January 15, 1910, 24–30.

> We will combat its [the Ionian mode's] absolutism and we will reclaim for the forgotten Modes [sic] the right to participate in musical discourse, to become its subordinates [*suffragans*]. We will impose on it ministers. . . . It is up to the younger generation [*petits neveux*] to found, if they can, the modal republic! [74]

Throughout his writings on mode, Emmanuel advocates for a contemporary approach to diatonic modality that embraces at least six different iterations of the diatonic octave scale.[75] His proposed model implies a significant expansion of common-practice tonal syntax, which otherwise depends on intervallic relationships that are specific to the Ionian (or "major") mode.[76] The implications of Emmanuel's words are thus quite drastic in their opposition to many nineteenth-century theories of tonality.

Emmanuel leans on historical and ethnographic scholarship for alternative ("ancestral") models of pitch organization to support his claims. The musical systems that he engages with to question conceptions of mode in tonal practices can be organized into three discursive categories: ancient Greece (Hellenism), early music, and folk music (*chansons populaires*).[77] In Emmanuel's case, the seeds of this tripartite relationship are found in the work of his history teacher at the Paris *Conservatoire*: Louis-Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray (1840–1910; whom I'll refer to from now on simply as "Bourgault").[78] In 1874, overwork and injury prompted Bourgault to arrange a

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[74] "Nous combattrons son absolutisme et nous réclamerons pour les Modes oubliés le droit de participer aux affaires musicales, d'y devenir ses suffragants. Nous lui imposerons des ministres. . .. A nos petits neveux de fonder, s'ils le peuvent, la république modale !" Emmanuel, 4.

[75] The diatonic scale comprises seven possible octave species (one for each note in the scale). Emmanuel discounts the Locrian mode (or *mode de si*) because its fifth degree ($\hat{5}$) is diminished (B-F♮). For Emmanuel, this characteristic precludes the Locrian mode from inclusion in the pantheon of traditional diatonic modes. He does, however, admit a plagal octave species spanning B-B with E as the fundamental.

[76] Emmanuel refers to the common-practice minor scale as a "bastardized" form of the major scale because it borrows a raised leading tone ($\sharp\hat{7}$) from Ionian in its ascending form, both melodically and harmonically.

[77] This chapter mostly explores Emmanuel's engagement with the first two categories, which are specifically historical. Although the third category (*chanson populaire*) is often treated as a historical (or "primitive") topic, Emmanuel largely applies his historical scholarship to contemporary folk music as a theoretical framework. I discuss this process in detail in Chapter 3.

[78] Emmanuel later succeeded Bourgault as history professor at the Conservatory, upon the latter's retirement in 1909.

convalescence trip to Athens.[79] His enthusiastic study of ecclesiastic and folk music during this period inspired a second trip in 1875, resulting in the publication of three texts: *Souvenirs d'une mission musicale en Grèce et en Orient* (1876), *Études sur la musique ecclésiastique grecque* (1877), and *Trente mélodies populaires de Grèce & d'Orient* (1877).[80] In the preface to *Trente mélodies* populaires, Bourgault claims that many of the songs included (most of them actually collected in modern-day Turkey) are constructed from ancient modes (*gammes antiques*). He positions these apparent vestiges of Hellenistic practice as "living," "Oriental" counterparts to the musical "mummies" of Occidental plainchant.[81] Bourgault's thesis thus assumes a continuity of musical practice from ancient Greece that spans both contemporary Aegean folklore and historical European repertoires.

In 1885, Bourgault published a second collection of thirty folk songs featuring music he transcribed in his native French region of Brittany. By means of the title alone (*Trente mélodies populaires de Basse-Bretagne*), he establishes a thematic connection between this 1885 collection and *Trente mélodies populaires de Grèce & d'Orient*. Opening once again with a theoretical preamble (*Introduction*), Bourgault makes no secret of this symbolic gesture:

> Was it solely a predilection for contrast that led me to cross the distance between the land of sun [Greece] and the land of fog [Brittany] in my studies of folk song? No: this second collection is closely related to the first; it is its logical consequence. . . . Called to lecture my students on the folk songs of various countries, I soon realized, by comparing them, that the characteristics of ancient music whose presence in Greek folk song struck me so, are also to be found in almost all European countries.[82]

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[79] Asimov, "Comparative Philology," 59–64.
[80] See the bibliography for full information regarding these titles.
[81] Louis Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray and Achille de Lauzières, *Trente mélodies populaires de Grèce & d'Orient* (Paris: Henry Lemoine, 1877), 7.
[82] "Est-ce uniquement par amour du contraste que j'ai fait franchir à mes études sur le chant populaire la distance qui sépare le pays du soleil du pays de la brume? Non: cette second collection a une étroite connexité avec la première; elle en est la conséquence logique. . . . Appelé à parler à mes élèves de chants populaires de différents pays, je ne tardai pas à constater, en les comparant, que les caractères de la musique *antique*, dont la présence m'avait tant frappé dans les melodies populaires de la Grèce, se retrouvent également dans celles de Presque toutes les contrées de l'Europe." Bourgault-Ducoudray, *Trente mélodies populaires de Basse-Bretagne*, 5.

For Bourgault, the purported connection between ancient Greek, medieval, and folk musical practices thus indicates a broader Indo-European cultural heritage that remains more intact (or "pure") in pan-European oral traditions.[83] Most importantly, he positions the richness of modal and rhythmic variety in this "living" folk music as a means of aesthetic rejuvenation: "[art music] is less rich than folk music in terms of rhythm and mode; why not strive to borrow these qualities?" [84] As Jann Pasler notes, Bourgault's eagerness to draw racial connections between Greek and French folk music also stemmed from a desire to justify the assimilation of certain "Oriental" practices in contemporary art music as a cultural birthright.[85]

Emmanuel pays tribute to Bourgault's legacy in many of his writings. In his *Leçon d'ouverture*, he impresses the formative influence Bourgault's lectures had on him, reflecting on his first history class at the *Conservatoire*:

> On that day [in December 1881] you protested against the tyranny of the Ionian mode [UT MAJEUR], that absolute monarch of our modern regime. You reminded us of the ancient modes, forgotten despite their beauty and robustness.[86]

Emmanuel devotes nearly half of his *Leçon* to a description of Bourgault's intellectual models and avows to construct his own curriculum along the same lines: "and now I am determined to march after you, alongside you, to storm the citadel where the high and mighty lord [Ionian], in the company of Tonality, has formidably entrenched itself."[87]

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[83] Pasler, "Race and Nation," 155.
[84] "[La musique savante] est moins riche que la musique populaire au point de vue des rythmes et des modes : pourquoi ne s'efforcerait-elle pas de les emprunter?" Bourgault-Ducoudray, *Trente mélodies populaires de Basse-Bretagne*, 16.
[85] "This association with the Aryan race, he argues, gives the French a kind of birthright to return to the Greek modes and rhythms as a source of renewal." Pasler, "Race and Nation," 156.
[86] "Ce jour là vous protestiez contre la tyrannie d'UT MAJEUR, ce monarque absolu de notre régime moderne. Vous rappeliez les vieux Modes oubliés en dépit de leur beauté et de leur robustesse." Emmanuel, "Leçon d'ouverture," 25.
[87] "Et maintenant je suis décidé à marcher après vous, avec vous, à l'assaut de la citadelle où le haut et puissant seigneur, en compagnie de la Tonalité, s'est installé de manière formidable." Emmanuel, 25.

Bourgault passed away in July of 1910, only six months after Emmanuel's *Leçon* was published. The following year, Emmanuel dedicated his monumental history of music *Histoire de la langue musicale* to Bourgault's memory. In an introductory eulogy, Emmanuel positions Bourgault as a prophetic figure who had bravely "delved into the history of music almost without any guides." Most importantly, he frames advances in modern music as direct results of Bourgault's work:

> [Bourgault] rejoiced to see his predictions realised, his wishes granted. Rhythmic practices expanded, the modes reappeared, folklore is explored, plain chant is once again honoured. Bourgault-Ducoudray did not seem to have any idea of the influence that he himself, as a daring teacher, had on these renovations.[88]

Integral to Emmanuel's narrative of Bourgault as a revolutionary maverick are also accounts of the resistance Bourgault faced from his colleagues at the *Conservatoire*.[89] Doing so, he draws an overt link between Bourgault's legacy and his own experience at the *Conservatoire* in his youth. Consequently, underlying Emmanuel's praise is a clear desire to espouse his own potential influence as a "daring" history professor and musicologist-composer in the face of institutional resistance or aesthetic trends.

Indeed, Emmanuel's fraught relationship with *Conservatoire* standards is marked by the time it takes him to candidly voice his contrary opinions. In 1909, he was careful to position alternative diatonic modes as "subordinates" of the common-practice major (or Ionian) mode

[88] "Il se réjouissait de voir ses prévisions réalisées, ses voeux exaucés. La Rhythmique s'élargit ; les Modes réapparaissent ; le Folklore est exploré ; le Plain Chant est remis en honneur. Bourgault-Ducoudray ne paraissait point se douter de l'influence exercée par lui-même, qui dans son enseignement fut un audacieux, sur ces rénovations." Emmanuel, *Histoire de La Langue Musicale*, 1.

[89] "From Bourgault's audacious lessons, treated as chimaeras by all harmony professors of his era, I received decisive encouragement." Emmanuel, "Mes Avatars," 16. "In vain Bourgault referred simultaneously to Breton folklore, contemporary Greek folk song, Oriental or Latin ecclesiastic chant; Ambroise Thomas responded with condescendence: 'why take unecessary pains?'" Emmanuel, "La polymodie," 211. Ambroise Thomas was the director of the *Conservatoire* at the time.

when speaking to the students and faculty. Nevertheless by 1928, he had transitioned to proclaiming with confidence the equality of all possible modal formations:

> *The number of modes is limitless*. There can be no question even of reducing them to categories. Studying the genesis of a few, while paying attention to their singular voices, opens perspectives unknown to the exclusive servants of the Modern Major Mode, that tyrant Ionian [*UT*], which has had its deserved glory, but whose despotism has become intolerable. Not that we want to avenge its imperialism through proscription: it is enough that we demand of it, after it has caused us to forget all others, that it should be just one of all possible modes and not a privileged series.[90]

According to Emmanuel's revised position, the Ionian mode no longer deserved to be privileged in relation to the other diatonic modes or any other system of pitch organization. In the years between 1909 and 1928, Emmanuel had published sizeable works of historical scholarship, including *Histoire de la langue musicale* (1911), *Grèce* (1913), and *Traité de l'accompagnement modal des psaumes* (1913). In each of these works, he examines modal plurality ("*polymodie*") as a historical topic in contrast to the streamlined major-minor system associated with common-practice tonality. Inspired in part by the Indo-European philological studies of his contemporary and acquaintance the linguist Antoine Meillet (1866–1936), Emmanuel had also become increasingly interested in Indian modes as an ancestor to the ancient Greek musical tradition. Finally, a burgeoning corpus of ethnomusicological research allowed him to cite a variety of cultural traditions (a recent study of indigenous Peruvian music, for example) as evidence of infinite modal potentiality in his 1928 article *La polymodie*.[91]

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[90] "Mais le nombre des modes est sans limites. Il ne peut même être question de les réduire en catégories. A étudier la genèse de quelques-uns, en même temps qu'on en écoute la voix singulière, on voit s'ouvrir des perspectives inconnues aux exclusifs serviteurs du Mode Majeur Moderne, ce tyran UT, qui a eu sa gloire méritée, mais dont le despotisme est devenu intolérable. Non qu'on veuille se venger de son impérialisme par la proscription : il suffit d'exiger de lui, qu'après avoir fait oublier tous les autres, il ne soit plus qu'un des modes possibles et non une série privilégiée." Emmanuel, "La polymodie," 199.

[91] The book on indigenous Peruvian music in question was written by Emmanuel's student at the Paris *Conservatoire* Marguerite Béclard d'Harcourt (1884–1964). Emmanuel and d'Harcourt remained in close contact throughout the rest of his life and d'Harcourt published an overview of Emmanuel's musical works that he himself claimed to reveal "the key to his musical life." See Marguerite Béclard d'Harcourt, *La Musique Des Incas et Ses*

The paradoxical search for aesthetic innovation in historical models is a constant thread in Emmanuel's writings on music. Principal to this thread is the notion that a systemic "richness," or "opulence" had been recently lost in the evolution of Western music towards the common-practice tonal tradition, which had been compellingly codified in the nineteenth century.[92] In the case of mode, Emmanuel generally denotes "richness" according to two interrelated aesthetic categories: plurality and ambiguity. "Plurality" refers both to a variety of scale types (diatonic, pentatonic, etc.) and modes, whereas "ambiguity" refers to the perception of multiple tonal centres (or melodic finals) within a musical passage.[93] From a modernist perspective, however, Emmanuel's central claim is that contemporary music can greatly benefit in "colour" (or "richness") from the re-introduction of modal plurality into the triadic harmonic lexicon and beyond. In terms of harmonic syntax, this process requires an entire re-imagining of the relationship between triads formed by the diatonic genus (see Figure 5). If the purpose of tonality is to exploit the unequivocal relationship between dominant and tonic, the purpose of Emmanuel's "polymodality" (in a diatonic sense) is thus to subvert this same relationship.

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*Survivances* (P. Geuthner, 1925); Marguerite Béclard d'Harcourt, "L'œuvre musicale de Maurice Emmanuel," *La Revue musicale* 16, no. 152 (1935); Corbier, *Maurice Emmanuel: Lettres choisies*, 2017, 568.

[92] Emmanuel refers to "richness" in the context of mode and scale types four times in his article *La polymodie*. For example: "When Bourgault-Ducoudray demonstrated, in an 1875 publication that has since garnered popular appeal, the forms of modal richness involved in the songs of his native Brittany, professionals [musicians] shrugged." Emmanuel, "La polymodie," 211. His use of the term "opulence" is more often related to rhythm. For example, referring to ancient Greek rhythmic practices, he ascribes a period of "rhythmic opulence. . . . It is the rhythm of the [ancient] Greeks, in the fifth century BCE [*avant notre ère*]." He contrasts this with a period of "rhythmic indigence, founded on the ruins of the previous period [rhythmic opulence]. . . . It is ours." Emmanuel, "Le Rythme d'Euripide à Debussy," 141–42.

[93] On the topic of modal plurality, Emmanuel praises the "72 modal scales of contemporary India. . . . There is there a modal gold mine [*mine modale*] of inexhaustible riches." Maurice Emmanuel, "Le Corps de l'harmonie d'après Aristote," *Revue Des Études Grecques* 32, no. 146/150 (1919): 184. Concerning tonic ambiguity, Emmanuel extolls monophonic music in general. For example: "All liturgical chant preceding the eleventh century is homophonic. They [liturgical chants] are direct and persistent descendants of Hellenistic melodies, which drew their beauty from this very nudity. . . . All medieval chant proposes a problem to the ear, the solution of which can only be found by successive observations. . . . The ear's curiosity is constantly stimulated by the successive influx of an unfolding melody. Often the revealing detail of the mode, the employed scale's essential degree is difficult to discover. . . . The art that sometimes masks them [essential degrees] is the cause of a subtle pleasure for the informed listener." Emmanuel, *Histoire de La Langue Musicale*, 194–95.

***Grèce (Art Gréco-Romain)* (1913)**

Emmanuel contributed an article on ancient Greek music (titled *Grèce* [*Art Greco-Romain*]) to the *Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du conservatoire,* compiled under the direction of Albert Lavignac (1846–1916).[94] The *Encyclopédie* comprises eleven volumes published between 1913 and 1931 and is divided into two parts: a global history of music organized according to various nationalities and ethnic groups; and a survey of techniques, aesthetics, and pedagogies. As the editor states in the foreword to the *Encyclopédie* (*Avertissement*):

> The goal of this considerable work, conceived on an absolutely new level and without any school bias, is to establish the state of musical knowledge at the beginning of the twentieth century.[95]

To execute this ambitious plan, more than one-hundred-and-thirty authorities from various countries and disciplines were commissioned to contribute articles. Many of these articles became popularized as definitive sources, leading the *Encyclopédie* to have a large impact on future generations of French composers. For example, Peter Asimov has demonstrated the influence that Joanny Grosset's (1862–1931) article on Indian music had on notable French composers (and Emmanuel affiliates) such as Olivier Messiaen (1908–1992), Albert Roussel (1869–1937), and Charles Tournemire (1870–1939).[97] Emmanuel himself drew from modes outlined in Grosset's article in his fourth *Sonatine* for piano, subtitled "*Sur des modes hindous*."[98] Without speculating on the politics of Emmanuel's involvement, his inclusion in the project

[94] The musicologist Lionel de la Laurencie (1861–1933) took over the project following Lavignac's death in 1916.
[95] "Le but de cet ouvrage considérable, conçu sur un plan absolument nouveau et sans parti pris d'école, est *de fixer l'état des connaissances musicales au début du vingtième siècle*." Albert Lavignac, *Encyclopédie de La Musique et Dictionnaire Du Conservatoire* (Delagrave, 1913), v.
[97] Asimov, "Comparative Philology," 122. Incidentally, Messiaen was a student of Emmanuel's at the *Conservatoire*.
[98] Asimov, "Comparative Philology," 226–32. As Asimov further demonstrates, Emmanuel also assimilates Grosset's study of "72 Carnatic Modes" into his own modal theories in an article titled *Le corps de l'Harmonie d'après Aristote*.

indicates a high degree of respect among his contemporaries for his authority on ancient Greek music.[99]

Emmanuel's *Grèce* article comprises a substantial 161 pages and consolidates the recent work of his mentors François-Auguste Gevaert (1828–1908) and Louis Havet (1849–1925), as well as Rudolf Westphal (1826–1892), Théodore Reinach (1860–1928), and Louis Laloy (1874–1944).[100] In lieu of a traditional historical account, Christophe Corbier notes that Emmanuel's self-professed aim in the *Grèce* article is to "furnish [modern composers] with usable materials, to help them transport into contemporary music [*notre art*] some of the methods employed in ancient Greek music [*l'Art antique*]."[101] Emmanuel does this by situating ancient Greek conceptions of mode and scale as the origins of a continuous tradition largely preserved in contemporary European art-music practices.[102] Notably, many of the concepts that Emmanuel broaches in the *Grèce* article form the foundation for his modal theories, as evidenced throughout the following two chapters of my thesis. In this section, I focus on a selection of topics that pertain to my analyses of his *XXX Chansons* arrangements: the origins of the diatonic scale, the *corps de l'harmonie*, the "modal fifth," and the double division of the octave.

***The diatonic scale.*** Emmanuel begins the first chapter of his *Grèce* article ("Hellenic Harmony in Popular Music") with an epigraph attributed to Plato (and translated into French):

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[99] Certainly, this authority would have been largely bolstered by Emmanuel's doctoral dissertation at the *Sorbonne* on ancient Greek dance (*La danse grecque antique d'après les monuments figurés*).
[100] Emmanuel, "Grèce (Art Gréco-Romain)," 377. Emmanuel claims to model his survey of pitch in ancient Greek music after Gevaert, especially.
[101] "Mon ambition est de leur fournir [mes confrères] des matériaux utilisables, de les aider à transporter dans notre art quelques-uns des moyens employés dans l'Art Antique, en un mot de faire servir l'archéologie musicale à l'enrichissement de notre domaine." Emmanuel, "Grèce (Art Greco-Romain)," 377. Quoted in Corbier, *Maurice Emmanuel*, 105.
[102] As we will see, Emmanuel's stance in this respect is particularly evident in his *Histoire de la langue musicale* (1911).

"the musical scale is consonance."[103] This telling quotation outlines one of Emmanuel's principal claims, namely that the diatonic scale in its "primitive," or "popular" (*vulgaire*) form is generated from just-intoned perfect consonances (octaves, fifths, and fourths). As Emmanuel demonstrates, a complete diatonic pitch set can be generated by stacking seven ascending perfect fifths (Figure 6). By alternating between ascending fifths and descending fourths (a process which amounts to octave displacement), these pitches can further be arranged as a heptatonic system. This method of devising the diatonic scale is typically associated with Pythagorean metaphysics, which privilege perfect consonances as expressions of a fundamental, cosmological order through the medium of numerical proportion. By reducing numerical quanta (such as the length of a vibrating string) to proportional ratios, the just intervals of an octave, fifth, and fourth express the fundamental relationships 2:1, 3:2, and 4:3, respectively (denoting the proportional relationship between two strings of greater and shorter length). These four constituent numbers (1, 2, 3, and 4) form the symbolic basis of Pythagorean numerology and thus delimit the scope of harmonic consonance and scale construction.[104]

[103] "L'échelle musicale est consonance." Emmanuel, "Grèce (Art Gréco-Romain)," 383. Unfortunately, Emmanuel does not cite his source.

[104] Thomas Mathiesen, "Greek Music Theory," in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Christensen, The Cambridge History of Music (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 115. For additional details on the symbolic importance of the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4 in Pythagorean philosophy, see Catherine Nolan, "Music Theory and Mathematics," in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Christensen, The Cambridge History of Music (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 273–4.

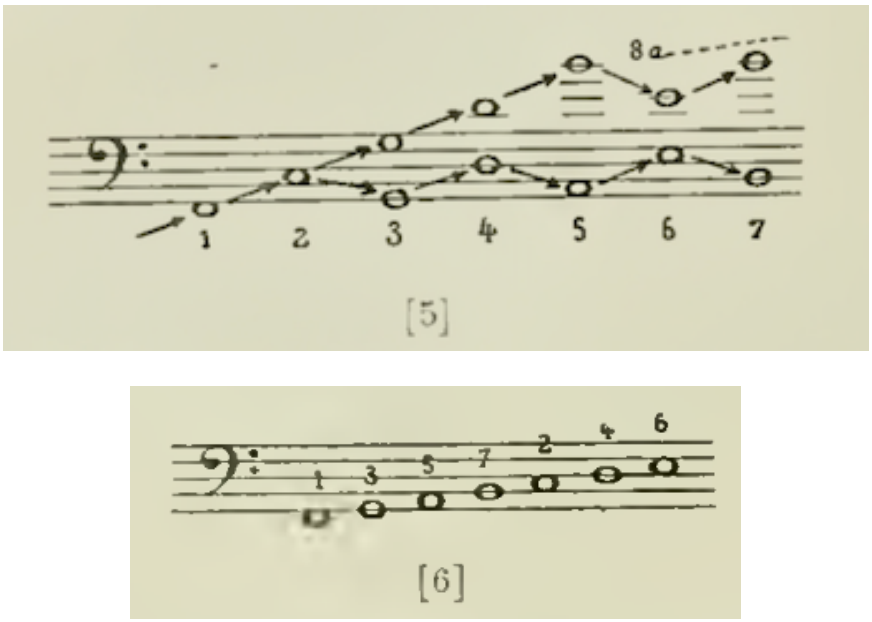


*Figure 6. Emmanuel's depiction of a diatonic scale generated from a series of ascending perfect fifths. As indicated, these fifths can be alternated with descending fourths to limit the series' range into a repeatable heptatonic pattern. The numbers in the bottom example correspond to each note's position in the series of fifths starting on an F, to align with the example above.*

Pythagorean intervallic ratios echo the relationship between partials in the harmonic series, a model Emmanuel uses as a "veritable mnemonic device" for the "arithmetic representation of successive musical intervals" by illustrating and numbering the first six partials in this series (Figure 7).[105] The intervallic relationships between partials 2 and 1 (octave), 3 and 2 (fifth), and 4 and 3 (fourth), correspond to those represented by the arithmetic ratios 2:1, 3:2, and 4:3. These lowest harmonic partials, which reflect the Pythagorean consonances, are most clearly discernable in relation to a fundamental tone; thus, the intervals they represent are easiest to calibrate by ear. Put another way, this acoustic dimension is important to Emmanuel, who claims that Pythagoras's legacy was to measure and express numerically a pre-existing, intuitive system:

[105] "Une telle figure est un véritable appareil mnémo-technique. Les numéros d'ordre des harmoniques fournissent en effet . . . la représentation arithmétique des intervalles musicaux successifs, dans l'ordre de leur génération harmonique." Emmanuel, "Grèce (Art Gréco-Romain)," 454.

> It so happened that in the sixth century [BCE], the musician-philosophers . . . discovered the 'diatonic' [genus], or, more precisely, they learned how to measure and explain it. For the *popular diatonic* was already ancient, and men had employed it for a long time . . . without knowing. [106]

He thus positions the Pythagorean diatonic scale as an acoustic experience, crystallized in ancient Greek folk practices and later rationalized by "musician-philosophers."[107]

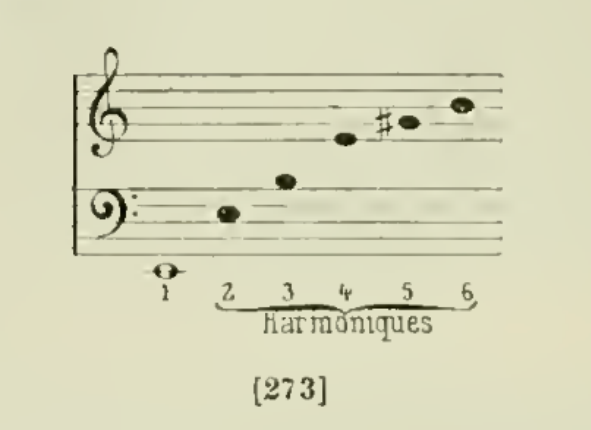


*Figure 7. Emmanuel's depiction of the harmonic series. The intervallic relationships between successive partials (marked 1, 2, 3, 4, etc.) mirror those represented in Pythagorean theory by arithmetic ratios (2:1 = octave, 3:2 = fifth, etc.)*

Emmanuel's hypothesis for the origins of the diatonic scale aligns with François-Auguste Gevaert's writings of this period. In *Les problèmes musicaux d'Aristote* (1903), Gevaert describes how stringed instruments such as the lyre and cithara were tuned in ancient Greece starting from the *mèse*, which is the "fourth ascending degree of the octave species" (somewhat equivalent to the subdominant in tonal theory). From this central node, instrumentalists could generate a complete diatonic octave species using only "a combination of the three primitive

[106] "Il arriva d'ailleurs que, des [sic] le VI[e] siècle, les philosophes-musiciens établirent avec une admirable clairvoyance une physique des sons qui reste, dans ses grandes lignes, inattaquable. Ils trouvèrent le "diatonique," ou, ce qui est plus exact, ils surent le mesurer et l'expliquer. Car le *diatonique vulgaire* était déjà vieux, et les hommes, depuis longtemps — comme M. Jourdain fit de la prose, — en usaient sans le savoir." Emmanuel, 383–4. Italics are in the original.

[107] "The Pythagoreans found themselves in the presence of a homophonic musical art established, as simply as can be—and, we could add, most logically—on a system of fifths, the ultimate generative interval to whose persuasive eloquence are subjected all "ears," across all eras and nations; by the series of perfect fifths (or their inverse, fourths), we indeed perceive all of the *universal* Diatonic." Emmanuel, 455. Italics are mine.

consonances"—in other words, perfect octaves, fifths, and fourths (Figure 8).[108] To ground his claims, Gevaert refers to a passage in Aristoxenus's *Harmonic Elements* on the tuning of "dissonant" intervals (a major third, in this context), in conjunction with a passage by Dio Chrysostom (ca. 40–115 CE), which specifies that all strings on a lyre should be tuned in accordance with the *mèse*.[109] He concludes that this process allows for the tuning of all pitches while bypassing the challenges of smaller, dissonant intervals:

> If practiced by a musician gifted with a discerning ear, this method of tuning infallibly produces, between the *mèse* and the other degrees of the scale, consonances of a fifth and a fourth, as well as diaphonies of a major third, minor third, and a tone, fully in accordance with Pythagorean ratios.[110]

In a footnote, Gevaert adds:

> This simple observation is enough to reveal the mistake of scholars who seem to believe that acoustic calculation could possibly have intervened in the practical determination of intervals in the [ancient] Greek scale. From time immemorial the role of scientific speculation has been to explain in a rational manner the intuitive operations of artists, but not to regulate art.[111]

Emmanuel's description of the "popular" diatonic thus echoes Gevaert's opinion concerning the precedence of practice over theory in the history of diatonic tuning systems.

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[108] François Auguste Gevaert and Johann Christoph Vollgraff, *Les Problèmes Musicaux d'Aristote* (A. Hoste, 1903), 188–9.

[109] Gevaert cites this passage from Aristoxenus: "the most exact tuning of a dissonant interval is that which is obtained by consonance. Thus starting from a given interval (say $A_2$), if we wish to determine the interval a major third below, we will rise a fourth ($D_3$), then descend a fifth ($G_2$), then again rise a fourth ($C_3$), and finally descend again by a fifth ($F_2$)." Gevaert and Vollgraff, 98–9 n. 7. Gevaert's reading of Aristoxenus is in turn taken from a 1652 publication of the *Harmonic Elements* in Greek and Latin by the Danish scholar Marcus Meibom (ca. 1630–1710), Marcus Meibom, *Antiquae musicae auctores septem. Graece et Latine.* (Amstelodami: Apud Ludovicum Elzevirium Amstelodami, 1652). The passage from Dio Chrysostom is cited in Gevaert and Vollgraff, *Les Problèmes Musicaux d'Aristote*, 188.

[110] "Cette méthode d'accordage, si elle est mise en oeuvre par un musicien doué d'une oreille juste, produira infailliblement, entre la *mèse* et les autres degrés de l'échelle, des consonances de quinte et de quarte, ainsi que des diaphonies de tierce majeure, de tierce mineure et de ton, toutes entièrement conformes aux rapports pythagoriques." Gevaert and Vollgraff, *Les Problèmes Musicaux d'Aristote*, 189.

[111] "Cette simple observation suffit à dévoiler l'erreur des savants qui semblent croire à la possibilité d'une intervention du calcul acoustique dans la détermination pratique des intervalles de l'échelle grecque. De tous temps le rôle de la science spéculative a consisté à expliquer d'une manière rationnelle les opérations intuitives des artistes, mais nullement à régenter l'art." Gevaert and Vollgraff, 188 n.1.

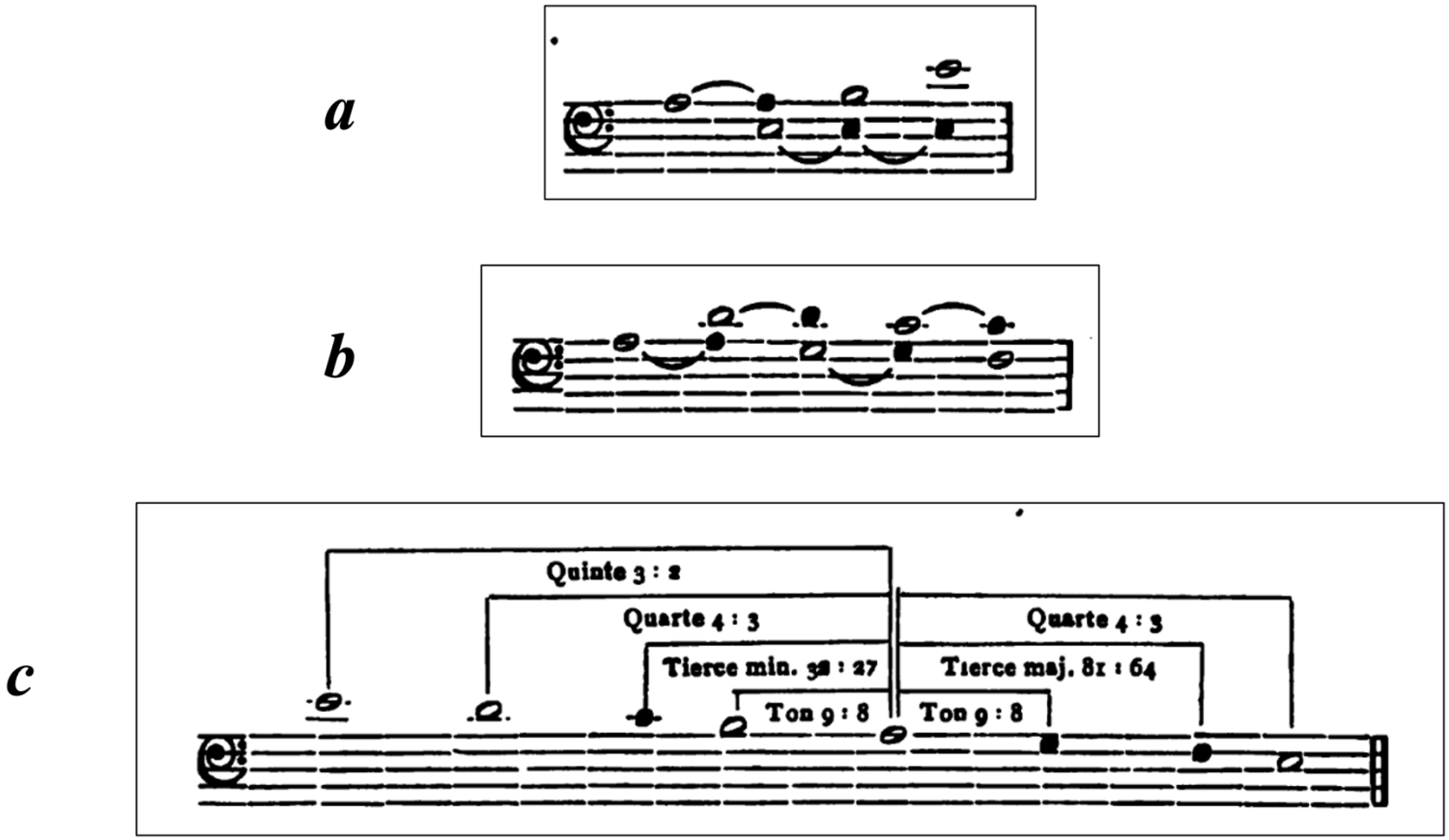


*Figure 8. Gevaert's illustrations of the Pythagorean diatonic scale as it may have been generated in practice, starting from the central "mèse" ("A" in this case). In Figure 8a, a descending fourth, ascending fifth, and an octave produce the pitches $E_3$, $B_3$, and $E_4$. In Figure 8b, ascending fourths and descending fifths produce the remaining pitches ($D_3$, $G_3$, $C_3$, and $F_3$). In Figure 8c, the resulting scale is outlined in full. Gevaert indicates arithmetic ratios for most of the intervals produced. As I will demonstrate in Chapter 3, the role of A and E as absolute pitches is significant in Emmanuel's discussions of mode.*

Further correspondences can be traced between Gevaert and Emmanuel's work. In his *Traité d'harmonie* (1905), Gevaert expands the Pythagorean diatonic system to develop a universalist theory of scalar generation:

> We have reserved the qualification perfect for the primitive and absolute consonances of the Octave, the Fifth, and the Fourth [sic], the generators of *all known musical scales*, and the only consonances which, still in our day, factor in the formation of a general system of musical sounds.[112]

To demonstrate this, he generates a chromatic series from double flats to double sharps with a series of thirty consecutive just-intoned fifths (Figure 9). Gevaert proceeds to rate scale types based on the proximity of their constituent pitches within this series of fifths. As we have seen, the pitches in a diatonic scale can be generated with a series of seven consecutive fifths. He designates this diatonic set as the "principal" (or "fundamental") scale, thus positioning a heptatonic system as the basic octave species.[113] Second is the chromatic scale, whose constituent pitches occur within a series of eleven perfect fifths. In the introduction to the *Grèce* article (*Avertissement*), Emmanuel lays bare his indebtedness to Gevaert's *Traité*:

> To organize this material coherently, I have drawn extensively on Gevaert's vast bibliography, whose various volumes constitute a monument of art and of singular erudition in the sphere of musical philology. . . . To this list [of notable texts] should be added . . . especially the *Traité d'Harmonie* (1907), in which concepts related to ancient Greek music [*l'art des Anciens*] are expressed throughout [*passim*], and in which traces of its [ancient Greek music's] survival in modern music are brought to light.[114]

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[112] "On a réservé la qualification de *parfaites* pour les consonances primitives et absolues d'Octave, de Quinte et de Quarte, *les génératrices de toutes les échelles musicales connues, et les seules consonances qui, de nos jours encore, interviennent dans la constitution du système général des sons musicaux."*. François Auguste Gevaert, *Traité d'harmonie Théorique et Pratique* (H. Lemoine & Cie, 1905), 4. French italics are in the original; italics in the English translation are my own.

[113] Second is the chromatic scale, whose constituent pitches occur within a series of eleven perfect fifths.

[114] Pour mettre les matières en ordre cohérent, j'ai abondamment puisé dans le grand ouvrage de Gevaert, dont les tomes divers constituent, en leur ensemble, un monument d'art et d'érudition unique dans la philologie musicale. . . . A [sic] cette liste il convient d'ajouter . . . le TRAITÉ D'HARMONIE (1907), ou se trouvent exprimées, *passim*, des idées relatives à l'art des Anciens, et où ses survivances dans l'art moderne sont mises en lumière." Emmanuel, "Grèce (Art Gréco-Romain)," 377, 377 n.1.

Tellingly, Emmanuel occasionally refers to the diatonic scale in his *Grèce* article as the "universal" diatonic. Both Gevaert's and Emmanuel's reciprocal theories of scalar generation thus demonstrate a faith in the diatonic genera as the expression of a primordial, universal order.

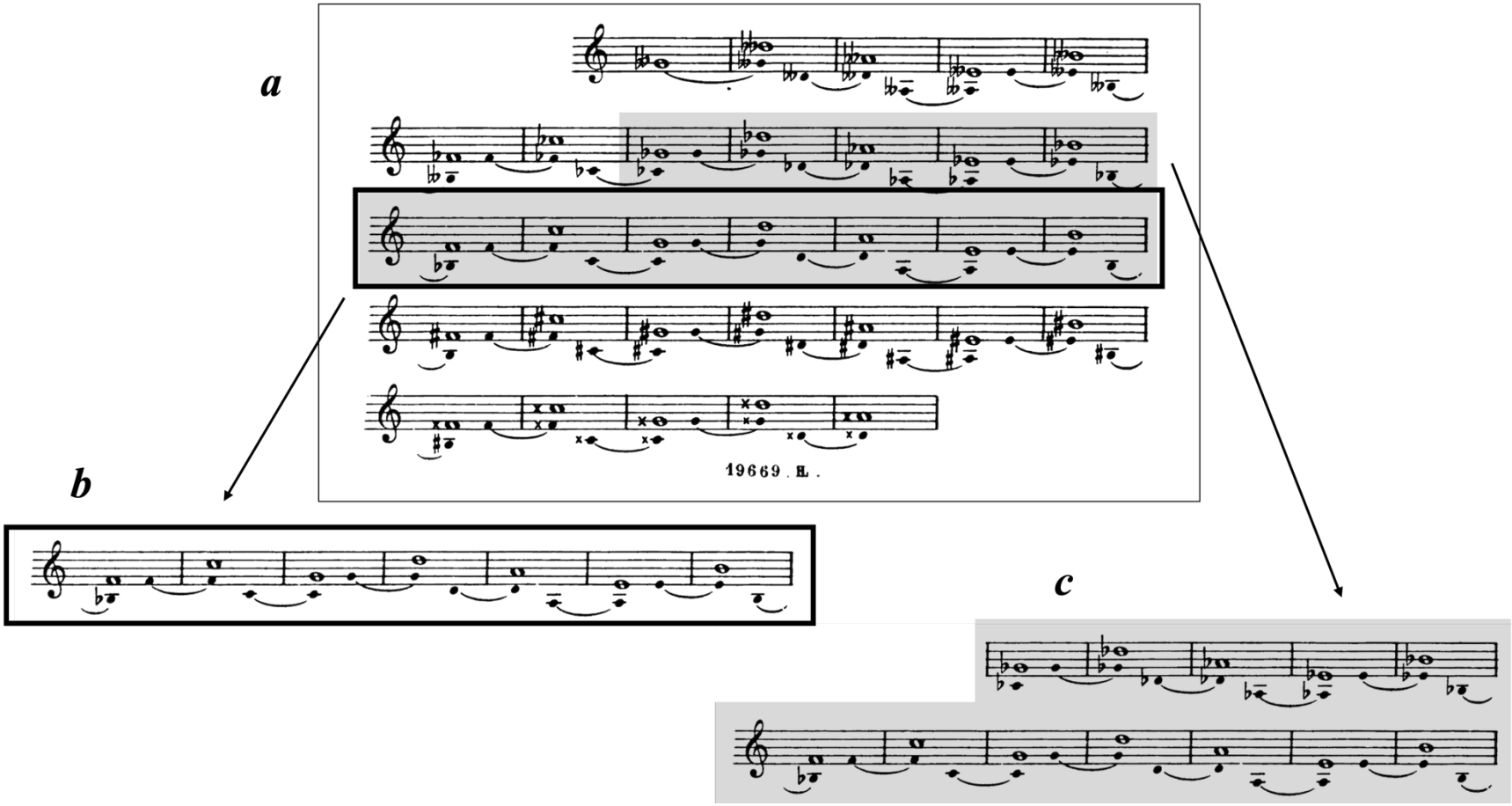


*Figure 9. Gevaert's complete series of perfect fifths. Like Emmanuel, he alternates between ascending fifths and descending fourths to produce all notes within an octave range. Gevaert intersperses suspended pitches with closed noteheads to demonstrate the generative interval of an ascending perfect fifth in all cases. Figure 9b corresponds to Emmanuel's illustration depiction the genesis of the "popular" diatonic scale (Figure 6). Figure 9c demonstrates Gevaert's "Pythagorean" chromatic, which he defines as more derivative due to requiring eleven consecutive fifths whereas the diatonic requires only seven.*

The question of precedence between theory and practice is central to Emmanuel's genetic narrative of the diatonic scale. A principal characteristic of Pythagorean tuning concerns the harmonic proportions of major and minor thirds generated by a series of perfect fifths. As we have seen from Gevaert's example (Figure 8), these thirds exhibit the complex arithmetic ratios 81:64 (major) and 32:27 (minor). Accordingly, they are both slightly wider (major) and narrower (minor) than the just-intonation thirds corresponding to the simpler ratios 5:4 and 6:5 (as evidenced in the harmonic series depicted above, Figure 7), and sound "out of tune" by contemporary standards.[115] Noting their fondness for simple numerical values, Emmanuel questions why Pythagorean theorists would employ such complex third relationships instead of the simpler iterations (5:4 and 6:5), of which they were undoubtedly aware:

> These musician-philosophers are equipped to construct "harmonic" scales containing exact major thirds. However, they obstinately refused to accept natural thirds as a factor in the construction of their diatonic scales. How to explain this proscription?[116]

By way of an answer, he leverages this conundrum as proof that popular practice preceded Pythagorean theory:

> We must simply consider the role of 'theorists' [*savants*] in music: they have and will only ever be the controllers, never the creators of scales. They exercise their science, enact their experiments, establish their methods only on the evidence of musical practice—that's all. The Pythagoreans found themselves in the presence of a homophonic musical art established, as simply as can be—and, we could add, most logically—on a system of fifths, the ultimate generative interval to whose persuasive eloquence are subjected all 'ears,' across all eras and nations; by the series of perfect fifths (or their inverse, fourths), we indeed perceive all of the *universal* Diatonic.[117]

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[115] Nolan, "Music Theory and Mathematics," 276.

[116] "Ces philosophes-musiciens sont armés pour construire des échelles 'harmoniques' ayant des tierces majeures exactes. Or, ils se sont obstinément refusés à accueillir les tierces naturelles comme facteurs dans la construction des échelles diatoniques. Comment expliquer cette proscription?" Emmanuel, "Grèce (Art Gréco-Romain)," 454.

[117] "Il ne faut pour cela que considérer le rôle des 'savants' en musique: ils ne furent et ne seront que les contrôleurs, jamais les créateurs des échelles. Sur les données de la pratique musicale ils exercent leur science, instituent leurs expériences, établissent leurs méthodes : c'est tout. Les Pythagoriciens se sont trouvés en présence d'un art musical homophone établi, le plus simplement du monde, et pourrait-on dire le plus logiquement, sur un système de quintes, intervalles générateurs par excellence, dont toutes les 'oreilles,' en tout temps et en tout pays, subissent l'éloquence persuasive : par la série des quintes justes (ou des quartes, leurs renversements), on voit apparaître en effet tous les sons du Diatonique universel." Emmanuel, 455. Italics are mine.

This is a bold claim. Although it is plausible to imagine "popular" origins for the diatonic scale, there is no reason that the relationship between theory and practice should be so unidirectional.[118] For Emmanuel's purposes, however, this question of theory versus practice—by way of superparticular ratios—allows him to situate Pythagorean theory as empirical evidence of a "universal," acoustic foundation for a purely fifths-based construction of the diatonic scale.

Emmanuel's argument for the popular origins of the Pythagorean tuning system is, however, not as conclusive as he suggests. Modern scholarship submits that ancient sources concerning "music" and "harmonics" do not necessarily conform to contemporary notions of music theory. For example, many extant sources on ancient Greek music (the oldest of which are dated ca. 4th century BCE, nearly two centuries after Pythagoras's death) are not largely concerned with the analysis of existing pieces of music, the art of composition, or performance practices.[119] The Pythagorean tradition in particular involves esoteric speculation guided by the metaphysical and symbolic significance of numerological formulae.[120] Indeed, Thomas J. Mathiesen states that "the employment of this [Pythagorean] harmonious structure in actual pieces of music was of decidedly secondary interest," and that the Pythagorean tradition "could not provide a way of addressing the observable phenomena of musical practice."[121] It is thus perhaps more likely that the Pythagorean diatonic excluded natural major and minor thirds as generative intervals based on the greater numerical significance of perfect consonances rather

[118] On the topic of mode, Harold Powers has noted that various modal theories have been applied retrospectively to existing practices on several occasions in the history of Western music, leading to changes in practice: "The notion of 'mode' has played a prominent part in Western musical thinking in three historical periods. In each case it was imported from another time or clime and applied to a musical repertory and musical practice already well established. . . . Subsequently the practice would begin to adjust, either to improve the fit, or in reaction to some novelty provided through the theory. In the end, the theory would be taken as governing the practice, and music would be produced to fit that theory." Harold S. Powers, "Modality as a European Cultural Construct," in *Secondo Convegno Europeo Di Analisi Musicale*, Studi e Testi (Trento: Università degli Studi, 1992), 208.
[119] Mathiesen, "Greek Music Theory," 112.
[120] Nolan, "Music Theory and Mathematics," 273.
[121] Mathiesen, "Greek Music Theory," 114, 117.

than the influence of popular practice. Further, alternative streams of ancient Greek theory (the "Harmonicist" and Aristoxenian traditions) concern themselves with "actual musical phenomena" and aspects of practice to varying degrees, deviating from Pythagorean doctrine in these regards.[122]

Emmanuel's genetic narrative outlining the development of diatonic scales in ancient Greece carries broader implications. By positioning perfect consonances as the "universal" generative intervals for the construction of scales, he advances a theory of the diatonic scale that does not privilege a single mode. As Figure 10 demonstrates, the arbitrary pitch "A" can generate seven diatonic scales, each comprising greater or fewer accidentals (spanning from four sharps to two flats, in this case).[123] Importantly, this "A" does not inherently specify the octave species; in Gevaert's example (Figure 8), the generative pitch "A" is the fourth degree (*mèse*) of a modern-day E Phrygian octave species. Similarly, several other diatonic scales and modes can be generated from a single pitch by following the series of fifths to a certain degree in either direction. This system of scale generation is thus theoretically non-hierarchical within the scope of the diatonic genus; any pitch implies seven equivalent heptatonic pitch sets by virtue of this serial, acoustic relationship.

[122] Mathiesen, "Greek Music Theory," 120.
[123] In Figure 10, I borrow neutral descriptors (4♯, 3♯, etc.) from Nathan Lam to reference diatonic scales without specifying pitch centricity. I also provide arbitrary modal designations (A Lydian, A Ionian, etc.) to demonstrate how these scale sets relate to parallel modes. For a more detailed explanation of these terminological distinctions, see Lam, "Relative Diatonic Modality," 13–4.

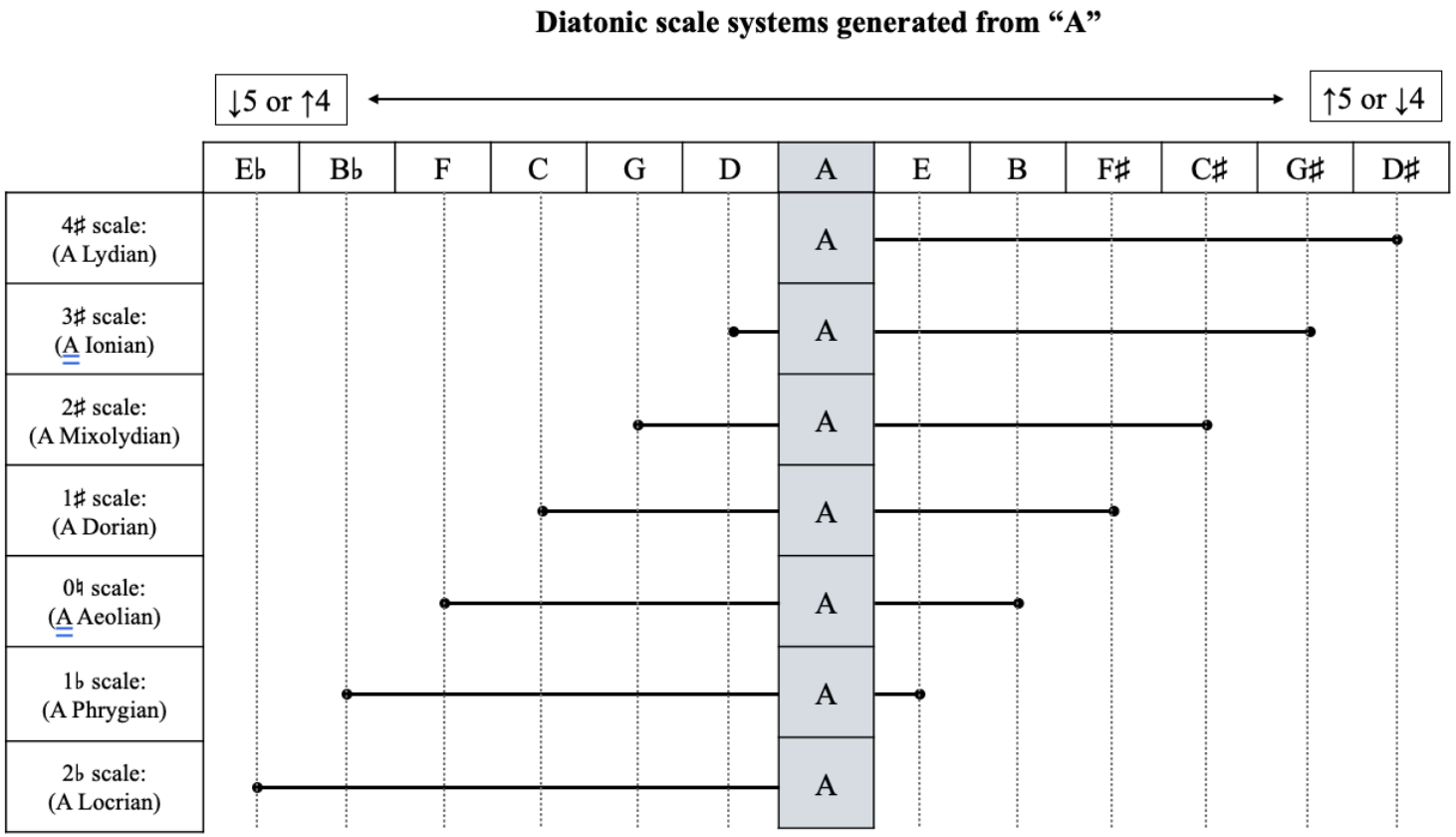


*Figure 10. This diagram indicates how seven diatonic scales relate along the series of fifths to a central, generative pitch ("A"). The neutral scale descriptors 4♯, 3♯ (etc.) indicate diatonic scales without specifying mode or tonal hierarchy. I have included modal designations with the fundamental "A" to demonstrate how these scales relate to the seven diatonic modes.*

***Excursus: Emmanuel, Fétis and Rameau***. Emmanuel's neo-Pythagorean theory of the diatonic scale in the Grèce article subverts aspects of traditional eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Francophone tonal theory. As previously discussed, François-Joseph Fétis expounds a theory of scale generation in his *Traité complet de la théorie et de la pratique de l'harmonie* (1844) based on human cognition and the perception of difference between pitches:

> The possibility of an infinite multitude of tones of different pitch in the production of sonorous phenomena cannot be placed in doubt. . . . In order to arrive at the formation of a scale of perceptible and measurable differences the intellect must choose sounds in which the intervals are appreciable, and neglect the intermediary ones.[124]

According to Fétis, neither the diatonic genus nor a series of perfect consonances are necessary for the development and appreciation of scalar relationships. While the relationship between harmony and scale in Emmanuel's theory is intrinsically related to the four lowest partials in the harmonic series (which generate perfect consonances), Fétis claims that harmony is simply the product of relationships between tones that are distinguishably different. In other words, Fétis positions harmony as a derivative of scale, whereas Emmanuel positions scale as a derivative of harmony.

Emmanuel's theory of scalar generation also opposes Fétis's proposed historical narrative. As we have seen, Emmanuel forms a genetic hypothesis for the construction of scales based on ancient Greek tuning practices and the acoustic relationship between a single pitch and intervals a perfect fifth or fourth away. From this perspective, he positions the diatonic scale as a primordial system of organization followed only later by more "refined" divisions of the octave. Although Emmanuel admits the need in polyphonic triad-based music for adjustments in tuning, he also criticizes attempts at alternative intervallic proportions in ancient Greek music (such as quartertones) as a decadent and ultimately destructive approach to scale construction:

[124] Fétis, *Complete Treatise*, lxii.

> They [professional musicians] refined sounds in the same way that rhetoricians refined words, resulting in the creation of an artificial language, which, though long-lived, bore the seeds of its own demise. They divided their tones into four parts—if only they had left it at that!—and . . . introduced fluctuations [in pitch] such that Plato professed the deepest contempt for those "butchers of strings" [*"tirailleurs de cordes"*].[125]

Conversely, Fétis claims that many ancient musical scale systems exhibit intervals smaller than a semitone (Indian, Persian) or larger than a tone (Chinese, Japanese) and do not relate to the diatonic system.[126] Starting with systems that contain intervals smaller than a tone, he describes the development of the diatonic genus as a process of rarefaction:

> The existence of the interval of a tone in music can only be comprehended therefore by the elimination of a multitude of smaller intervals, notably that of the semitone. If this last elimination takes place in the diatonic scale between certain determined tones and not elsewhere it is because these conditions respond to the needs of certain forms of art.[127]

Thus, Emmanuel's and Fétis's genetic narratives present the diatonic genre as the result of completely opposing historical processes.

Emmanuel's model of diatonic scale generation also runs counter to aspects of neo-Rameau-ian acoustic theories of tonality. As described above, Jean-Philippe Rameau intellectualized the common-practice major-minor tonal system as a network of acoustic relationships centred around a fundamental pitch (the tonic). The tonal implications of Rameau's triple geometric progression rests on the harmonic relationship between three triads related by a series of fifths and, especially, the gravitational relationship between tonic and dominant seventh harmonies. Like Rameau, Emmanuel builds his theory of scalar generation and diatonic modality on acoustic foundations; the primary difference, however, is that Emmanuel situates the perfect

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[125] "Ceux-ci raffinèrent sur les sons, comme les rhéteurs subtilisaient avec les mots, et ils aboutirent à la création d'un langage sonore artificiel, qui, s'il eut une longue fortune, portait en lui les germes de sa mort. Ils coupèrent leurs sons en quatre, — heureux s'ils s'en étaient tenus là ! — et, tout en conservant aux quintes dominatrices le droit de régenter les parties stables de l'échelle, ils introduisirent dans leurs gammes des fluctuations telles que Platon professa le plus profond mépris pour ces 'tirailleurs de cordes.'" Emmanuel, "Grèce (Art Gréco-Romain)," 377–8.
[126] Fétis, *Complete Treatise*, lviii–lix.
[127] Fétis, *Complete Treatise,* lxii.

fifth as a fundamental harmonic structure dissociated from a single tonic, whereas Rameau's "harmonic generation" is always beholden to a fundamental and its associated *corps sonore*. By limiting the terms of melodic generation to the perfect fifth (3:2), Emmanuel offers a "modal" alternative to dominant acoustic theories of tonality reliant on a stable tonic as triad and fundamental.

Emmanuel critiques acoustic theories of tonality formed around the major triad directly in his article *La polymodie*. Therein, he demonstrates his knowledge of Rameau and his influence by presenting a simplified account of tonal relationships as a constellation of major triads related by a series of perfect fifths (*Figure 11*). Much like his narrative account of scale construction in ancient Greece, Emmanuel leans on this theoretical model to fabricate a genetic history of common-practice tonality:

> This operation was effectively instinctive the day when (around the thirteenth century) the seeds of polyphony revealed the charm and true role of natural major thirds . . .. Everything happened as though the ears of the first harmonicists [*harmonistes*], limited in their perceptions to the first partials of the harmonic series, had only perceived "major" phenomena. Hence the importance once accorded to the [major] mode, which appears to sum these up most adequately. But this was too narrow an interpretation of complex [acoustic] phenomena.[128]

Having put forward this critique of pre-dualist tonal theory, he appeals to historical evidence of modal diversity and, particularly, the predominance of minor modes in ancient Greek practices and liturgical chant.[129] Finally, he offers an aesthetic argument for the plurality of mode:

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[128] "Cette opération, elle fut comme instinctive le jour où (XIII[e] siècle environ) les ébauches de la polyphonie ayant fait percevoir le charme et le rôle vrai • des tierces majeures naturelles . . .. Tout s'est passé comme si l'oreille des premiers harmonistes, limitée dans ses perceptions aux premiers termes de la série résonnante, n'avait entendu que des phénomènes « majeurs ». De là l'importance autrefois concédée au mode qui paraît les mieux résumer. Mais c'était là, des phénomènes compliqués, une interprétation trop étroite." Emmanuel, "La polymodie," 200. However, Emmanuel traces this "operation" back to the thirteenth century, alongside the beginnings of polyphony and triadic harmony.

[129] It is sufficient to note this modal variety; this predilection for minor modes [*échelles mineurs*]; Antiquity's legacy of the four fundamentals E, F, G, A to the Middle Ages; the late addition in liturgical practice [*l'art liturgique*] and the songs of Trouvères (around the tenth century), of modes built on the fundamentals D and C; finally, the use of ancient Greek and medieval modes in European folk music, to undermine belief in the dogma of the lone modern Major [mode], flanked by a so-called *relative* pseudo-Minor [mode]." Emmanuel, "La polymodie," 202.

> The advantage that a free musician possesses in drawing from a variety of variable modes [*échelles modales*], and to make use of this polymodality [*polymodie*] as he pleases, is comparable to the use a painter can make of the colours in his palette. Each artist has his own preferred colours and nuances; we do not need to hold him accountable for the choices that he makes and imposes on us arbitrarily.

Thus, by 1928, Emmanuel largely eschews acoustic arguments altogether in favour of a Fétis-ian intuitive theory of scale type and artistic liberty.

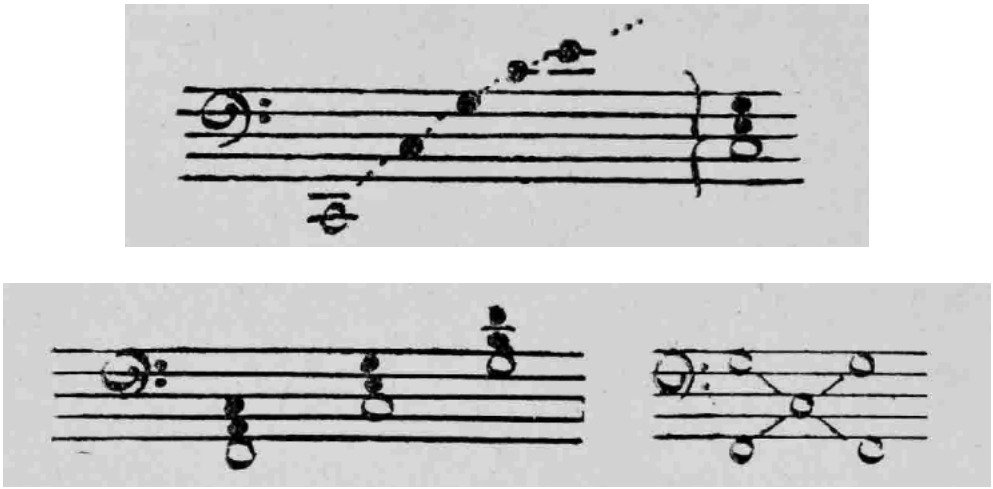

*Figure 11. Diagrams provided by Emmanuel that correspond conceptually with Rameau's tonal theory of mode. The first example (above) demonstrates how a major triad can be derived from the first five partials in the harmonic series. The second example (below) demonstrates how three major triads related by a series of fifths constitute a diatonic pitch set. By nature of their quintal relationship, the outer (first and third) triads share a subdominant and dominant relationship with the central, "tonic" triad.*

***Le corps de l'harmonie***. One significant avenue for overlap between Emmanuel's modal conceptions derived from ancient Greek theory and Rameau's tonal theory involves the relationship between three consecutive perfect fifths. As we have seen, Emmanuel's premise for the generation of the "popular" diatonic scale conforms to a tuning system described by Gevaert in *Les problèmes musicaux d'Aristote*, comprising a series of fifths generated from the *mèse* (scale degree $\hat{4}$). In his discussion of scalar generation, Emmanuel isolates the first three pitches in this series and describes them as "*le corps de l'harmonie*" (citing Aristotle), which I translate roughly as the "harmonic framework." These three pitches share the same polar relationship as

Rameau's triple geometric progression; in other words, the first and third pitches ($\hat{4}$ and $\hat{5}$, respectively) are equidistant by a fifth (or fourth) from the central, second pitch ($\hat{1}$). But the similarities stop there. When Emmanuel arranges these pitches within an octave, he doubles the second pitch at the octave generating a four-note octave-species framework spanning from E to E (*Figure 12*). The original series of fifths is thus replaced by two disjointed quartal structures (indicated with brackets).

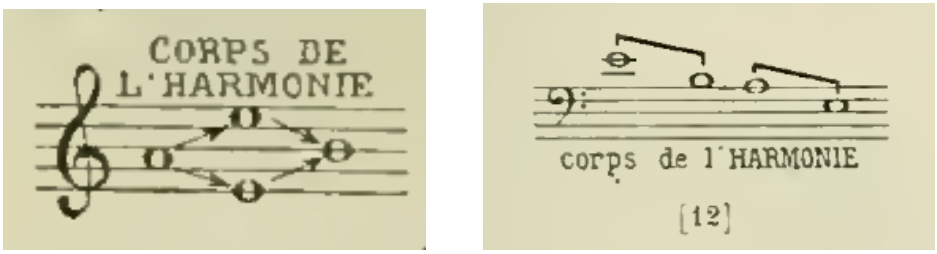


*Figure 12. Two of Emmanuel's depictions of the "corps de l'harmonie" in his Grèce article. The first diagram (left) depicts the generation of the corps from a series of fifths starting on A. The second diagram demonstrates how the central pitch E (doubled at the octave) can be re-arranged as a modal fundamental. In the resulting octave species (E–E), the first and third pitches in the series (A and B) occupy central positions, equidistant from the outlying Es. The quintal relationship between E and the equidistant pitches A and B is inverted into a disjointed quartal structure, which Emmanuel marks with brackets.*

In his *Grèce* article, Emmanuel situates the *corps de l'harmonie* as the fundamental structure that underlies all pitch-set organization in ancient Greek music:

> These four pitches constitute the fixed, essential skeleton of the musical scale. . . . [Even] when the [ancient ] Greeks subjected their scales to the strangest deformations, they decreed the harmonic framework [*corps de l'harmonie*] immutable and appointed it guardian of the fundamental consonances.[130]

This is reflected in his model for the construction of the "popular" diatonic scale, in which the *corps* forms the first stage of the generative process (Figure 13). According to Emmanuel, the

[130] "Ces quatre sons constituent l'ossature fixe, essentielle, de l'échelle musicale. . . . Lorsque les Grecs faisaient subir à leurs gammes les plus étranges déformations, ils décrétaient immuable le Corps de l'Harmonie et le constituaient gardien des consonances fondamentales." Emmanuel, "Grèce (Art Gréco-Romain)," 385.

resulting descending E-E octave species (which he refers to as *mode de mi*, *Dorien*, or *Doristi*) is the principal form of melodic organization in ancient Greek music. He attributes this mode's predominance largely to ethnic ("popular") origins:

> The masters of music [*l'art*] based their instruction on the only sonic model to which they [the ancient Greeks] assigned a truly national origin; and to this Dorian mode that was their equivalent of our major scale, they assigned pre-eminence. . . . All theories of *sounds*, of *intervals*, of *modes*, of *tones*, of *nuances*, had as a primary application this 'indigenous' mode [*gamme*] to which the others were but satellites.[131]

Thus, the *corps* that Emmanuel associates with this *Doristi* octave species (E, A, B, E) forms a fixed reference point throughout his discussion of mode in ancient Greek music.

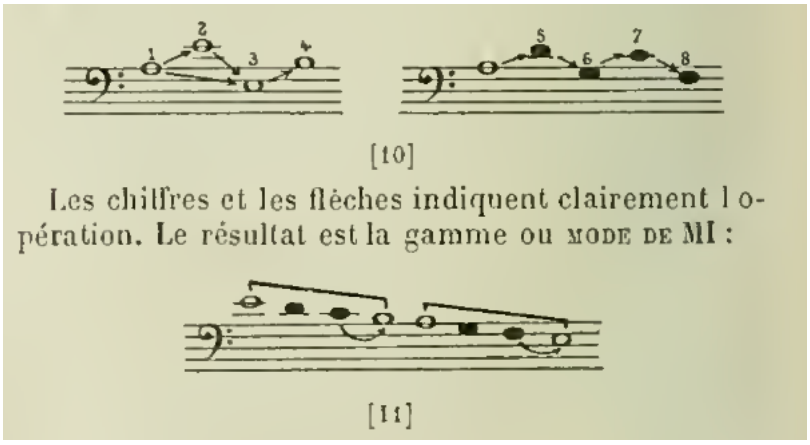


*Figure 13. Emmanuel's model for the generation of the "Doristi" mode in ancient Greece. The "corps de l'harmonie" comprises the first three notes (A, E, and B), marked with open noteheads. When Emmanuel illustrates the resulting mode in descending order, he maintains this notation.*

[131] "Pour assurer à leur doctrine à la fois fixité et durée, les maitres de l'art prirent pour base de leur enseignement la seule formule sonore à laquelle ils assignaient une origine vraiment nationale ; et à ce Mode Dorien qui fut pour eux l'équivalent de notre gamme majeur, ils attribuèrent la prééminence. . . . Toute théorie des *sons*, des *intervalles*, des *modes*, des *tons*, des *nuances*, eut pour application première cette gamme 'indigène' dont les autres n'étaient que les satellites." Emmanuel, 383. Italics are in the original. Emmanuel's term *Doristi* should not be confused with the modern term Dorian. Many French-language scholars adopted this archaic nomenclature in the nineteenth century, although it does not align with standard contemporary terminology. In modern contexts, Emmanuel generally avoids confusion by referring to octave species according to their fundamentals—in this case, the mode in question is *mode de mi*.

The similarity between the *corps de l'harmonie* and Rameau's tonic, subdominant, and dominant model is not lost on Emmanuel. He makes note of this "coincidence," demonstrating how the common-practice E major mode conforms to the same "harmonic framework" as the ancient Greek *Doristi* mode (Figure 14). However, Emmanuel's *corps* differs fundamentally from Rameau's *corps sonore* because he does not ascribe triadic functions to any of the three generative pitches. Whereas Rameau's harmonic generation implies a functional relationship between tonic, subdominant, and dominant triads and their associated leading-tone modulations, the *corps de l'harmonie* is a structural principal that regulates modal hierarchies independent of tonal connotations.

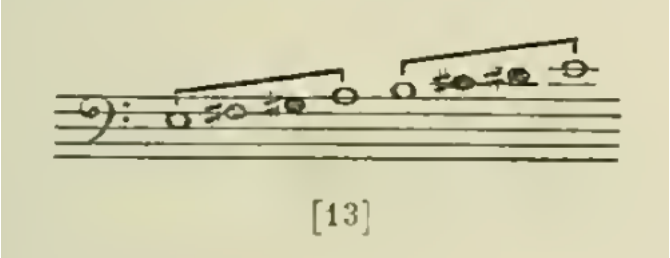


*Figure 14. Emmanuel's depiction in the* Grèce *article of the common-practice major mode as a series of two disjunct tetrachords delimited by the same* corps de l'harmonie *as the ancient Greek* Doristi *mode (E-A-B-E).*

***The* corps *divided: Emmanuel's "modal fifth" and the* "*double division" of the octave.***

As I suggest above, Emmanuel's theory of diatonic scale generation based on consecutive fifths is inherently non-hierarchical; in other words, all pitches in an intervallic series share the same relationship with all neighbouring pitches. The *corps de l'harmonie* reintroduces pitch hierarchy into this model by assigning priority to the degrees $\hat{1}$, $\hat{4}$, and $\hat{5}$ (and the "fundamental" harmonies [perfect fifths] they represent) across all octave species. However, the two remaining generative intervals of a fifth that constitute the *corps* (A-E and E-B, for example) retain this element of ambiguity. Emmanuel refers to these constituent intervals as "modal fifths" (*quintes modales*)

and situates the bottom note of each as a potential fundamental (Figure 15).[132] The *corps de l'harmonie* thus encompasses two dispositions of the modal octave, which Emmanuel distinguishes according to their respective fundamental—*Doristi-mi* and *Doristi-la*, for example (in Figures 11 and 12, he refers to them idiosyncratically as *Doristi I and Doristi II*). This "double division" of the *corps* introduces a modular element to Emmanuel's modal theory whereby these dual fifths can articulate plagal and authentic modal colours.

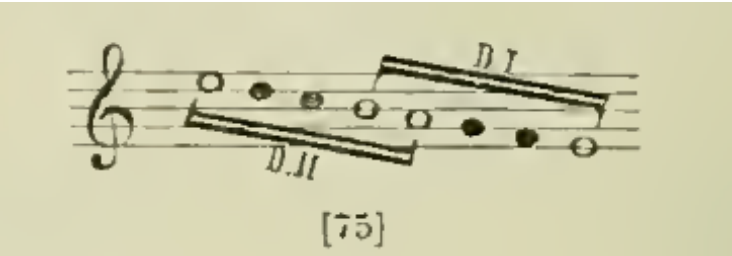


*Figure 15. Emmanuel's illustration of the two possible dispositions of the* Doristi *mode. He indicates the two modal fifths (A-E and E-B) with double brackets.*

[132] Emmanuel, "Grèce (Art Greco-Romain)," 394.

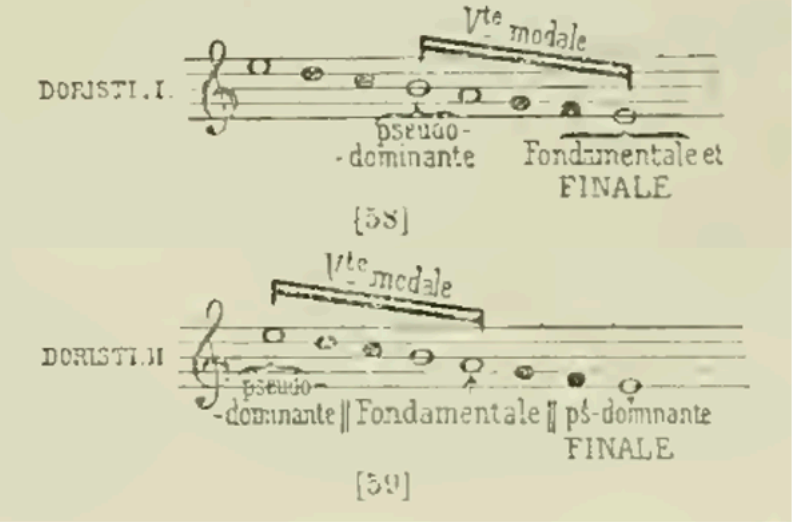


*Figure 16. Another illustration of Emmanuel's "double division" in the* Grèce *article. Here, he separates the two dispositions into distinct octave-species categories. Emmanuel marks the two modal fifths again with brackets and the designation* "Vte modale." *Here, the modular structural function of Emmanuel's modal fifth is in evidence: the bottom note of the fifth in each case is marked* fondamentale (*and the top note* pseudo-dominante, *as the fifth degree above the fundamental).*

***Histoire de la langue musicale* (1911)**

At the turn of the twentieth century, the study of music was still an emerging field at the academic level in France. Early French musicologists developed academic credibility and distinction by borrowing methodologies from linguistics and the established discipline of philology. Courses in music history were only introduced at the *Conservatoire* in 1871 and the term "musicology" crystallized in Francophone literature around 1898–9, when the early music scholar Pierre Aubry (1874–1910) referred to it as "the collected disciplines of musical science . . . concerning history and musical philology."[133] A chair of music history was conceived at the *Collège de France* with Emmanuel in mind in 1898, but the idea was temporarily rejected when

[133] "L'ensemble des diverses manifestations de la sciencce musicale [. . .] relatives à l'histoire et à la philologie musicale." Pierre Aubry, *La musicologie médiévale*, 1900, quoted in John Haines, "Généalogies Musicologiques. Aux Origines d'une Science de La Musique Vers 1900," *Acta Musicologica* 73, no. 1 (2001): 21.

the renowned chemist Marcellin Berthelot (1827–1907) refused to allow music into the curriculum.[134] Unfortunately for Emmanuel, his colleague Jules Combarieu (1859–1916) obtained the post when it was finally instated in 1904.[135] Prior to these developments, musically-inclined Francophone scholars such as Emmanuel, Combarieu, Romain Rolland (1866–1944), and Louis Laloy (1874–1944) trained primarily with the philologists Louis Havet (1849–1925), Gaston Paris (1839–1903), and Michel Bréal (1832–1915) among others at the *Sorbonne* and the *Collège de France*.[136] Linguistic and philological models thus resonate strongly in early French musicological work, including Emmanuel's writings on mode.

Emmanuel conspicuously titles his monumental history of Western music *Histoire de la langue musicale* ("History of the Musical Language"). As Christophe Corbier points out, Emmanuel intentionally modelled this work on the philologist Ferdinand Brunot's influential *Histoire de la langue française* ("History of the French Language"), the first volume of which was published six years prior.[137] As Emmanuel's evocative title suggests, Lilianne Doukhan claims that his *Histoire* was the first work of its kind to apply a strict philological approach to the study of music history:

> He conducted the lines of his investigation on the musical language very much in the way a linguist would study the history of a language, focusing his interest on signs (notation), vocabulary (modes and scales, rhythm), grammar (intervals), syntax (polyphony), and form.[138]

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[134] Carlson, "Maurice Emmanuel," 13; Corbier, *Maurice Emmanuel*, 58, 74–5. Berthelot reputedly stated that he would leave the *Collège* if the trombones entered its door ("il quitterait le Collège si les trombones y entraient!"). Corbier claims that it is Marcellin's son André Berthelot (1862–1938) who objects but does not provide evidence. Carlson cites an unpublished account of the story by Emmanuel's son Frank.
[135] Corbier, *Maurice Emmanuel*, 74–5. Combarieu was the first scholar of Emmanuel's generation to produce a doctoral thesis in music from the *Sorbonne* in 1894, titled *Les Rapports de la Poésie et de la Musique*.
[136] Louis Havet (1849–1925), Gaston Paris (1839–1903), and Michel Bréal (1832–1915).
[137] Corbier, *Maurice Emmanuel*. Brunot was an amateur ethnographer, collecting hurdy-gurdies and bagpipes in the Berry region. See Charles-Dominique, "Traditional Music and Its Ethnomusicological Study," 246.
[138] Lilianne Doukhan, "The Music of the Middle Ages in Selected French Music Histories at the Turn of the 20th Century (1895-1915): A Comparative and Critical Study," (PhD diss., Michigan State University, 1996), 58.

Although Doukhan's comparisons provide a useful insight into Emmanuel's methods, the relationship between many of these parameters is tenuous. This is partly due to the instability of certain musical terms. The term "mode" in music has accommodated many theoretical models for the organization of pitch both cross-historically and -culturally. In linguistic terms, a mode-as-scale model corresponds more closely to the paradigmatic function of vocabulary, in which one mode may substitute for another as a scalar system. Conversely, a mode-as-melody model is tied to grammatical and syntactical functions, where modal inflections are equivalent to rhetorical devices (such as leading-tone chromaticisms). Yet, even the restricted mode-as-scale definition bears grammatical and syntactical implications in musical practice, so that different modes are perhaps more akin to different languages altogether—an analogy that Emmanuel applies in *Mes avatars* (reproduced in Chapter 1).[139] More specifically, each diatonic mode offers a slightly shifted perspective of a single system of pitch organization (the diatonic tetrachord), as if syllables in the English language could be systematically rotated to form ubiquitously coherent words.[140]

In the *Histoire*, Emmanuel largely applies the music-language parallel metaphorically, referring to changes in musical practice as the evolution of a "sonorous language."[141] In particular, he focuses on the diatonic modes as pillars of the Western musical language to highlight a continuity from ancient Greek practices to the present day. Importantly, he categorizes both "successive" (melodic) and "simultaneous" (chordal) pitch content as "harmony":

[139] Emmanuel, "Mes Avatars," 37.
[140] The analogy between music and language breaks down when considering "closed and symmetrical systems of music-theoretical categories," such as the diatonic genera that have predominated in Western music for millennia. See Powers, "Modality as a European Cultural Construct," 215.
[141] Emmanuel, *Histoire de La Langue Musicale*, 4.

> In fact, it is according to the stages of Harmony that I organize the divisions of this work. . . . The genesis and transformation of Scales and Chords provide firm markers, the clearest that we can establish; and that is the domain of Harmony—which, simply *melodic* and *successive* for the Ancients [Greeks], became for the Moderns the science of organizing *simultaneous* sounds.[142]

In a chapter titled *L'"Harmonie" Hellénique*, Emmanuel further elaborates: "*Harmony = Mode*. A Harmony is, in the language of the Athenians, a melodic scale specified according to the position of characteristic intervals in each of its tetrachords."[143] By appealing to the etymology of the word "harmony," Emmanuel's rhetorical conflation of these two meanings (ancient and modern) positions mode and scale at the origins of harmonic practice. This gesture bears strong implications in the context of Emmanuel's oeuvre; by associating the concept of harmony with mode (and scale, more broadly), he distances the association of harmony with function and replaces it with colour.

Emmanuel divides Western music history into two periods: antiquity (ancient Greece to the end of the Middle Ages) and modernity (Renaissance to the present day). He distinguishes each period according to the predominance of one particular diatonic mode; antiquity is ruled by a descending minor mode with a lowered second (the *Doristi* mode), modernity by an ascending major mode (Figure 17). As Figure 17 demonstrates, there is a symmetrical relationship between these two modes: in the "antique" descending mode, the semitones in each diatonic tetrachord (the four-note groupings marked with brackets) resolve downwards; in the ascending example, they resolve upwards.[144] As evinced in my discussion of his *Grèce* article, the distinction

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[142] "C'est en effet sur les étapes de l'Harmonie que je fonds les divisions de cet ouvrage. . . . La genèse et les transformations des Echelles [sic] et des Accords fournissent des repères sûrs, les plus clairs que l'on puisse fixer; et c'est là le domaine de l'Harmonie, qui, simplement *mélodique* et *successive* chez les Anciens, est devenue chez les Modernes la science de l'agencement des sons *simultanés*." Emmanuel, 4.

[143] "*L'Harmonie* [= *le Mode*]. — Une Harmonie est, dans la langue des Athéniens, une échelle mélodique spécifiée par la place qu'occupent les intervalles caractéristiques, dans chacun de ses tétracordes." Emmanuel, 75.

[144] In a tonal context, the F in the bottom example would of courses naturally resolve downwards to E. However, Emmanuel is making general observations about the general character of these modes according to their constituent tetrachords.

between a diatonic model founded on the ascending leading tone and its associated pitch hierarchies, and alternative models that subvert this leading-tone relationship is very important to Emmanuel:

> This return [in modern music] to the ancient modes proves that today's melodies have a tendency to orient themselves downwards, which is a renewal. After the "sprawling" period where the Dorian mode established its characteristics, neither ascending nor descending, the Ionian mode appeared to have definitely imposed on musicians an ascending trajectory, which has been paramount for several centuries. And now our musicians refuse to suffer its demands any longer. They reserve the right to avoid it, and once more, to turn the scale upside down. In any case, they are not afraid to shake it.[145]

Emmanuel consequently reframes the vicissitudes of diatonic practice as melodic and *directional*, and the history of European art music as a battle for supremacy between these two competing models. Notably, Emmanuel is keen to indicate that the descending *Doristi* mode admits greater modal freedom than the ascending major mode:

> [The ancient Greeks] would treat with disdain our ascending major mode [*ut ré mi fa sol la si ut*], which they would deem tyrannical. Their *Doristi* was more liberal; it admitted subordinate modes, whereas our major mode is an absolute autocrat.[146]

Thus, once again, Emmanuel employs historical models to promote an image of diatonicism in direct contrast to common-practice theory.

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[145] "Ce retour aux anciens modes prouve que les mélodies ont de nos jours unde tendance à s'orienter vers le grave; ce qui est un recommencement. Après la période « étale » où *Ré* avait installé ses formules, ni ascendantes ni descendantes, UT paraissait avoir définitivement imposé aux musiciens la direction vers l'aigu, qui prime depuis plusieurs siècles. Et voici que nos artistes se refusent à subir plus longtemps ces exigences. Ils se réservent le droit d'y échapper, et une fois de plus, de retourner l'échelle. En tout cas, ils ne se font pas faute de la secouer." Emmanuel, *Histoire de La Langue Musicale*, 622.

[146] "Et ils traiteraient avec dédian notre *ut ré mi fa sol la si ut*, qu'ils jugeraient tyrannique. Leur Doristi était plus libérale : elle admettait des modes suffragants, tandis que notre UT MAJEUR est un autocrate, absolu." Emmanuel, 107.

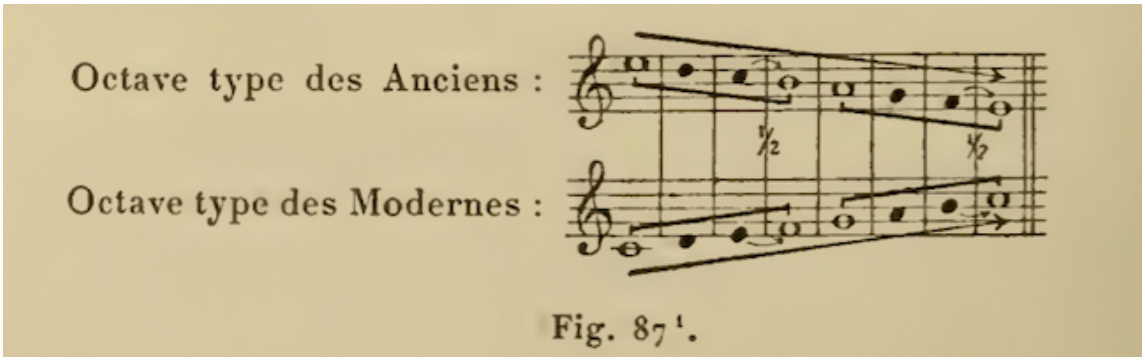


*Figure 17. Emmanuel's diagram of the characteristic modes of antiquity and the modern era, respectively. This diagram demonstrates the inverted symmetrical relationship between these two modes.*

***Traité de l'accompagnement modal des psaumes* (1913)**

In 1913, Emmanuel published his *Traité de l'accompagnement modal des psaumes*, the last of his "three large [musicological] works."[147] The origins of the *Traité* can be traced to his turbulent stint as *maître de chapelle* at the *Sainte-Clotilde* Basilica in Paris between 1904 and 1907.[148] With the support of his friend René Moissenet, Emmanuel was offered the post at *Sainte-Clotilde* and asked to reform the church's liturgical practices in conformance with Pope Pius X's *Motu Proprio* issued the previous year.[149] In reaction against the perceived infiltration of "profanity" into the church service, principal reforms outlined by Pius X included a respect for liturgical texts (no alterations), restrictions on the use of instruments (and solo roles, in particular), and the celebration of Gregorian chant as "the supreme model of sacred music." [150]

[147] Corbier, *Maurice Emmanuel*, 111.
[148] Corbier, 111. Indeed, Emmanuel approaches the topic of chant accompaniment with incendiary language: "[François-Auguste] Gevaert, if death had not torn him from his many occupations too soon, intended to speak out and mercilessly put [liturgical] "accompanists" on trial. A precious letter from him in which he tells me of his plans makes it my duty, now that he is no more, to go to war in his place." Emmanuel, *Traité*, 3–4.
[149] Corbier, *Maurice Emmanuel*, 84.
[150] Excerpts from the *Motu Proprio* are taken from a French translation in Aurélie Decourt, "Maurice Emmanuel, Maître de Chapelle à Sainte-Clotilde (1904–1907): La Tentative de Réformer La Musique Religieuse et La Question Du Plain-Chant.," *L'orgue: Bulletin Des Amis de l'Orgue*, no. 278–279 (2007): 65–66. The original Latin text can be found on the Vatican's website: Pius X, "Motu Proprio: Inter plurimas pastoralis officii sollicitudines," 1903,

By all accounts, Emmanuel's overzealous attitude towards this task led to friction between himself, the clergy, and the parishioners.[151] Despite the *Motu Proprio*, popular taste among the aristocratic parishioners at *Saint-Clotilde* remained in favour of more "worldly" repertoires. For example, Emmanuel balks in 1905 at being requested to programme Saint-Saëns's instrumental *Prélude* from *Le Déluge* (1875) (which includes a solo violin passage) for a wedding service:

> It is the fourth time that the violin returns. The situation is clear: all manners of frippery are being reintroduced at weddings. I am determined to prepare Palestrina's *Missa brevis* for Christmas and not to worry about weddings. Let Father Gardey do as he pleases.[152]

Unlike Emmanuel, the clergy seemingly wished to adopt a more flexible attitude towards the *Motu Proprio*.[153] As Decourt notes, parishioners were eager to pay for the performance of popular nineteenth-century works; thus, large-scale concerts at weddings and funerals were key funding opportunities for the church.[154]

Christophe Corbier interprets the *Traité* as an airing of grievances on Emmanuel's part in response to his experiences at *Sainte-Clotilde*.[155] Indeed, Emmanuel does not disguise his acrimony towards the average clergyman and parishioner in his introductory *Avertissement*:

> The label "*Maître de Chapelle*" is an illusion; none is less master than he of the fate of his chapel . . .. He is not even free to impose silence or discretion on the choir organist. Church audiences, like their clergy, cannot do without the whirring of the "sixteen-footers" [organs] nor harmonic twaddle.[156]

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https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-x/it/motu_proprio/documents/hf_p-x_motu-proprio_19031122_sollecitudini.html.

[151] These tensions are described in detail in Decourt, "Maurice Emmanuel, Maître de Chapelle." See also Corbier, *Maurice Emmanuel*, 81–87.

[152] "C'est la quatrième fois que le violon revient. L'affaire est claire : tout le bataclan se réinstalle aux mariages. Je suis décidé à préparer Noël (*Missa brevis* de Palestrina) et à ne pas m'occuper des mariages. Que le père Gardey fasse ce qu'il voudra." Excerpt of a letter from Emmanuel to Camille Bellaigue on November 4, 1905, reproduced in Decourt, "Maurice Emmanuel, Maître de Chapelle," 75. Uncoincidentally, Emmanuel dedicates his *Traité de l'accompagnement modal des psaumes* to Bellaigue.

[153] Decourt, "Maurice Emmanuel, Maître de Chapelle," 75. In the same letter (quoted above), Emmanuel blames the abbot, who apparently told him that "the Pope has no business meddling in music."

[154] Decourt, "Maurice Emmanuel, Maître de Chapelle," 75–76.

[155] Corbier, *Maurice Emmanuel*, 111. Corbier goes so far as to refer to the *Traité* as a "work of propaganda."

[156] "L'étiquette 'Maître de Chapelle' est un leurre; nul n'est moins maître que lui des destinées de sa chapelle . . .. Il n'est pas même libre d'imposer à l'organiste de chœur le silence ou la discrétion. Le public des églises, comme son

For the purposes of the *Traité*, Emmanuel focuses his critique of liturgical practices on the tradition of devising accompaniments for Gregorian chant. Anxieties in France concerning the infiltration of modern *tonalité* into chant practices can be traced back to the codification of "tonality" itself in the early nineteenth century.[157] By 1857, the chant reformers Louis Niedermeyer and Joseph d'Ortigue had published a treatise on the "modal" accompaniment of liturgical chant informed by "the great polyphonic vocal music of the sixteenth century—especially that of Palestrina."[158] In Emmanuel's time, some conservative scholars (including Emmanuel's mentor François-Auguste Gevaert) held the more rigid opinion that chant should not be accompanied at all.[159] In the *Avertissement*, Emmanuel cautiously aligns himself with Gevaert's stance, stating that "plain chant needs no accompaniment."[160] Nevertheless, he justifies his *Traité* as a liturgical tool on the tenuous basis that psalmody alone "tolerates the activity of his [the organist's] talent as a harmonicist and 'disenchanter' [*déchanteur*]." In an odd rhetorical twist, Emmanuel also blames his work on the clergy by arguing that appropriate accompaniment methods are a necessary evil: "since this profanity [chant accompaniment] imposed by the clergy is inevitable, it is best to dress it [chant] up with some decency."

clergé, ne sauraient se passer du ronflement 'des seize-pieds' ni de la fadaise des accords." Emmanuel, *Traité*, 5. Specific excerpt borrowed from Corbier, *Maurice Emmanuel*, 111.

[157] "Already in 1811 he [Alexandre Choron] diagnosed the problem: most of the editions of chant used by singers, he scolded, mixed 'modern' modes with the older, authentic, 'primordial' modes. The result was the 'horrible mutilation' of the greatest number of chants. . . . But undoubtedly the most obvious and egregious examples of modern tonality infecting the singing and practice of chant in the century can be seen in the many organ accompaniments that were written out and prescribed by pedagogues. Adolph Jacques Claude Miné, an organist at Saint-Roch . . . produced ready-to-use accompaniments for novice organists whose harmonic syntax no one would confuse with medieval modality." Christensen, *Stories of Tonality*, 31–33.

[158] Christensen, 59–60; Niedermeyer and d'Ortigue, *Traité théorique et pratique*.

[159] "In my opinion, all reforms in the execution of plain chant should commence with the suppression of polyphonic accompaniment—a practice that was introduced fairly recently. I must reproach myself for having ignored this principle for too long and continued to promote such a practice in various publications." François Auguste Gevaert, *La Mélopée Antique Dans Le Chant de l'église Latine* (A. Hoste, 1895), 125 n.1. My translation. The original French version is reproduced in Emmanuel, *Traité*, 3.

[160] "Le plain chant ne doit pas être accompagné." Emmanuel, *Traité*, 2.

The purpose of Emmanuel's *Traité* is perhaps not as singular or devoid of personal interest as his *Avertissement* would suggest. Although the *Traité* is ostensibly aimed at improving liturgical practice, Xavier Bisaro points out that it provides relatively little material of practical use for students of chant accompaniment:

> The first half [of the *Traité*] (chapters I to III) is dedicated to a historic-theoretical exposé justifying the author's preferred system of modal classification. Despite its musicological foundations, this approach totally blurs the reference points of Gregorian discourse. . . . Chapters VI to VIII are scarcely more closely related to titular matter than the first chapters, since they are devoted to yet another exposition of the author's historical theories, the improvisation of organ verses, and the accompaniment of "secular melodies.[161]

Instead, the *Traité* largely constitutes another outlet for Emmanuel to disseminate his cross-historical theories of mode—theories that overtly relate to his own self-consciously modal compositions.[162] Importantly for this thesis, Emmanuel devotes the final chapter of his *Traité* ("Modal accompaniment of secular melodies") to non-liturgical medieval repertoires, which he refers to as "*folkloric* melodies."[163] These examples, strategically located at the end of the *Traité*, "secularize" modal practices outlined in the *Traité* by extending their reach beyond sacred

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[161] "Sa première moitié (chapitres I à III) est dédiée à un exposé historico-théorique justifiant la classification modale privilégiée par l'auteur. Nonobstant ses fondements musicologiques, celle-ci brouille totalement les repères élémentaires de la culture grégorienne. . . . Les chapitres VI à VIII sont à peine plus reliés au titre du livre que les premiers, puisqu'ils sont consacrés à un nouvel exposé des théories historiques de l'auteur, à l'improvisation des versets d'orgue et, pour finir, à l'accompagnement des 'mélodies profanes.'" Xavier Bisaro, "Le Traité de l'Accommpagnement Modal des Psaumes de Maurice Emmanuel," in *L'enseignement de Maurice Emmanuel: musique, histoire, éducation*, ed. Christophe Corbier and Sylvie Douche (Sampzon, France: Éditions Delatour France, 2020), 118. Consequently, Bisaro (citing Emmanuel himself) notes that the *Traité* has had little lasting impact within the rich discursive field of contemporaneous Francophone chant reform and liturgical method books: "If the ambition of the author of a treatise is to diffuse personal theories and, consequently, to have an impact on the realities of practice, one might just as well say that the publication of Maurice Emmanuel's *Traité de l'accompagnement modal des psaumes* in 1913 was a failure." Bisaro, "Le Traité," 113–14. The letter in question is from Emmanuel to Charles Koechlin: "Once more I am determined to stop preaching the obvious and to consider as stillborn the *Traité de l'accompagnement des psaumes,* in which I tried to identify the only regions of the [liturgical] service where chords can be used. Neither I nor Gevaert have been able to convince anyone!" See Corbier, *Maurice Emmanuel: Lettres Choisies*, 425–26.

[162] Notably, Emmanuel self-avowedly returned to a "modal" style of composition in 1907 with the publication of his *Sonate pour clarinette, flûte et piano*, Op. 11 in B ♭ Lydian). For a modal analysis of this sonata, see Gonnard, *La Musique Modale*, 216–22.

[163] Maurice Emmanuel, *Traité*, 198.

repertoire. Further, Emmanuel's use of the term "folkloric" collapses historical boundaries by drawing a connection between medieval repertoires in the *Traité* and contemporary *chansons populaires*; thus, *XXX Chansons* picks up conceptually where the *Traité* leaves off. Chronological overlap between the publication of the *Traité* in 1913 and Emmanuel's work on *XXX Chansons* further suggests a strong association between the two works.[164]

Emmanuel's principal aim in the *Traité* is to put forward an appropriately "modal" method of chant harmonization:

> I have tried above all to respect the modal character of the scales: that is the essential task. If the mode is firmly established in the listener's mind, one can clad them [liturgical melodies] in a liberal harmonization without qualms, provided it is done with taste.[165]

This premise affords him the opportunity to concretize historicist aesthetic tenets put forward in his *Histoire de la langue musicale* and *Grèce* article. To this end, he leans heavily on his studies of ancient Greek modes, believing they hold the key to a proper understanding and interpretation of cross-historical modal repertoires:

> After having reflected on the profound, organic differences between music's [*l'art*] homophonic (Antiquity and the Middle Ages) and polyphonic (Modern Era) periods, I bridged the two and was forced, in simplified language—sometimes excessively so—to unite the one with the other, in practice. And the link, thanks to a communal foundation, was largely furnished by the music of the [ancient] Greeks. This music has the capacity to elucidate many subsequent complications: read Gevaert's la *Mélopée antique*. . . . *Hellenic modality reveals the origins of medieval scales, and, consequently, teaches us how they must be treated*.[166]

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[164] Although Emmanuel did not publish XXX Chansons until 1917, certain clues indicate that both works were finished around 1913. Six of the XXX Chansons arrangements were premiered at the *Cercle Artistique et Littéraire* on February 27, 1913, "Maurice Emmanuel: Catalogue," Les Amis de Maurice Emmanuel, n.d., accessed May 21, 2024, http://mauriceemmanuel.fr/periode/1910-1919/. Further, Emmanuel dates the introductory Étude in XXX Chansons "May 1914," suggesting that he had perhaps finished all arrangements at this point, Emmanuel, *XXX Chansons Bourguignonnes Du Pays de Beaune: Précédées d'une Étude Historique [Thirty Burgundian Songs from the Beaune Region: Preceded by a Historical Study]*, xx.

[165] "J'ai cherché avant tout à respecter le caractère modal des échelles : c'est là l'essentiel. Si le MODE est solidement installé dans l'entendement de l'auditeur, on peut sans scrupule, pourvu que ce soit avec goût, lui donner un revêtement harmonique assez libre." Emmanuel, *Traité*, 10.

[166] Après avoir rappelé les différences profondes, organiques, qui règnent entre la période homophone (Antiquité et Moyen Age) et la période polyphone (Époque moderne) de l'art, j'ai jeté des ponts de l'une à l'autre et me suis efforcé, en un langage simplifié, — à l'excès parfois, — d'unir celle-ci à celle-là, dans la pratique. Et le lien, grâce à la communauté des assises, a pu en grande part être fourni par la musique des Grecs. Celle-ci demeure capable

In this respect, Emmanuel positions his work as an extension of Gevaert's *La mélopée antique dans le chant de l'église latine* (1895), in which the latter "seeks to show, by a detailed analysis of the Antiphonaria, that the antiphons still in daily use admit of an easy classification and distribution among the ancient 'modes.'"[167]

The bulk of Emmanuel's method of accompaniment (outlined in chapters IV and V of the *Traité*) relates to his modal analyses of Gregorian chants. Locating the modal fundamental is of primary importance to Emmanuel's analytical system, although this determination can be surprisingly ambiguous in some cases. Besides the fundamental, Emmanuel takes many characteristics into account: the modal *final* (which occurs at the end of the piece), the melodic *ambitus*; "iterative tones" (whether psalm-tone *tenors*, or otherwise); "terminal," or "resting" tones (which occur at the end of phrases); the role of B♭ as a modulatory device; and the "melodic contour" (*pente mélodique*), particularly as it relates to cadential gestures.[168] According to Emmanuel, all of these characteristics in conjunction exhibit a latent "essential" harmony that is crucial to appropriate accompaniment decisions in a modal context.[169]

One particularly vague aspect of Emmanuel's method for the "harmonic" analysis of monophonic chant is a category that he refers to as "melodic elements." From an example in his *Traité*, it appears as though this category relates largely to melodic contour.[170] In combination with other analytical categories (ambitus, iterative tones, and resting tones), Emmanuel thus

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d'élucider maint problème postérieur : lisez, de Gevaert, la "Mélopée Antique." . . . La modalité hellénique découvre, à qui l'aborde, l'origine des échelles médiévales et enseigne, par là même, quel traitement doit leur être appliqué." Emmanuel, 8–9. Italics are mine.

[167] H. Stuart Jones, "Gevaert on Ancient Music and Plain-Song," *The Classical Review* 10, no. 1 (1896): 70, accessed May 20, 2024, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0009840X00203211.

[168] Emmanuel, *Traité*, 47–51.

[169] Emmanuel, *Traité*, 98–100.

[170] Emmanuel, *Traité*, 99.

appears to deduce "latent" harmony from three principal forms of melodic accent: registral (ambitus and melodic contour), repetitive (iterative tones), and durational (resting tones).[171] In Emmanuel's example (Figure 18), the top line is a melody transcribed from the *Graduale Romanum*, and the bottom line indicates pitches that Emmanuel has isolated as representatives of the melody's "latent" (horizontal) harmony.

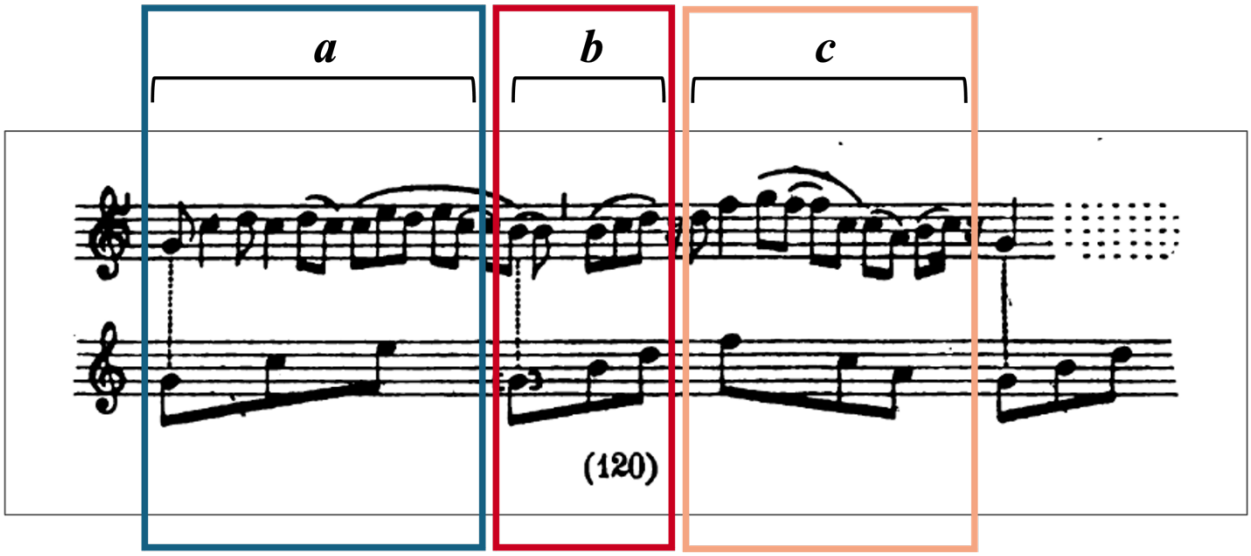


*Figure 18. Emmanuel's example in the Traité to illustrate his method of deducing "essential" (or "latent") harmonies according to "melodic elements" (taken from the "Introit" for the third Sunday after Epiphany). Unfortunately, he does not explain his process in any more detail than to reiterate that the given melody "suggests" the arpeggiated triads below. For the purposes of my own analysis. I have divided the passage into three sections (labeled "a," "b," and "c").*

Emmanuel's method of harmonic analysis isolates triadic structures from a monophonic texture. Accordingly, I have divided the passage in Figure 18 into three sections dictated by the placement of these triads, labeled *a*, *b,* and *c*. In section *a*, the pitches G and E constitute the local ambitus and thus express a registral, "harmonic" accent. Meanwhile, the note C is most

[171] "In the summary analyses that will follow, presented on one stave, there will figure next to the *ambitus*, the *iterative tones*, and the *resting tones* [*repos*], something I will call the *essential harmony*, which is pulled from the *melodic elements* of the antiphon and from indications furnished by the iterative and resting tones, all of which are interpreted in accordance with the demands of the recognized mode [*échelle modale*]." Emmanuel, 98–9. Some italics have been added for emphasis.

often repeated; in conjunction, these three accented pitches reflect the C major triad Emmanuel isolates in his analysis. The note D also occurs frequently within this phrase (it is the second-most repeated note, following C); however, it is not represented in Emmanuel's harmonic analysis. Despite this repetitive accent on D, its exclusion is likely related to durational and melodic considerations; the first two Ds operate as neighbour tones to the durationally accented C; the second as a neighbour tone to the upper registral boundary E.

In section *b*, Emmanuel takes a greater liberty in his analysis by inferring harmonic relationships that exceed the written material. He interprets the first note B as a harmonic auxiliary of the *initial* G in section *a*, which remains the low-register boundary throughout the entire passage (in conjunction with the *final* G). He illustrates this connection by tracing a dotted line between the first and second Gs in his harmonic analysis and their corresponding melodic pitches (G and B, respectively). Emmanuel's analysis reflects the consideration that the phrases *a* and *b* constitute one continuous melodic line; thus, the initial pitch in phrase *a* (G) continues to regulate harmonic content by underpinning the B in phrase *b* (the third degree in a G major triad). Although this maneuver produces a convincing harmonic model, it also reveals the need for creative interpretation on Emmanuel's part to arrange plainchant into a coherent triadic framework. By appealing to melodic continuity as a harmonic device ("latent" harmony), Emmanuel ironically exposes his triadic designations as arbitrary divisions of a continuous melodic line. Nevertheless, the triads that he derives from this analytical process provide him with "essential harmonies" for the given chant and appear as a harmonic template for the authentic (*normal*) *mode de Sol* in his *Traité*.[172]

[172] Emmanuel, *Traité*, 107.

It is not entirely clear what Emmanuel is trying to convey in his *Traité* by analyzing and presenting these "essential harmonies." Henri Gonnard interprets the examples provided as harmonic archetypes representing the modes that Emmanuel associates with each given melody (Figure 19):

> Indeed, the author [Emmanuel] presents the 'essential harmony' for each of these modes by drawing in each case from a liturgical melody conforming to the mode in question. However, we notice that the proposed harmonies are not simply inflections of tonal equivalents applied to these modes, but that they stem from each modes' individual characteristics; in other words, they take into account characteristic notes in each case, corresponding with [Emmanuel's] 'desire to use only modal resources.'[173]

Gonnard's reasoning is sound insofar as Emmanuel's examples of "essential harmonies" foreground triads containing notes that are "characteristic" of each mode (in other words, notes that distinguish them from the common-practice major and minor modes).[174] Although Gonnard does not mention it explicitly, he seems also to consider an implicit syntactical component inherent to Emmanuel's approach, whereby each progression expresses a cadential resolution from a polar harmony to tonic:

> The 'tonal' $\hat{5}$ harmony [*cinquième degré 'tonal'*] thus occurs—among other harmonies—only in the Aeolian mode [*mode de la*]: in each case it is indeed the crucial notes [*notes clés*]—notably F [$\flat\hat{2}$] in E Phrygian [*mode de* mi] and B [$\#\hat{4}$] in F Lydian [*mode de fa*] that generate the appropriate harmonies.[175]

However, Emmanuel does not address syntactical considerations in the *Traité*, nor does he explicitly suggest that these "essential" harmonies are universally applicable outside of their

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[173] "En effet, l'auteur présente 'l'harmonie essentielle' de chacun de ces modes en s'appuyant à chaque fois sur une mélodie liturgique du mode en question. Or, on constate que les harmonies proposées ne sont pas le simple décalque d'harmonies tonales appliquées aux modes, mais qu'elles sont issues de la spécificité même de ces derniers; autrement dit, elles tiennent compte des notes clés de chacun d'eux, conformément à 'la volonté de n'user que des ressources modales.'" Gonnard, *La Musique Modale*, 71–72.

[174] Thus, the F major triad in the *mode de mi* example foregrounds ♭2, the same triad in the *mode de sol* example foregrounds ♭7, the A minor triad in the *mode de la (sur ré)* example contains ♭7, and the G major triad in the *mode de fa* example contains ♯4. Importantly for Gonnard, there also occurs only one case where an "essential" harmony is built on $\hat{5}$ ("the 'tonal' fifth degree").

[175] Gonnard, *La Musique Modale*, 72.

melodic contexts. Instead, Emmanuel's examples are presented on a case-by-case basis and address a range of modal sub-categories (*Doristi-la*, *mode de sol intense*, etc.) that exceed the generic octave-species examples that Gonnard singles out (Figure 20).

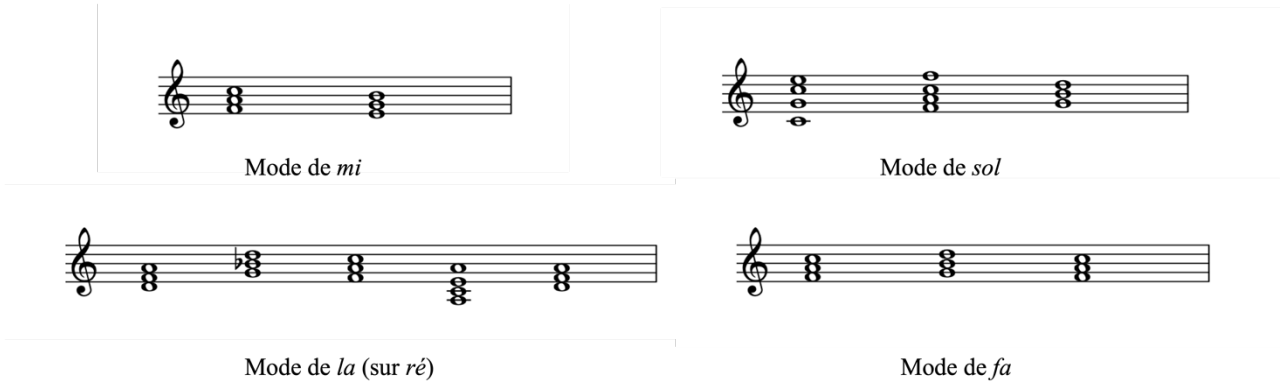
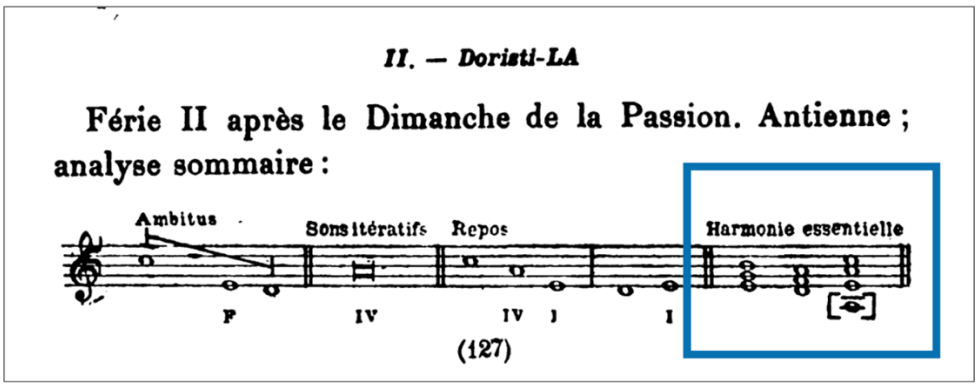



*Figure 19. My transcription of a figure created by Henri Gonnard, consolidating examples of "essential harmonies" in Emmanuel's* Traité *drawn from his analyses of liturgical chants.*[176]

[176] Gonnard, *La Musique Modale*, 72.

*a*




*b*

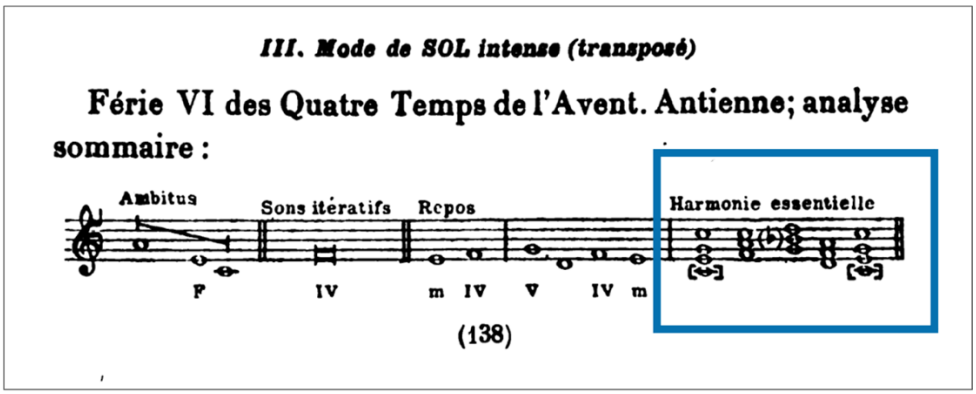



*Figure 20. Two examples of Emmanuel's modal analyses in the* Traité *that complicate an archetypal interpretation of his "essential harmonies" in relation to generic octave-species modal categories. Figure 20a shows Emmanuel's essential harmonies derived from a melody that he categorizes as "Doristi-la." Figure 20b shows essential harmonies derived from a melody that he categorizes as "Mode de sol intense." Note that the essential harmonies differ considerably from the Gonnard examples that denote corresponding octave species ("mi" [E-E] and "sol" [G-G], bearing in mind that the "mode de sol intense" example is transposed to C).*

## Chapter Three: *XXX Chansons Bourguignonnes*

Emmanuel's *XXX Chansons Bourguignonnes du Pays de Beaune, Op. 15* (1917) is much more than a collection of folk-song arrangements. As Chapter One of this thesis illustrates, literate *chansons populaires* collections formed a distinct musicological tradition in France tied to a variety of intellectual concerns. Far from disguising these associations, Emmanuel deliberately presents *XXX Chansons* as a work of scholarship as much as a musical score. To start, his title refers to existing discursive threads. The sum of thirty songs relates *XXX Chansons* to two folk-song collections published by Emmanuel's history professor at the *Conservatoire* Louis-Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray: *Trente mélodies populaires de Grèce & d'Orient* (1877) and *Trente mélodies populaires de Basse-Bretagne* (1885).[177] Following Bourgault-Ducoudray, Emmanuel also outlines his research and compositional methods (which are founded on perceived links between folk song and historical art-music practices) in a scholarly introduction to the arrangements. In addition, he dedicates *XXX Chansons* to the musicologist Julien Tiersot (1857–1936), whose anthology of folk songs *Mélodies populaires des provinces de France* (1888–1928) reflects a republican desire to unite regional cultures under a national banner.[178] Finally, *XXX Chansons* is an expansion of *Patois et Locutions du Pays de Beaune* (1891)—an ethnographic dictionary of Burgundian dialect, terminology, and folklore that Emmanuel

[177] Emmanuel had only transcribed twenty-six songs with Bigarne. The remaining four songs were communicated by other acquaintances, and it is likely that Emmanuel added them to the collection to align his work symbolically with Bourgault's.

[178] For an outline of Tiersot's republican approach to *chansons populaires*, see Ellis, *French Musical Life,* 270–71. Ironically, Tiersot propounded a history of music theory that situated the origins of common-practice tonality in folk practices (a hypothesis that is fundamentally opposed to Emmanuel's efforts in *XXX Chansons* to promote diatonic modality). See Christensen, *Stories of Tonality*, 146–48. Emmanuel's dedication to Tiersot thus constitutes a thinly-veiled discursive rebuttal; indeed, Emmanuel later confided in a private letter that he had dedicated the collection to Tiersot in "protest against his ignorance." Corbier, *Maurice Emmanuel: Lettres choisies*, 533. Emmanuel recounts this story in a 1934 letter to the composer Charles Koechlin in response to an article published by Tiersot in which he refutes Bourgault-Ducoudray's theories (and Emmanuel's, by extension) concerning the evolution of modern tonality and the influence of ancient Greek modes. See Emmanuel, *Lettres Choisies*, 531 n.140.

collaborated on with his friend Charles Bigarne (1825–1911) in the 1880s.[179] Together, the richness of these associations invites a multi-dimensional analysis.

In this chapter, I explore the relationship between Emmanuel's *XXX Chansons* arrangements and his writings on mode outlined in Chapter Two. First, I examine the substantial front matter, which forms a musicological tract in keeping with Emmanuel's scholarly corpus. Then, I provide a gloss on key analytical features that connect Emmanuel's arrangements to fundamental concepts in his writings concerning historical art- and folk-music practices in Europe.

## Front matter: the *Étude*, the *Commentaire*, the *Classification*, and the *Avis*

### The *Étude*

The front matter to *XXX Chansons* comprises four sections: a study of the songs (*Étude sur les chansons bourguignonnes du pays de Beaune*), additional commentary (*Commentaire des chansons*), classification tables (*Classification des chansons*), and notes specific to performance (*Avis pour l'exécution*). In the *Étude*, Emmanuel balances two forms of authority to support his transcriptions and arrangements: experiential, and academic. He often expresses his experiential authority as a native familiarity with Burgundian culture, history, and geography. This mode of posturing draws on rhetorical tropes associated with *chanson populaire* collections, such as allusions to a utopian French past "uncorrupted by foreign influences."[180] For example, Emmanuel begins the *Étude* by recounting a journey on foot from Paris to Burgundy. This seemingly benign narrative device affords him a platform to signal both a personal connection to

[179] Charles Bigarne, *Patois & Locutions Du Pays de Beaune: Contes & Légendes; Chants Populaires, Paroles et Musique* (Beaune, France: Batault, 1891).
[180] Revuluri, "French Folk Songs and the Invention of History," 249.

the land (by interjecting vivid descriptions of the shifting landscape) and historical references such as Vercingétorix (82–46 BC) and the Gallic Wars (58–50 BC).[181] Elsewhere, Emmanuel celebrates his collaborator Charles Bigarne as "one of the last and most perfect Burgundians of Beaune. . . . All the life of *our Burgundy*, all of its sap oozed from his speech and gestures."[182] By designating Bigarne as a "perfect Burgundian of Beaune," Emmanuel covertly positions himself as an authority on Burgundian culture. Meanwhile, the statements "one of the last" and "our Burgundy" situate Bigarne and Emmanuel as exemplars and preservers of a dying regional tradition.

Emmanuel's experiential narrative also comprises his work with Bigarne in the early 1880s, transcribing twenty-six of the thirty songs that he would later publish in *XXX Chansons*. He recounts "correcting" certain notes to suit the norms of common-practice tonality while transcribing Bigarne's monophonic renditions.[183] If we are to trust Emmanuel's recollections, Bigarne's performance of the *Complainte de Notre-Dame* (IV) was in E phrygian (*mode de Mi*)—a mode whose pitch content corresponds to the descending minor scale with a lowered second degree.[184] In his original transcription of this song, Emmanuel raised all second and ascending-seventh degrees according to minor-mode conventions in contemporary art music (Figure 21). Despite Bigarne's insistence that these changes were incorrect, Emmanuel appealed to his conservatory training as a marker of authority and accused Bigarne of having an uneducated ear. Their disagreement spanned multiple transcriptions; consequently, Bigarne

[181] Emmanuel, *XXX Chansons*, i–ii. Significantly, these references both allude to French (Gallic) resistance against Roman invasion.
[182] "[Charles Bigarne apparaît comme] un des derniers et des plus parfaits Bourguignons du Beanois. . . . Toute la vie de notre Bourgogne, toute sa sève jaillissaient de sa parole et de son geste." Emmanuel, *XXX Chansons* vii. Italics are mine.
[183] Emmanuel, *XXX Chansons*, viii–ix.
[184] In *XXX Chansons*, Emmanuel labels the songs with roman numerals according to their order in the collection. Whenever I mention a new song, I will indicate this number in brackets, as above: *Complainte de Notre-Dame* (IV).

omitted the transcriptions that he felt to be erroneous from his publication *Patois & Locutions du Pays de Beaune* and did not acknowledge Emmanuel's work on the project.[185]

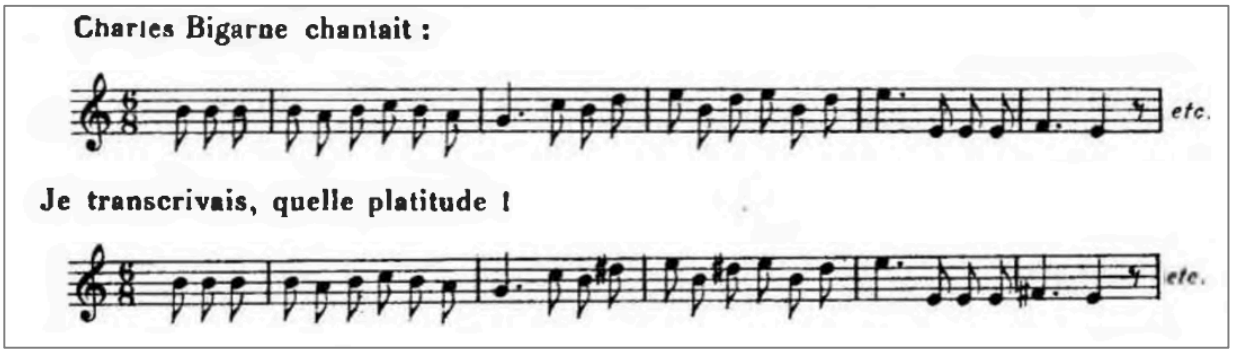



*Figure 21. Emmanuel provides this example of "corrections" he made transcribing Bigarne's rendition of the* Complainte de Notre-Dame*. The top line indicates a melody that Bigarne sang, which conforms to the diatonic Phrygian mode with the fundamental "E." The bottom line indicates Emmanuel's unpublished transcription, in which he has raised certain notes chromatically according to common-practice minor-mode conventions.*

Several experiences led Emmanuel to regret his melodic alterations to Bigarne's folk melodies. In a 1923 article entitled *La Chanson Populaire*, Emmanuel recounts an anecdote from a meeting of the *dîner celtique* sometime in the 1880s.[186] At this meeting, he was asked to accompany the Celtic bard Quellien at the piano in a performance of Breton folk songs. Still under the sway of his common-practice training, Emmanuel harmonized Quellien's melodies according to the norms of nineteenth-century tonal practices. His efforts provoked the wrath of Quellien, who complained that professional musicians did not understand Breton folk music.[187] In *La Chansons Populaire*, Emmanuel retrospectively affirms that Quellien was right, recounting the episode as an example of his misguided subservience to the "classical Major and Minor"

[185] Emmanuel, *XXX Chansons Bourguignonnes*, ix–xi.
[186] The *dîner celtique* was an annual banquet celebrating Celtic—and especially Breton—culture held by Parisian intellectual elites. For more on the *dîner celtique* and the bard Quellien, see Auguste Lepage, *Les Diners Artistiques et Littéraires de Paris* (Paris, Frinzine, Klein, 1884); Iphigénie Botouropoulou, "Le Barde Du Dîner Celtique-Narcisse Quellien," *Études Renaniennes* 2022, no. 122 (2023): 49–56.
[187] Emmanuel, "La Chanson Populaire. Emprunts Au Folklore National," 357.

modes. Repenting his attempts to "correct" Bigarne's folk melodies, Emmanuel presents his modal awakening in these cases as an experiential affordance tied to exposure to regional folk music in his youth. By restricting his comments to the issue of modal ignorance, however, Emmanuel frames the problem historically. He does not consider the possibility that folk practices may differ from *Conservatoire* aesthetics according to other parameters, nor that the term "mode" refers specifically to historical theories of art music.

Emmanuel sent Bigarne a letter of apology acknowledging his errors following the publication of *Patois & Locutions du Pays de Beaune*. His gesture instigated a reconciliation, the product of which was to be the publication of a revised second edition of *Patois & Locutions* conforming to Bigarne's original wishes. Intended corrections included Emmanuel's erroneous transcriptions, textual additions, and notes on the alternation between soloists and a choir in the traditional rendition of certain songs.[188] Although this second edition never came to fruition, it seems that Bigarne's death in 1911 may have served as an impetus for Emmanuel to finish the project as *XXX Chansons* in honour of his memory. In this context, Emmanuel's narrative of error and repentance appears undoubtedly genuine. Nevertheless, he is careful to present his youthful ignorance as a symptom of broader deficiencies in contemporary pedagogy and practice:

> My studies in harmony, still fresh, caused me to succumb to the error that I have described above and which consists of enclosing all music within the two modes that too many musicians—even professionals—believe only to be useful: the modern *Major* and *Minor*. . . . Classical art lives of these two modes, it doesn't recognize any others. . . . Full of this academic concept, I could not admit that Charles Bigarne's melodies did not conform to these formulas.[189]

[188] Emmanuel, *XXX Chansons*, x–xi.

[189] "Mes études d'harmonie, encore neuves, me faisant tomber dans l'erreur que j'ai signalée ci-dessus et qui consiste d'encercler toute musique dans les deux modes que trop de musiciens, même de métier croient seuls usuels: le *Majeur* et le *Mineur* modernes. . . . L'art Classique vit de ces deux modes, il n'en reconnaît point d'autre. . . . Tout plein de ce concept scolaire, je ne pus admettre que les mélodies de Charles Bigarne échappassent à ces formules." Emmanuel, viii–ix

Emmanuel's criticism of common-practice tonality likely stems from his personal experience at the *Conservatoire*. Equating "classical art" with nineteenth-century tonal pedagogy, however, he fails to note that "modern" tonality *is* an academic concept that does not inherently reflect practice.[190] By ignoring this distinction between pedagogy and practice, Emmanuel magnifies his subsequent efforts to undermine academic tonal traditions.

By the time Emmanuel published *XXX Chansons* and its corresponding *Étude*, he was an established scholar with a post at the *Conservatoire* and a sizeable bibliography to his name. These seemingly opposed traits depict a paradox that is reflected in Emmanuel's life and work: he is often critical of "academic concepts" and "professional" musicians despite leaning on his scholarship and training as markers of authority. By embracing a dual role as composer and scholar, Emmanuel strategically affects a critical distance from both disciplines, leaning on one perspective or the other as the case requires. This rhetorical strategy lies at the heart of the *Étude*, in which Emmanuel alternates between amusing anecdote and analytical exposé.

Emmanuel expresses his academic authority in terms of educational background, historical scholarship, and analysis. Despite his experiences with Bigarne and Quellien, he attributes his acceptance of modal diversity largely to further studies at the *Conservatoire*—Théodore Dubois (1837–1924) covered "ecclesiastic" modality in his harmony curriculum and Louis-Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray (1840–1910) traced a continuity from ancient Greek modal systems to contemporary European folk music in his history class.[191] Emmanuel's focus on his

[190] Indeed, studies have shown that many eighteenth- and nineteenth-century works contain modal passages or gestures. See, for example: Vincent, *The Diatonic Modes in Modern Music*, 253–347; Nicole Biamonte, "The Modes in the Music of Beethoven, Schumann, and Brahms: Historical Context and Musical Function" (PhD diss., Yale University, 2000); Lam, "Relative Diatonic Modality." Although Vincent describes the years from 1750 to 1900 as "the lowest ebb of modality," he nevertheless supplies a wealth of modal examples in pan-European repertoires of this period.

[191] Emmanuel, *XXX Chansons*, ix.

past studies in the *Étude* suggests that his acceptance of alternative modal practices was informed more by a burgeoning academicism than an acknowledgement of folk craftsmanship in its own right. His choice of words in *La Chanson Populaire* also exhibits this bias:

> We [composers] finally decided to listen to these [folk] melodies grown spontaneously from the earth and we realized that, far from resorting to a coarse and uncertain musical language, they presented a richness of 'scales' that professional musicians *no longer exploit*. . . . Illiterate but inspired, faithful to the rich 'scales' bequeathed by the past, our folk musicians looked to them to nuance their couplets without at all over-rationalizing. . . . These anonymous musicians have, without knowing, created art, sometimes superior. . . . They sang like they spoke, as free men.[192]

In this passage, Emmanuel champions folk music aesthetics while simultaneously denying folk composer's individual agencies. The underlying narrative suggests that professional musicians can reclaim a lost intellectual tradition by studying its unwitting transmission through folk music.

Emmanuel's principal analytical claim in the *Étude* is to "elucidate a crucial fact, to the establishment of which these melodies provide further proof, and which is: *the application of antique modal scales in folk music to this day.*"[193] To elaborate, he outlines six rotations of a diatonic octave and states that "all the folk songs of occidental Europe have, for many centuries, adopted these diverse manners of being of a scale."[194] He does not describe the potential connection between folk modality and historical practices, however, except to mention the similarity between a modern Phrygian octave species and the ancient Greek *Doristi* mode in a footnote. Instead, he points "the reader curious about the origins of scales, a crucial question in

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[192] "On s'est avisé enfin d'écouter ces mélodies spontanément issues du terroir et l'on s'est aperçu que, loin de ressortir à une langue musicale grossière et incertaine, elles présentent une richesse d'« échelles » que les musiciens professionnels n'exploitent plus. . . . Illettrés, mais inspirés, nos faiseurs de chansons, fidèles aux riches « gammes » que le passé leur léguait, leur ont demandé, sans ratiociner le moins du monde, de nuancer leurs couplets. . . . Ces anonymes musiciens ont, sans le savoir, fait de l'art, quelquefois. supérieur. . . . ils ont chanté commeils parlaient en hommes libres." Emmanuel, "La Chanson Populaire," 350–1. Italics are mine.

[193] "J'exposerai brièvement un fait capital, à l'établissement duquel ces mélodies apportent une preuve de plus, et qui est: *l'emploi jusqu'à nos jours, par l'art populaire, des antiques échelles modales*." Emmanuel, *XXX Chansons*, iii (italics original).

[194] Emmanuel, *XXX Chansons*, v.

the very practice of music" to his three major volumes detailing historical approaches to mode: *Histoire de la langue musicale, Traité de l'accompagnement modal des psaumes,* and *Traité de la musique greque antique*.[195] By referring the reader to these other texts, Emmanuel supports the argument with his reputation rather than clarifying it.

Emmanuel's remaining observations concerning mode reflect two primary concerns: 1) how to determine a mode, and 2) how to realize an appropriate harmonization. For the purposes of the *Étude*, he leans on his theory of the "modal fifth" (typically denoting scale degrees $\hat{1}$ and $\hat{5}$) to account for modal determination:

> Most of these [songs] . . . seem to carefully rely upon the essential degrees of their mode as distinct markers. As we have seen, those degrees are the Fundamental (*do* or *re*, or *mi*, or *fa*, or *sol*, or *la*) and the degree a fifth above—or a fourth below, which amounts to the same thing.[196]

In support of this theory, he lists sixteen songs in which he claims that these "essential degrees" are "expressed formally" within the first four notes, and five other songs in which they are implied by the "melodic shape."[197] It is easy to trace Emmanuel's logic by comparing these examples with the modal designations he supplies throughout the collection (Figure 22). According to Emmanuel, there remain nine songs in which the modal fundamental can be recognized with "minimal effort," although he does not clarify this process.[198] Though pragmatic, it is dubious of Emmanuel to present $\hat{1}$ and $\hat{5}$ as the universal, unambiguous markers

[195] Emmanuel *XXX Chansons*, xii n.3.
[196] "Le plus grand nombre d'entre elles . . . semblent prendre soin de poser sur les degrés essentiels de leur échelle modale des repères apparents. Ces degrés sont, nous l'avons déjà vu, la Fondamentale (F) du mode (*ut* ou *ré*, ou *mi*, ou *fa*, ou *sol*, ou *la*) et le cinquième degré au-dessus, ou ce qui revient au même, le quatrième degré au-dessous." Emmanuel, xiii.
[197] "Il est facile de constater que ces intervalles essentiels sont formellement exprimés par les deux, trois ou quatre premiers sons (abstraction faite du nombre des sons répercutés) des pièces II, VI, X, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XIX, XX, XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXVIII, XXIX, XXX . . . .La Quinte Modale n'est guère moins évidente dans les chansons I, V, IX, XII, XXVI, où la tournure mélodique l'impose." Emmanuel, *XXX Chanson*, xiv.
[198] Emmanuel writes that there are eight such examples, without listing them. I am assuming that he has miscounted because this otherwise leaves one song unaccounted for. Emmanuel, *XXX Chanson*, xiv.

of diatonic mode (and, by extension, of folk "modality") without qualification. As my analyses suggest, this rudimentary approach also does little to reflect the deeper historical thinking that Emmanuel applies in many cases.

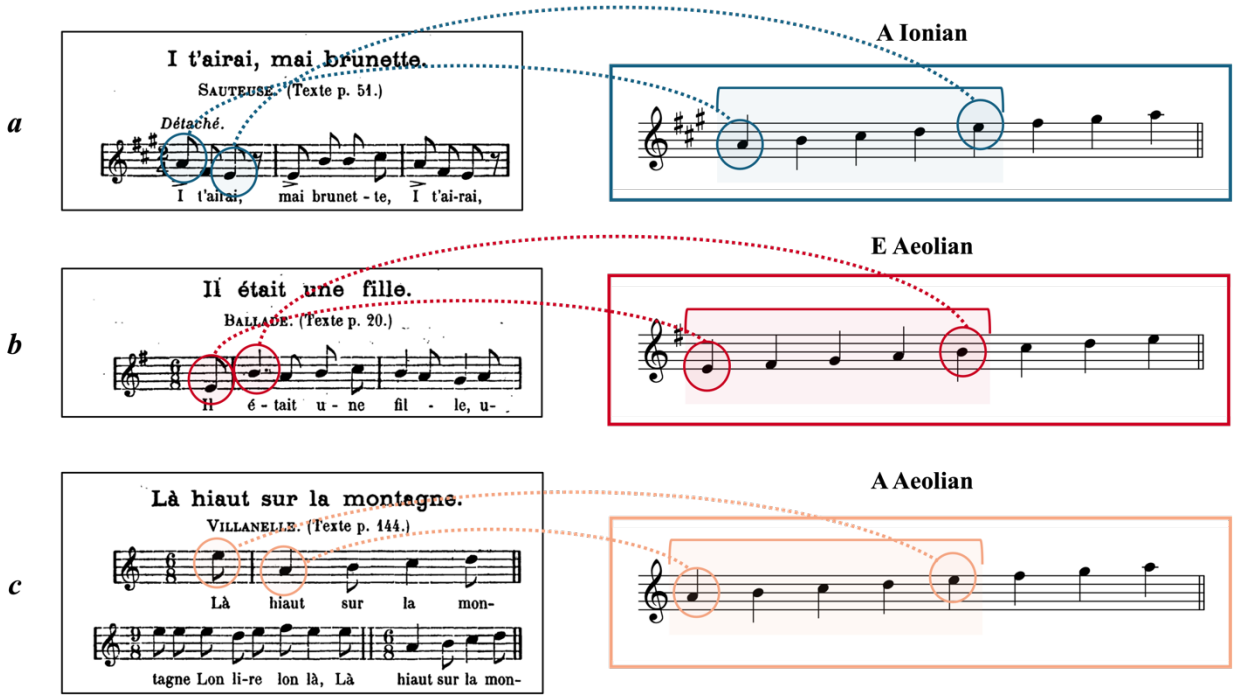


*Figure 22. Three of the sixteen songs in* XXX Chansons *whose "essential degrees" (or "modal fifths"* [$\hat{1}$ *and* $\hat{5}$]*) are "expressed formally" within the first four notes, according to Emmanuel. In Figure 22a, this fifth is inverted as a fourth ($A_4$ to $E_4$). The diagrams on the right-hand side of all figures demonstrate how these modal fifths correspond to Emmanuel's modal designations in an octave species context. Although Emmanuel's arrangements suggest that he considers other melodic features in his modal analyses, his principal harmonic claim is that the melodies' modal fifths (and, by extension, their fundamental triads) are easily detectable in most cases.*

Emmanuel responds to his second analytical concern with a conceptual basis for the modal harmonization of folk songs. According to his experiential narrative, many of the melodies in *XXX Chansons* do not conform to the norms of common-practice tonality, exhibiting instead "all manners of being a [diatonic] scale, determined, as we know, by the placement of the semitones."[199] He further states:

[199] Emmanuel, *XXX Chansons*, iv.

> The diverse accompaniments that I applied to these stimulating melodies have a particular character to which I have rigorously adhered: they are 'modal.' And we must understand by that that they are foremost respectful of the modal structure and its harmonic requirements. No chromaticism, no modulation.[200]

One might suppose that by "modal" Emmanuel simply means "diatonic." However, twelve of the arrangements in *XXX Chansons* (not counting those labelled "common-practice minor" [*mineur moderne*]) contain chromatic inflections. How then does he determine which forms of chromaticism "respect the modal structure and its harmonic requirements?"

The only source of clarity that Emmanuel provides regarding the specifics of modal harmonization concerns the role of the leading tone and its relevance for the perfect cadence:

> The Perfect Cadence [*sic*] is the progression from the perfect triad having for a third the *leading tone* to the perfect triad with the tonic at its base. This type of conclusion is proper to the modern Major, the Ionian mode [*mode d'UT*], the final addition to the modal series. One must therefore, in the accompaniment of all folk songs [*chansons populaires*] that balk to be grouped under its [the Ionian mode's] banner, reject the Perfect Cadence, and substitute it with conclusive formulas that relate to the mode's harmonic elements.[201]

Emmanuel thus defines his system of modal accompaniment largely in opposition to common-practice tonality by rejecting the perfect cadence as a ubiquitous tonal indicator. Indeed, the most frequent chromatic inflection that he employs in *XXX Chansons* is the ♭$\hat{7}$ in a common-practice major- (or Ionian-) mode context. According to this logic, Emmanuel appears to "modalize" the

[200] "Les accompagnements divers que j'ai appliqués à ces piquantes mélodies ont un caractère particulier auquel je me suis rigoureusement tenu : ils sont "modaux." Et il faut entendre par là qu'ils sont avant tout respectueux de l'échelle modale et de ses exigences harmoniques. Aucun chromatisme, aucune modulation." Emmanuel, xi–xii.
[201] "La Cadence Parfaite est la chute de l'accord parfait ayant pour tierce la *note sensible* sur l'accord parfait dont la tonique est base. Cette sorte de conclusion est propre au Majeur moderne, au mode d'UT, le dernier venu de la série modale. Il faut donc, dans l'accompagnement de toutes les chansons populaires qui regimbent à s'enrôler sous sa bannière, rejeter la Cadence Parfaite, et lui substituer des formules conclusives en rapport avec les éléments harmoniques de Mode." Emmanuel, xii. Curiously, Emmanuel does not mention here that the Lydian mode also has a leading tone. In the *Traité*, he employs the perfect cadence in his contentious Lydian example from the *Jeu de Robin et Marion* and defends this choice: "with its implicit leading tone—explicit even, in this case—the Lydian mode [*mode de fa*] tolerates this conclusive formula in the thirteenth century." See Emmanuel, *Traité*, 203.

Ionian mode through a temporary subversion of the leading tone.[202] Nevertheless, this stipulation provides little historical substantiation for Emmanuel's methods, nor does it help to explain how certain forms of chromaticism may be more or less "respectful of the modal structure."[203]

Emmanuel also discusses the close relationship between the common-practice minor mode and the diatonic Aeolian (or "natural minor") mode by again clarifying the role of the leading tone. Although these modes share the same pitch content in many respects, the minor mode's characteristic leading tone (often accompanied by a raised sixth degree) occasionally distinguishes it from a purely diatonic Aeolian.[204] The importance of this distinction to Emmanuel's argument becomes clear when he remarks that the Aeolian mode predominates in European folk music.[205] If some Aeolian songs were to be harmonized following the norms of common-practice tonality, it would counter Emmanuel's corresponding claim that the modern major and minor modes figure relatively rarely in European folk song. Thus, the perceived "modality" of a folk song hinges once again on the presence of a raised or lowered seventh degree.

Emmanuel glosses over the fact that ten songs out of thirty in the collection are in the Ionian mode, which he labels elsewhere in brackets as "modern major." If one adds the two songs he designates "modern minor" and the twelve Aeolian songs to this tally, only six remain that strongly exhibit modes exceeding common-practice norms (see **Appendix**). But the modal significance of *XXX Chansons* exceeds minor rhetorical distinctions. Regardless of the presence

[202] Thomas Christensen notes that in the nineteenth century "the subtonic became one of the most distinctive markers of folk music. . . . It certainly seemed true that any composer wanting to convey an air of rural peasantry (not to mention religious piety) in their music could not do much better than to employ a lowered seventh as a characteristic note of the scale." See Christensen, *Stories of Tonality*, 135.
[203] Emmanuel, *XXX Chansons*, xi.
[204] Emmanuel considers the common-practice minor mode to be a "bastardized" derivative of Ionian in its ascending form—tainted as it is by Ionian's characteristic leading tone. Emmanuel, iv–v.
[205] Emmanuel, *XXX Chansons,* v.

of Ionian and Aeolian modes, common ground between Emmanuel's scholarship and his *XXX Chansons* arrangements lies to a greater extent in his holistic, cross-historical approach to mode. As my analyses demonstrate, Emmanuel's arrangements feature a number of universal idiosyncrasies that convey the deeper melodic and harmonic ramifications of his modal thinking.

**The *Classification*, the *Commentaire*, and the *Avis***

In the *Classification*, Emmanuel organizes his settings into three separate classification tables according to distinct criteria: mode (*Classification modale*), region (*Classification régionale*), and chronology (*Essai de chronologie musicale*), respectively. By presenting these characteristics as objective data in his *Classification*, he obscures the fact that his chosen criteria are largely speculative. I have already discussed the issue of mode at length. The regional designations are useful as they relate to specific transmissions and their local contexts; however, as Emmanuel states in the *Étude*: "[a number of these songs] are not specific to one region, and . . . their primitive themes have . . . zigzagged between the Garonne and the Rhine."[206] Finally, Emmanuel qualifies his chronological *Essai* by mentioning that few of the date ranges are certain. Judging by his notes in the *Commentaire*, the most reliable dates relate to historical references in the text, even though "it appears that, in the domain of folk song, melodic structures are more stable than the words."[207] From a musicological perspective, these are all significant avenues for critical research. Aside from the subject of mode, however, Emmanuel

[206] "[Un certain nombre de ces chansons] ne sont point propres à une region, et . . . leurs themes primitifs ont pu . . . circuler (*sic*) en zigzag entre le Garonne et le Rhin." Emmanuel, ii. The Garrone and the Rhine are major rivers that flank the French hexagon to the east and west.

[207] "… il semble que, dans le domaine de la chanson Populaire, les formes mélodiques soient plus stables que les mots." Emmanuel, xlvii. See also Gérard Carreau, *Dictionnaire Biographique Des Collecteurs de l'ancienne Chanson Folklorique Française, Ainsi Que de Ses Publicistes et Théoriciens, Contenant Quelques Éléments Bibliographiques, 1830-1930 Environ* (Famdt Editions, 1998), 64. In this dictionary article, Carreau warns the reader specifically to be wary of Emmanuel's dates in *XXX Chansons*.

does not consider these topics comprehensively, stating elsewhere that his aim is to "deliver these monuments of popular art without writing their history, without returning to their source."[208] In doing so, Emmanuel feigns objectivity, effacing his historical intervention as transcriber, arranger, and musicologist.

The *Commentaire* comprises detailed observations specific to each song in the collection. In most cases, Emmanuel prioritizes mode by leading with a diagram of the songs' fundamental octave species according to his analytical deductions (Figure 23). For songs in the Ionian mode, he omits the diagram and simply indicates that they are in the "*Mode d'Ut*. *Majeur moderne*."[209] He qualifies each diagram by indicating the predominant "modal fifth" within that octave species with a bracket—a notational device derived from his writings on mode in ancient Greek and medieval music. Certain octave-species diagrams invite additional theoretical and historical discourse. For example, Emmanuel depicts the Phrygian octave species in the *Complainte de Notre-Dame* in descending order and specifies that it is the "venerable, Doristi Harmony of the ancient Greeks."[210] This descending representation of the Phrygian mode aligns with Riemann-ian dualist theory as a symmetrical inversion of the ascending major scale—a detail which Emmanuel takes care to mention. These diagrams thus link Emmanuel's analyses of the songs visually with his studies of historical and contemporary theoretical models.

[208] Emmanuel, *XXX Chansons*, iii.
[209] Emmanuel, *XXX Chansons*, xv. Emmanuel's pithy comment implies that the Ionian mode needs no explanation; however, this consistent visual discrepancy separates "tonal" Ionian songs from "modal" non-Ionian ones.
[210] Emmanuel, *XXX Chansons*, xiv.

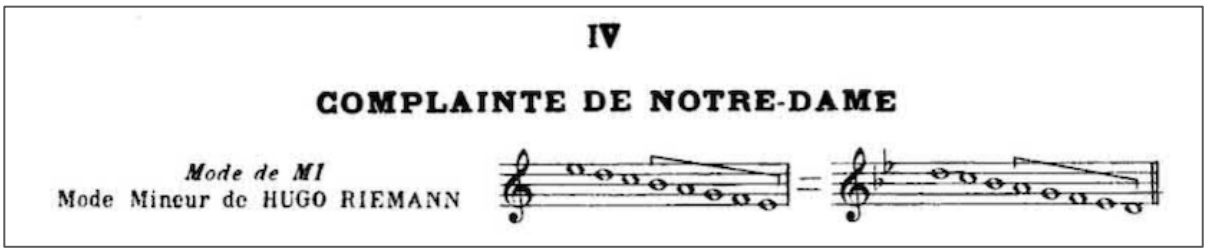


*Figure 23. Emmanuel's octave-species diagram for song number four (Complainte de Notre-Dame) in the Commentaire. The mode is first presented without accidentals and then transposed to the appropriate key as it appears in XXX Chansons. The "modal fifth" is marked with a bracket. Note that this mode is depicted in descending order and labeled as "Mode Mineur de HUGO RIEMANN."*

Emmanuel's remaining notes in the *Commentaire* consider cultural context in greater detail. Central to this context is an account of the songs' transmissions. Although Emmanuel obtained most songs from Bigarne, four were transmitted by Charles Masson.[211] Emmanuel frequently elaborates this genealogy of transmission to include the specific towns or areas where Bigarne and Masson collected the songs, as well as the songs' original interpreters. Following the model of Bigarne's *Patois & Locutions*, he also occasionally provides detailed notes on the songs' poetic texts. As Emmanuel notes in the *Étude*, variants of these songs appear across multiple regions in France in some cases; certain forms of variation in textual content such as local dialects, historical events, and geographical markers thus connect the songs in *XXX Chansons* most explicitly to place, imbuing them with cultural significance. He also indicates which songs traditionally accompany a dance and describes the steps, referring the reader in one case to his thesis on ancient Greek dance for an explanation of terminology.[212]

The final section in the front matter to *XXX Chansons* is the *Avis pour l'exécution*, which comprises a few notes related to performance practice and the use of the collection. Therein,

[211] The art critic Charles Masson (1858–1931) directed the Luxemburg museum, although Emmanuel is careful to specify that he was born in Beaune. Emmanuel, *XXX Chansons*, xxii. See also Carreau, *Dictionnaire Biographique*, 102.
[212] Emmanuel, *XXX Chansons*, xxv.

Emmanuel states that a knowledge of the *Commentaire* is "indispensable" to the proper execution of the songs.[213] Considering his focus on mode in the *Commentaire*, this position supports a reading of *XXX Chansons* as a living vessel for Emmanuel to perform historical scholarship and thus rejuvenate modern music. As he states in the *Étude*:

> In sum, the techniques employed in this collection, to adorn the [songs'] melodic shape with a relatively rich and lively polyphonic accompaniment, are determined by a desire to use only modal resources. . . . As [this garb] is foremost respectful of their organic form, it seems to me that it can serve to present them in a more efflorescent, more colourful light—for it expresses the latent modal harmony in these songs. . . . It also tends to demonstrate that art [music], by seizing folk songs, can graft living branches onto its robust trunk.[214]

Emmanuel also recommends that the songs be sung in their original patois. Alongside his notes in the *Commentaire,* this demonstrates a respect for the relationship between performance and cultural context. However, Emmanuel also refers to the texts as "primitive 'poetry'," once again expressing an underlying disregard for folk craftsmanship outside of its potential connections to literate, historical artistic practices.[215]

## Analyses

In the following section, I explore the tensions that I have outlined between conceptions of tonality and modality in Emmanuel's *XXX Chansons* arrangements. My analyses focus on recurring techniques that I have identified throughout the collection related to melodic characteristics, pedal points, and mode mixture. As his writings on mode demonstrate,

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[213] Emmanuel, *XXX Chansons*, xlviii.

[214] "En résumé les moyens employés dans ce recueil, pour adjoindre à la ligne mélodique des chansons un accompagnement polyphone plus ou moins fourni et mouvementé, sont déterminés par la volonté de n'user que des ressources modales. . . . Comme il est respectueux avant tout de leur forme organique, il me semble qu'il peut servir à les présenter mieux épanouies, plus colorées : car il exprime l'harmonie modal latente en ces chansons. . . . Et il tend ainsi à montrer que l'art, en s'emparant des créations populaires, peut greffer sur leur robuste souche des rameaux vivants." Emmanuel *XXX Chansons*, xii–xiii.

[215] "It is advisable that these primitive 'poetries' should be recited in patois." Emmanuel, *XXX Chansons,* xlviii.

Emmanuel takes the interdependence between melody and harmony as his central aesthetic tenet in the belief that a contemporary approach to triadic harmonization should reflect the multivalent character of monophonic repertoires. Emmanuel defines this character largely in opposition to tonal rhetorical practices and seeks to generate harmonic interest by exploiting ambiguities in pitch hierarchy and gamut within a relatively strict *musica recta* framework. In lieu of standard tonal function, he employs the *corps de l'harmonie* and its associated "modal fifths" as a network of pedal points to establish pitch centricity and "modal modulation." The result is a treatise on Emmanuel's particular brand of *modalité tonale*, which, in concert with his historical scholarship, serves to promote aesthetics explored throughout his oeuvre as historically and ethnically authoritative.

**Melodic considerations: Ambitus, fundamentals, and plagal versus authentic octave divisions**

It is significant that Emmanuel interprets the folk songs in *XXX Chansons* as monophonic documents. In *Histoire de la langue musicale*, he broadly equates monophony (and quintal homophony) with musical antiquity (~700 BCE–1200 CE), and polyphony with modernity (~1500–).[216] By their monophonic quality alone, these songs consequently activate Emmanuel's impressions of musical antiquity and serve as conceptual analogues to ancient Greek and medieval repertoires. As such, they constitute the ideal testing ground for Emmanuel to workshop harmonic devices aimed at reconciling "antique" (monophonic) and "modern"

[216] He marks the intervening years (1200–1500) as a period of transition. According to Emmanuel, the gradual integration of major and minor thirds—and perfect triads, by extension—as fundamental consonances via the superparticular ratios 5:4 (major third) and 6:5 (minor third) (instead of their more complex, Pythagorean equivalents) plays a key role in this transition. Emmanuel, *Histoire de La Langue Musicale*, 277–78. He still considers this transitional period to be "antique" in the modal sense because it predates the post-1600 era typically defined by common-practice tonality. Emmanuel, 4–5.

(polyphonic) diatonic practices—a key component in his efforts to reverse standard teleological narratives associated with common-practice tonality. Hence, Emmanuel affirms in *Grèce* and the *Histoire* that "harmony"—in the ancient Greek sense of the word—corresponds to "mode."[217] In this sub-section, I explore the relationship between melody, mode, and harmony in select *XXX Chansons* arrangements. Drawing from my observations in Chapter Two, I focus my analyses on topics central to Emmanuel's study of mode: melodic ambitus*, fundamentals*, and plagal versus authentic octave divisions (as contained in Emmanuel's theories of the "modal fifth," "double division of the octave," and "*corps de l'harmonie*").

### *Chez Jean Nicot (I)*

The song *Chez Jean Nicot* presents an interesting case of modal ambiguity via Emmanuel's "double division" of the octave, outlined in his *Grèce* article. Emmanuel dates *Jean Nicot* to 1813 based on a reference in the lyrics to the presence of "Spaniards" in Beaune, whom he deduces were prisoners brought to France during the Peninsular War (1807–14).[218] However, he also speculates that the melody is much older, citing a letter in which Bigarne claims that their mutual friend (and fellow *Beaunois*) the marquis Paul d'Ivry identified the melody as belonging to a local *noël*.[219] This perceived age draws *Jean Nicot* closer to the historical topics that Emmanuel associates with *chansons populaires* and may have encouraged him to approach the arrangement with a particularly detailed modal lens.

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[217] Emmanuel, "Grèce (Art Gréco-Romain), 385, n. 2; Emmanuel, *Histoire de La Langue Musicale*, 75.
[218] Emmanuel does not cite a source or explain his reasoning for specifying the year 1813, but all given dates are speculative in any case.
[219] Paul d'Ivry (1829–1903) was a composer and mentor to Emmanuel in his youth. He encouraged Emmanuel to pursue studies at the *Conservatoire* and recommended him to Delibes. See Corbier, *Maurice Emmanuel*, 13–14. The connection between *noëls* and liturgical chant is likely implicit in Emmanuel's comment that "the melody [*l'air*] is ancient." Emmanuel, *XXX Chansons*, xxi.

In the *Commentaire*, Emmanuel depicts *Jean Nicot* as conforming to the Aeolian mode (*mode de La*) (Figure 24**a**). Elsewhere (his *Traité de l'accompagnement modal des psaumes*), however, he depicts the Aeolian mode as a derivative of the ancient Greek *Doristi-La* mode (by representing the *corps de l'harmonie* with open noteheads on the pitches A, B, and E; Figure 24**b**). In *Grèce*, Emmanuel also groups these two modes (*mode de La* and *Doristi-La*, which he names *Éolisti* and *Doristi. II*, in this case) together as a broader family characterized by a shared modal fifth (A-E, Figure 24**c**). According to Emmanuel's system of modal thought, ambiguity engendered by the double division of the *Doristi* octave (A-E and E-B) is thus further complicated by the relationship of a shared modal fifth (A-E) across octave species (A-A and E-E).

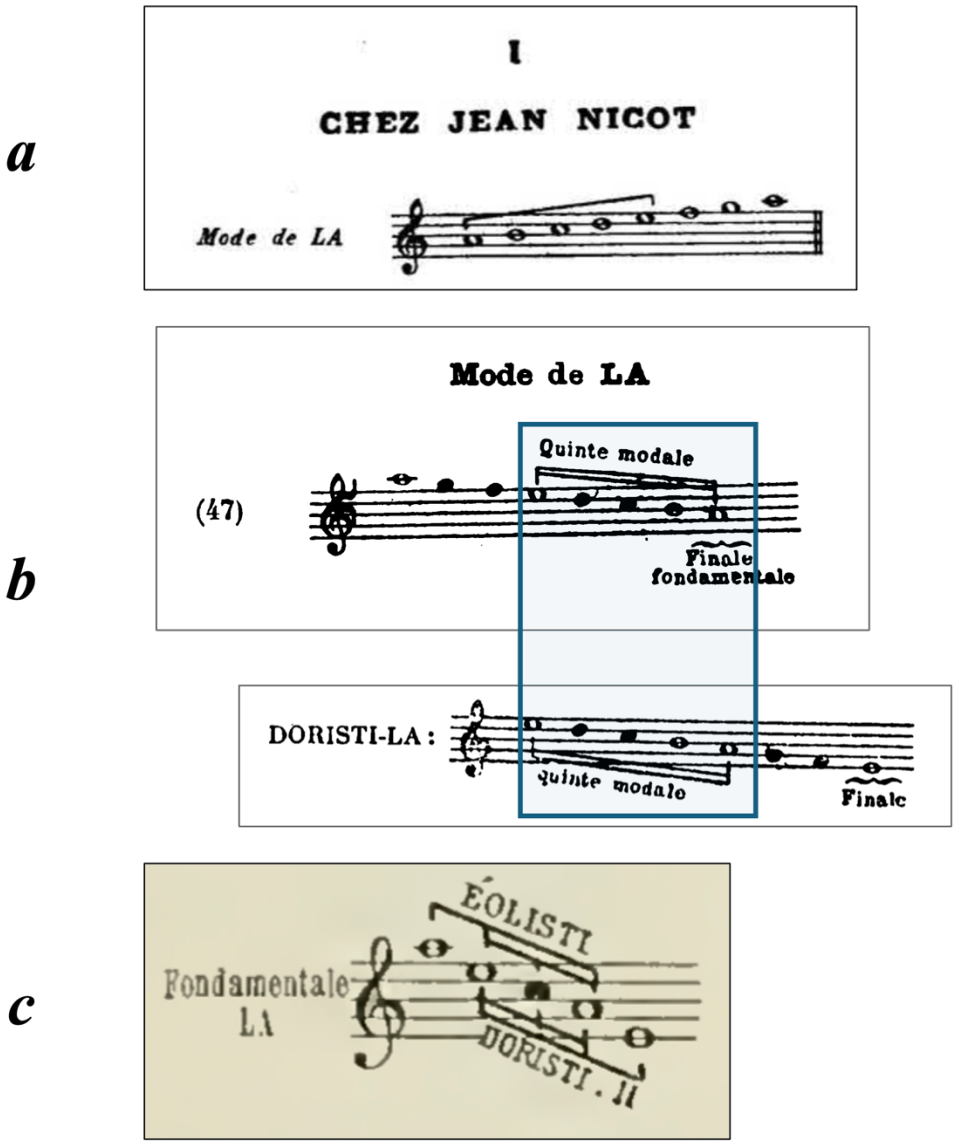


*Figure 24. Three depictions of the* mode de La *from different Emmanuel sources. Figure 24a is the basic* mode de La *octave species (A-A) as depicted in* XXX Chansons*. Figure 24b compares the* mode de La *(A-A) and* Doristi-La *(E-E) octave species as depicted in Emmanuel's* Traité de l'accompagnement modal des psaumes*. Both modes share the same "modal fifth" (A-E). Figure 24c is an illustration from the* Grèce *article that depicts both octave frameworks (E-E and A-A) grouped together according to their shared modal fifth (in this case, Emmanuel names them "*Éolisti*," and "*Doristi II*").*

*Chez Jean Nicot* reveals structural properties that relate to Emmanuel's historical studies of mode. Its melodic range (or ambitus) spans an octave from E to E (Figure 25). This ambitus fits neatly within the framework that Emmanuel chose to illustrate the ancient *Doristi* mode in

his *Grèce* article. Meanwhile, the first phrase (labeled *a*) outlines an A minor triad within the span of these two Es. These features bear a resemblance to Emmanuel's *Doristi-La* model, characterized by an A-E modal fifth within an E-E octave framework (however, *Jean Nicot* ends on an A, whereas Emmanuel specifies that the *Doristi-La* final should always be an E). Meanwhile, all pitches in the *b* phrase align with a descending E-B tetrachord, outlining an E-B modal fifth (inverted as a fourth) and reflecting the *corps de l'harmonie*. By demarcating alternate fifths, these *a* and *b* sections illustrate modal ambiguities that echo Emmanuel's concept of the double division of the octave in the ancient Greek *Doristi* mode. The full melody alternates twice between these *a* and *b* phrases, ending with a separate cadential phrase (which I've labeled *c* in the melody). Although Emmanuel has identified *Jean Nicot* simply as *mode de La* in the *Commentaire*, these melodic characteristics thus resonate with Emmanuel's historicist conceptions of mode as outlined in his contemporaneous musicological works.

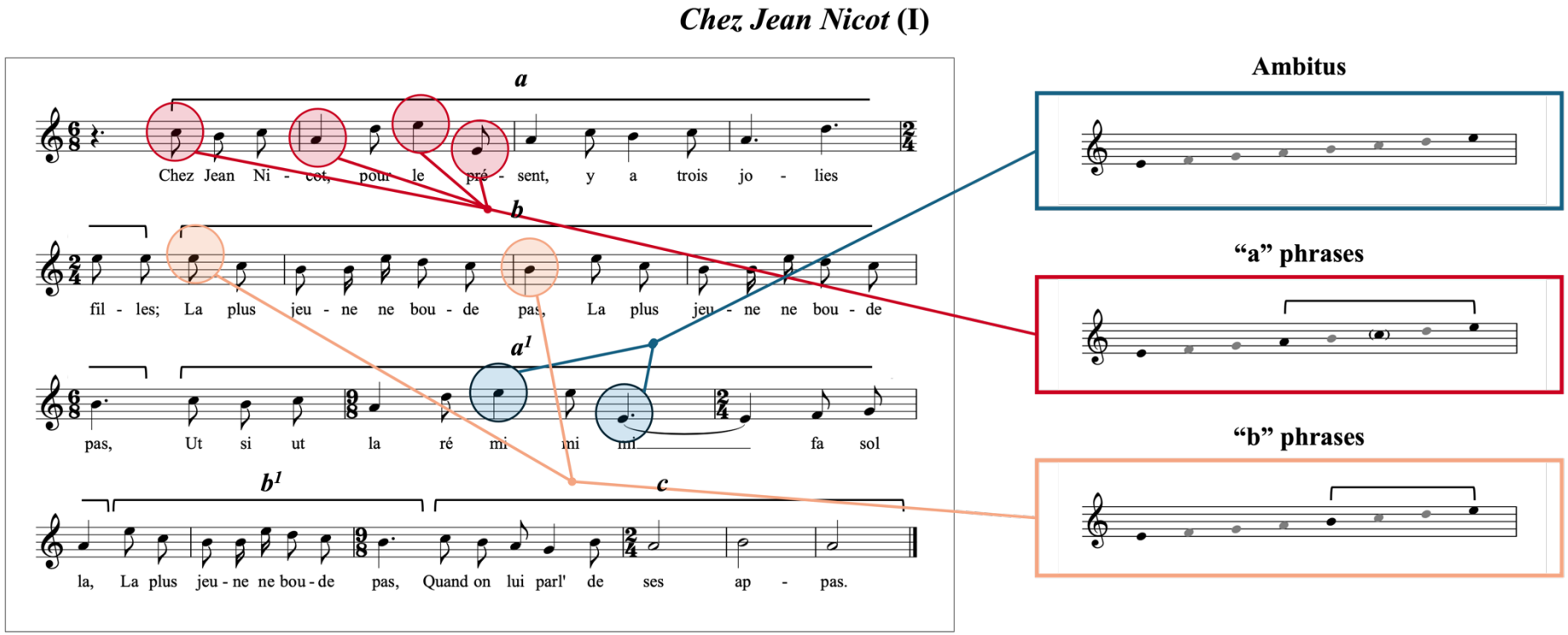


*Figure 25. An Emmanuel-ian analysis of* Chez Jean Nicot. *The melodic ambitus (marked in blue) outlines a distinct E-E octave species from $E_4$ to $E_5$. Within that ambitus, the principal melodic phrases (marked "a" and "b," respectively) denote distinct "modal fifths:" A-E in the "a" sections (marked in red), and B-E (as the inverse of E-B) in the "b" sections (marked in orange). Together, these two fifths constitute the* corps de l'harmonie *as depicted in Emmanuel's* Grèce *article (E-A-B-E) and the native* Doristi *mode (which Emmanuel associates with an E-E octave species).*

Emmanuel's arrangement of *Chez Jean Nicot* relates the above melodic considerations with harmonic ones. The initial piano texture is characterized by a rhythmic ostinato in the right hand, reflecting the melodic ambitus from $E_4$ to $E_5$ at pitch. This iterative emphasis on E functions as an upper pedal that sustains over shifting harmonies in the left-hand texture. The first triad expressed in the piano's left hand in measure two is an A-minor triad with E in the bass. In concert, these textures map directly onto Emmanuel's *Doristi-la* harmonic structure (Figure 26). Emmanuel largely maintains a double pedal on A and E throughout the arrangement. However, he strategically alternates the bass note of this pedal between E and A, engaging the modal tension between the ambitus E and the fundamental A. This is exemplified in the passage between measures seven and ten, which coincides with section *b* of the melody (Figure 27). Here, the bass note alternates between E and A (in light blue) while the modal fifth A-E is sustained in other voices (in dark blue). Meanwhile, the E bass notes underpin a melodic B, emphasizing the E-B modal fifth that predominates in this passage (in red). The resulting harmony (E, A, B, E) reflects the *corps de l'harmonie* as illustrated by Emmanuel in his writings (in orange). With this harmony, Emmanuel crystallizes the tension in *Jean Nicot* between two modal fifths, one built on A and the other on E (Emmanuel's "double division" of the *Doristi* octave). In doing so, he draws a connection between contemporary folk song and ancient Greek modal practices, relating the *mode de La* in *Jean Nicot* to an ancestral *Doristi-La* structure generated from the *corps de l'harmonie*.

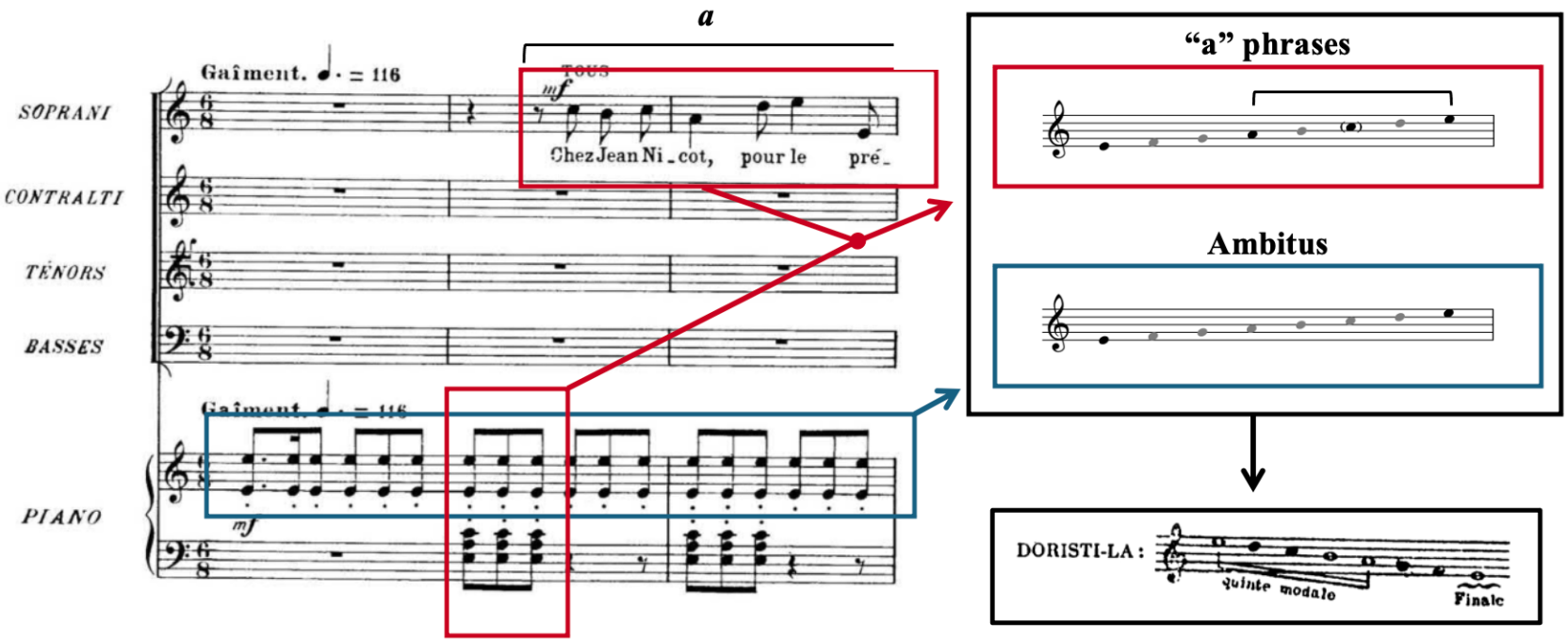


*Figure 26. Measures 1–3 of* Chez Jean Nicot. *The rhythmic ostinato on E doubled at the octave in the piano's right hand articulates the melodic ambitus (in blue, see also Figure 25). In measures two and three, Emmanuel fills out this E-E octave pedal with and A minor triad (in red). This "plagal" A minor harmony (within an E-E octave) echoes the "a" section melodic structure and corresponds with Emmanuel's* Doristi-la *model, derived from ancient Greek practices.*

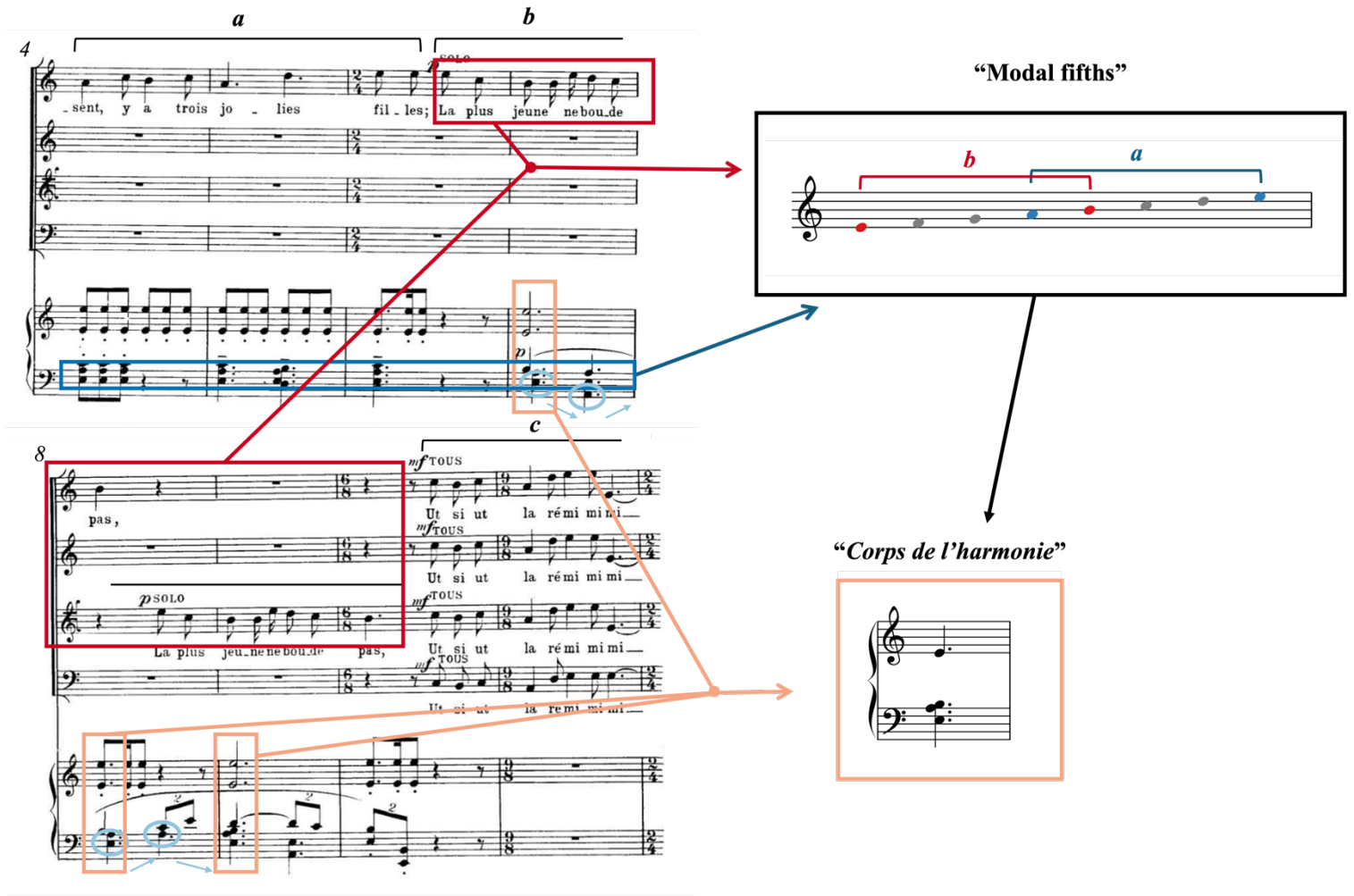


*Figure 27. Measures 4–11 of* Chez Jean Nicot. *In the "b" section, Emmanuel maintains a pedal on A and E in the middle voices of the piano accompaniment (in dark blue). He varies the nature of this pedal by alternating between E and A in the bass voice of the piano accompaniment (in light blue). Against this pedal, the "b" section melody articulates the modal fifth E-B (in red). In measures 7, 8, and 9, Emmanuel combines these two modal fifths into a quintal harmony that corresponds to the* Doristi "corps de l'harmonie:" E, A, B, E (in orange).

*Quand j'éto chez mon peire (III)*

*Quand j'éto chez mon peire* is the only song in *XXX Chansons* that Emmanuel identifies as belonging to the Mixolydian (*mode de Sol*) octave species (Figure 28). Indeed, he may have added *Quand j'éto* to *XXX Chansons* due to its modal novelty; it was transmitted to him by Charles Masson and is thus one of the few songs that does not belong to the original Bigarne transcriptions. The lyrics are comedic and occasionally nonsensical, leading Emmanuel to quip that they are not of "transcendent interest," although the "melody is curious and the intervention of the chorus enhances its appeal."[220] It follows a strophic form, comprising three verses reflecting three stanzas of poetic text. Each verse in turn comprises three distinct melodic phrases, which I've labeled *a*, *b*, and *c* (Figure 29). In Emmanuel's arrangement, the *a* sections feature a solo vocalist, while the *b* and *c* sections involve call-and-response choral interjections; accordingly, I have grouped the *b* and *c* phrases into a larger *B* section that Emmanuel refers to as the refrain in the *Commentaire*.

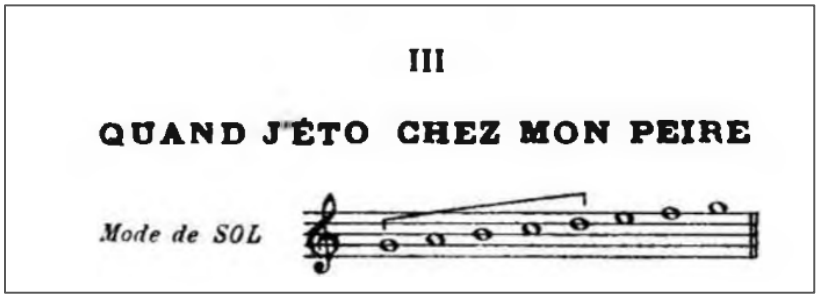


*Figure 28. Emmanuel's diagram indicating his modal designation for* Quand j'éto chez mon peire.

[220] Emmanuel, *XXX Chansons*, xxiii–iv.

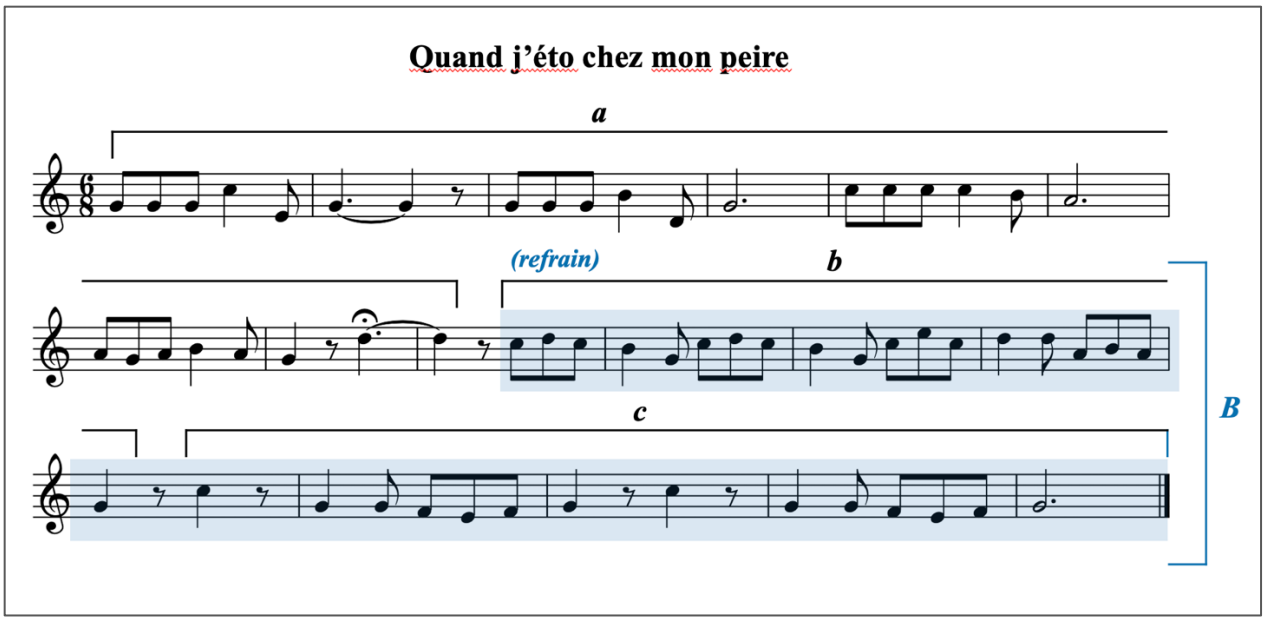


*Figure 29. Diagram of a verse form in Emmanuel's transcription of* Quand j'éto. *The three distinct melodic phrases are labeled "a," "b," and "c." The "b" and "c" phrases constitute a refrain, labeled "B" and highlighted in blue.*

In his *Traité de l'acccompagnement modal des psaumes*, Emmanuel relates the Mixolydian octave species to the ancient Greek *Hypophrygisti* mode. Like with the *Doristi* mode (or *mode de Mi*), he identifies two dispositions of *Hypophrygisti* based on the principal of the double division of the octave: *Hypophrygisti-Sol* and *Hypophrygisti-Ut* (Figure 30).[221] As their names indicate, *Hypophrygisti-Sol* is structurally regulated by a modal fifth with G at its base (G-D), whereas *Hypophrygisti-Ut* is regulated by a modal fifth with C at its base (C-G). According to Emmanuel, both dispositions of *Hypophrygisti* belong to the *mode de Sol* family; thus, in an untransposed state they lie within a G-G octave species.

[221] He also depicts *Hypophrygisti* with the same underlying *corps de l'harmonie* as *Doristi* (E-A-B), implying a connection between the modern diatonic modes and an ancestral fixed gamut. See Chapter Two: Diatonic descents for a detailed discussion of the diatonic scale, the *Grèce* article, and the *Traité de l'accompagnement modal des psaumes*.

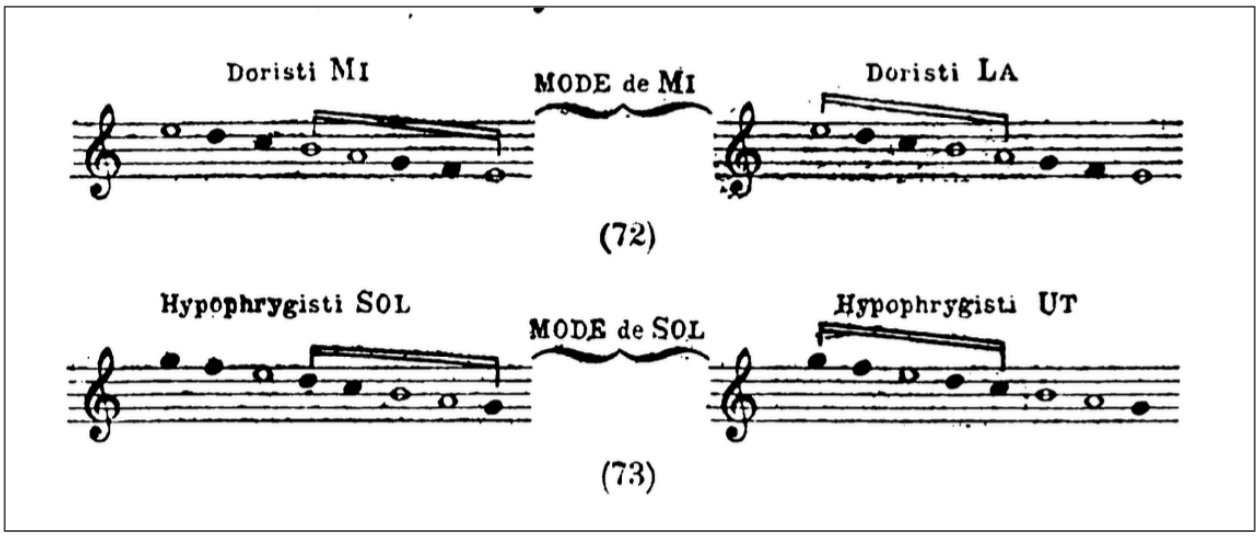


*Figure 30. Emmanuel's diagram in the* Traité *comparing* mode de Mi *and* mode de Sol *to the ancient Greek* Doristi *and* Hypophrygisti *modes, respectively. In both cases, he indicates the "double division" of the octave and marks each pair as separate modes belonging to one family.*

In the *Traité*, Emmanuel also describes a tension between *Hypophrygisti-Ut* and the common-practice major mode (*mode d'Ut*). Much like the relationship between the *Doristi-La* and Aeolian (*mode de La)* modes, *Hypophrygisti-Ut* and Ionian (*mode d'Ut*) share a common modal fifth (C-G, Figure 31). In this respect, they resemble authentic and plagal dispositions of the Ionian mode in Renaissance theory (Glarean's *Ionian* and *Hypoionian*);[222] however, Emmanuel is keen to distinguish *Hypophrygisti-Ut* as belonging to the *mode de Sol* family and not *mode d'Ut* (or Ionian):

> It is thus that the Tract for the Ember-Days Saturday in Advent, the Tract and Communion for Sexagesima, etc., give the impression that the final note is a pseudo-dominant and that the true fundamental is situated a fourth above. If an accompanist were to conclude with the [inverted] fifth G-C [*sol-ut*] they would not be committing a musical error, but they would be demonstrating a lack of taste. *It smells of the Ionian mode* [*mode d'*UT]. . . . But it is still the Mixolydian mode [*mode de SOL*].[223]

[222] Powers et al., "Mode," §4, ii, a.
[223] "C'est ainsi que le Trait du Samedi des Quatre-Temps de l'Avent, le Trait et la Communion de la Sexagésime, etc., donnent l'impression que le son terminal est une pseudo-dominante et que la vraie fondamentale est située une quarte plus haut. L'accompagnateur qui conclurait par la quinte *sol-ut* ne commettrait pas une erreur musicale, mais il commettrait une faute de goût. *Cela sent le mode d'*UT . . .. Mais c'est encore le mode de SOL." Emmanuel, *Traité*, 73. Italics are in the original.

From the examples that follow, it appears that Emmanuel's contention is that the final "G" in the *Hypophrygisti-Ut* mode should be harmonized G-D (and not G-C) to respect the character of *mode de Sol.* Emmanuel's *Hypophrygsti-Ut* thus exhibits a systemic tension between two modal fifths: one that expresses the fundamental "C" (C-G) and one that expresses the final "G" (G-D). Through the influence of common-practice tonality, it is indeed difficult to hear a Mixolydian G final as anything but a dominant to the C a fourth above given the lack of a corresponding leading-tone (F♯). This is particularly true in the case of *Hypophrygisti-Ut*; thus, Emmanuel refers to this particular final as a "pseudo-dominant." Similarly, Bourgault-Ducoudray describes all plagal modal dispositions as resting on a "dominant" and suggests that they accordingly engender a "lack of resolution" (*une idée de suspension*).[224] As my following analysis suggests, Emmanuel's arrangement of *Quand j'éto* acknowledges this tension between Mixolydian and Ionian, embracing a form of *mode de Sol* (his *Hypophrygisti-Ut*) that is strongly regulated by the modal fifth C-G.

[224] "Les gammes commençant par une dominante font naître une idée de suspension; celles commençant par une tonique, une idée de repos." Bourgault-Ducoudray and Lauzières, *Trente mélodies populaires de Grèce & d'Orient*, 16, n. 1. Bourgault's commentary to his arrangement of a (purportedly) Mixolydian Breton song is particularly revealing: "The Hypophrygian [Mixolydian] mode according to which this melody is constructed is separate from the [common-practice] major mode in that its expressive character is more contemplative and inspired. The major mode always concludes with a sense of finality; the Hypophrygian [mode], deprived of a leading tone, does not. Its character feels as if suspended; for this reason it lends itself better to the expression of the unlimited and of infinity than the major mode." Bourgault-Ducoudray, *Trente mélodies populaires de Basse-Bretagne*, 7.

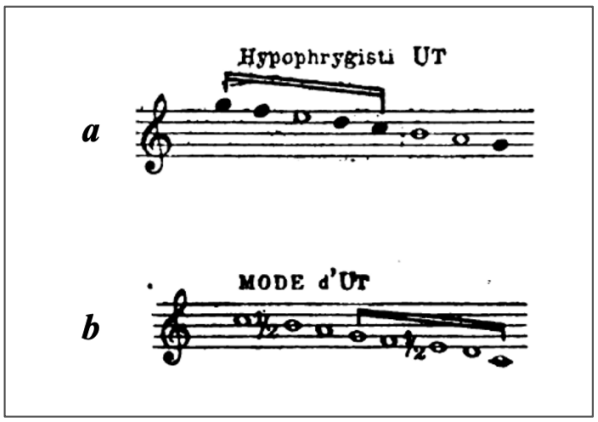


*Figure 31. Emmanuel's octave-species diagrams in the* Traité *representing the* Hypophrygisti-Ut *and common-practice major (*mode d'Ut*) modes. Although they share the same modal fifth (C-G, marked with a bracket), Emmanuel affirms their difference according to their respective finals: G and C.*

Several aspects of *Quand j'éto* evoke the double division of the *Hypophrygisti* mode and other facets of modal composition discussed in Emmanuel's *Traité*. While $G_4$ constitutes both the melodic initial and final, its melodic ambitus ranges largely from $D_4$ to $D_5$; together, these characteristics outline the modal fifth G-D. However, the melody's principal "iterative" tones are G and C (based on frequency of repetition alone, these notes occur twenty and thirteen times in each verse, respectively). On a motivic level, all three melodic sections (*a*, *b*, and *c*) also outline a descending fourth from $C_5$ to $G_4$ (Figure 32). In turn, these characteristics outline the modal fifth C-G inverted as a fourth (G-C). Across these observations, the note G arises as a common factor; it occupies the triple role of *initial*, *fundamental*, and predominant iterative tone. Given this G-centric orientation, it is not surprising that Emmanuel would label *Quand j'éto* as belonging to the *mode de Sol*. However, the melody also expresses a tension between the *fundamental* G and the iterative tone C that recalls Emmanuel's dual disposition of the *Hypophrygisti* octave (*Hypophrygisti-Sol* and -*Ut*, Figure 30).

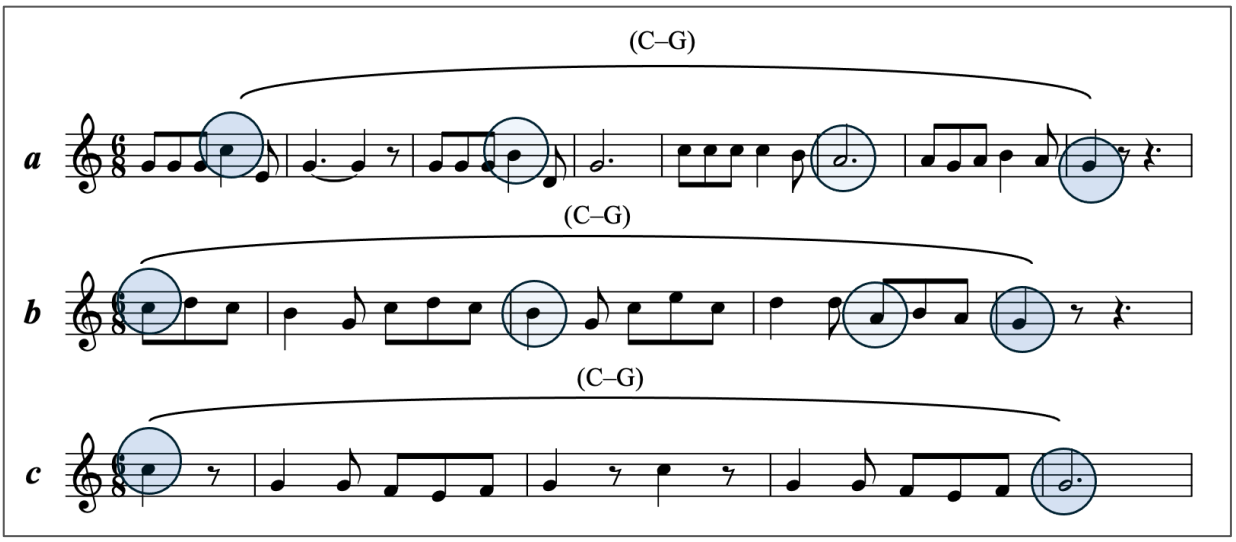


*Figure 32. Diagram illustrating the melodic contour for the three melodic phrases in* Quand j'éto*. Each phrase roughly outlines a descending fourth from $C_5$ to $G_4$ (indicated with slurs) . In the "a" and "b" sections, this interval is filled in as a descending tetrachord (C, B, A, G); in the "c" section, it is simply a leap from C to G.*

The first two motives in the *a*-section melody of *Quand j'éto* outline a C major and G major triad, respectively (Figure 33**a**). Although these successive harmonies constitute a plagal cadence in a G-centric context (reflecting the melody's thematic descent from $C_5$ to $G_4$), the structural emphasis on a C-major pitch set at the beginning of the piece encapsulates the song's characteristic tension between G centricity and C harmony. In his arrangement, Emmanuel asserts G centricity throughout this section with a lower pedal on G in the piano accompaniment.[225] Against this foundation, however, he superimposes a metrically disjunct layer in the piano accompaniment, generating two independent harmonic strata. The piano accompaniment enters on beat four of a six-eight measure, nine beats before the vocal entry; rather than an anacrusis, Emmanuel's phrase markings suggests that the piano is displaced from

[225] This pedal on G ($\hat{1}$, in a G Mixolydian context) contributes to Emmanuel's modal ambiguity via double division of the Mixolydian octave by discursive association with the pastoral genre. In the pastoral tradition, pedals on V are a common device used to emulate drones and pitch stasis typical in many genres of European folk music. This convention is complicated in a Mixolydian context, where a G ($\hat{1}$) pedal is interpreted with tonal ears as V of C. I discuss Emmanuel's use of pedals in relation to the pastoral genre in more detail later in this chapter.

the voice by one and a half measures, creating a metrical disjunction between melody and accompaniment. To illustrate this, I provide a diagram of the first four-measure phrase in the piano accompaniment shifted over to start on beat one (Figure 33**b**). Importantly, this metrical disjunction allows both the melody and the accompaniment to denote independent harmonic syntax; both parts outline distinct and overlapping four-measure phrases. Thus, Emmanuel's arrangement simultaneously defines G centricity (with a G pedal) and embraces modal-harmonic ambiguity (by obscuring phrase structure and harmonic syntax).

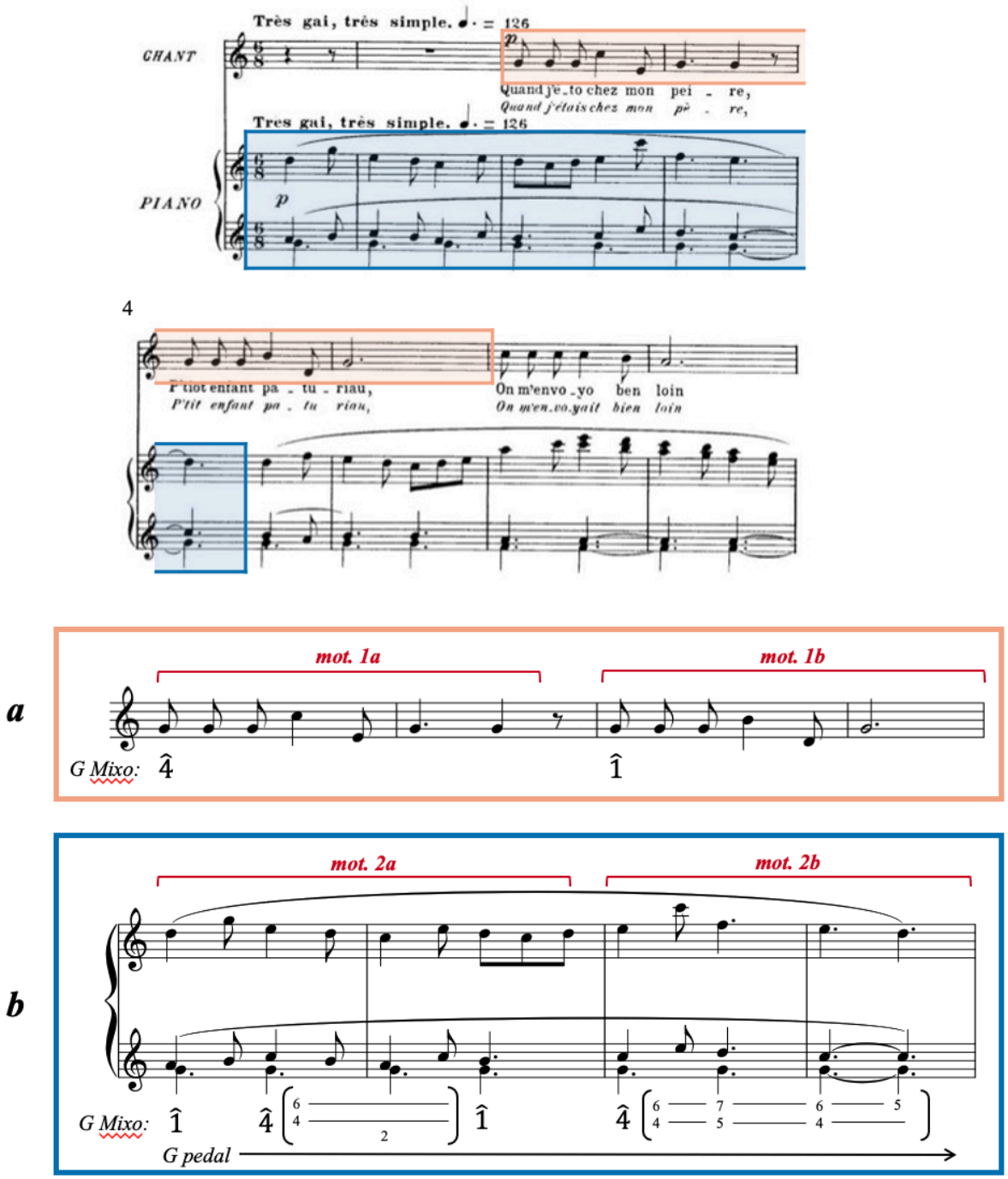


*Figure 33. A motivic and harmonic analysis of the first five measures of* Quand j'éto *(mm. 1–5). From these measures, I have extracted two distinct four-measure phrases; one in the voice, the other in the piano (marked in orange and blue, respectively). As Emmanuel's phrase markings in the piano suggest, these two phrases are metrically disjointed by nine beats. Figure 33a and Figure 33b illustrate how each of these phrases implies a distinct harmonic syntax. In Figure 33b, I have shifted the piano part to beat one to illustrate its hypermetric correlation with the initial vocal phrase.*

Emmanuel's use of metrical disjunction between the piano accompaniment and the vocal entry in the first *a* section impacts the arrangement in many ways. As illustrated above, the first motive (*mot. 1*) in the piano accompaniment constitutes an embellished G harmony ($\hat{1}$–$\hat{4}$–$\hat{1}$) when shifted to begin on beat one (Figure 33**b**).[226] In Emmanuel's actual arrangement, this harmonic return to $\hat{1}$ occurs on beat one of measure two, in tandem with the vocal entry (Figure 34). The first vocal motive (*mot. 1*), which broadly outlines a C major triad ($\hat{4}$), is thus harmonized with a $\hat{1}$-functioning G major triad in the piano accompaniment at this important formal juncture. A similar harmonic disjunction occurs on beat one of measure four. In this case, the second vocal motive (*mot. 1a*, which outlines a G major triad) coincides with an embellishment of C harmony (initially established on beat four of measure three). The harmony expressed at this second formal juncture (G-C-D) echoes Emmanuel's double disposition of the *Hypophrygisti* octave and constitutes a transposition of the *Doristi corps de l'harmonie* (E-A-B). Although a suspended harmony of this kind is relatively unremarkable (the suspended C falls to a B on beat four), it is Emmanuel's metrical disjunction of the piano accompaniment that allows it to fall naturally on beat one and assume structural significance in relation to the vocal phrasing. The contextual slippage between these two disjointed four-measure phrases also contributes to amplify Bourgault's "lack of resolution" associated with plagal modes (and with the *Hypophrygisti* octave species, in particular).

[226] This structural relationship between a G fundamental and a C subsidiary (or "iterative tone") aligns with Emmanuel's *Hypophrygisti-Ut* model.

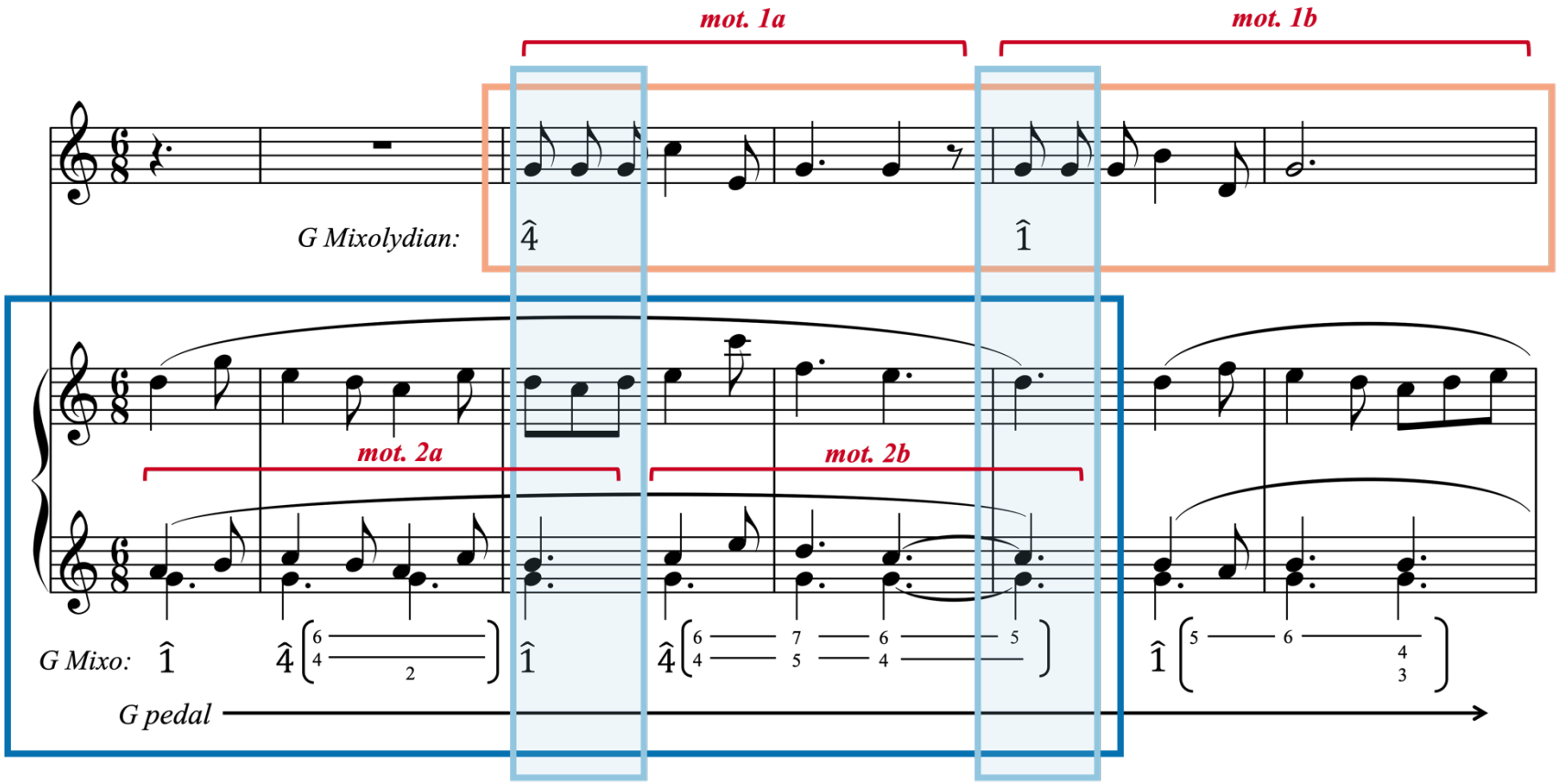


*Figure 34. Measures 1–5 of* Quand j'éto. *The first four-measure phrases in the vocal (in orange) and piano (in dark blue) parts are metrically disjointed. As I demonstrate in Figure 33, these phrases denote independent harmonic syntax. Superimposed as they are, they engender moments of harmonic disjunction at two key junctures: beat one of motives "a" and "b" in the vocal phrase (in light blue).*

On a larger scale, each *a* section traces a harmonic trajectory from G ($\hat{1}$), to F ($\flat\hat{7}$), and back to G ($\hat{1}$). In a G major context, this harmonic motion strongly denotes the Mixolydian mode by attributing structural importance (and harmonic polarity) to the characteristic scale degree $\flat\hat{7}$. The ambiguities arise with our tonal ears: in a C major context, these *a* sections represent a prolongation of V (Figure 35).

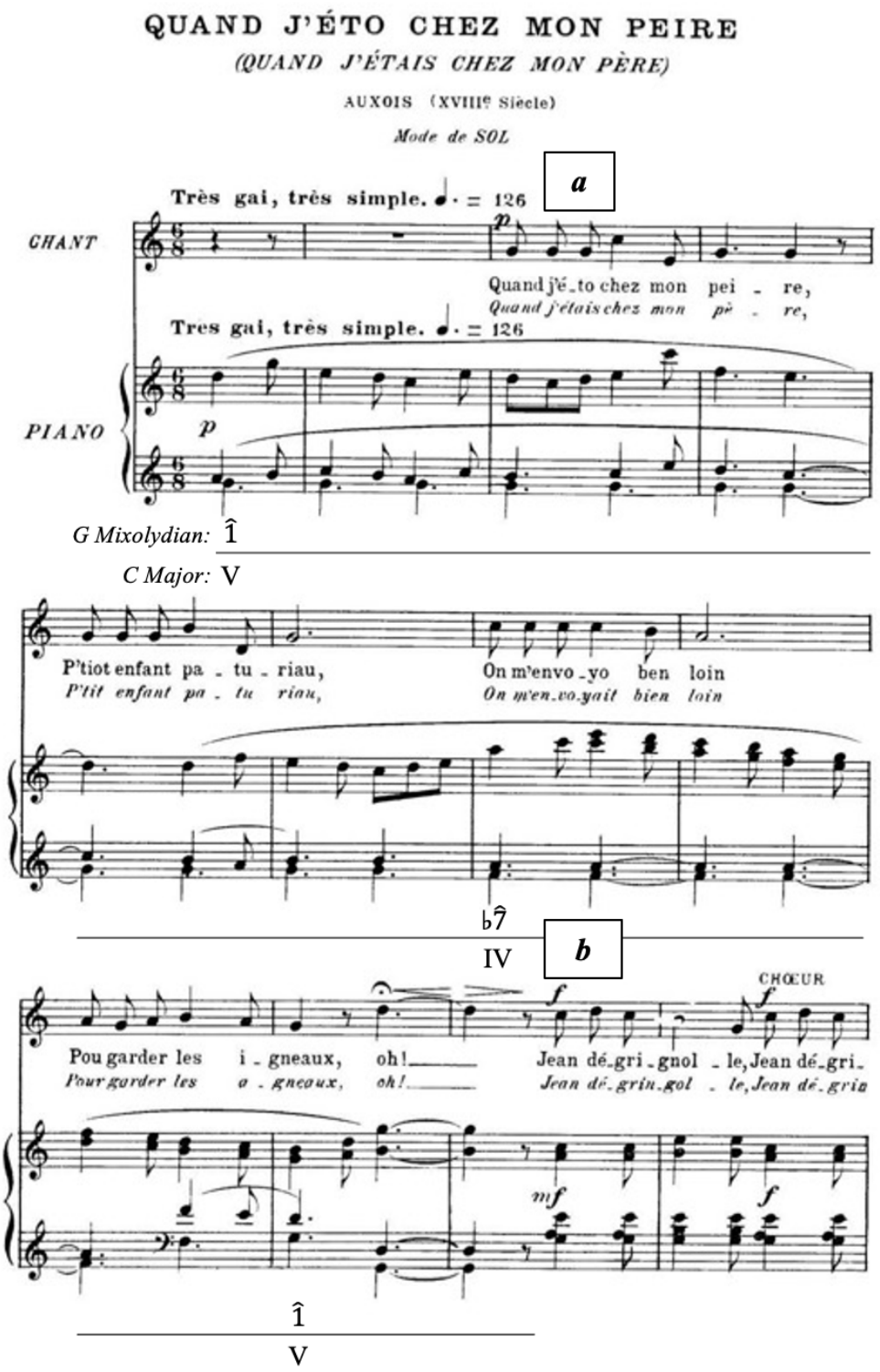


*Figure 35. The first "a" section in* Quand j'éto. *My annotations indicate the overarching harmonic motion, which is dictated by two oscillating pedal points (G and F). The modal designations indicate two possible interpretations of this harmonic motion: either a prolongation of* $\hat{1}$ *in G Mixolydian, or a prolongation of V in C Major.*

The *b* section melody is characterized by a short repetitive motive that is punctuated with a call-and-response pattern between the vocal soloist and a choir (Figure 36). In his accompaniment to the first *b* section (mm. 10–14), Emmanuel continues to assert the G fundamental established in the opening *a* section (one octave lower). However, he demarcates this section by recontextualizing the G pedal with novel (minor) harmonies. Echoing the melody's repetitive quality, his harmonization in the first half of the *b* section (mm. 10–12) constitutes an oscillation between A minor and E minor harmony. This harmonic pattern expresses a descending-fourth root motion that echoes the plagal gesture ($\hat{4}$–$\hat{1}$) outlined in the first two motives in the *a* section and actuates a minor-mode transposition of *Quand j'éto*'s characteristic tension between C ($\hat{4}$) and G ($\hat{1}$) to one between A ($\hat{2}$) and E ($\hat{6}$).[227]

[227] Intriguingly, the modal fifths engendered by these E and A harmonies (E-B and A-E) recall Emmanuel's double division of the *Doristi* octave and the ancient Greek *corps de l'harmonie* (E-A-B-E). Thus, in line with his representations of the *Hypophrygisti* mode in the *Traité*, this relative-minor gesture also links the modern *mode de Sol* to an ancestral fixed gamut represented by the octave species E-E.

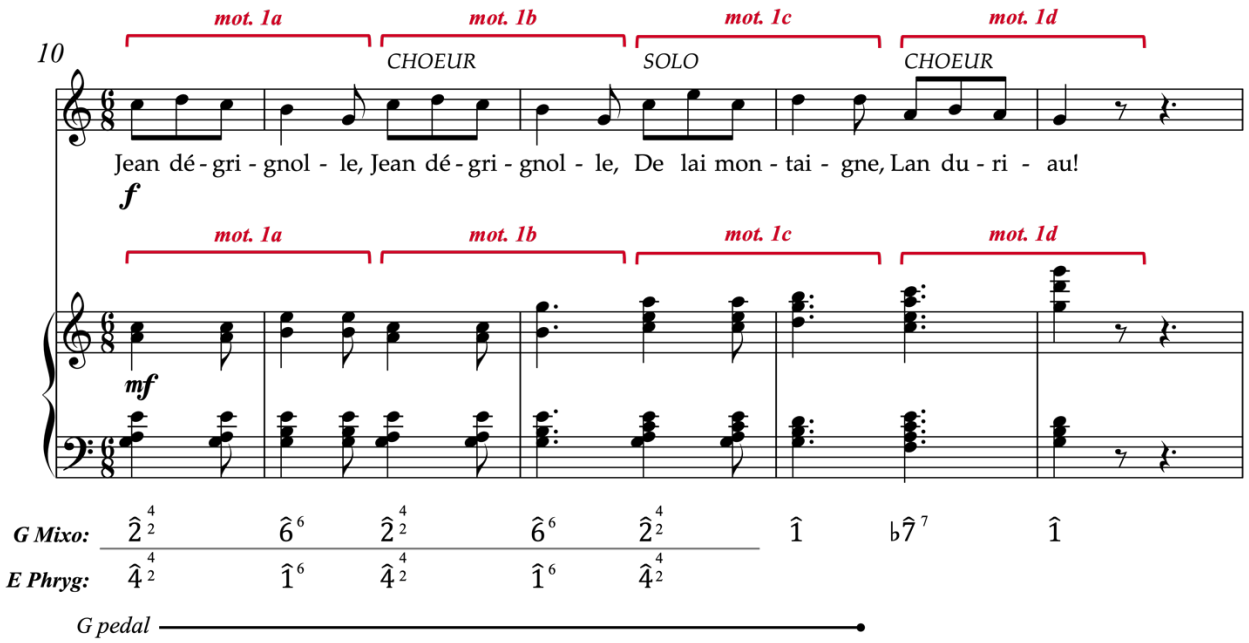


*Figure 36. The first "b" section in* Quand j'éto *(mm. 10–14). In this section, Emmanuel re-contextualizes the G pedal established in the first "a" section with novel, minor harmonies. This passage can be interpreted as a modulation to the relative minor mode, E Phrygian. From this perspective, the harmonic root motion from A (4̂) to E (1̂) constitutes a transposition of the song's characteristic melodic trajectory (and plagal/authentic tension) between C and G.*

The above passage can be interpreted in at least two ways: as a modal modulation to the "relative minor" of G Mixolydian (E Phrygian), or as a cadence to 6̂ in G Mixolydian. Two observations support the second reading as better. First, the persistent pedal on G weakens any sense of modulation. Second, the A minor harmony is next used to pivot back to a G major triad (1̂) in the second half of the phrase (mm. 12-14), drawing in the previous excursion to E minor territory. Finally, with the final motive (*mot. 1d*), Emmanuel transforms the role of the A minor harmony yet again with a surprise shift of the G pedal down a tone to F♮ (generating an F major seventh chord). This shift in the bass voice denotes a broader low-register motion for the entire *b* section (1–♭7–1) that echoes the harmonic trajectory in the previous *a* section and once again also maps onto a common-practice C major framework (V-IV-V).

The remaining *b* sections do not comprise a shift to the relative minor (E); rather, Emmanuel's arrangement oscillates between G major (1̂) and a secondary harmony. In the second *b* section, this secondary harmony is F major (♭7̂); hence, Emmanuel's harmonic choices once again outline the general scheme ♭7̂–1̂ (Figure 37). Intriguingly, Emmanuel voices this F harmony in second inversion, thus underpinning the harmonic motion ♭7̂–1̂ with a bass motion from 4̂ (C) – 1̂ (G). This harmonic motion simultaneously encapsulates both polarities that Emmanuel has established in his arrangement: the melodic polarity between fundamental (G) and iterative tone (C), and the harmonic polarity between 1̂ (G) and ♭7̂ (F). Throughout this section, the G harmony always occurs on beat one, whereas the polar harmony (F) occurs on beat four.

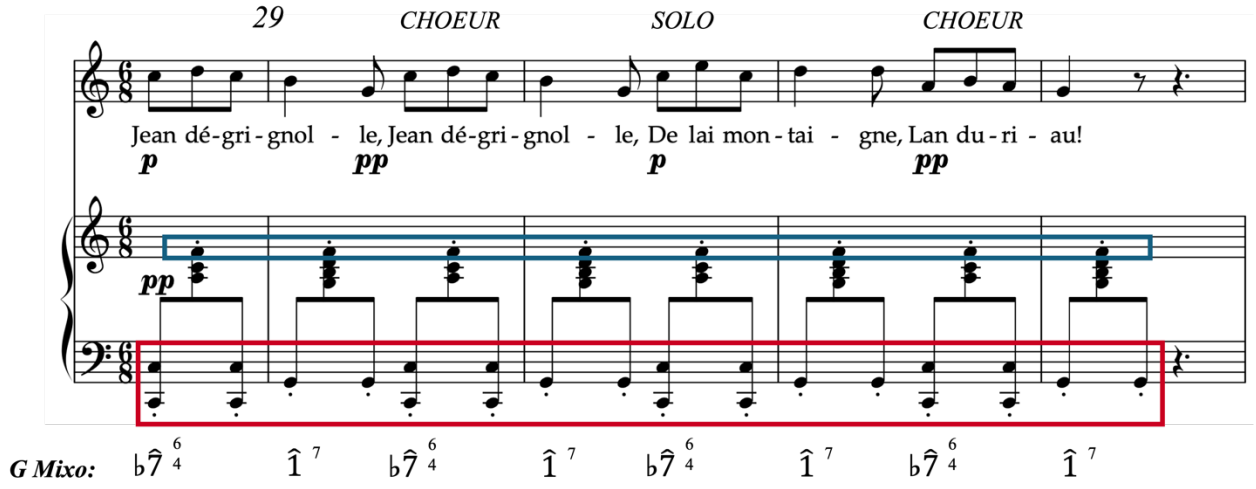


*Figure 37. The second "b" section in* Quand j'éto *(mm. 28–32). The harmonic motion constitutes an oscillation between the characteristic Mixolydian ♭7̂ (F) and 1̂ (G). By presenting the ♭7̂ harmony in second inversion, Emmanuel complements this harmonic motion with a thematic bass motion from 4̂ (C) to 1̂ (G) (in red). Both metrically and modally, the ♭7̂ harmonies on beat four of each measure are subsidiaries of the 1̂ harmonies that fall on beat one. This relationship is complicated by an F descant in the upper voice of the piano accompaniment (in blue). Via this descant, the second-inversion F major triads on beat four occupy a position of relative harmonic stability compared to the G dominant-seventh harmonies on beat one.*

Metrically, the F harmonies function as prolongations of G, assuming a similar syntactical role as they have in the previous *a* and *b* sections. However, Emmanuel complicates this metric-hierarchical relationship between harmonies by introducing an upper pedal on F (Figure 37). On the one hand, the descant on F transforms the relative metrical stability of the G chords on beat one into a relative harmonic *instability* (as G dominant sevenths); on the other hand, the metrically unstable F major triads are more harmonically consonant with the F descant. Because Emmanuel asserts G pitch centricity so strongly throughout the arrangement, the G dominant-seventh chords functions globally as unstable $\hat{1}$ harmonies; this aligns with Emmanuel's exploitation of the Mixolydian $\flat\hat{7}$ (F) and its associated "lack of resolution" as a key distinguishing characteristic of the mode. In the third (and final) *b* section, Emmanuel re-contextualizes the F major triad as a D minor seventh and reduces the G dominant seventh to a G major triad (Figure 38). As a result, this final section maintains the polarity between $\hat{1}$ and a harmony that expresses the characteristic scale degree $\flat\hat{7}$ (F) but resolves the previous disjunction between metrical and harmonic stability.

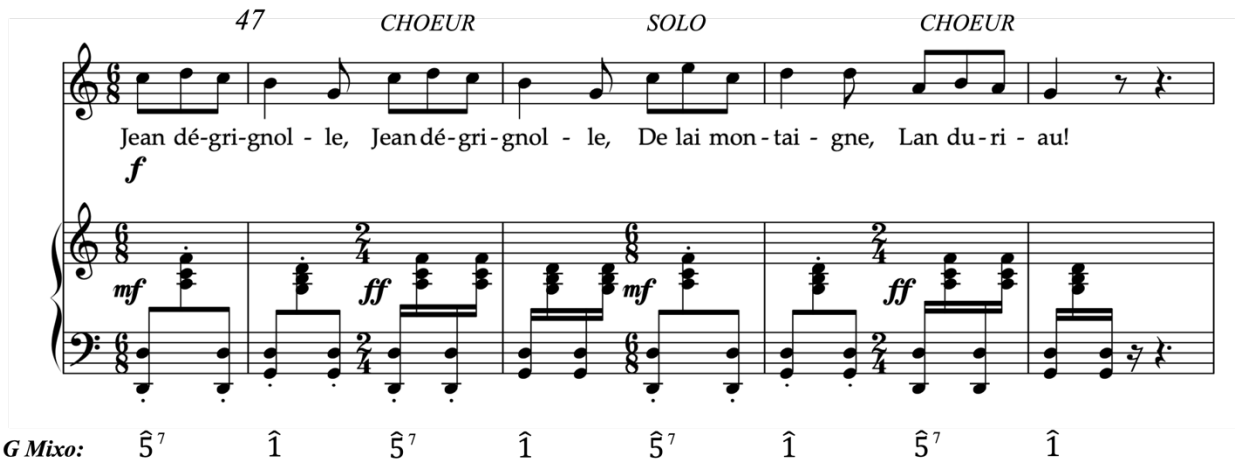


*Figure 38. The third and final "b" section in* Quand j'éto *(mm. 46–50). By changing the C (4̂) bass note from the second "b" section to a D (5̂), Emmanuel re-contextualizes the F major triads as D minor seventh harmonies (5̂7). This polar harmony still features the characteristic Mixolydian ♭7̂ scale degree (F). Meanwhile, the previous G dominant seventh harmonies on beat one have now been replaced by stable, root-position G major triads.*

Finally, the *c* section melody outlines a trajectory from $C_5$ to $G_4$. Unlike the *a* and *b* sections, Emmanuel does not harmonize these sections or provide any embellishment; instead, the piano accompaniment mimics the vocal melody in three-octave unison (Figure 39). Considering Emmanuel's comments concerning the accompaniment of monophonic chant, this arrangement decision suggests aesthetic implications. As previously mentioned, Emmanuel (citing Gevaert) affirms that any attempt at harmonizing a monophonic melody detracts from its inherent harmonic ambiguity (a characteristic that Emmanuel qualifies as aesthetically pleasing).[228] Emmanuel's decision to present this final passage monophonically thus suggests an underlying respect on his part for the modal ambiguity engendered by the tension in *Quand j'éto* between the centric pitches G and C. In other words, his unison approach suggests that any

[228] See my discussion of Emmanuel's *Traité de l'accompagnement modal des psaumes* in Chapter Two of this thesis.

attempt to harmonize this final section would denote centric and harmonic predominance too strongly.

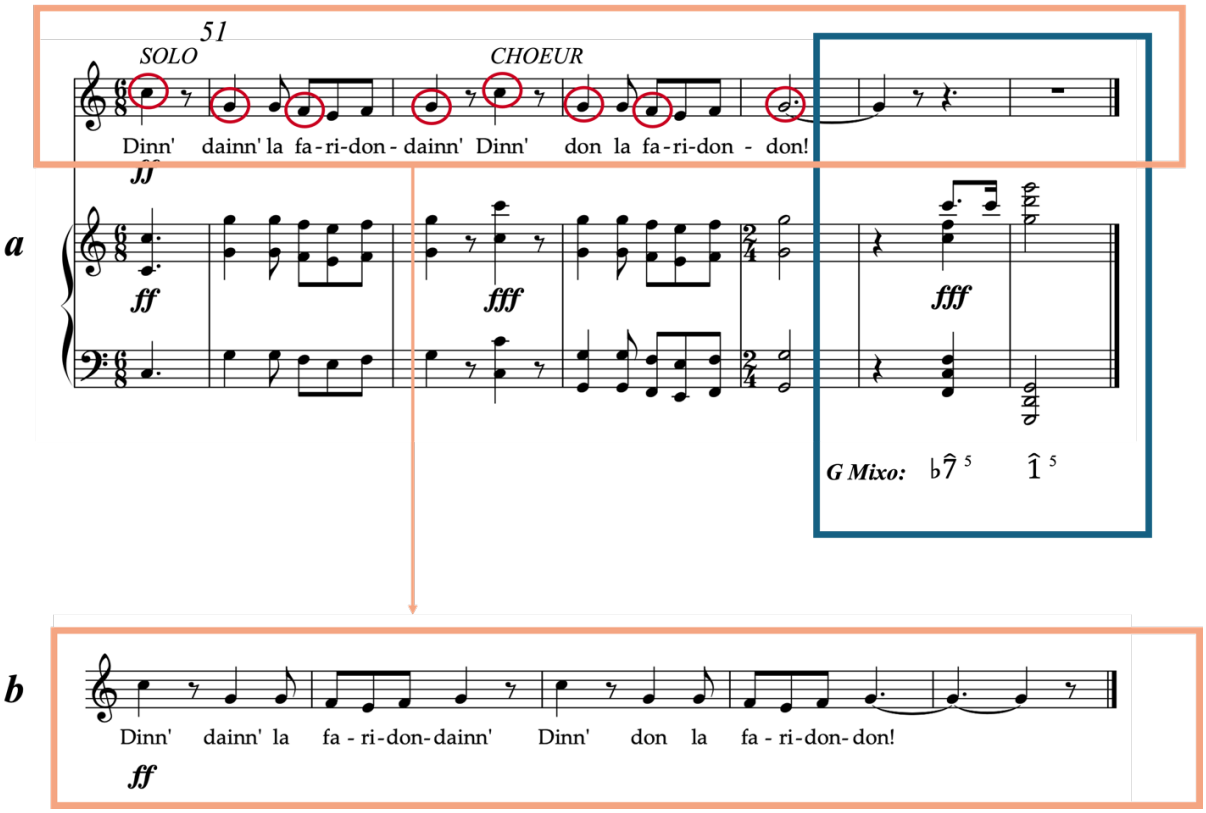


*Figure 39. Figure 39a depicts the final "c" section in* Quand j'éto *(mm. 50–56). The piano accompaniment echoes the vocal melody in three-octave unison. Emmanuel concludes the arrangement with a final cadence from* ♭ $\hat{7}$ *to* $\hat{1}$ *in mm. 55–56 (in blue). He maintains a degree of harmonic ambiguity in this cadence by employing open-fifth harmonies rather than complete triads. The "c" section melody outlines the pitches C, G, and F on strong beats (in red). Emmanuel positions this melody metrically so that the fundamental G (*$\hat{1}$*) is situated consistently on beat one of each measure. Figure 39b demonstrates the impact of this decision. Shifting the melody to begin on beat one instead of four accords the note C metrical prominence. In this hypothetical context, a persuasive metrical argument can be made for the interpretation of the melodic final G as V of C major. Alongside this metrical displacement, Emmanuel's final cadence greatly re-enforces G as the modal fundamental.*

The *c* section's metrical accents (beats one and four) align with the pitches C, G, F, and G. Although this *c* motive ends on the note G, the initial C strongly suggests a potential C-centric context. From a modal perspective, the root motion implied by these pitches maps onto both G Mixolydian and C Major syntactical models. Emmanual once again exploits these ambiguities; he always begins the *c* section phrase on beat four. Accordingly, the Gs in the *c* motive land on beat one when they would otherwise land on beat four to C's beat one. In effect, Emmanuel's arrangement both embraces ambiguity in some respects (via the unison accompaniment) and asserts G centricity in others (via metrical placement). In the final *c* section, Emmanuel appends a cadence from F ( $\flat \hat{7}$) to G ($\hat{1}$), following the melodic final. This cadence encapsulates the Mixolydian harmonic polarity that Emmanuel has established throughout his arrangement. Furthermore, he harmonizes the final F and G notes simply as open fifths, thus maintaining a degree of ambiguity that is unafforded in a triadic context.

**Pastoral evocations: pedal points and harmonic stasis**

The application of pedal points as a compositional technique in Western art music is associated in part with the pastoral genre. The pastoral is a rich interdisciplinary topic, which Geoffrey Chew and Owen Jander broadly define as "a literary, dramatic or musical genre that depicts the characters and scenes of rural life or is expressive of its atmosphere."[229] In post-Renaissance Western art music, several enduring pastoral tropes are thought to have emerged in

[229] Geoffrey Chew and Owen Jander, "Pastoral," in *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001–), accessed April 22, 2024, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000040091. Highlighting the complexity of the topic, Matthew Gelbart categorizes the pastoral as a "mode" rather than a genre (citing Paul Alpers), meaning that it is "more a group of related genres than a single bounded genre." Matthew Gelbart, *The Invention of "Folk Music" and "Art Music": Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner*, New Perspectives in Music History and Criticism 16 (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 42.

Italian Christmas repertoires of the seventeenth century (otherwise known as "Christmas pastorals"), including "lilting melodies in triple time . . . prominent use of parallel 3rds, drone basses and symmetrical phrases."[230] Echoing the rural imagery of Christmas mythology, these tropes were likely developed to evoke the practices of folk instruments associated with Italian shepherds such as the *piffero* (a shawm-like double reed instrument) and *zampogna* (a family of bagpipes).[231] From the second half of the seventeenth century, folk instruments with drone components such as the *musette* (a type of bagpipe) and the hurdy-gurdy became similarly popular in the French court (the term "musette" later evolved to designate a "a dance-like piece of pastoral character" characterized by a low-register drone).[232] This stylistic lineage extends to nineteenth century works such as Beethoven's *Symphony No. 6*, Op. 68 ("Pastoral"), whose pastoral qualities are "due in part to an avoidance of the dynamic drive often associated with the tonal design of Beethoven's forms . . . and to the adoption of a generally slow harmonic rhythm."[233] Aesthetically, drone components associated with certain folk instruments thus became integrated into art music genres as periods of harmonic stasis such as pedal points and repeated pitches.

Associations between pastoral "modes" and folk idioms are further entangled with historical genres such as the French medieval *pastourelle*—a poetic genre typically recounting a knight's efforts to seduce a shepherdess.[234] Most famously, the trouvère Adam de la Halle's (ca.

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[230] Chew and Jander, "Pastoral."
[231] Chew and Jander, "Pastoral."
[232] Robert A. Green, Anthony C. Baines, and Meredith Ellis Little, "Musette (i)," in *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001–), accessed April 25, 2024, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.19398. Musettes appear in many different settings including opera (Mozart's *Bastien und Bastienne* [1768]) and various instrumental genres (for example: Couperin's *Muséte de Choisi* and *Muséte de Taverni* from *Pièces de clavecin, XVe ordre* [1722], and Handel's *Musette* from *Concerto Grosso in G minor, HWV 324* [1740]).
[233] Chew and Jander, "Pastoral."
[234] "Pastourelle," in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, Gale eBooks (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 1008–9, accessed on May 1, 2024, https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400841424.

1245–1285/1306) "parody of the narrative *pastourelle*" the *Jeu de Robin et Marion* (ca. 1283) contains monophonic songs whose melodies "seem to be of a popular cast" and were thus believed by many nineteenth-century French musicologists to have been borrowed from *chansons populaires*.[235] Heralded by François-Joseph Fétis in 1827 as the "oldest *opéra-comique* in existence," the *Jeu de Robin et Marion* became a pillar of French national identity and played a key role in nineteenth-century debates over the development of modern tonality.[236] Given the discursive relationship between pastoral tropes, *chansons populaires*, and medieval repertoires, it is not surprising that Emmanuel would draw on these traditions in his *XXX Chansons* arrangements.

Emmanuel tellingly devotes the final chapter of his *Traité de l'accompagnement modal des psaumes* to the "modal accompaniment of secular melodies," drawing two monophonic examples from de la Halle's *Jeu de Robin et Marion.*[237] In the introductory paragraph, he overtly stakes his purist *musica recta* modal ideologies in connection to this repertoire:

> The time has passed (at least, let us hope that it has!) when the editors of *chansons*, completely ignorant of "modes," flattened and sharpened *folkloric* melodies as they wished, feeling these to be more beautiful the better they conformed to [common practice] modern Major and Minor contexts. There are many errors to be rectified in antiquated publications of French *chansons*.[238]

The first song in the *Jeu de Robin et Marion* (*Robin m'aime, Robin ma*) is a point of contention for Emmanuel and the composer Charles Koechlin (1867–1950). Both argue that *Robin m'aime*

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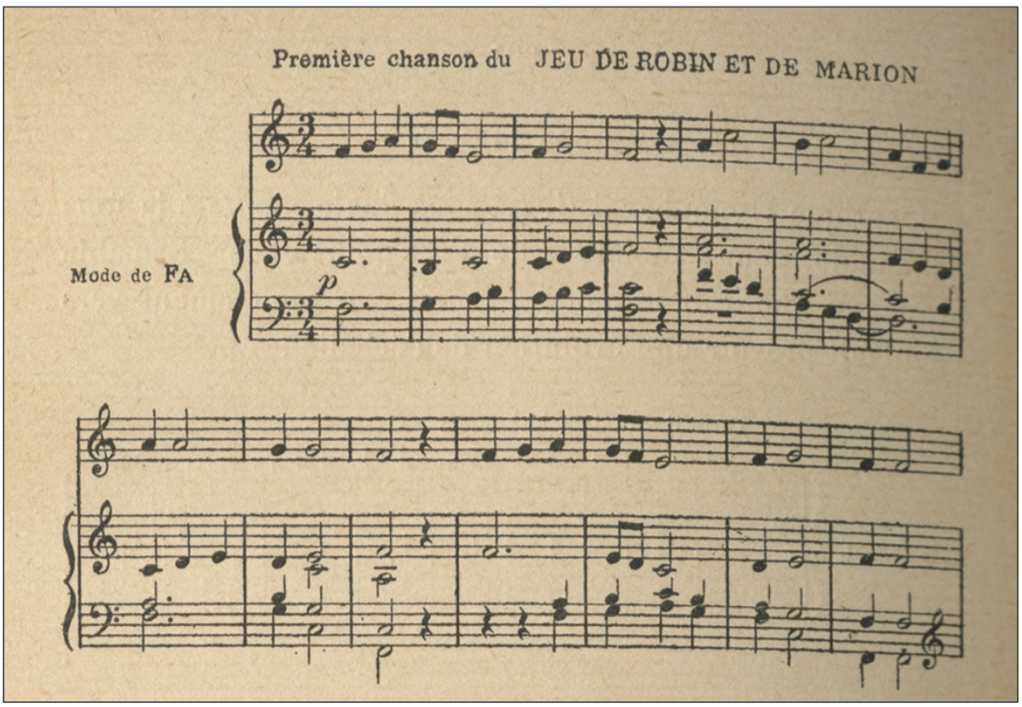
[235] Quotations are from Robert Falck, "Adam de La Halle," in *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001– ); accessed May 1, 2024, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.00163. For a detailed examination of nineteenth-century discourse concerning the "popular" origins of *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, see Katharine Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past: Early Music in Nineteenth-Century France* (Oxford University Press, 2005), 164–70.
[236] For "pro-tonal" arguments, see Christensen, *Stories of Tonality*. For "pro-modal" arguments, see Ellis, *French Musical Life,* 349.
[237] Emmanuel cites manuscript sources in both cases. Emmanuel, *Traité*, 199, 201.
[238] "Le temps est passé (du moins souhaitons-le !) où les éditeurs de chansons, totalement étrangers aux "modes," bémolisaient et diésaient, selon leur goût, les mélodies du *folklore*, estimant celles-ci d'autant plus belles qu'elles s'assortissaient davantage, par leur contexture, au Majeur et au Mineur modernes." Emmanuel, *XXX Chansons*, 198. The irony of Emmanuel's statement in light of his first folk settings should not be lost!

is properly in the Lydian mode (*mode de fa*) and should thus include a sharpened fourth degree ($\sharp\hat{4}$) in relation to common-practice major (*mode d'ut*). As Katharine Ellis suggests, their argument in this case is likely formed in response to a 1896 arrangement of the *Jeu de Robin et Marion* by Julien Tiersot, in which Tiersot interprets *Robin m'aime* as common-practice major by lowering the fourth degree throughout.[239] In the *Traité*, Emmanuel counters with a purely Lydian arrangement of *Robin m'aime* reminiscent of *V'la que l'alouette chante* (song XXIV in *XXX Chansons*). Perhaps symbolically, Emmanuel positions both arrangements specifically in F Lydian to generate an unmodified white-key diatonic space that presents the so-called "*mode de fa*" in an untransposed state (Figure 40).[240]

[239] Ellis, *French Musical Life,* 349. For Tiersot's arrangement, see Julien Tiersot, Emile Blémont, and Adam de la Halle, *Le jeu de Robin et Marion : opéra-comique en un acte* (Paris: E. Fromont, 1896). Note that Tiersot includes the expression marking "*Dans le caractère d'une mélodie pastorale*" ("In the character of a pastoral melody").
[240] Emmanuel, *Traité*, 202.

***a***

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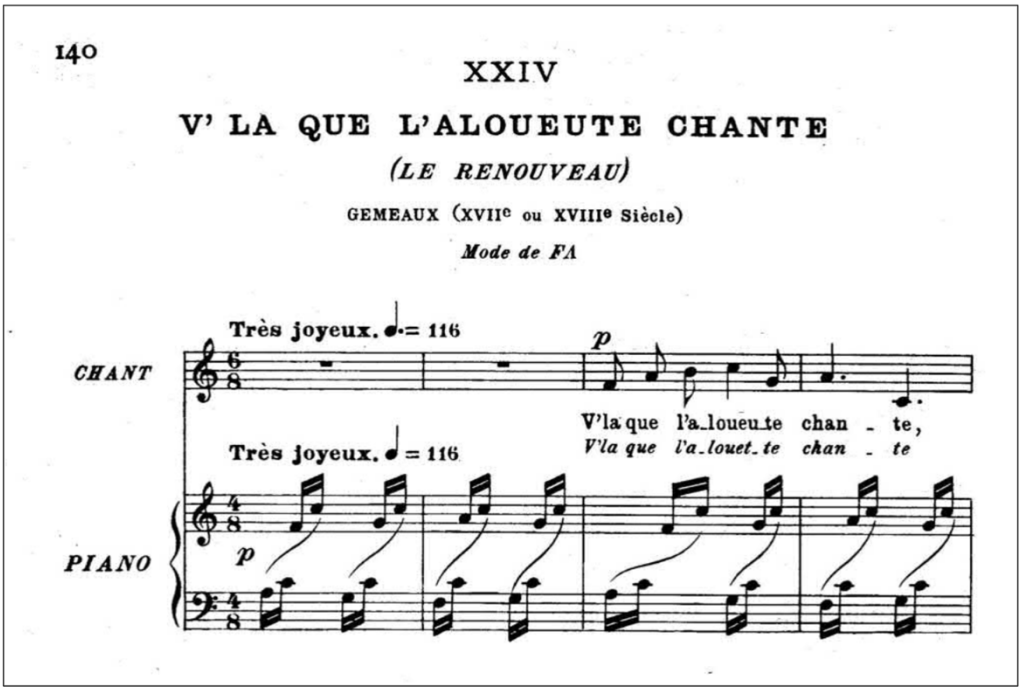
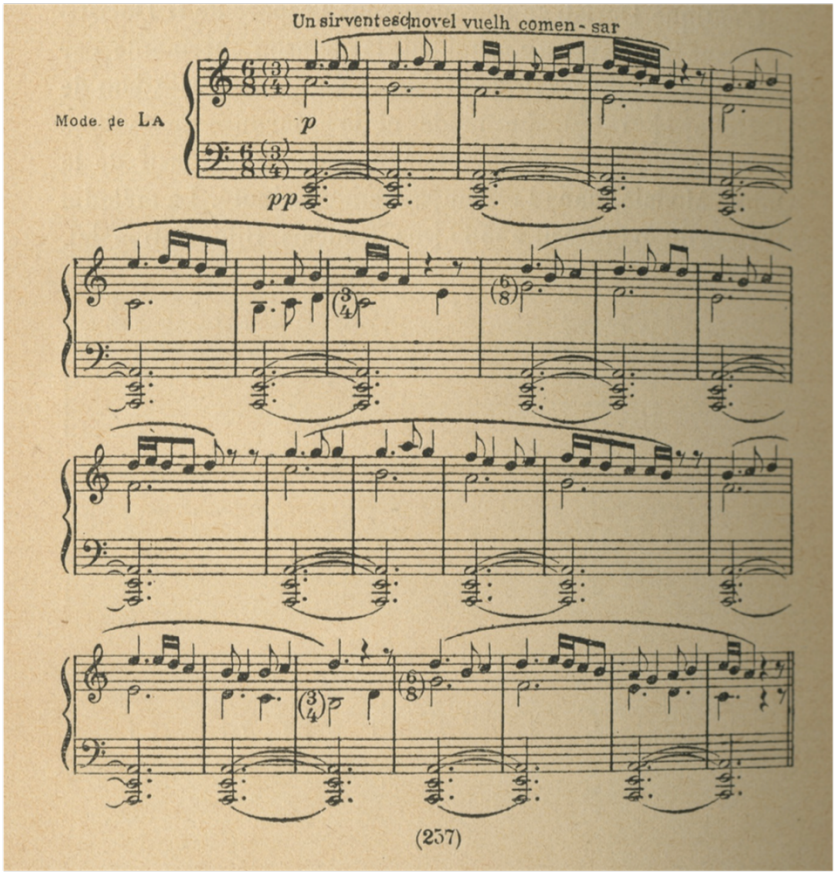



*Figure 40. Figure 40a is Emmanuel's harmonization of* Robin m'aime, Robin m'a *from Adam de la Halle's* Jeu de Robin et Marion*, in his* Traité de l'accompagnement modal des psaumes. *Figure 40b is* V'la que l'alouette chante *(XXIV) from* XXX Chansons*. Emmanuel identifies both songs as belonging to the Lydian mode. By situating these arrangements in the key of F Lydian, Emmanuel showcases the "mode de fa" in an explicit, untransposed state (Tiersot's arrangement of* Robin m'aime *is in G major).*

Emmanuel also references pastoral tropes in his examples of secular modal accompaniment in the *Traité*. In his rendition of an Aeolian (*mode de la*) melody, he employs a double pedal on A ($\hat{1}$) and E ($\hat{5}$) in the piano's left hand, "permanently stationing the Modal Fifth" and establishing an unambiguous A Aeolian modal centre (Figure 41**a**).[241] Notably, he produces this effect with a repeated two-measure phrase featuring a sustained, low-register dotted half-note chord ($A_1$–$E_2$–$A_2$) and notes in the commentary that this "double pedal" is akin to "the low droning of a hurdy-gurdy."[242] Emmanuel's Phrygian (*mode de mi*) example (*Je me repairoie du tournoiement*, also from the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*) also features a continuous "pedal" on the modal fifth in the low register. In this case, he generates a pedal effect through pitch-class repetition; rather than employing a drone, he incorporates variations by shifting the octave, voicing, and rhythmic pattern in combinations of the pitches A and E (Figure 41**b**). Curiously, the pedal tones in this example correspond to $\hat{4}$ (A) and $\hat{1}$ (E) in an E Phrygian context (where one might expect the pedal tones E [$\hat{1}$] and B [$\hat{5}$]). Emmanuel illuminates this curiosity in the commentary by suggesting that *Je me repairoie* conforms to the ancient Greek *Doristi-la* mode; in other words, an E octave species that is harmonically A-centric.[243] Although Emmanuel doesn't mention it, this interpretation is purely conjectural based on his own theories of modal harmonization; as represented in the *Traité*, *Je me repairoie* conforms basically to the third mode in medieval octonary modal theory, characterized by the *final* E and the *tenor* C.[244]

[241] Emmanuel, *Traité*, 200.
[242] Emmanuel, *Traité*, 200.
[243] Emmanuel, *Traité*, 199.
[244] Powers et al., "Mode," §II, 3.

***a***

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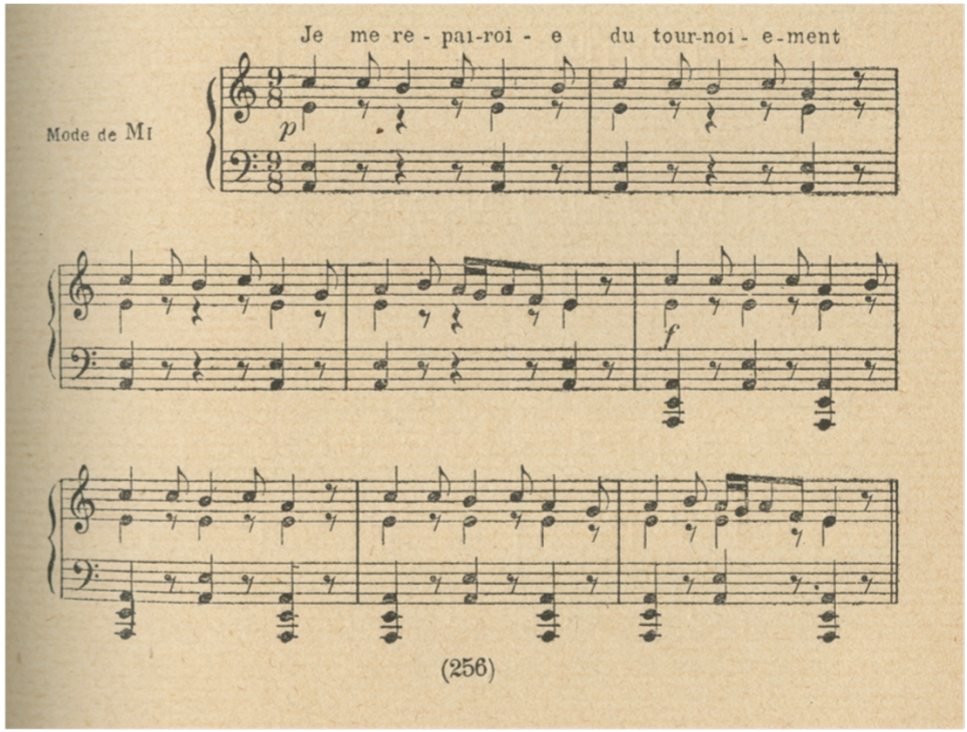



*Figure 41. Figure 41a and Figure 41b are both examples from Emmanuel's* Traité *representing the Aeolian ("mode de la") and Phrygian ("mode de mi") modes, respectively. Because of a quirk in Emmanuel's modal theories, both examples feature a pedal on A and E (*$\hat{1}$ *and* $\hat{5}$ *in A Aeolian,* $\hat{4}$ *and* $\hat{1}$ *in E Phrygian). Each example features a unique approach to harmonic pedals: the pedal in Figure 41a is meant to evoke the drone of a hurdy-gurdy, whereas the pedal in Figure 41b represents a more variegated approach to harmonic stasis.*

Beyond pastoral evocation, pedals and pitch stasis play a key role in Emmanuel's modal arrangements of *XXX Chansons* largely for harmonic reasons. Pedals on $\hat{1}$ and $\hat{5}$ (Emmanuel's "modal fifth") unambiguously denote harmonic centricity in a triadic (or tertian) contrapuntal context without recourse to perfect cadences (or other forms of tonal rhetoric). More broadly, various types of pitch stasis such as suspensions and pitch-class repetition foster a linear harmonic territory governed by conjunct motion and parsimonious voice leading. This form of harmonic cohesion circumvents more generic conventions of tonal syntax such as root motion by fifth. Further, Emmanuel's use of suspensions and strict diatonic vocabulary soften the effect of ostensibly "tonal" harmonic progressions when they do occur, in comparison with root-position and chromatically inflected tonal corollaries. These techniques can be seen in *J'ai vu le loup* (VIII) (Figure 42). Finally, he also employs sustained notes to access extended harmonies (such as added notes and quintal structures) as subsidiaries of triadic structures.

***J'ai vu le loup*, mm. 10–13**

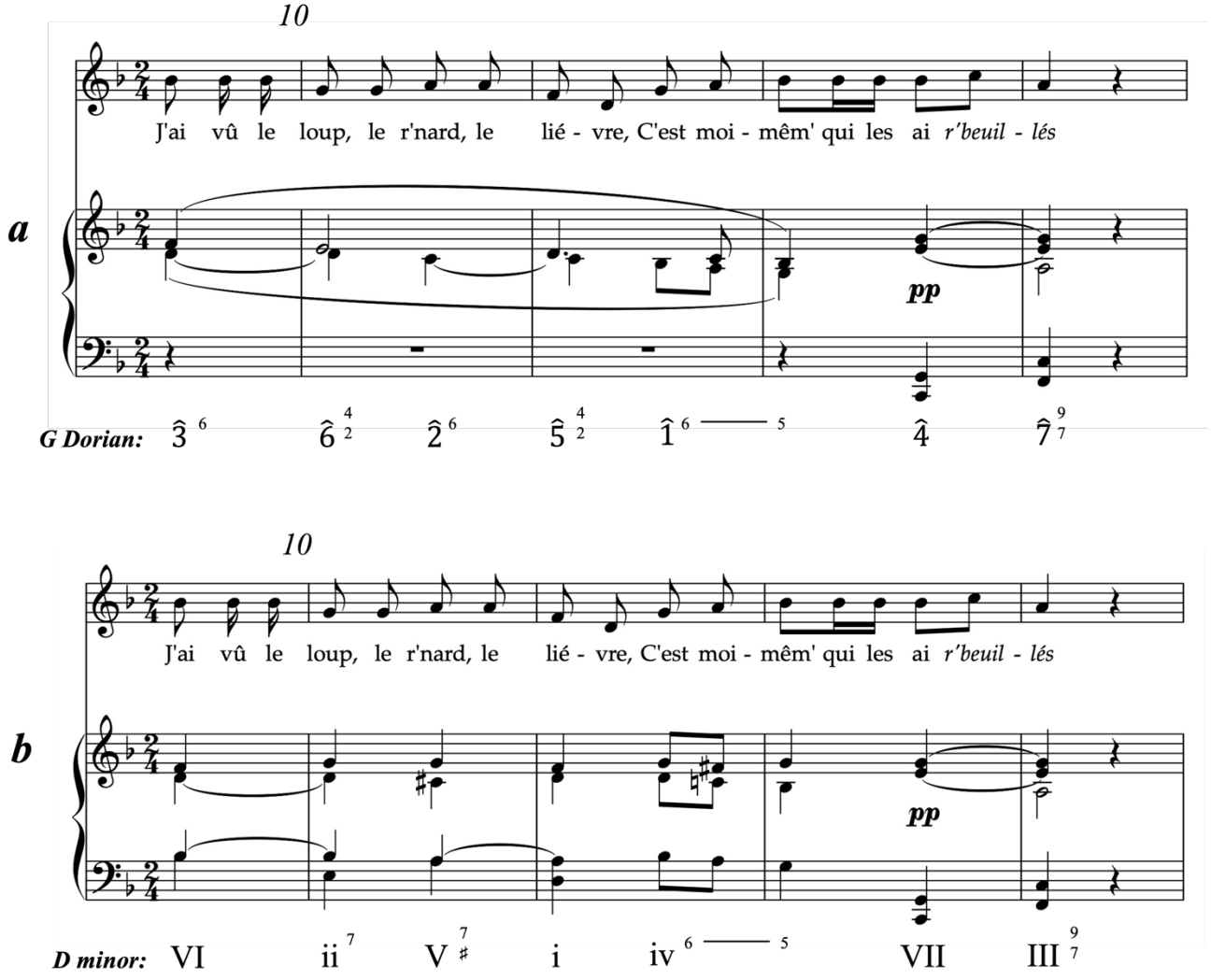



*Figure 42. A hypothetical comparison of two harmonic approaches to mm. 10–13 from* J'ai vu le loup*. Figure 42a is a harmonic analysis of Emmanuel's* XXX Chansons *arrangement, in G Dorian. The root motion throughout (labeled as scale degrees) constitutes a series of descending fifths (B ♭, E, A, D, etc.). In Figure 42b, I have provided an overtly "tonal" re-harmonization of this passage. Emmanuel's use of suspensions (and strict diatonicism) softens the association between harmonic motion in fifths and perfect cadences.*

*Noël (X)*

The French *noël* musical genre is a stylistic corollary to the Italian Christmas pastoral tradition. In his *Dictionnaire de musique* (1768), Rousseau defines *noëls* as "tunes intended for

certain canticles which the people sing at Christmas: these types should have a rustic and pastoral character consistent with the simplicity of the words and of the shepherds who were supposed to have sung them while paying homage to Christ in the crib."[245] Given this genetic lineage, it is no surprise that Emmanuel applies a drone-like pedal in *XXX Chansons* most overtly in *Noël*. In the first verse (mm. 1–15), the piano part comprises three textural layers (which are introduced one at a time in measures 1–3): a sustained double pedal in the low register (*a*), an on-beat repetitive eighth-note rhythmic pattern in the middle register (*b*), and an off-beat complement to the middle-register pattern in the upper register (*c*) (Figure 43). All notes in the low-register pedal and the upper-register off-beat pattern represent only two pitch classes (E ♭ and B ♭ ) across a span of three octaves. In conjunction, these textures constitute a stratified double pedal that affirms Emmanuel's modal designation E ♭ Ionian (*mode d'Ut*) by outlining its fundamental "modal fifth."

[245] Translation by Frank Dobbins, and quoted in Frank Dobbins, "Noël," in *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001–), accessed April 23, 2024, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.20020.

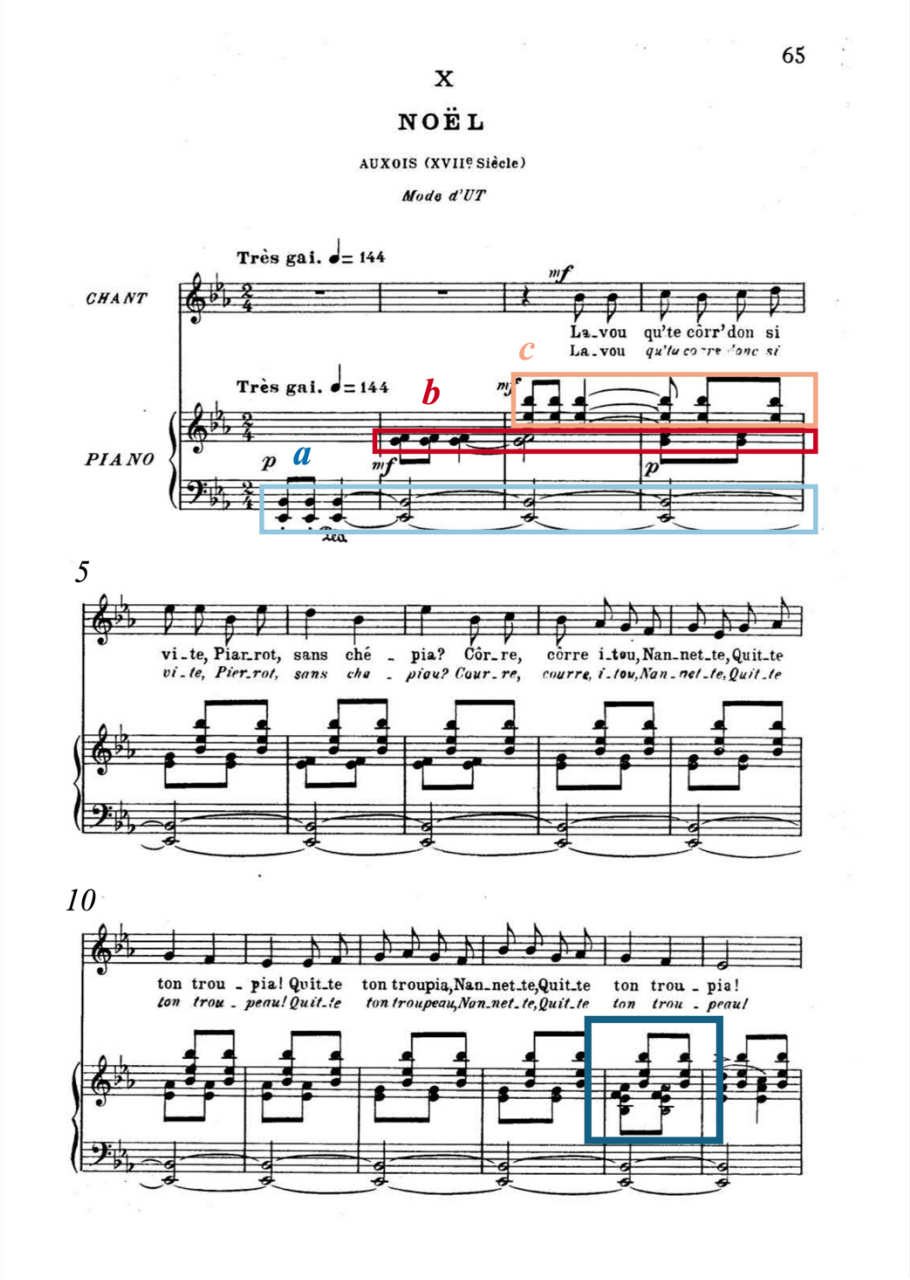



*Figure 43. The first verse of* Noël *(mm. 1–15). Emmanuel begins the arrangement (mm. 1–2) with a series of perfect fifths (Eb, Bb, and F). In these opening measures, he also introduces a stratified texture in the piano accompaniment with three distinct parts. The low-register double-pedal (marked "a," in light blue) and the high-register off-beat pattern (marked "c," in orange) both affirm the modal fifth E♭–B♭ throughout. Meanwhile, the upper voice of the two-part middle texture (marked "b," in red) oscillates between a consonant G (3̂) and its upper and lower neighbours (A♭ and F, respectively). Against the E♭–B♭ pedal, these oscillating upper neighbours generate quintal harmonies. In measure 14, Emmanuel combines all pitches to generate a four-part quintal harmony that functions as a substitute to a traditional dominant (V) harmony, without leading tone: B♭, E♭, F, A♭ (in dark blue).*

The two-part middle texture constitutes the only moving voices in the piano accompaniment to the first verse of *Noël*. The repetitive E♭ acts as a pseudo-pedal re-enforcing the low-register double pedal on E♭ and B♭ (held by the sustain pedal) as it gradually fades out. Meanwhile, the upper note fills out the major third (G) of an E♭ major triad (m. 4) and proceeds to alternate between lower and upper diatonic neighbour notes. Alongside a B♭ ($\hat{5}$) pedal, these two neighbour notes (F and A♭) signal common-practice dominant harmony and thus contain strong harmonic potentiality. By maintaining an E♭ pedal (and thus avoiding the leading tone, D), however, Emmanuel opts for a static harmonic texture in which this moving voice generates colouristic, non-tertian harmonies. Each of these neighbour notes (F and A♭) are related by a fifth to notes in the double pedal (B♭ and E♭ respectively); in conjunction, both three-note groupings thus generate quintal harmonies (E♭, B♭, F; and A♭, E♭, B♭). Given Emmanuel's theories concerning the quintal (and "popular") origins of the diatonic scale and the *corps de l'harmonie* (a three-note series of fifths), these parsimonious dissonances gesture towards archaic conceptions of harmony, consonance, and tetrachordal divisions of the octave. Indeed, Emmanuel begins the arrangement by building a series of three fifths above the fundamental Eb (mm. 1–2), recreating the generative sequence he expounds in *Grèce* and the *Histoire*. In measure 14, he combines all three fifths (A ♭ , E ♭ , B ♭ , and F) into an independent B ♭ harmony (above the static drone), effectively substituting a pseudo-archaic quintal structure (B ♭ , E ♭ , F, A ♭ ) for the common-practice tertian V7 chord (B ♭ , *D*, F, A ♭ ).

*I t'airai ma brunette (XIV)*

Emmanuel employs double pedals on $\hat{1}$ and $\hat{5}$ in other songs to similar effect. In *I t'airai, ma brunette*, repeated fifths (A and E) in both the left- and right-hand textures operate as a pseudo-pedal throughout the entire arrangement. Like the *Noël* arrangement, Emmanuel fills out this static "modal fifth" with a flexible middle voice, generating a three-part harmonic texture. In this case, he employs a four-measure ostinato pattern outlining the descending tetrachord E-B (one measure per note) rather than embellishing the fundamental triad (A major) (**Figure 44**). On the surface, Emmanuel resolves the "dissonant" quintal harmony (A, B, E) in measure four of this pattern (m. 8) to an A major triad on beat two. However, accents on beat one of each measure emphasize the passing harmonies generated by the double pedal (A-E) and the descending tetrachord (E-B) equally, obscuring a sense of harmonic function or hierarchy. Although the melody outlines an entire A Ionian diatonic pitch set, Emmanuel restricts the left-hand harmonic texture to a diatonic pentachord spanning from A3 to E4; the remaining diatonic pitches (F♯ and G♯) only occur as melodic embellishments in the right hand. Re-enforced by the pedal on A ($\hat{1}$), Emmanuel's omission of the leading tone G♯ particularly circumvents tonal connotations in an Ionian-mode context. For example, Emmanuel once again employs a four-part quintal harmony (A, D, E, B) over the A pedal in measures 18–19 as a pseudo-$V^7$ chord; were the

bottom note A replaced with a G♯, this harmony would become a first-inversion E dominant seventh chord (*G♯*, D, E, B) (**Figure 45**).

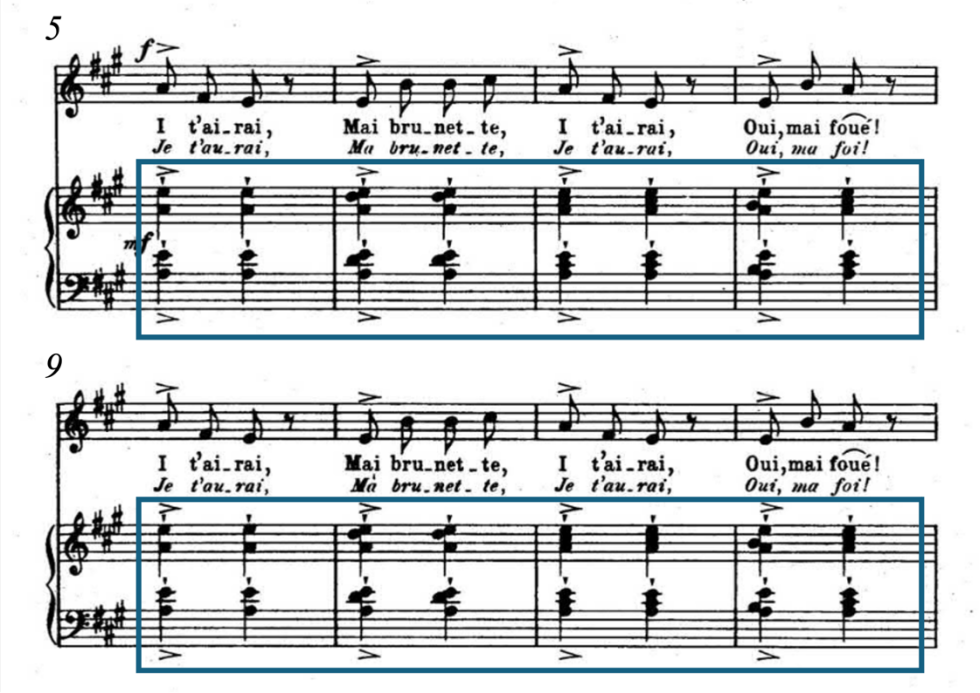



*Figure 44. Measures 5–12 of* I t'airai. *The piano accompaniment features a repetitive, four-measure ostinato pattern. In both the left- and right-hand parts, the outer voices form a double-pedal on the modal fifth A–E and the middle voice traces a descending tetrachord from E to B. Accents on beat one of each measure emphasize all passing harmonies equally.*

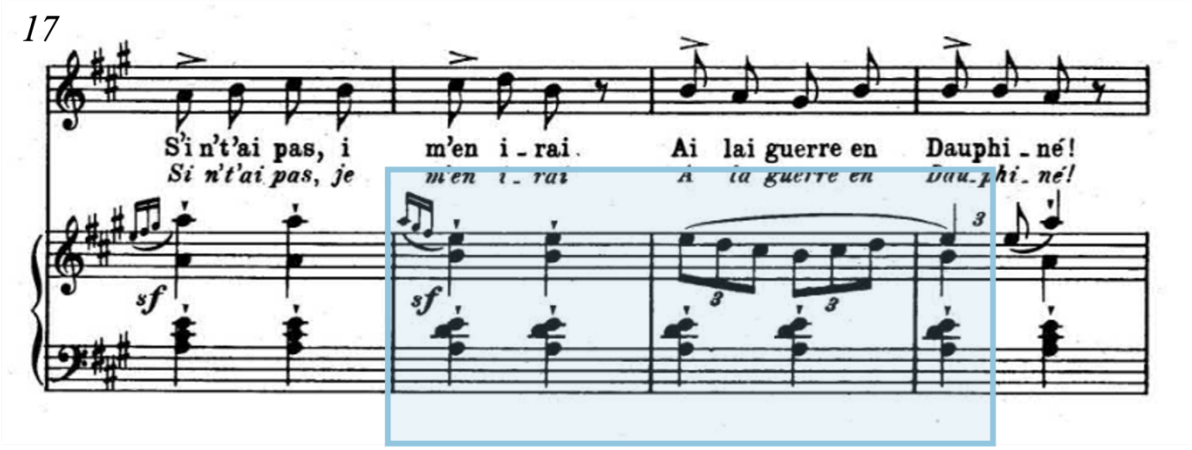



*Figure 45. Measures 17–20 of* I t'airai. *Emmanuel continues to restrict harmonies in the piano accompaniment to pitches in the diatonic pentachord spanning A-E. By maintaining a pedal on A throughout, he conspicuously avoids harmonies that involve the leading tone G♯. In measures 18–20, he employs a four-part quintal harmony similar to the one generated via a double-pedal on 1–5 in* Noël*: A, D, E, B (in light blue). If the A pedal were replaced with a G#, this harmony would become a tonal first-inversion E dominant-seventh chord (G#, D, E, B) resolving to an A major triad on beat two of measure 20.*

*Le pommier d'août (XII)*

Emmanuel applies a similar concept of pedal via pitch-class repetition in *Le pommier d'août*. Rather than maintaining a strict pedal on $\hat{1}$ and $\hat{5}$ throughout (as in *Noël* and *I t'airai*), in *Le pommier* he alternates between various combinations of $\hat{1}$, $\hat{5}$, or $\hat{1}$ and $\hat{5}$. He also applies these pseudo-pedals across registers, thus foregoing a purely low register "drone" effect in favour of a broader sense of pitch stasis and modal centricity. Emmanuel establishes this mode of pitch stasis throughout the majority of the first verse of *Le pommier* with a double "pedal" on $\hat{1}$ and $\hat{5}$ (Figure 46). From measures ten to sixteen, this pedal constitutes a low-register fifth ($G_2$ and $D_3$). Emmanuel transposes this pedal up an octave every second measure, where it becomes subsumed into the denser harmonic texture. The lower "pedal" on G persists throughout this section, and the left-hand structure in every second chord (m. 11, for example) echoes the quintal harmony in *I t'airai* (G, A, C, D, in this case). In *Le pommier*, Emmanuel superimposes a C major triad in the

right hand over this quintal harmony; the resulting chord is a five-note composite that constitutes a C ($\hat{4}$) major pentatonic pitch set (C, D, E, G, A) and thus gestures towards subdominant harmony.[246] Viewed differently, this two-measure pattern can also be interpreted as a harmonic oscillation between a G major triad ($\hat{1}$) and an A minor triad ($\hat{2}$); from this perspective, the static (or "pedal") pitches G ($\hat{1}$) and D ($\hat{5}$) add colour to an otherwise straightforward oscillation between two parallel diatonic triads. In measures 18–24, Emmanuel shifts this double pedal on the "modal fifth" to the middle and upper registers of the piano accompaniment (Figure 47). The middle register features a static, repetitive fourth ($D_4$ and $G_4$), while the pedal is expressed in the upper register via an ostinato-like motif that spans an octave ($G_4$, $D_5$, and $G_5$). Against this static texture, the mobile vocal melody and low-register piano accompaniment generate colourful passing harmonies including a C ($\hat{4}$) chord with an added second (D) that echoes the subdominant pentatonic pitch set introduced in measure 11.

[246] Incidentally, this set of five pitches also shares a quintal relationship: C, G, D, A, E.

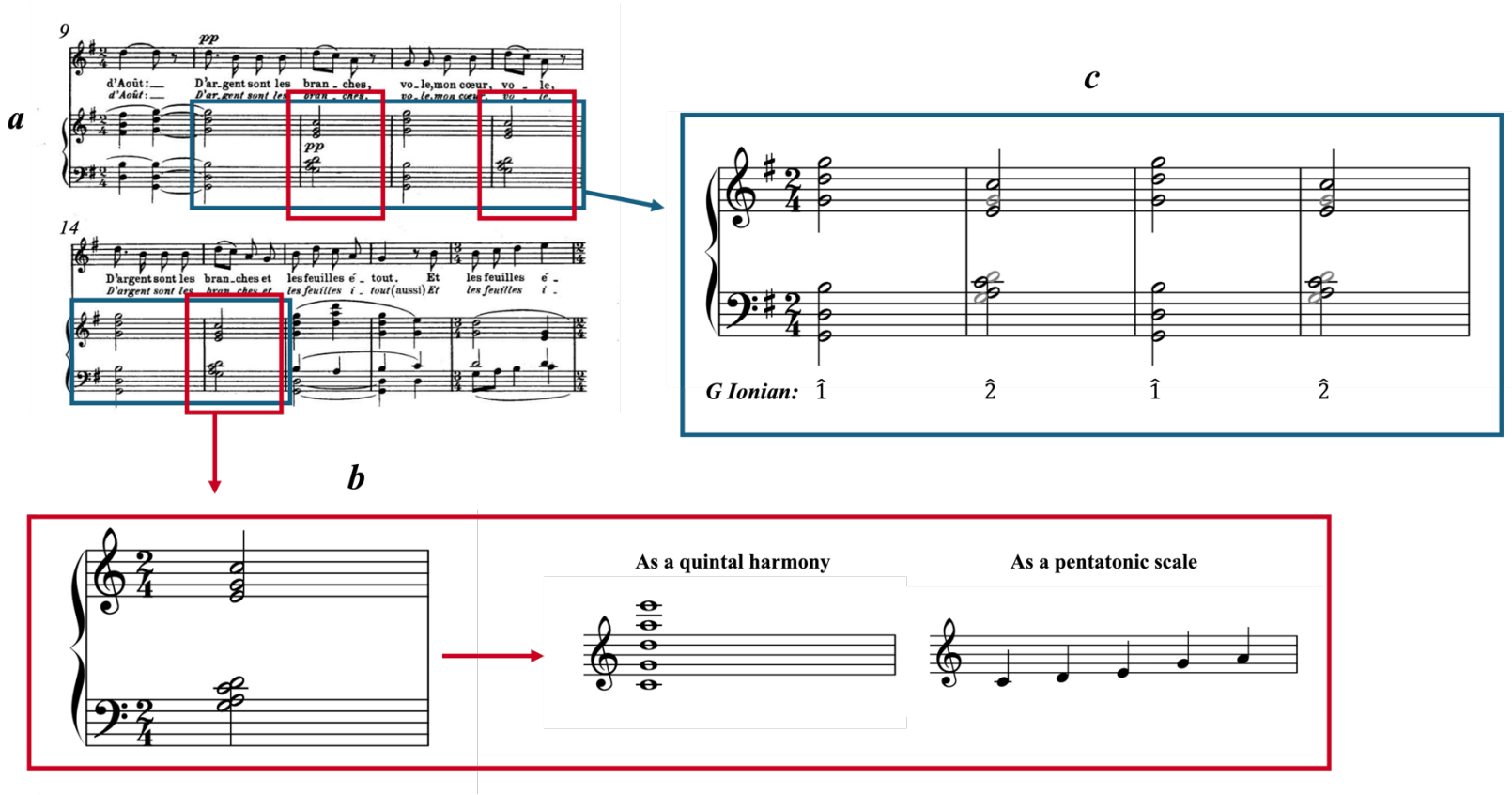



*Figure 46. Figure 46a is an excerpt from the first verse of* Le pommier d'août *(mm. 9–18). Emmanuel iterates the pitches G (1̂) and D (5̂) throughout as a persistent double pedal, which he embellishes through octave displacement. The fundamental G (1̂) occupies the bass-note position throughout most of the section (mm. 10–17). In measures 10–15, Emmanuel repeats a harmonic progression that alternates every measure between a G (1̂) major triad and a polar five-note harmony. Figure 46b illustrates how the five constituent pitches in this polar harmony relate both to a quintal structure and a C major pentatonic scale. Figure 46c illustrates a contextual reading of this harmony, which interprets the pedal notes G–D as suspensions embellishing an A minor (2̂) triad.*

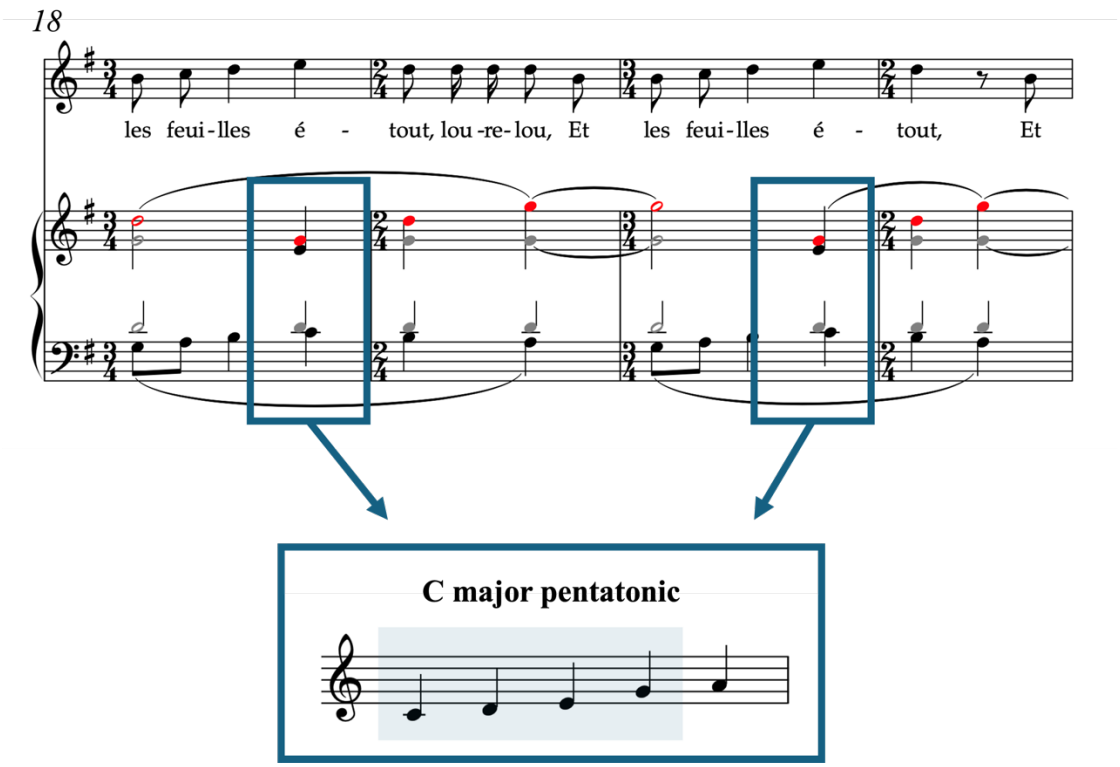



Figure 47. *Excerpt from the second half of the first verse of* Le pommier *(mm. 18–21). Emmanuel explores two variants of the low-register pedal on* $\hat{1}$ *and* $\hat{5}$ *in the middle and upper registers of the piano accompaniment: a repetitive pedal in the middle register (in gray), and a melodic ostinato in the upper register (in red). Against this persistent "modal fifth," moving voices in the voice and the piano's lower register generate colourful harmonies. Once again, some of these harmonies relate to subdominant pentatonic pitch sets; for example, the harmony on beat three of measures 18 and 20 (in blue).*

Emmanuel occasionally employs brief piano interludes between the verses in *Le pommier* as arenas to explore variations in pitch centricity. In the interlude preceding verse two (mm. 26-28), he sustains a G ($\hat{1}$) throughout a two-measure phrase featuring root motion that emulates a typical tonal half cadence from I to V ($\hat{1}$ [G], $\hat{4}$ [C], $\hat{5}$ [D]) (Figure 48). By sustaining this G, however, Emmanuel eschews the traditional V chord (D) in a tonal half-cadence structure in favour of a familiar quintal substitute: D, G, A, D. As elsewhere, Emmanuel treats this quintal $\hat{5}$ chord as an independent harmonic structure; the G "suspension" (native to the preceding G- and C-major triads) does not resolve to a tertian F♯ at the cadence. In the interlude preceding verse

three (mm. 45–47), Emmanuel re-iterates this same two measure phrase (Figure 49). In this case, he does allow the G to shift to an F ♯ in the final measure; however, rather than D ($\hat{5}$) harmony at the cadence, he ends the phrase with a B minor triad (or $\hat{3}$ harmony). It is intriguing that Emmanuel would choose to vary the second interlude in this way. According to tonal theory, the mediant triad (III) has a dual function based on its "medial" (and subordinate) relationship to both tonic and dominant—in other words, it shares two pitches with both tonic and dominant triads via third relations (G–*b*–D [tonic], *b*–D–*f♯* [mediant], and D–*f♯*–A [dominant]).[247] Emmanuel thus chooses to admit F♯ ($\hat{7}$) as a harmonic agent in a functionally ambiguous context. Conversely, in a context where an F♯ would unambiguously signal dominant function from a tonal perspective ($\hat{5}$ harmony in the first interlude), Emmanuel opts to sustain a G. Thus, Emmanuel employs the leading tone selectively in sections of *Le pommier* in a manner that subverts tonal cadential formulae; in the first example, the leading tone is conspicuous by its absence; in the second, it is conspicuous by its presence.

[247] Hyer, "Tonality," 735–6.

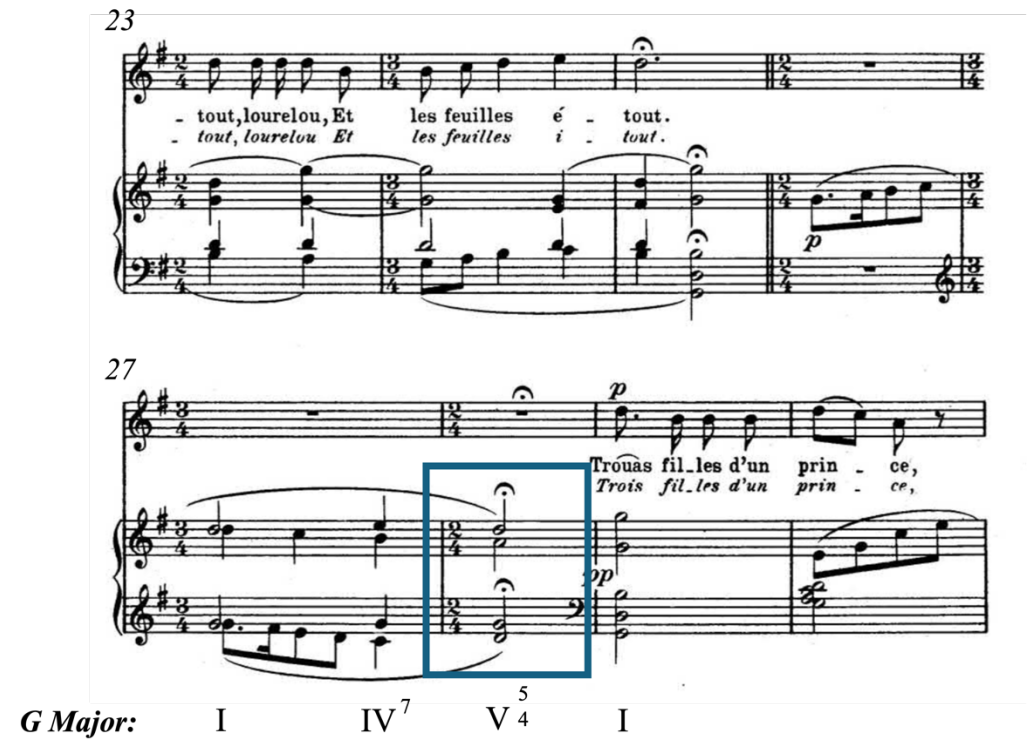



*Figure 48. Measures 23–30 of* Le pommier*, illustrating the first piano interlude (mm. 26–28). In this interlude, Emmanuel emulates a typical tonal half-cadence with the harmonic motion I–IV–V. By sustaining a G pedal throughout, however, the cadential "V" chord in measure 28 (in blue) has no leading tone (F#). This V chord without a leading tone echoes Emmanuel's application of quintal* $\hat{5}$ *harmonies as a "modal" substitute for the tonal dominant.*

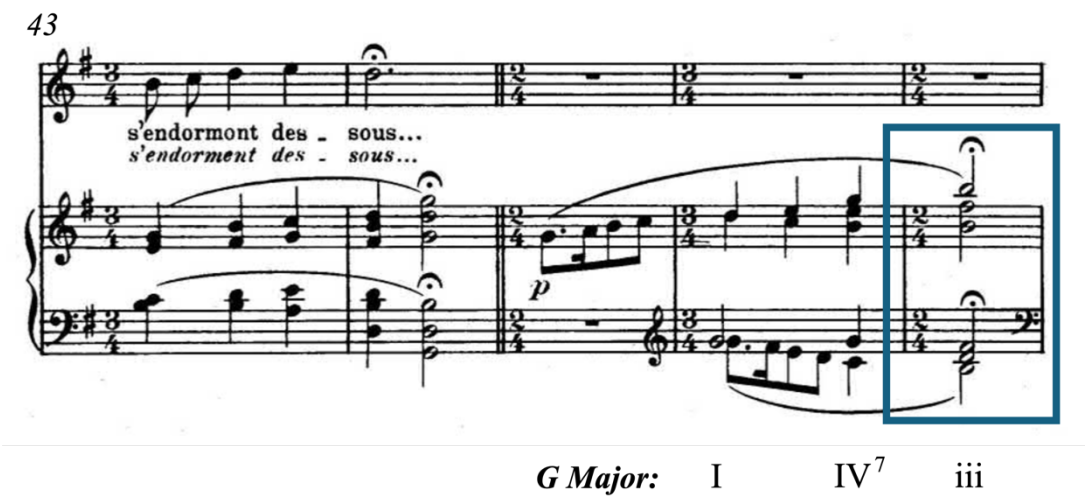



*Figure 49. Measures 43–47 of* Le pommier*, illustrating the second piano interlude (mm. 45–47). In this case, Emmanuel allows the persistent G to shift to the leading tone F# in the final measure. Instead of a V chord, however, he supports this F# with a mediant B minor triad (in blue).*

Emmanuel introduces a new two-measure phrase in the piano interlude preceding the fourth verse of *Le pommier* (mm. 64–5, Figure 50). Unlike the previous interludes, this phrase is characterized by homophonic block chords supporting contrapuntal soprano and bass melodic voices progressing in contrary motion. On their own, the soprano and bass voices outline G major harmony: the soprano ascends from $B_4$ (3) to $G_5$ (1) (although this G is overshot by an A appoggiatura on beat 3 of measure 65), and the bass descends from $D_4$ to $G_3$. In the piano's right hand, the soprano line is filled out with parallel triadic voicings. In the left hand, however, the bass line is supported with two repetitive notes: $D_4$ ($\hat{5}$) and $E_4$ ($\hat{6}$). E is the only note that is consistent throughout the entire phrase (D is present in every chord except the last); however, both notes are sustained in the first four chords and constitute a local, dissonant pseudo-double pedal. While the mid-register D "pedal" and contrapuntal outer voices re-enforce the pitch centricity on G and D at the heart of Emmanuel's *Le pommier* arrangement, the persistent $E_4$ in this phrase extends established static nodes beyond the "modal fifth" G and D. Like the five-note pentatonic harmony in measure 11 (Figure 46), the sustained notes in this case add harmonic colour to an otherwise triadic contrapuntal texture.

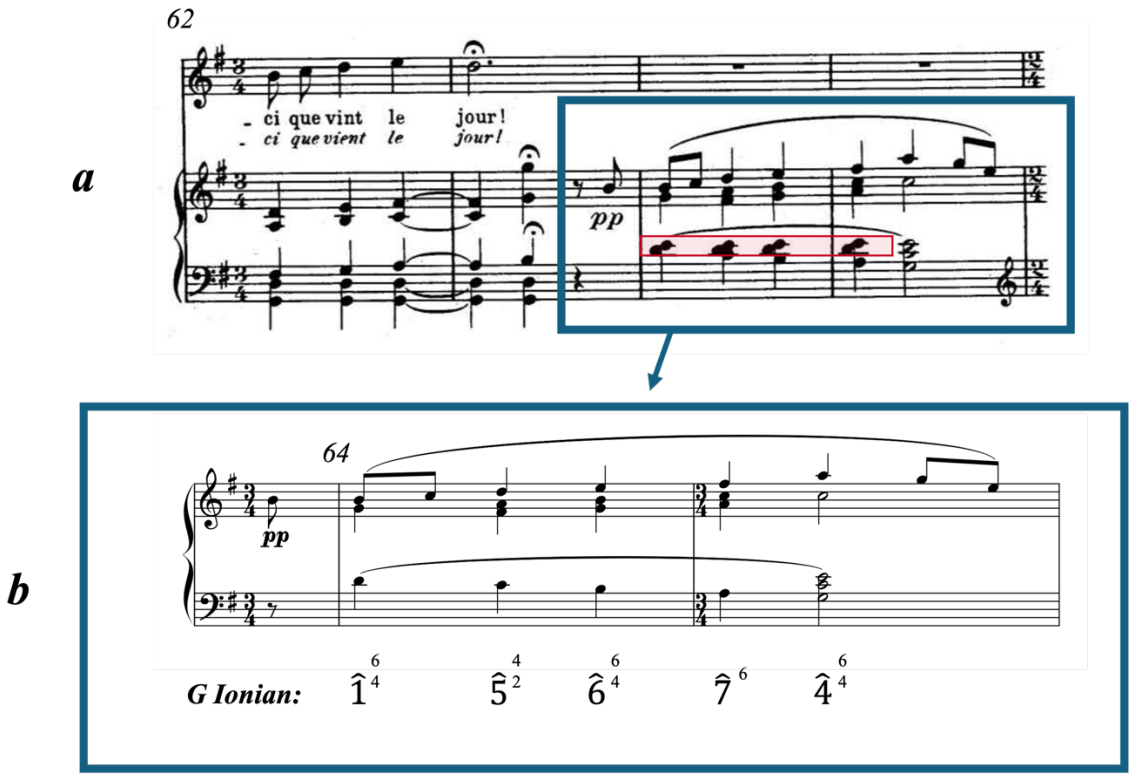



*Figure 50. Figure 50a depicts mm. 62–65 of* Le pommier*, illustrating the third piano interlude (mm. 64–65). In the middle register of the piano's left hand, Emmanuel repeats the notes D4 (*$\hat{5}$*) and E4 (*$\hat{6}$*) in every chord except the last. These two persistent notes function as a pseudo double-pedal, echoing Emmanuel's use of* $\hat{1}$ *and* $\hat{5}$ *throughout the arrangement. Figure 50b depicts this same passage without these repeated notes in the middle register. As my accompanying harmonic analysis demonstrates, the repetitive D4 and E4 in Figure 50a add harmonic colour to an otherwise straightforward triadic contrapuntal texture.*

**Mode mixture: "modal modulation" and "defective" modes**

Emmanuel uses the term "modal modulation" in *XXX Chansons* to describe the chromatic alteration of scale degrees within a modal context without a shift in fundamental. These alterations affect the prevailing mode; for example, a raised fourth degree in the lower tetrachord of the Ionian (or common-practice major) mode constitutes a broader shift (or modulation) to the

Lydian mode. To avoid conflation with the common-practice concept of tonal modulation, I refer to this technique in my analyses as "mode mixture."[248]

In the *Étude*, Emmanuel ties mode mixture conceptually to his interpretation of melodies that do not express an entire heptatonic pitch set. He refers to these melodies as "defective," and states vaguely that they must be harmonized by interpreting a complete diatonic pitch set according to "modal flair."[249] For Emmanuel, this diatonic ambiguity provides an opportunity to explore modal variants—or "touches of colour"—in his arrangements by filling in gaps that exceed a tone in various ways (Figure 51). He also admits that these flexible pitches allow him to "vary the harmonisation" to maintain interest if a song "comprises many strophes."[251]

Emmanuel idiosyncratically labels only four of the fourteen non-heptatonic songs in *XXX Chansons* as defective (II, XII, XV, and XXVIII) (Figure 52). In some cases, he imposes rigid heptatonic pitch sets on non-heptatonic melodies with the aid of contextual clues. For example, he interprets *J'ai vu le loup*'s (VIII) pentatonic melody as strictly Dorian because it is based on a quotation of the liturgical *Dies irae*.[252] In addition, there remain some non-heptatonic songs that Emmanuel does not classify as defective even though he treats them with modal fluidity in his arrangement.

[248] Nathan Lam refers to modes that share a fundamental as "parallel modes" and the application of parallel modes in composition as "modal interchange." Lam borrows the term "modal interchange" from Vincent Persechetti to describe the juxtaposition of parallel keys in musical practice. Lam defines "parallel keys" as keys that "share tonics, but they have different scales and modes." Lam, "Relative Diatonic Modality," 14–15.
[249] Emmanuel, *XXX Chansons*, vi.
[251] Emmanuel, *XXX Chansons*, xii.
[252] Emmanuel, *XXX Chansons*, xxvi. The French composer and *chanson populaire* collector Joseph Canteloube (1879–1957) also notes this connection and provides other examples of *Dies irae* borrowings in French folk song. See Joseph Canteloube, *Les Chants Des Provinces Françaises* (Didier, 1947), 8–10.

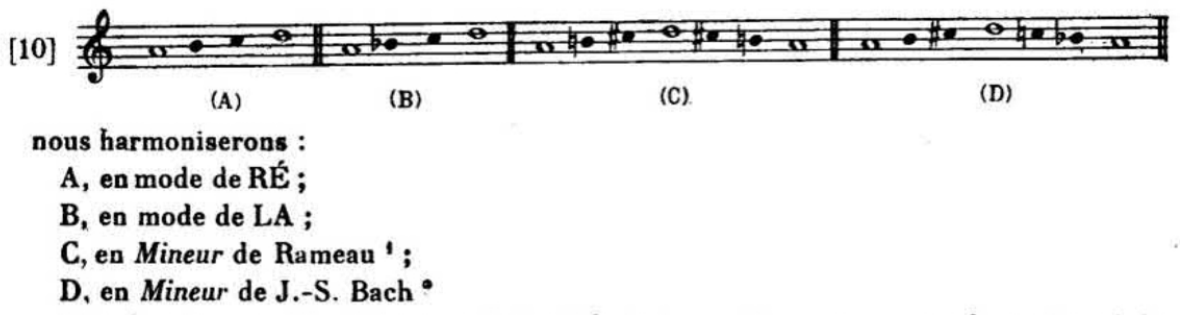



*Figure 51. Emmanuel's examples of modal possibilities between* $\hat{5}$ *and* $\hat{1}$ *in a minor mode (*$A_4$ *to* $D_5$*, in this case). Examples A and B represent the upper tetrachord of the Dorian and Aeolian modes, respectively. Examples C and D are variants of tonal minor that Emmanuel associates with Rameau and Bach, respectively.*

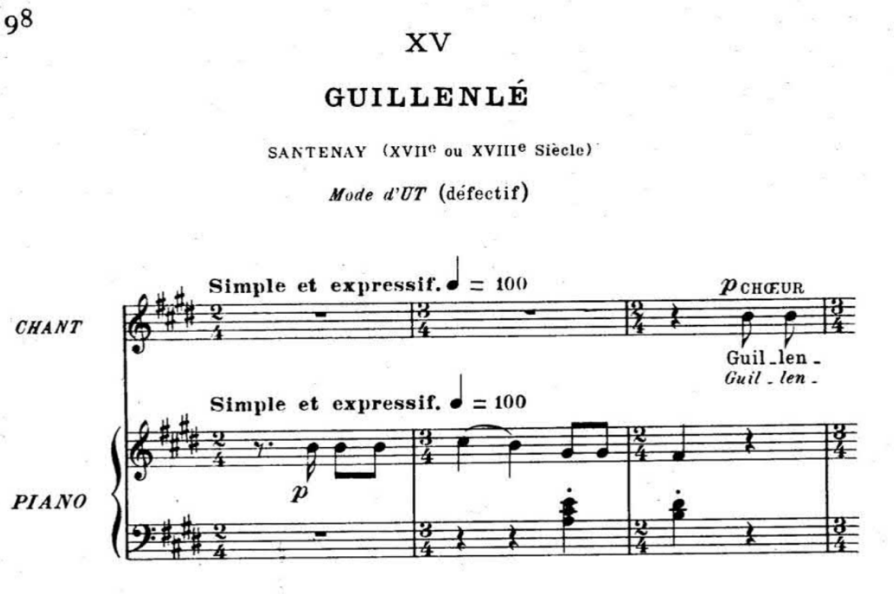



*Figure 52. The opening measures of* Guillenlé *(XV). Note that Emmanuel adds the label "defective" ("défectif") in brackets next to the modal designation ("mode d'UT").*

Emmanuel also applies mode mixture in *XXX Chansons* to four patently heptatonic songs (I, V, IX, and XXIII). Two of these songs' heptatonic melodies conform to the Ionian mode and the two others conform to the Aeolian mode. Significantly, these two diatonic modes are most closely related to the common-practice major and natural minor scales, respectively; thus,

Emmanuel's decision to employ modal variants in these cases can be read as a temporary subversion of common-practice idioms. It also suggests that his puritanical theory of diatonic harmonization ("no chromaticism, no modulation") is largely rhetorical and bends to alternative compositional or ideological whims. In the following, I examine Emmanuel's approach to modal modulation in both "defective" and heptatonic contexts using specific song analyses. In the analyses that follow, I explore Emmanuel's use of a lowered seventh degree in A) Ionian and B) Aeolian contexts as it relates both to a subversion of common-practice tonality and these four musical-effect categories.

### A) *Ionian contexts*

Emmanuel occasionally lowers the seventh degree from major- to minor-seventh in seven of the ten Ionian-mode songs in *XXX Chansons*. Without alteration, the Ionian mode is structurally analogous to the common-practice major mode and thus invites similar harmonic gestures. As I have mentioned previously in this chapter, Emmanuel affirms this connection in *XXX Chansons* by stipulating that Ionian is the only mode whose intervallic structure conforms naturally to the perfect cadence and by frequently referring to the Ionian mode both as "*mode d'ut*" and "*majeur moderne*."[253] Indeed, the character of the Ionian mode—and common-practice tonality writ large—hinges on this perfect cadence and the relationship between leading tone and tonic. By consistently lowering the leading tone in many Ionian-mode songs, Emmanuel is thus

[253] Although the Lydian mode also comprises a major seventh degree (ex: E in F Lydian), Emmanuel argues in his *Traité de l'accompaniment modal des psaumes* that the Lydian $\hat{7}$ descends melodically in historical practice whereas the Ionian seventh ascends to the tonic. See Emmanuel, *Traité*, 146–48. In discussing the perfect cadence, Emmanuel conspicuously ignores the Fétis-ian model of common-practice tonality, which hinges on the tritone relationship between the Ionian $\hat{4}$ and $\hat{7}$ (as crystallized in the appellative dominant seventh chord) and its resolution to tonic harmony. See Hyer, "Tonality," 728–29. Fétis's model also rules out the Lydian mode because of its raised fourth degree ($\sharp\hat{4}$).

subverting the inherently "modal" trait that he associates most closely with common-practice tonality. This gesture also generates a variety of musical effects depending on the context: mode mixture (or "touches of colour," as described by Emmanuel); tonicization; modulation; or a mixture of these effects.

*Meire, bottez le chien queure (XXIII)*

Emmanuel employs the lowered seventh degree (♭$\hat{7}$) as a "touch of colour" in his arrangement of *Meire, bottez le chien queure* (a heptatonic song, which he labels "*mode d'ut*"). *Meire, bottez* is a short comical piece in A major, comprising only two stanzas of text. In Emmanuel's original transcription, the melody largely constitutes a five-note pitch set outlining the notes in a diatonic pentachord from A to E; a single F♯ ($\hat{6}$) and G♯ ($\hat{7}$) in the final melodic phrase complete the A-centric heptatonic set and substantiate Emmanuel's Ionian-mode designation (*Figure 53*).[254] In *XXX Chansons*, however, Emmanuel emphasizes these characteristic notes by repeating a portion of the final melodic phrase as a refrain, leaving no doubt as to the prevailing modal context (*Figure 54).*[255] He also demarcates this refrain by introducing two distinctive elements that will feature later in the arrangement: sustained triadic voicings in the piano accompaniment, and a repetitive plagal root motion from $\hat{4}$ (D) to $\hat{1}$ (A). Notably, this repetitive plagal cadence strongly conveys a harmonic-syntactical arrangement according to which plagal motion down a fourth performs a tonicizing function.

[254] Bigarne, *Patois & Locutions*, back matter, 4–5.
[255] Emmanuel credits Félix-Albert Moignot (1835–1880) for having dictated this refrain, although the timeline is unclear given the time of Moignot's death. Moignot was a Burgundian by marriage and a friend of Bigarne's. See Carreau, *Dictionnaire Biographique*, 105. Emmanuel also recycles this motivic fragment as introductory and transitional material in the accompaniment.

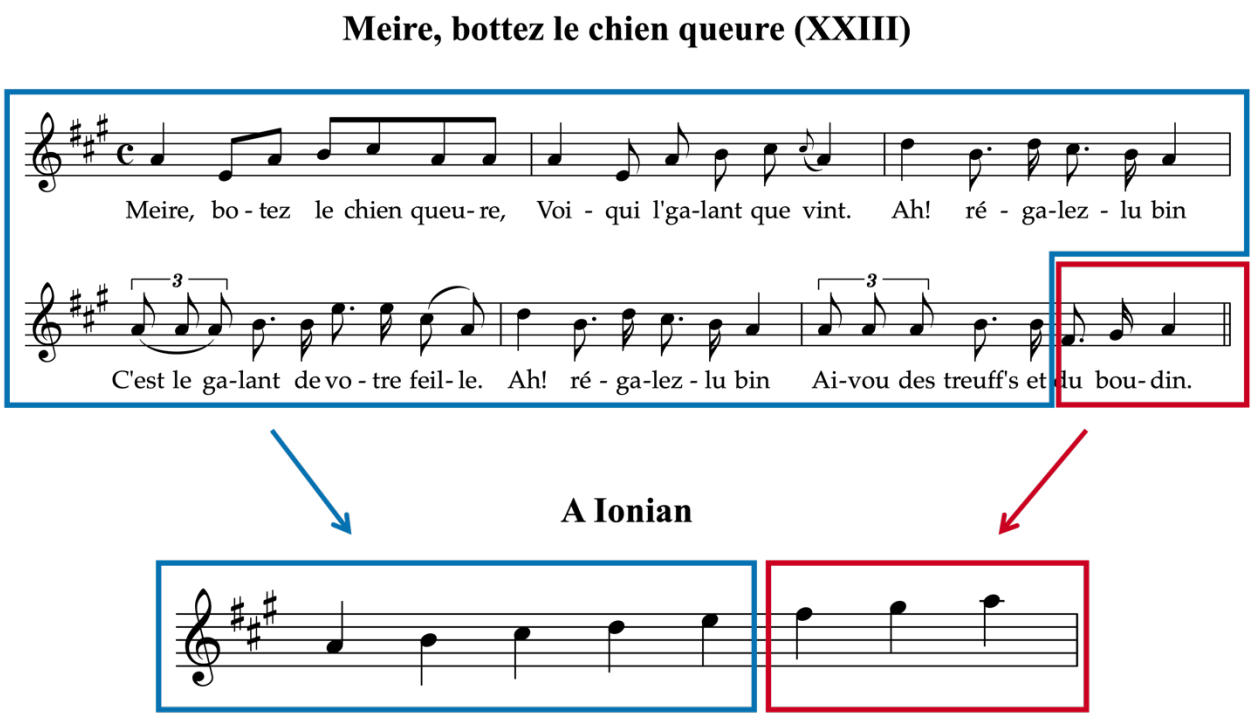



*Figure 53. Emmanuel's transcription of* Meire, bottez le chien queure *as it appears in Bigarne's* Patois & locutions. *The melody is largely restricted to pitch classes derived from the first five notes in an A Ionian octave species (highlighted in blue). The final two pitch classes (F♯ and G♯) only occur in the final cadence (highlighted in red).*

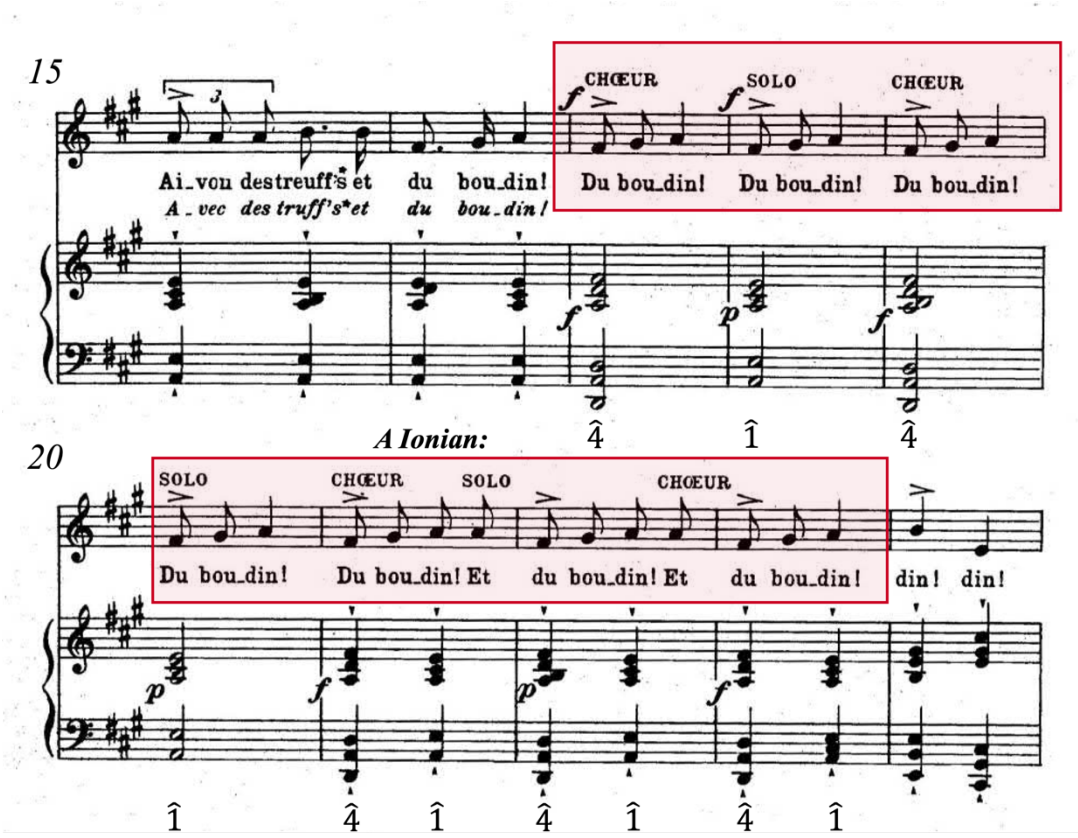



*Figure 54. Added refrain to* Meire, bottez *in* XXX Chansons *at the end of the first verse (mm. 15–24). The final melodic phrase (F♯–G♯–A) is repeated, emphasizing an Ionian modal context. Meanwhile, the piano accompaniment features sustained triads and a repetitive plagal root motion from* $\hat{4}$ *(D) to* $\hat{1}$ *(A).*

Emmanuel further expands his arrangement of *Meire, bottez* by adding a coda section after the second stanza. He draws new material for this coda by transforming a fragment from the verse melody (outlining a descending diatonic tetrachord from $D_5$ to $A_4$) using rhythmic augmentation (Figure 55). Texturally and harmonically, Emmanuel also recycles earlier material by employing the sustained triads and repetitive down-a-fourth harmonic motion introduced in the refrain sections. On its own, the $D_5$ to $A_4$ coda melody continues to affirm A as the modal fundamental; however, the first triad in each repeating figure (G major) introduces mode mixture via a lowered seventh degree (G♮). From a melodic, A-centric perspective, this lowered $\hat{7}$

suggests a shift to the Mixolydian mode. From a local harmonic perspective, however, the root motion down a fourth from G♮ (♭$\hat{7}$) to D ($\hat{4}$) can also be interpreted as a transposition of the earlier plagal cadences from D ($\hat{4}$) to A ($\hat{1}$) in the refrain. Emmanuel's establishment of the plagal cadence as a tonicizing factor earlier in the arrangement encourages this dual interpretation of the passage from measures 57–64, implying a temporary modulation to $\hat{4}$ (D). In this example, the lowered seventh degree thus plays a dual role of modulatory device and passing modal inflection (or mode mixture) demarcating the transition from verse to coda.

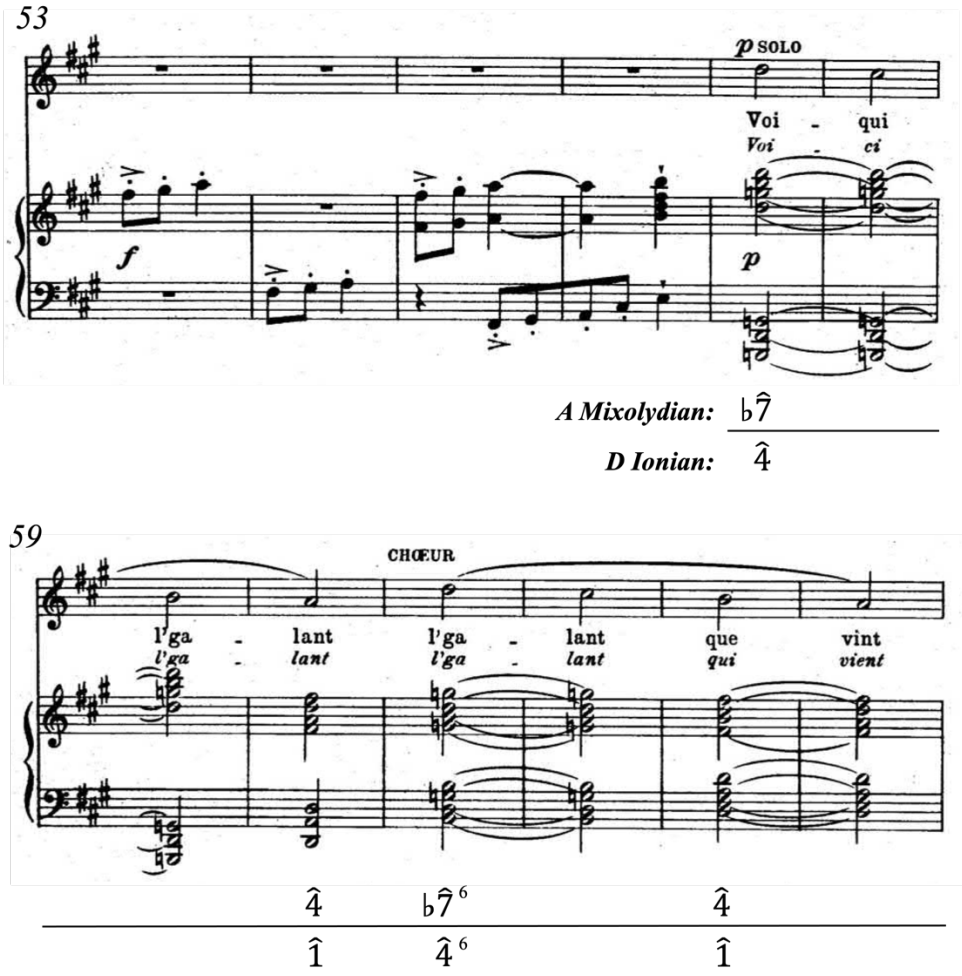



*Figure 55. Mixolydian mode mixture in* Meire, botez le chien queure *(mm. 57–64). Echoing the cadential refrain established in the verses, the repetitive "plagal" (down a perfect fourth) harmonic syntax in this phrase engenders a dual interpretation of this passage as both A Mixolydian mode mixture and a modulation to D Ionian ($\hat{4}$).*

*C'ast les gens de Bouze (VII)*

Emmanuel also employs the lowered seventh as an Ionian-context modulatory device in the song *C'ast les gens de Bouze*. *C'ast les gens* follows a strophic form comprising six verses with accompanying refrains. Emmanuel harmonizes the first two verses using only pitches native to the G Ionian mode. In the first verse, he also re-enforces G centricity by maintaining a double pedal on G and D in the left hand of the piano accompaniment. In the second verse, he incorporates a contrapuntal motive in the left hand of the piano accompaniment (Figure 56). This contrapuntal motive outlines the G Ionian mode by tracing a descending scalar motive from the tonic (G) to the mediant (B). In the third verse, Emmanuel "colours" this contrapuntal motive by substituting a lowered seventh degree (F♮) for $\hat{7}$ in G Ionian (F♯) (Figure 57). In this case, the motive traces a full descending octave from G4 to G3 omitting only the second degree (A). By employing this F♮, Emmanuel recontextualizes the contrapuntal motive as a prolongation of G dominant harmony, thus effecting a common-practice modulation to the subdominant (C). However, the melody in the first four measures of this passage traces a diatonic tetrachord from $B_4$ to $E_5$ (outlining the "modal fifth" E-B). In a G major context, Emmanuel's theories suggest that this local ambitus hints at the relative minor mode (E Aeolian). By lowering the seventh degree in the third verse to an F♮, Emmanuel's arrangement accordingly offers further ambiguity in the form of passing, oblique reference to E Phrygian harmonic "colour."

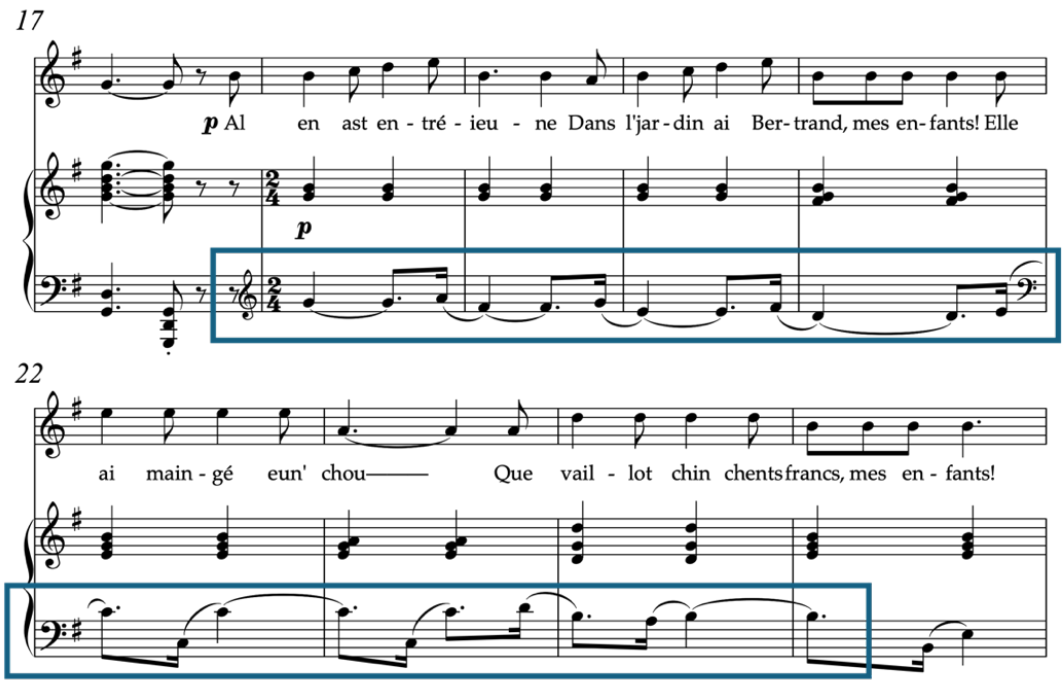



*Figure 56. Emmanuel's arrangement for verse two of* C'ast les gens de Bouze. *The contrapuntal motive in the left hand of the piano accompaniment (boxed) outlines a descending G Ionian scale from* $G_4$ *to* $B_3$.

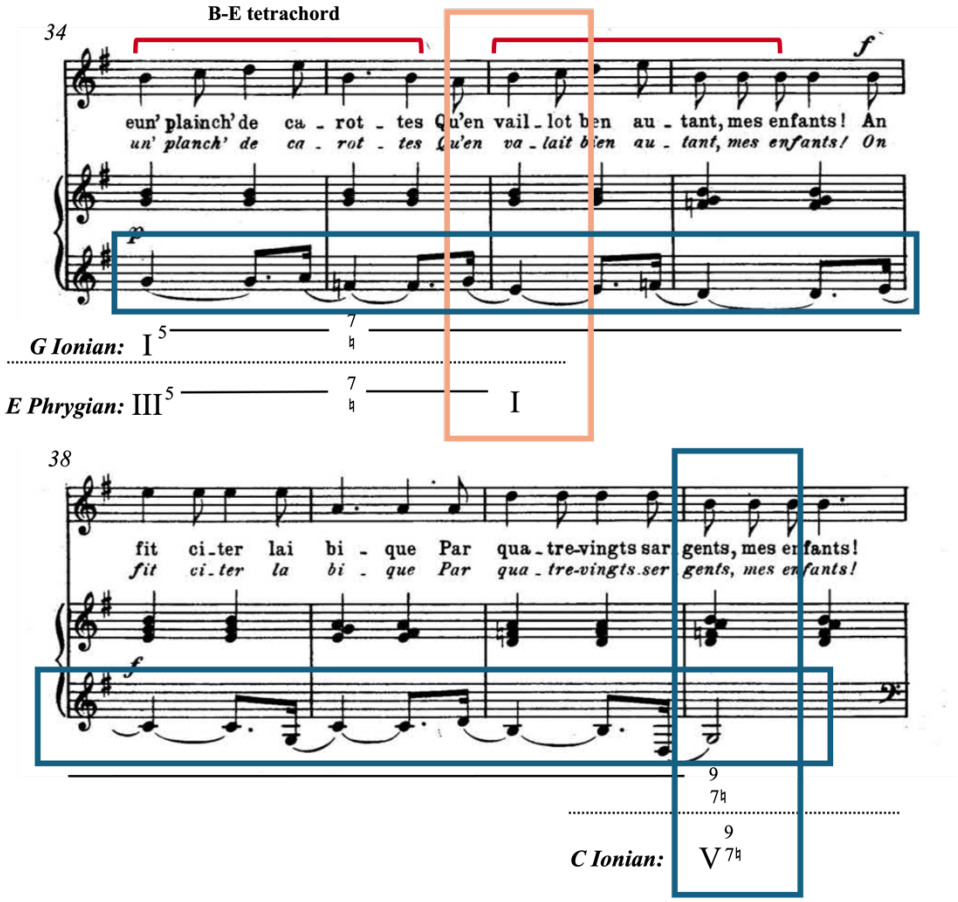



*Figure 57. Verse three of* C'ast les gens. *Emmanuel repeats the contrapuntal motive introduced in verse two, but "colours" it by lowering the seventh degree (F♯) to an F♮. This slight alteration recontextualizes the passage harmonically as a prolonged tonal dominant (V) of C (4̂) (in dark blue). In the first four measures (34–37), the melody outlines a diatonic tetrachord from B4 to E5 (in red). In conjunction with the F♮ mode mixture, Emmanuel's harmonization also hints at relative E Phrygian modal colour (in orange) alongside the broader G Mixolydian mode mixture.*

Emmanuel re-enforces a modulation to 4̂ in the third verse of *C'ast les gens* with a pedal on C throughout the refrain (Figure 58). Following typical voice leading, he resolves the final G dominant-ninth chord in measure forty-one (see Figure 57) to an unadorned C major triad in measure forty-two—the first measure of the refrain. Emmanuel also marks the third-verse refrain by raising the local F♮ back to an F♯. In this C-centric context, the re-introduced F♯ can be interpreted as a Lydian-inflected ♯4̂. However, the F♯ can also be heard as a return to G Ionian in

the context of the song's broader G-Ionian centricity. Emmanuel's arrangement confirms this second reading by producing a perfect cadence from D ($\hat{5}$) to G ($\hat{1}$) in the final measures of the refrain (mm. 48–49). Emmanuel's overt tonicization of $\hat{4}$ via a dominant-tonic cadence in this passage exhibits a rare incorporation of common-practice syntax. However, he immediately subverts this gesture by re-instating F♯ over the C pedal that follows the modulation. In their respective Ionian contexts (G and C), both the F♮ in measures thirty-four to forty-one and the F♯ in measures forty-two to forty-eight operate as "touches of colour" borrowed from parallel diatonic modes.

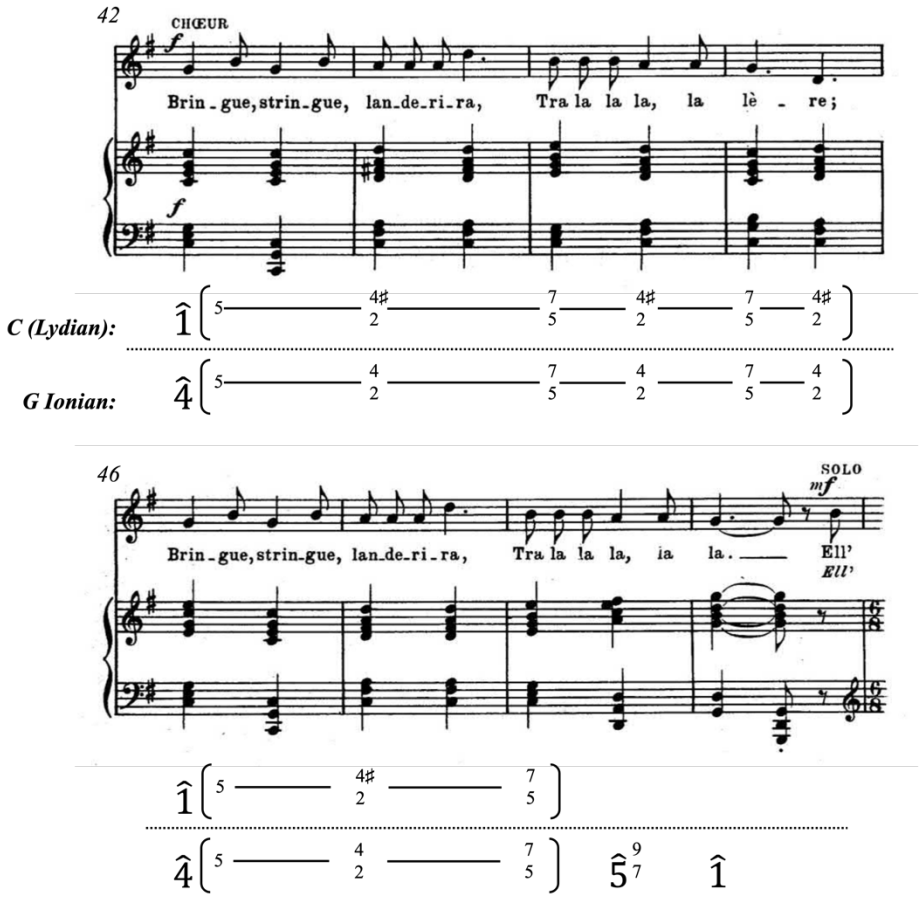



*Figure 58. The third-verse refrain in* C'ast les gens *(mm. 42–49). The pedal on C throughout re-enforces the effect of a local modulation to* $\hat{4}$ *(C). By re-introducing F♯ into the diatonic texture, however, Emmanuel also effects a gradual return to G Ionian. This passage thus implies two co-existing modal centres: C Lydian, locally; and G Ionian, globally.*

*Lai maoh mairiée (XIII)*

*Lai maoh mairiée* is another Ionian-labeled song in *XXX Chansons* that Emmanuel embellishes with a lowered seventh degree.[256] Despite its major-mode context, the lyrics concern the plight of a woman who has been married young against her will. *Lai maoh mairiée* follows a strophic form comprising eight verses, narrated by the female protagonist. In the first five verses, she describes her tragic circumstances: "my father married me young . . . [my husband] frequently locked me away . . .  [and] cruelly left me to cry." In the climactic sixth verse, she pleads for death to release her: "oh sweet death, take me into your arms . . . into which I throw myself!" Following this outpouring of emotion, she muses on the peace her death will bring in the final two verses: "when the violets bloom at the first sign of spring . . . beneath the green grass I will sleep for a long while." The affective contrast between this textual content and the major-mode melody imbues the song with a bittersweet quality (Figure 59).

[256] Citing Julien Tiersot, Emmanuel notes in the *Commentaire* that this narrative trope (*maumariée*) is widely represented in French folk song. Emmanuel, *XXX Chansons*, xxxii–xxxiii. Citing Gaston Paris and Romain Rolland, Tiersot in turn affirms that the *maumariée* genre dates to the Middle Ages (the term "*maumariée*" clearly relates to the modern French "*mal mariée*," which means "unhappily married"). Tiersot adds that common plights within this trope include being forced to perform household chores, being married against ones wishes, and being married to an old or "ridiculous" husband. See Julien Tiersot, *Histoire de La Chanson Populaire En France* (Plon, 1889), 56–7.

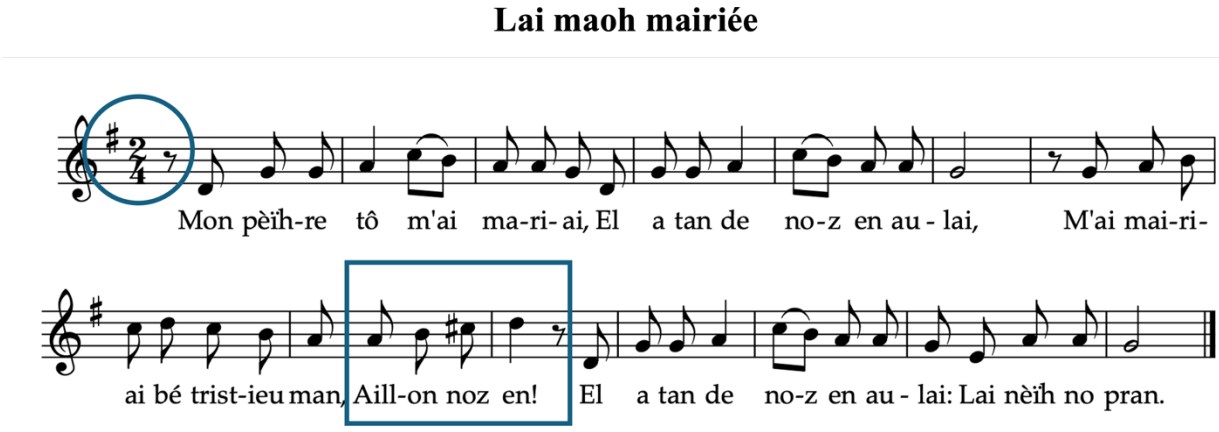



*Figure 59. Emmanuel's transcription of the first verse of* Lai maoh mairiée*, as it appears in Bigarne's* Patois & locutions. *The lyrics read: "My father married me off early, (It is time for us to go), Married me off quite tragically. (Let us go! It is time for us to go: Night is upon us.)" The text that I've marked with brackets indicates a choral refrain that repeats throughout. This version is in G major; Emmanuel transposes it up a semitone to A ♭ in* XXX Chansons. *The C♯ leading-tone accidental in measure 9 is an example of a tonicizing gesture that Emmanuel removes in* XXX Chansons.

Emmanuel harmonizes the first five verses of *Lai maoh mairiée* diatonically, restricting his pitch selection and harmonic syntax to the A♭ Ionian mode. The first verse is characterized by a relatively sparse texture, soft dynamic marking (***p***), long legato phrases, and static harmonies over a tonic A♭ pedal (Figure 60). The first instance of clear harmonic motion occurs between measures ten and eleven. On beat two of measure ten, Emmanuel employs his characteristic quintal, dominant-leaning "modal fifth" harmony over the A♭ pedal (A♭–B♭–D♭–E♭). Although he resolves this harmony as a dominant-substitute in a pseudo-deceptive cadence to vi (F minor), he sustains the A♭ pedal throughout; accordingly, the F minor triad is voiced in first inversion prior to a concluding perfect cadence (V-I) in measures eleven and twelve. The combination of an extended pedal and the F-minor harmony sustains the song's bittersweet mood while avoiding the more conclusive affect signaled by common-practice options utilizing ii$^{6}$ or I$^{6\text{-}4}$.

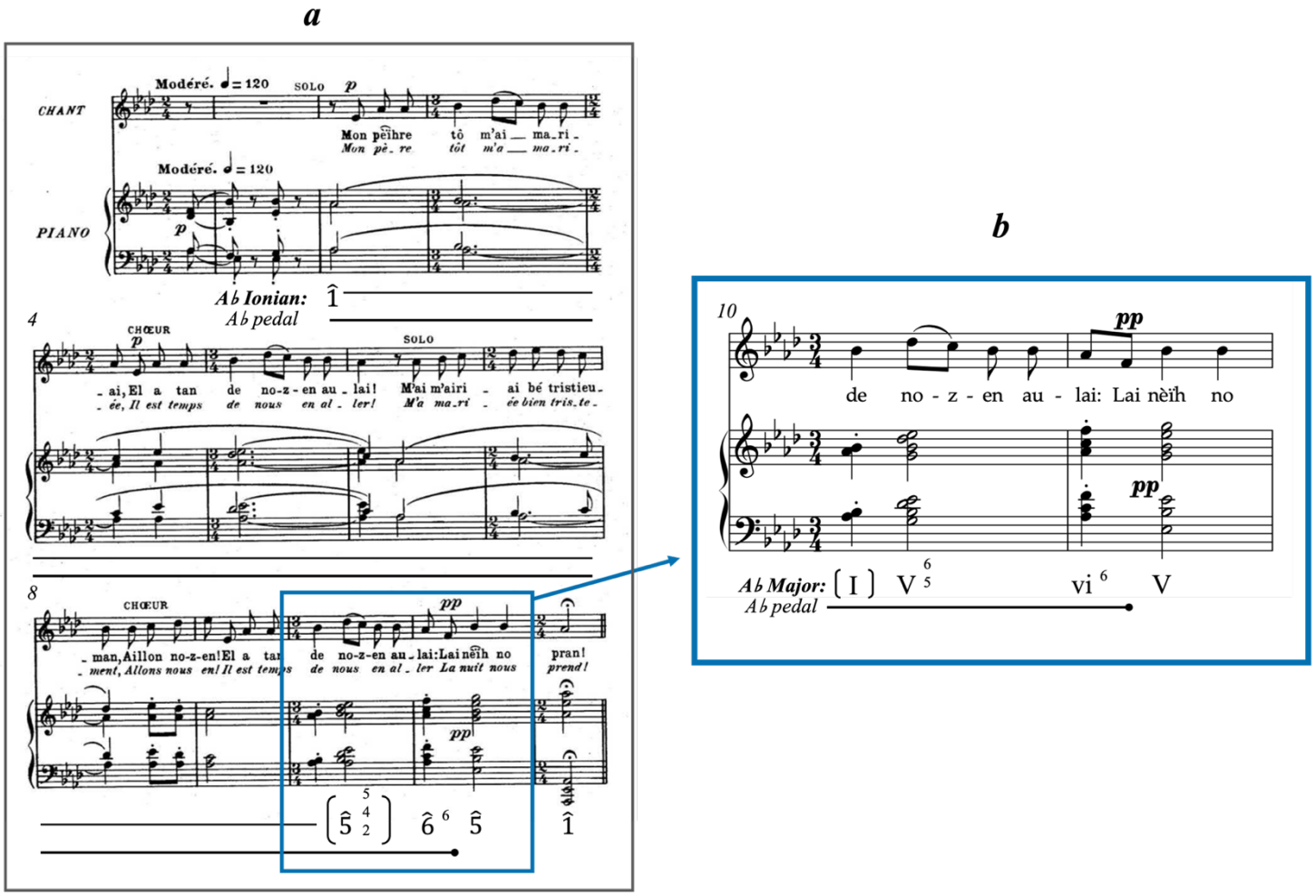



*Figure 60. Figure 60a depicts the first verse of* Lai maoh mairiée *in* XXX Chansons*. Emmanuel sustains an Ab pedal throughout, until the final cadence in measures 11–12. The section featuring Emmanuel's quintal "dominant" harmony (mm. 9–10) and a pseudo-deceptive cadence to* $\hat{6}$ *is highlighted. Figure 60b depicts an alternative harmonization of measures 9–10 to demonstrate its relation to a typical tonal deceptive cadence. By moving the Ab pedal down a step to G, Emmanuel's quintal harmony becomes a first inversion (V6/5) dominant chord.*

Emmanuel marks the climactic sixth verse with many changes: a loud dynamic marking (***f***), a tempo change ("much slower"), and the substitution of a lowered seventh degree (G♭). In a brief homage to *XXX Chansons*, Olivier Messiaen discusses the dramatic effect of this lowered seventh: "I have reserved for special praise 'La mal mariée,' an absolute pearl in this collection. . . . *The modulation to the subdominant in the fifth [sic] verse*, [and] the interval of a fifth concluding the sinister refrain are both powerfully dramatic."[257] Messiaen thus characterizes Emmanuel's use of the lowered seventh as a modulation to the subdominant (D♭). Certainly, this passage can be interpreted as such. The initial G♭ major triad in measure 64 is followed by an A♭ dominant-seventh harmony in measure 65, which strongly signals a D♭ Ionian context (Figure 61). Following a return to the initial G♭ major triad in measure 66, this modulation to the subdominant is fulfilled with a "tonic" D♭ major triad in measure 67. Emmanuel also punctuates this D♭ harmony with a low-register $D♭_1$ tripled at the octave on beat two. While the local harmony shifts to E♭ minor in the following two measures (mm. 68–9), he sustains D♭ as a pedal throughout. Although Emmanuel shifts the bass note to a C in measure 70, he reiterates the register-specific $D♭_1$ in measure 72. The recurrence of this stratified D♭ suggests a connection between these pitches such that a "silent" D♭ pedal is implicit between measures 67 and 72. Emmanuel's harmonic treatment of the sixth verse can thus be interpreted as an embellished V-I cadence in D♭ Ionian followed by a sustained tonic pedal.

[257] "J'ai gardé pour la bonne bouche 'La mal mariée', véritable perle du recueil. Il ne s'agit plus ici de la joie fruste et directe des braves vignerons du pays de Beaune ; c'est un accent profondément humain — un accent adaptable à tous temps et à tous lieux — qui palpite en ces quelques mesures. La modulation à la sous-dominante du 5e couplet, la quinte terminale du sinistre refrain sont puissamment dramatiques." Messiaen, "Maurice Emmanuel: Ses 'Trente Chansons Bourguignonnes,'" 108. Messiaen identifies this modulation in the fifth verse, but the section in question is in fact verse six.

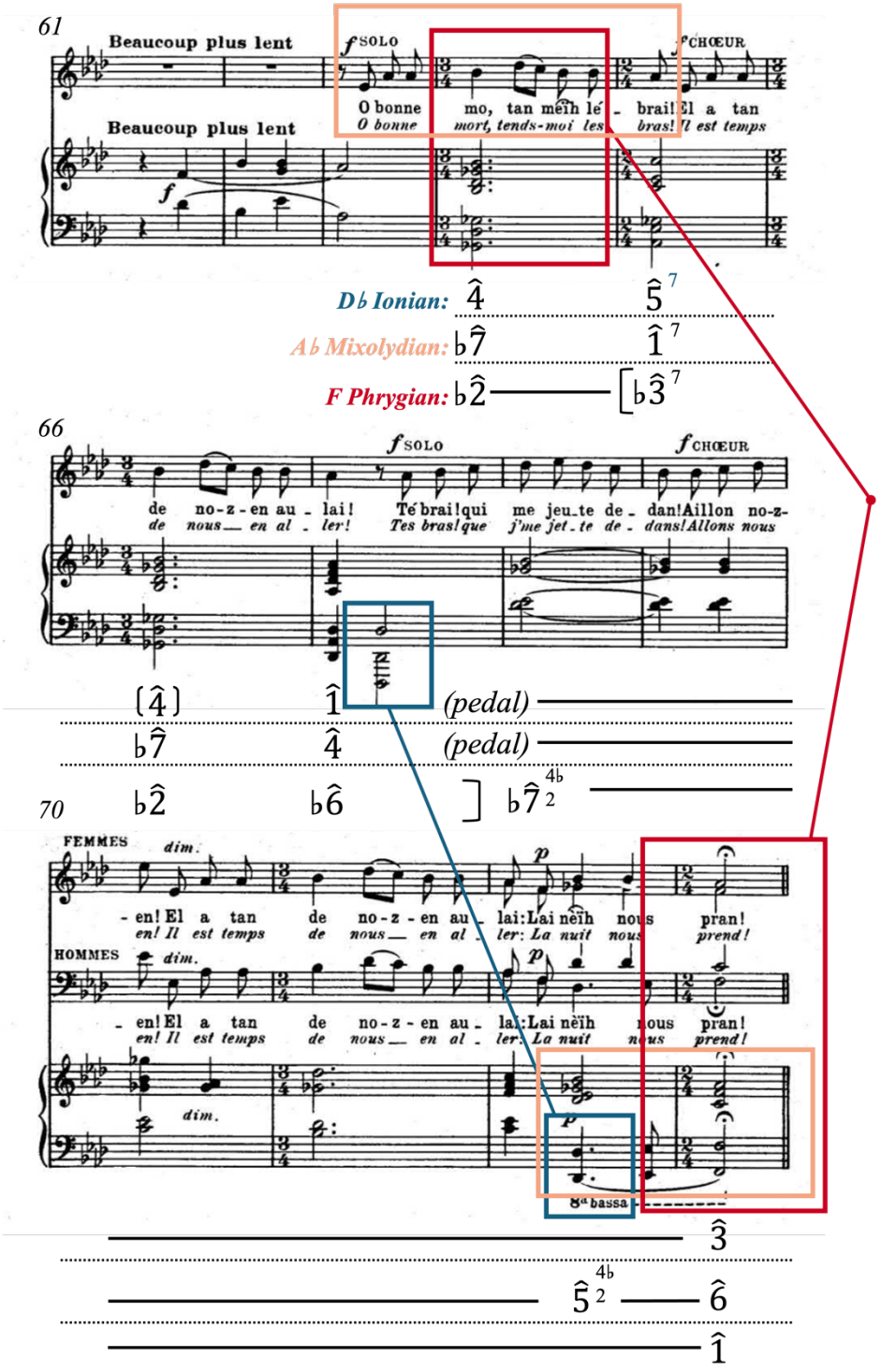



*Figure 61. The climactic sixth verse of* Lai maoh mairiée *(mm. 64–73). Emmanuel generates harmonic colour and modal ambiguity in this passage by substituting a lowered seventh degree (G ♭) in a strictly A ♭-Ionian context. As my analysis demonstrates, Emmanuel's arrangement of this passage can be reasonably interpreted as conforming to three relative diatonic modes: D ♭ Ionian (in blue), A ♭ Mixolydian (in orange), and F Phrygian (in red).*

Emmanuel's lowered-seventh degree substitution in the sixth verse of *Lai maoh mairiée* can be interpreted in other ways. As in *C'ast les gens de Bouze*, the local D♭-leaning context may be subsumed within the song's broader A♭ tonal centre. With an A♭-centric lens, the hitherto alien pitch G♭ can be interpreted as the seventh degree (♭$\hat{7}$) of A♭ Mixolydian. This interpretation is reinforced by the strophic melody, which continues to centre around the modal fundamental (and *final*) A ♭ . Harmonically, this potential A♭ centricity is only represented locally by the A ♭ dominant-seventh harmony in measure 65. Within the arrangement's largely triadic context, this dominant seventh does not clearly indicate rest or resolution; however, it does not resolve directly to a "tonic" D ♭ harmony either. Instead, Emmanuel interjects a G ♭ major triad ( ♭ $\hat{7}$ in A ♭ Miolydian, $\hat{4}$ in D ♭ Ionian) in measure 66 before arriving at the expected D♭ harmony in measure 67. The lack of a clear leading-tone resolution in this phrase generates ambiguity concerning the nature of the D♭ major triad in measure sixty-seven. From an A ♭ -centric perspective, this D♭ major triad can still be heard as $\hat{4}$ of A♭ Mixolydian. Intriguingly, Emmanuel ends the sixth verse on a Phrygian-like cadence from an E♭ minor-seventh harmony to an F minor triad (♭$\hat{7}$–$\hat{1}$, in F Phrygian). In an A♭-Mixolydian context, this cadence to F minor ($\hat{6}$) registers as a modally inflected corollary of the deceptive cadence in the first verse.

Finally, the sixth verse of *Lai maoh mairiée* can be interpreted entirely as a modulation to F Phrygian. From a teleological perspective, the final cadence on F minor in measure 73 suggests an F-centric trajectory. Accordingly, all harmonic motion following the initial G♭ major harmony in measure sixty-four constitutes an embellishment of the large-scale root motion ♭$\hat{2}$ to $\hat{1}$ (G ♭ to F). Emmanuel reiterates a G♭ harmony at the start of nearly each melodic phrase (mm. 64, 66,

and 71), accompanying a persistent B ♭ in the melody. He also harmonizes the only melodic phrase that deviates from this formula (m. 68) with an E♭minor-seventh harmony—a harmony that can also be interpreted as a G♭ major triad with an added sixth (E♭). Similarly, the final cadence in measures 72 and 73 contains this ambiguous E♭-minor-seventh or G♭-major-with-added-sixth harmony, resolving to the ultimate F minor triad. Thus, despite this passage's potential reference to tonal modulatory practices, Emmanuel's harmonization generates multiple ambiguities such that it does not conform to one single harmonic or modal interpretation.

### B) *Aeolian contexts*

*Le Veigneron (II)*

One of the Aeolian songs in *XXX Chansons* that Emmanuel marks as "defective" is *Le Veigneron* (Figure 62). The melody comprises a set of six pitches that suggest a minor mode with the fundamental "E" and with no sixth degree (Figure 63). As his "*mode de La*" designation suggests, Emmanuel draws predominantly from the Aeolian mode and its characteristic minor-sixth degree (a C♮, in this case) in his arrangement. However, he raises this sixth degree by a semitone (to C♯) in the final stanza, thus effecting a "modal modulation" to the Dorian mode ("*mode de Ré*"). In the *Commentaire*, Emmanuel describes this procedure:

> The scale being defective, since the sixth degree is missing from the melody, I supposed that this sixth degree was a semitone higher in the accompaniment to the final stanza. The result is a modal modulation . . .. It is a way of renewing harmonic interest and of maintaining doubt concerning the exact nature of the mode; this distinctive degree (the sixth) being absent, there can be value in presenting both possible 'states.'[258]

[258] "L'échelle étant défective, puisque le VI$^{e}$ degré manque dans la mélodie, j'ai supposé, pour l'accompagnement de la dernière strophe, que ce VIe degré était haussé d'un demi-ton. Il en résulte une modulation modale . . .. C'est là un moyen de renouveler l'intérêt harmonique, et aussi de laisser subsister le doute sur la nature exacte du mode ; le degré distinctif (le VI$^{e}$) faisant défaut, il peut y avoir intérêt à en présenter les deux 'états' possibles." Emmanuel, *XXX Chansons*, xxii.

His statement reiterates the advantage of exploring modal variants to generate harmonic variety. Most importantly, Emmanuel espouses ambiguity as an aesthetic value, positioning "doubt concerning the exact nature of the mode" as an important compositional device. True to this point, he maintains the Dorian mode throughout the final stanza of *Le Veigneron* and ends the piece with a cadence from an A major triad to a "modal fifth" on E (E-B) (Figure 64). Hence, although he labels the piece "*mode de La*," Emmanuel's arrangement does not actually conform to a single diatonic octave species.

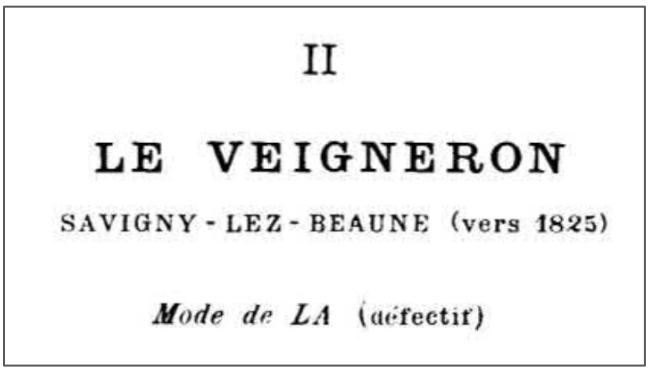



*Figure 62. Emmanuel's title designation for* Le Veigneron*. In brackets next to the assumed mode ("Mode de LA"), he includes a disclaimer that the mode is defective ("défectif").*

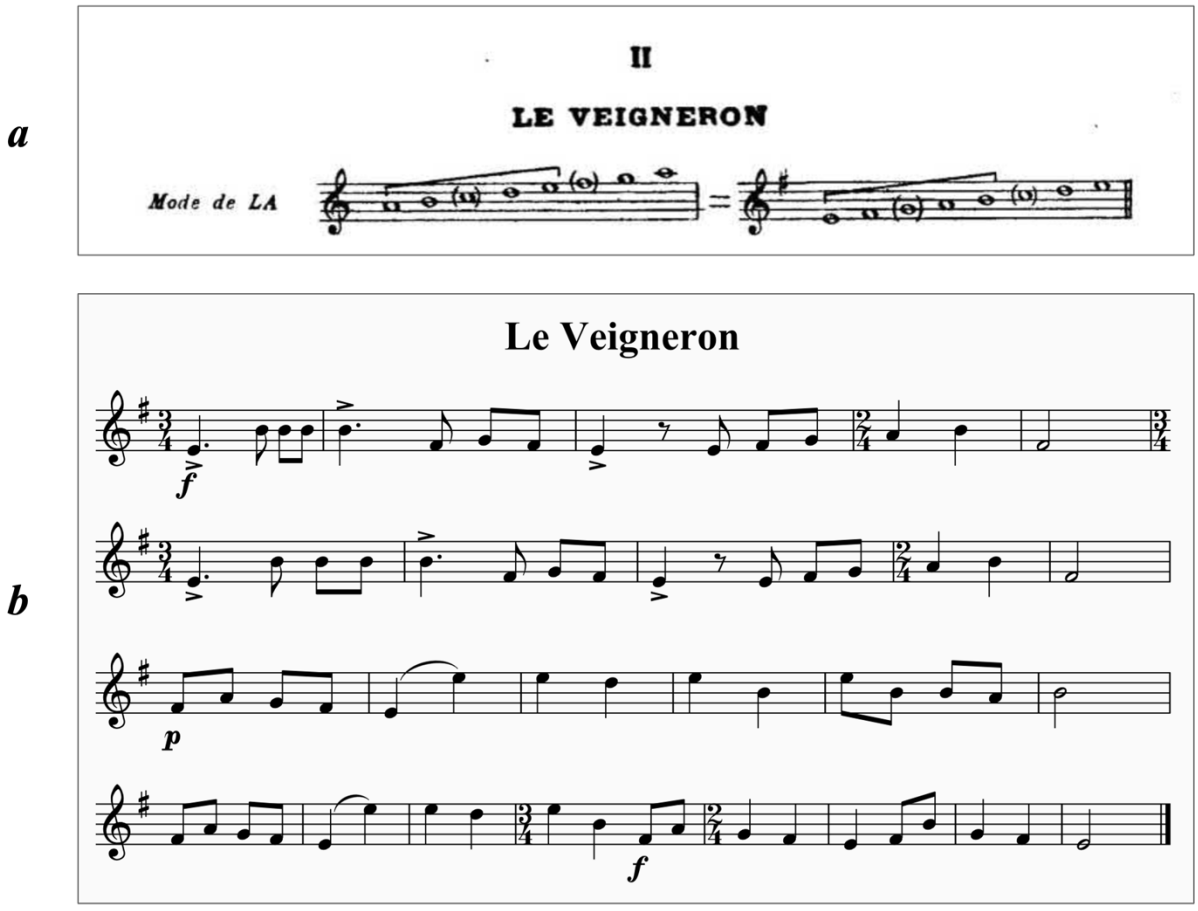
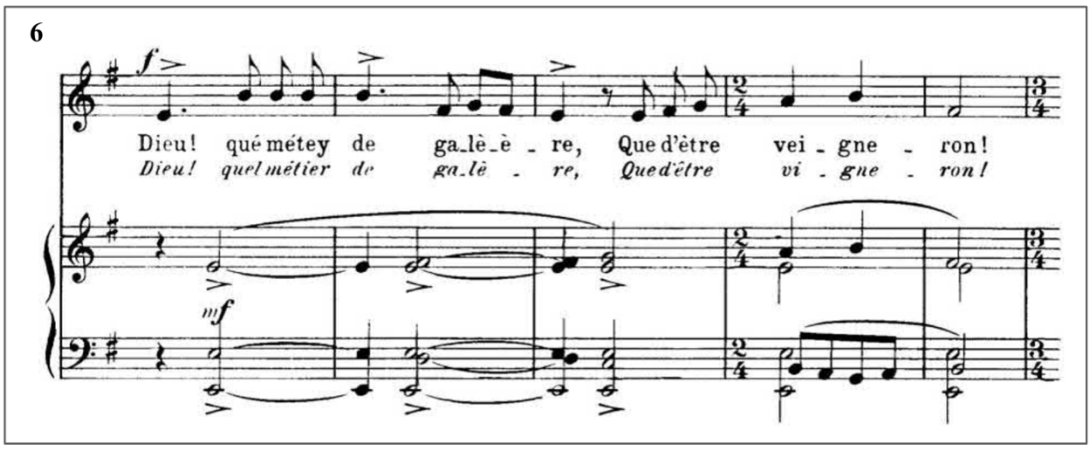
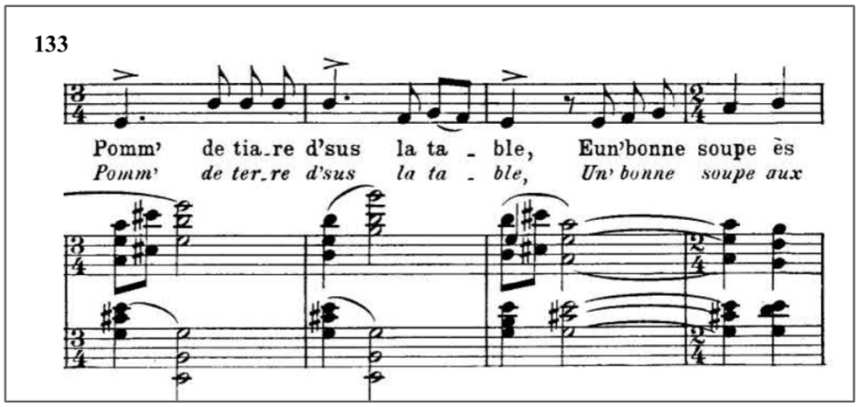



*Figure 63. Figure 63a is Emmanuel's modal diagram for* Le Veigneron*. The left-hand octave species demonstrates the "mode de La" starting on La (A); the right-hand one demonstrates the same mode transposed to E, as it appears in* Le Veigneron*. The brackets around C in the right-hand octave species indicate the flexible sixth degree, which is not present in the melody (it is not clear why Emmanuel inserts brackets around the third degree [G] as well, which does occur in the melody). Figure 63b illustrates the melody, as transcribed by Emmanuel.*

**a**




**b**




**c**

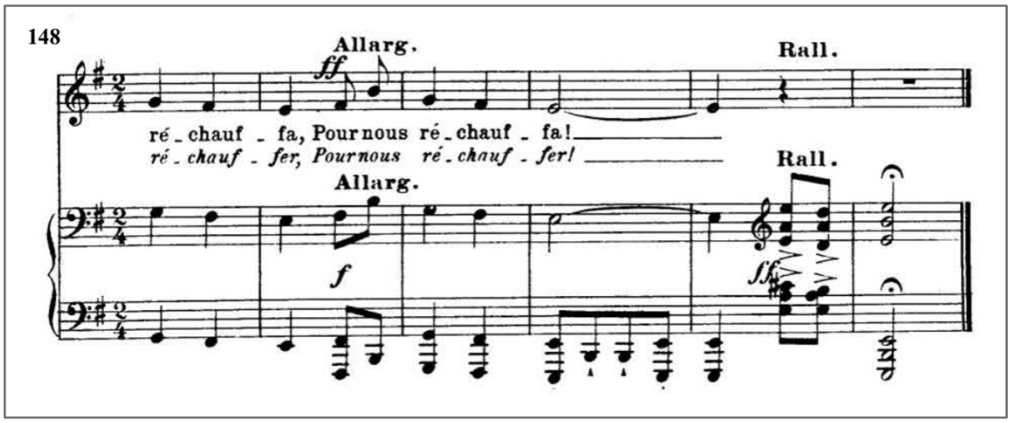



*Figure 64. Figure 64a is taken from the beginning of the first verse in* Le Veigneron *(mm. 6–10). Emmanuel's arrangement conforms to his E Aeolian modal designation, as indicated by the C♮ in m. 8. Figure 64b is taken from the same passage in the final verse. In this case, Emmanuel has modulated to E Dorian, as indicated by the raised sixth degree (C♯) throughout. Figure 64c is taken from the final measures (mm. 148–53). The characteristic C♯ persists in the final cadence from an A major triad (beat two of m. 152) to a "modal fifth" on E (E-B, m. 153).*

*Les Mois de l'année (XXVIII)*

*Les Mois de l'année* is the longest and most repetitive song in *XXX Chansons*. It comprises twelve strophic verses each corresponding to a month of the year and follows a cumulative form conceptually related to the popular English carol *The Twelve Days of Christmas*. Considering *Les mois*'s repetitive form, Olivier Messiaen refers to Emmanuel's arrangement as "extraordinary . . . [its] 365 measures and 12 couplets in homage to the 'months of the year' bestow 'gift upon gift.'"[259] Although Messiaen attributes these "gifts" largely to contrapuntal prowess, other factors such as texture, register, rhythm, and mode are equally significant in maintaining interest throughout.

Emmanuel labels *Les Mois de l'année* as "*Mode de LA défectif*." Like *Le Veigneron*, the melody outlines a minor mode with E as its fundamental. However, *Les Mois de l'année* only comprises five distinct pitch classes spanning a diatonic pentachord from E to B. Since both the sixth and seventh degrees of a heptatonic diatonic mode are not expressed, Emmanuel treats these degrees flexibly in his arrangement occasionally raising either one or both. Alongside a natural seventh, the raised sixth degree produces a Dorian "modulation" echoing his *Le Veigneron* arrangement. The combined raised sixth and seventh degrees generate a melodic minor mode (ascending and descending) that Emmanuel refers to in the *Étude* as "*Mineur de Rameau*" (Figure 51).[260]

I have subdivided the verse melody from *Les Mois de l'année* into three phrases, labeled *a*, *b*, and *c* (Figure 65). The *a* and *c* sections are stable, while the *b* section is cumulative (it

[259] "L'intérêt contrapuntique ne faiblit jamais, quel que soit le nombre de couplets : voyez . . . l'extraordinaire 'Perdriole' dont les 365 mesures et les 12 couplets en hommage aux 'Mois de l'année' entassent 'présents sur présents.'" Messiaen, "Maurice Emmanuel: Ses 'Trente Chansons Bourguignonnes," 107. *La Perdriole* is an alternative title for *Les Mois de l'année*.

[260] Emmanuel adds in a footnote that "our great Rameau liked to descend the [common-practice] minor [mode] in the same way that he ascended it."

grows progressively in length and melodic variants are introduced throughout this process). Lyrically, the *a* sections perform an establishing role by posing the question: "on the first [or second, third, etc.] month of the year, what shall I give my love?" The cumulative *b* section constitutes a series of answers that increases with each month listed: "four flying ducks, three wood pigeons, two turtle doves," and so on. The *c* section is melodically independent from the *b* section and operates as a refrain, marking the culmination of the list of gifts previously outlined: "one partridge [*perdriole*] that goes, that comes, that flies; one partridge that flies through the woods." In Emmanuel's arrangement, each of these phrases is subjected to varying modal treatments over the course of the song.

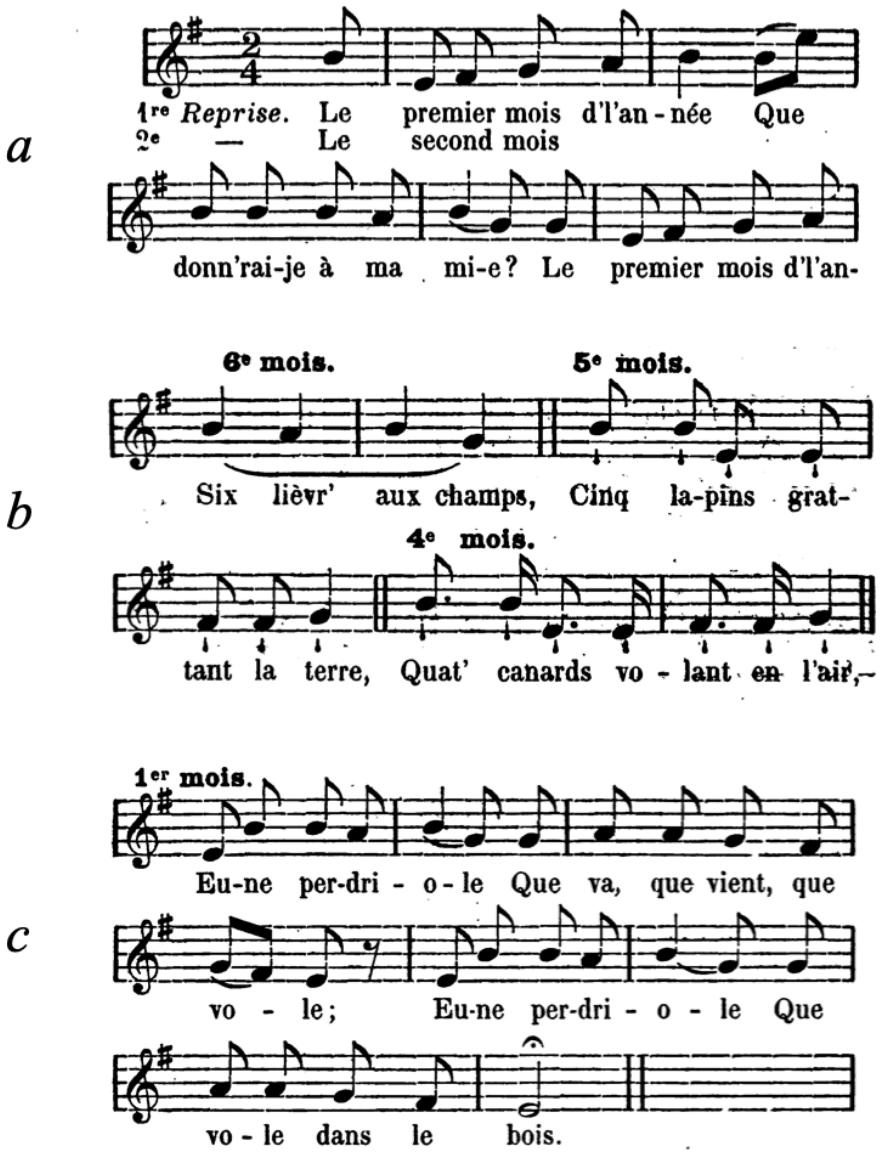



*Figure 65. Phrase sections in* Les Mois de l'année *as transcribed by Emmanuel in Bigarne's* Patois et Locutions*. All phrases comprise only pitch classes spanning a diatonic pentachord from E to B.*

In my analysis, I focus on the *a* sections as a case study outlining the spectrum of variation in pitch content throughout the arrangement. In verses one, two, three, five, six, seven, and ten, Emmanuel restricts his arrangement of the *a* section to the five-pitch set expressed by the melody (Figure 66). In verses four, eight, nine, and eleven, he incorporates D♮ and C♮,

completing the Aeolian mode defined by his modal designation. In verse eight, he outlines this Aeolian mode clearly by introducing an ascending scalar contrapuntal figure in the piano accompaniment that spans an octave (Figure 67). In the final verse, he reiterates this same accompaniment pattern with a raised sixth degree (C♯) and alternates between a raised and natural seventh degree (D♯ and D♮). The resulting mode mixture is a combination of melodic minor and Dorian inflections (Figure 68).

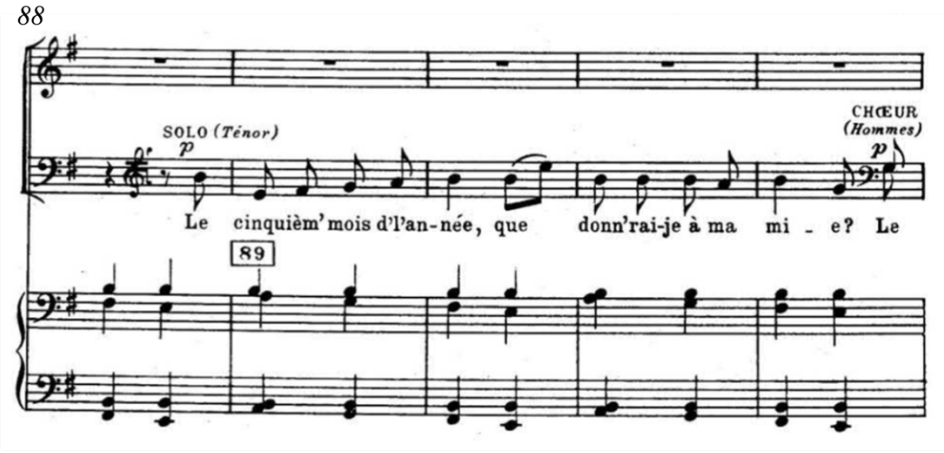



*Figure 66. Emmanuel's arrangement of the "a" section in verse five of* Les Mois de l'année. *All accompaniment material is derived from the five pitch classes expressed in the melody.*

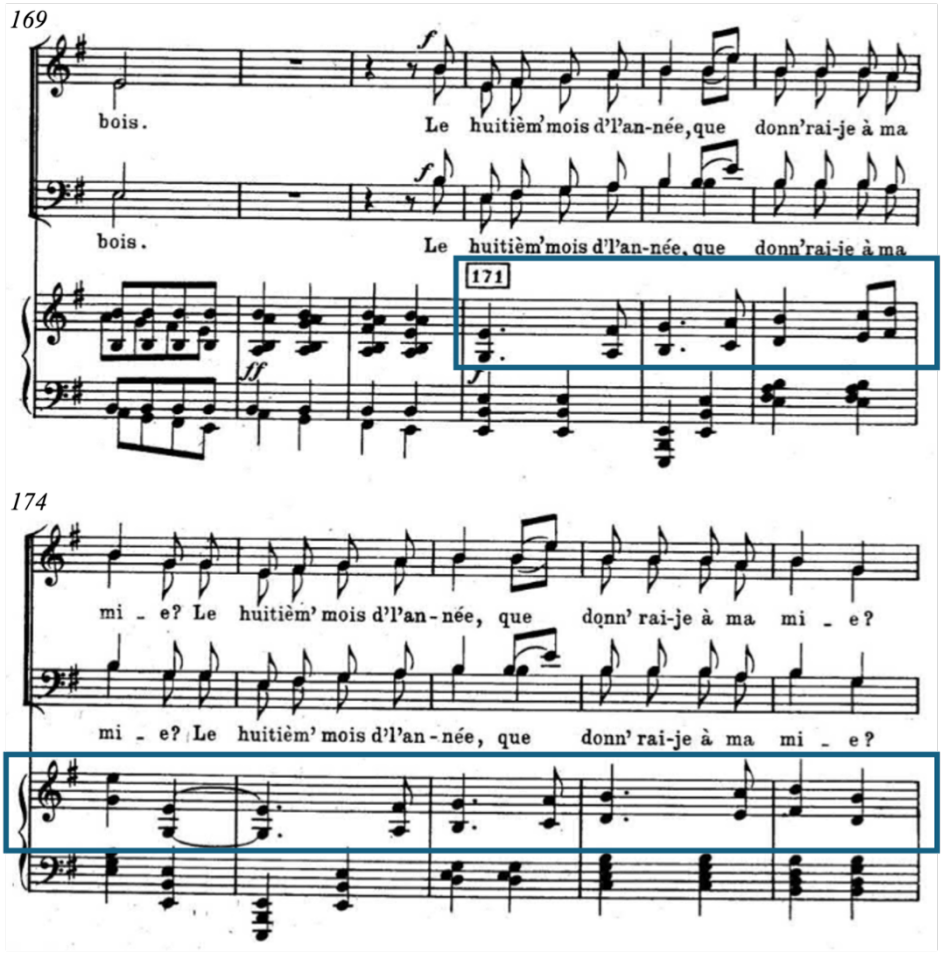



*Figure 67. Emmanuel's arrangement of the "a" section in verse eight of* Les mois de l'année. *The ascending diatonic scalar pattern in the piano's right hand outlines the Aeolian mode.*

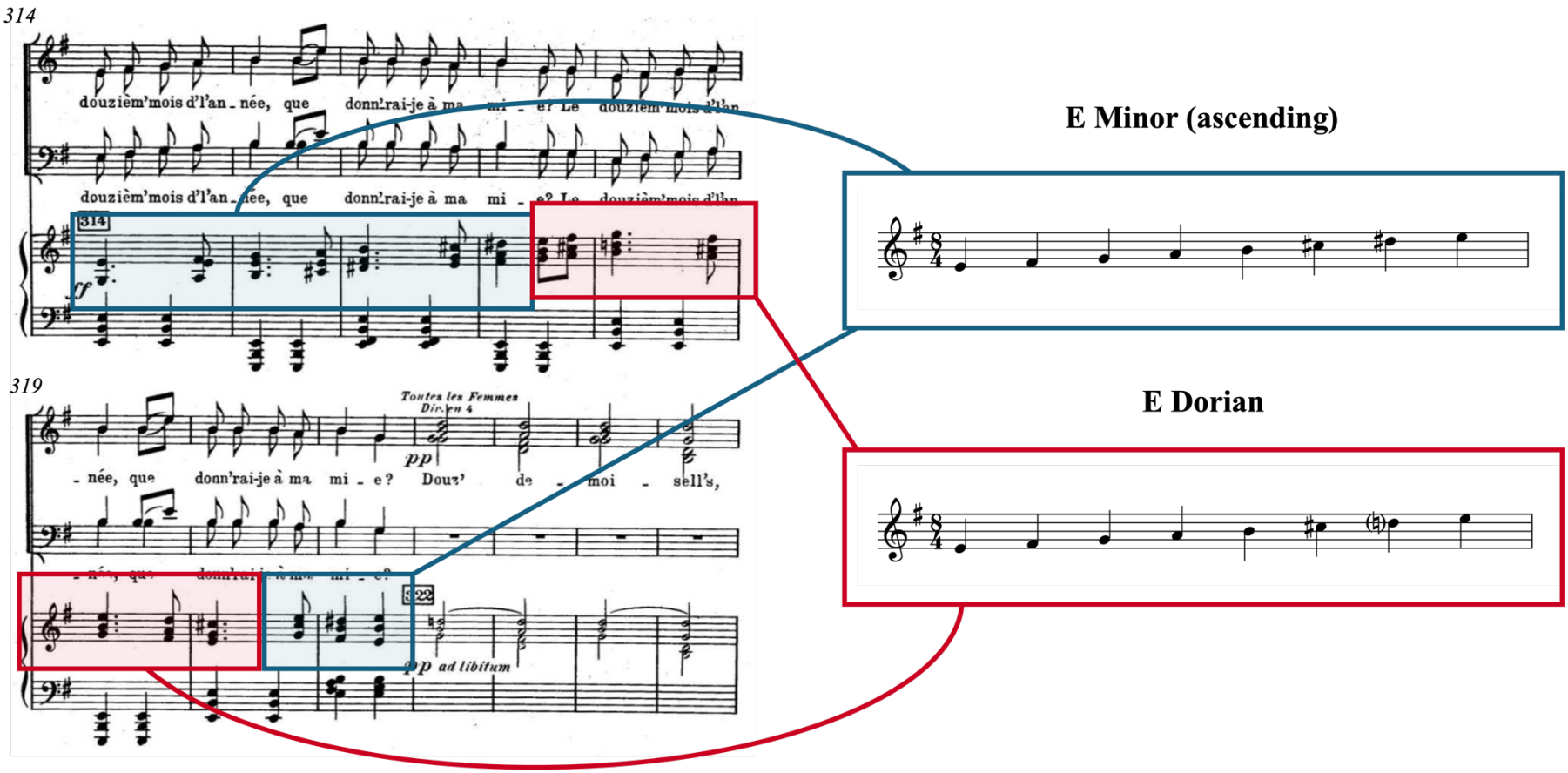



*Figure 68. Emmanuel's arrangement of the "a" section in verse twelve of* Les mois de l'année. *The ascending scalar pattern in the piano's right hand outlines the common-practice minor mode (marked in red) and the descending pattern outlines the Dorian mode (marked in blue).*

Figure 69 demonstrates how the increases in pitch content and modal variants I have illustrated in the *a* sections are reflected in Emmanuel's arrangement across all three phrase groups. In the final two verses, Emmanuel represents Aeolian, Dorian, and tonal minor variants equally so that no single mode predominates. In the *Commentaire*, Emmanuel describes his approach:

> From the ninth verse onwards, I raised the sixth and seventh degrees by a semitone . . . [as a] means to rejuvenate the harmonies, at the end. It is also a way of concluding in a *hybrid* modality, which is *not* the modern minor, but which can no longer claim to be based solely on the Aeolian mode, nor with the Dorian mode as an accessory. The modal uncertainty that issues from the melody itself not only authorizes but *dictates* this harmonic wavering.[261]

With this statement, Emmanuel defines "hybrid" modality apophatically—*not* modern minor, *not* Aeolian, *not* Dorian. Ironically, each of these modal variants must be expressed clearly to be perceived as distinct gamuts rather than passing chromaticisms (see Figure 68, for example). Emmanuel addresses this aspect of modal composition in his 1928 article *La polymodie*:

> In order for a mode to be perceptible, if this mode [*échelle*] is not present throughout an entire piece, it must at least occupy a vast enough region either in the melody, in polyphonic voices, or in the harmonic accompaniment, for its character to be perceived and savoured.[262]

Emmanuel's "hybrid" modality thus appears to be characterized as a dialectic between modal stability (the expression of a recognizable gamut) and fluidity (the perpetual shifting of recognizable gamuts). It summarizes, in the simplest terms, Emmanuel's general fascination with

[261] "A partir du IXe mois j'ai haussé d'un demi-ton les VIe et VIIe degrés exprimés par l'accompagnemment instrumental et l'harmonisation vocale polyphone : moyen de renouveler les accords, pour finir. Moyen aussi de conclure dans une modalité hybride, qui n'est pas le mineur moderne, mais qui ne peut plus se réclamer du seul mode de LA [sic], ni accessoirement du mode de RÉ. L'incertitude modale qui résulte de la mélodie elle-même non seulement autorise, mais commande ces flottements harmoniques." Emmanuel, *XXX Chansons*, xlii. Italics are mine.
[262] "Pour que l'emploie d'un mode soit perceptible, il faut, si cette échelle ne s'applique à une pièce entière, qu'elle en occupe du moins une région assez vaste, soit dans la mélodie, soit dans les lignes de la polyphonie, soit dans le soubassement harmonique, pour que les caractères du mode soient perçus et goûtés." Emmanuel, "La polymodie," 210–1.

mode: where most see modes as relatively fixed systems of pitch organization, Emmanuel sees and hears a world of harmonic nuance and ambiguity.

**Modal modulation in *Les mois de l'année***

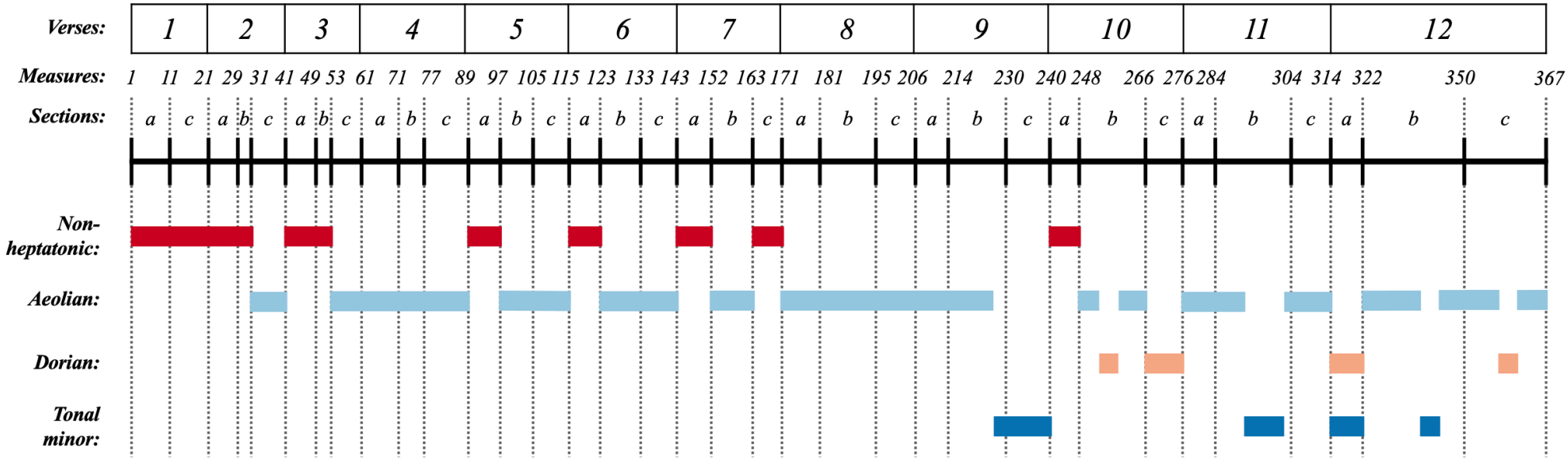



*Figure 69. A formal schema representing modal modulation in Emmanuel's arrangement of* Les mois de l'année. *The horizontal bars demonstrate progressive increase in scalar and modal complexity from a five-pitch (non-heptatonic) set to a combination of Aeolian, Dorian, and common-practice minor mode pitch set.*

## Chapter Four: Emmanuel's modal style

I came to explore the music and thought of Maurice Emmanuel and his *XXX Chansons Bourguignonnes* by a circuitous path. In my past studies as a jazz saxophonist, I absorbed a variety of scalar genera and modes for the purposes of improvisation. From a compositional standpoint, many post-1950s jazz repertoires are further characterized by a non-"functional" approach to harmonic relationship that resembles certain *fin-de-siècle* French practices.[263] Intrigued by this modal (or, non-"tonal") kinship between historical and contemporary diatonic repertoires, I began to research the origins of "harmonic modality" (as a response to tonal theories) in nineteenth-century French music and literature. I came across Maurice Emmanuel and recognized a connection between his modal thought and broader trends among *fin-de-siècle* regionalist composers and their *chansons populaires* collections. Noting Emmanuel's own *XXX Chansons Bourguignonnes* and its interesting history, I was struck by the relative lack of literature (especially in English) concerning Emmanuel given his considerable activity and influence as a scholar, composer, and chair of music history at the *Conservatoire* for over twenty years. Drawn to Emmanuel's character and work, I settled on a study of *XXX Chansons* as a centric text bridging crucial aspects of modal thought in France at the turn of the twentieth century.

This thesis contributes to a variety of research topics related to Emmanuel and his legacy. It features the first comprehensive close reading of *XXX Chansons* and provides a novel analytical framework with reference to Emmanuel's musicological work. In this respect, it forwards our understanding of *chansons populaires* collections—a rich intellectual tradition

[263] Debussy, Ravel, and Stravinsky were common names to be spoken and revered in the jazz classrooms that I frequented. Further, this "modal" kinship between *fin-de-siècle* France and contemporary repertoires is not restricted to jazz. As Nathan Lam notes, strict seven-note diatonic modes (as outlined by Emmanuel in *XXX Chansons*) feature prominently in other contemporary genres such as rock and popular music, Lam, "Relative Diatonic Modality," 1–2.

which begs further study, particularly from a music-analytical perspective. Although Emmanuel's distinctive theories and histories may tell us little about folk music, they tell us a lot about developments in French musical thought into and throughout the twentieth century. Far from an isolated entity, Emmanuel belongs to a lineage of nineteenth-century thinkers that celebrated the diatonic modes as a source of melodic and harmonic originality.[264] This framework paves the way for future research into Emmanuel's original compositions and may be extended to the analysis of contemporary repertoires—and, especially, the work of Emmanuel's students and colleagues at the *Schola Cantorum* and the *Conservatoire*. Emmanuel's pedagogical legacy is immortalized in testimonies by Olivier Messiaen, Henri Dutilleux, and others, and its influence undoubtedly stretches to research areas beyond the confines of these individual and their institutional affiliations. In dialogue with these other figures, Emmanuel's work questions the foundations of tonal theory and offers new perspectives on the analysis and interpretation of post-1800 modal repertoires.

Emmanuel's many writings display an investment in Burgundy and its folk music as key components of his musical identity. In *XXX Chansons*, he positions folk music at the forefront of his narrative of modal awakening in the 1880s, and he is careful to stress in *Mes avatars* that it was folk music which first led him to study ancient Greek and medieval repertoires.[265] In this attitude, Emmanuel contributes to a well-established discourse. Folk music formed a key intellectual concern in nineteenth-century France as a source of both regional and national identity, featuring in debates about race (monogenists versus polygenists) and politics (monarchists versus republicans), among other topics.[266] In music, *chansons populaires* also

[264] Lam, "Relative Diatonic Modality," 2.
[265] Emmanuel, *XXX Chansons*, viii–x; Emmanuel, "Mes Avatars," 38.
[266] See Pasler, "Race and Nation."

served as an arena for debates about music history and the origins of common-practice tonality in professional circles. With *XXX Chansons*, Emmanuel deliberately contributes to these debates: following Louis-Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray, he champions folk music as an avenue for musical rejuvenation contra the Wagnerian tradition of tonal chromaticism; as an active promoter of a non-chromatic approach to the harmonization of historical and folk repertoires, he is also critical of Julien Tiersot's tonal approach to harmonizing works such as the *Jeu de Robin et de Marion*, wishing instead to position folk music past and present as the surviving embodiment of a pre-*ficta* diatonic aesthetic.

Emmanuel was also a keen student of music history. In major texts such as the *Grèce* article, the *Histoire de la langue musicale*, and the *Traité de l'accompagnement modal des psaumes*, he explores millennia of diatonic practice in European music history with reference to primary sources and nineteenth-century Francophone and Germanic scholarship. The core of his intellectual legacy is buried in this large and relatively inaccessible body of work, which is tied to a variety of nineteenth- and twentieth-century discursive fields and couched in personal jargon. Nevertheless, these texts are worthy of further study. As Chapter Two of my thesis demonstrates, *Grèce*, the *Histoire*, and the *Traité* all reveal the building of a refined, cross-historical modal apparatus meant to replace dominant theories of common-practice tonality. As his choice of name implies, Emmanuel's *corps de l'harmonie* is both a nod-to and an attempted correction-of Rameau's *corps sonore* and its descendant theories of tonal harmonic function. Backed by significant scholarship, this deliberate association reads more as a testament to Emmanuel's ambition in his desire to reframe teleological diatonic narratives rather than unjustified arrogance.

Emmanuel's concerns about the distinction between tonal and modal approaches to diatonic harmony continue to be relevant today. Common-practice tonality remains the pedagogical standard for post-1600 diatonic repertoires in European art music, of which nineteenth- and twentieth-century modal repertoires form an unwieldy subset. Emmanuel's life work was largely devoted to re-writing tonal narratives to promote a conception of triadic harmony and modulation that does not rely on the relationship between leading tone and tonic, or $V^7$ and I. From a compositional perspective, his detailed historical scholarship and reverence for the past stand in the way of a straightforward, applicable theory. From a musicological perspective, however, Emmanuel's historical enthusiasm strengthens the value of his intellectual legacy—a legacy that is supported by *XXX Chansons* and his other compositions. As a key actor in a network of interdisciplinary discourse, Emmanuel's work affords a rich perspective concerning intellectual currents that led to the persistence of modal thought. A deeper understanding of modal discourse at this pivotal juncture in the history of diatonic practices can help us rethink the way we teach music history and theory of the nineteenth century and beyond.

Emmanuel's rhetoric makes it clear that he views the songs in *XXX Chansons* as living vessels for the application of modal theories mined from various stages of music history. His arrangement of *Chez Jean Nicot* (I) exemplifies these processes. The *Jean Nicot* melody is of historical and modal interest. It is apparently derived from an ancient *noël* and articulates plagal and authentic dispositions of an E-E octave (echoing Emmanuel's *corps de l'harmonie* and the ancient Greek *Doristi-la* mode). In his arrangement, Emmanuel derives harmonic material directly from these melodic considerations. He employs a pedal on the "modal fifth" A-E throughout most of the arrangement—often in inversion (E-A)—to emphasize the A fundamental within a plagal E-E octave disposition. This double pedal generates an aesthetic of parsimonious

harmonic motion that largely eschews standard tonal function and foregrounds the *corps de l'harmonie* (E, A, B, E) as an "ancient Greek" quintal substitute for the traditional dominant triad (E, *G♯*, B, E). In the fifth verse, Emmanuel also substitutes the F♮'s native to an A Aeolian context for F♯'s, effectuating a brief "modulation" to the parallel mode of A Dorian. This scalar shift is not modulatory in the tonal sense; rather than employing the raised sixth degree F♯ as a leading tone to G, Emmanuel uses it to access different harmonic colours within an A-centric modal context (Figure 70).

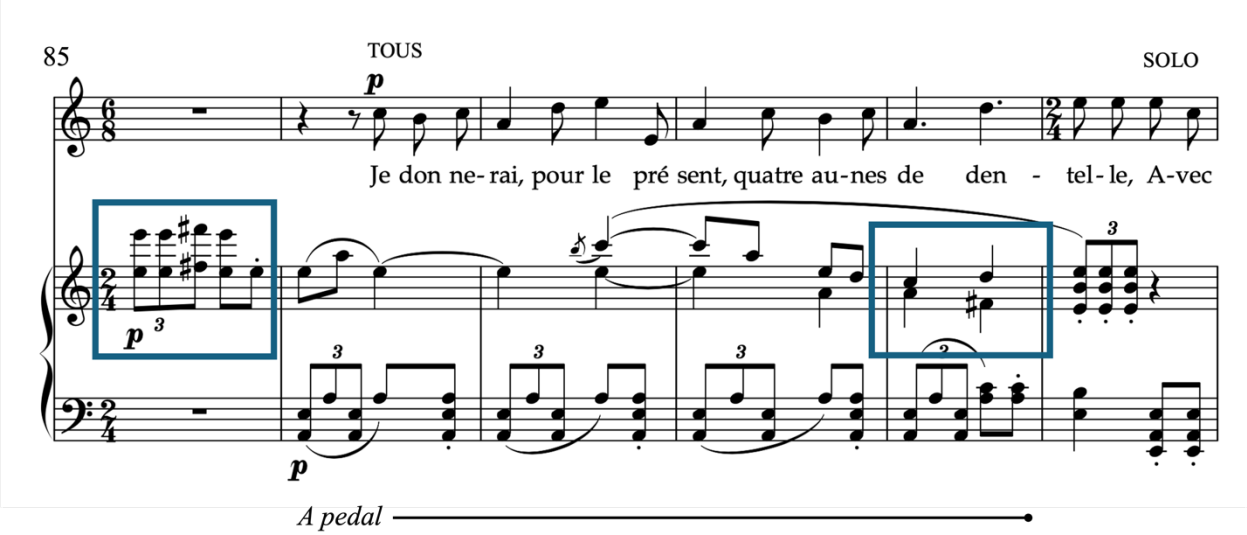



*Figure 70. An excerpt from the fifth verse of* Chez Jean Nicot *(measures 85–90). Emmanuel introduces the novel F♯ in an introductory passage preceding the vocal entry (m. 85). The pedal on A in measures 86–89 affirms that this F♯ is drawn from a parallel mode (A Dorian). Emmanuel maintains this new modal territory with another F♯ in measure 89, generating a Dorian* $\hat{4}$ *harmony (A, C, D, F♯). In both cases, this "modulatory" F♯ functions as a source of melodic and harmonic colour rather than a leading tone.*

The example of *Chez Jean Nicot* also demonstrates a crucial fact, which is that many of Emmanuel's *XXX Chansons* arrangements exhibit all facets of his modal thought explored in this thesis. Taken as a whole, these disparate traits indicate a broader modal style that is expanded in his original compositions. Unlike Emmanuel's other compositions, however, the *XXX Chansons*

arrangements constitute the clearest representation of this modal style by virtue of their strict adherence to a *musica recta* brand of diatonicism. In its clarity and simplicity, *XXX Chansons* thus reads both as an applied complement to Emmanuel's *Traité de l'accompagnement modal des psaumes* and as a veritable aesthetic manifesto concerning the nature and role of triadic harmony in a diatonic context. Whether or not one agrees with Emmanuel's theories or methods, his work deserves consideration in studies of *fin-de-siècle* French musical thought and in discussions of intellectual music history writ large.

## Appendix: *XXX Chansons* song list

This is a list of the songs in *XXX Chansons*, as categorized by Emmanuel (with roman numerals). The modal designations are also Emmanuel's, translated into modern Anglophone terminology. Emmanuel refers to Ionian as *mode d'Ut*, although he indicates in brackets that it corresponds to the common-practice major mode (*majeur moderne*). The designation "Minor" corresponds to Emmanuel's *mineur moderne*, which indicates the common-practice minor mode, characterized by a raised leading tone (♯$\hat{7}$) and occasional raised sixth (♯$\hat{6}$).

| # | Title | Mode |
|---|---|---|
| I | *Chez Jean Nicot* | Aeolian |
| II | *Le Veigneron* | Aeolian |
| III | *Quand j'éto chez mon peire* | Mixolydian |
| IV | *Complainte de Notre-Dame* | Phrygian |
| V | *Eine méchante aifâre [Lai queuraction]* | Ionian |
| VI | *Il était une fille, une fille d'honneur* | Aeolian |
| VII | *Ç'ast les gens de Bouze [Lai bique]* | Ionian |
| VIII | *J'ai vû le loup, ler'nard, le lièvre* | Dorian |
| IX | *Les Feill's de Claivoillon* | Aeolian |
| X | *Noël* | Ionian |
| XI | *Lorsque j'aivions des noisettes* | Ionian |
| XII | *Le pommier d'Août* | Ionian |
| XIII | *Lai maoh mairiée* | Ionian |
| XIV | *I t'airai, mais brunette* | Ionian |
| XV | *Guillenlé, bia Guillenlé* | Ionian |
| XVI | *Quand j'ai sôti de mon villaige* | Aeolian |
| XVII | *Mai grand meire, qui n'évot qu'eun' dent* | Minor |
| XVIII | *Lai treue guéreille* | Aeolian |
| XIX | *Ç' n'ast pas l'état des Feilles* | Aeolian |
| XX | *Aidieu, bargeire!* | Dorian |
| XXI | *Ç'ast Guignolot d'saint Lazot* | Aeolian |
| XXII | *La hiaut sur lai montaigne* | Aeolian |
| XXIII | *Meire, botez le chien queure* | Ionian |
| XXIV | *V'la que l'aloueute chante [Le renouveau]* | Lydian |
| XXV | *Le R'venant vivant* | Aeolian |
| XXVI | *Belle, I m'en vâs en l'Aillemaigne* | Ionian |
| XXVII | *M'y allant promener* | Dorian |
| XXVIII | *Les mois de l'Année (la Perdriole)* | Aeolian |
| XXIX | *Ai lai feîte d'Echarnant* | Minor |
| XXX | *La mère Godichon* | Aeolian |

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