

Université de Montréal

La Spirale, *Le Zodiaque*, and *Mana*: The Convergences Between Georges Migot and André Jolivet (1932-1937)

La Spirale, *Le Zodiaque*, et *Mana* : Les convergences entre Georges Migot et André Jolivet (1932-1937)

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Ce mémoire intitulé

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Résumé

Ce mémoire porte sur la convergence des compositeurs français Georges Migot (1891-1976) et André Jolivet (1905-1974) au cours des années 1930 sur le plan de leurs idées en esthétique musicale, de leur démarche compositionnelle, et de leur implication administrative sur la scène musicale parisienne. Ceci a pour but de mieux comprendre l'amitié spéciale entre Migot et Jolivet, mesurer son influence sur leurs personnalités musicales, observer son impact sur leur engagement commun au sein de la société de concert La Spirale, et, plus globalement, évaluer sa portée sur l'ensemble de la scène musicale française. Actuellement, Stravinsky, Ravel et le Groupe des Six prennent une grande place dans les histoires de la vie musicale française de l'entre-deux-guerres. Ultiment, cette étude cherche à favoriser une meilleure compréhension de la variété des manifestations musicales dans le Paris des années 1930.

Le premier chapitre de ce mémoire examine les idées esthétiques respectives de Migot et Jolivet et discute leurs similitudes. Le deuxième chapitre se penche sur l'engagement des deux compositeurs au sein de la société de concert La Spirale (1935-1937). Relativement peu étudié, cet organisme est néanmoins connu pour avoir servi d'incubateur au groupe La Jeune France (1936-1942), une association réunissant Olivier Messiaen, Daniel-Lesur, André Jolivet et Yves Beaudrier. À travers l'examen des activités de La Spirale, ce mémoire propose non seulement une liste revue et corrigée de toutes les œuvres présentées dans ses concerts, mais rend également compte de la nature de l'engagement de Jolivet et Migot en son sein.

Finalement, le troisième chapitre propose une analyse comparative d'une sélection de mouvements tirés de deux recueils pour piano solo de Migot et Jolivet, respectivement *Le Zodiaque* (1931-1932) et *Mana* (1935). Les analyses se concentrent sur les structures de hauteurs et l'organisation motivique (pratiques modales ou sérielles, constructions accordiques inspirées par la série des harmoniques, procédés motiviques) et sur les proportions temporelles. Dans certains mouvements, les événements structurels semblent être gouvernés par des notions mathématiques telles que le Nombre d'or ou les nombres de la suite de Fibonacci.

MOTS-CLÉS : André Jolivet, Georges Migot, La Spirale, analyse, Paris, les années 1930, esthétique, *Le Zodiaque*, *Mana*, musique française, société de concert

Abstract

This Master's thesis explores the convergences between the French composers Georges Migot (1891-1976) and André Jolivet (1905-1974) during the 1930s, in terms of their respective musical aesthetics, compositional techniques, and involvement in the Parisian music scene. The aim is to provide a clearer picture of the relationship between Migot and Jolivet, to evaluate its influence upon their musical ideas and shared interest in the development of the concert society La Spirale, and to assess its significance in the wider sphere of French music. Currently, music history of this period is saturated with writings on Stravinsky, Ravel, and the Groupe des six. This study seeks to provide a better understanding of the other various musical manifestations in 1930s Paris.

The first chapter of this thesis consists of an examination of Migot and Jolivet's respective aesthetics ideas and a discussion of their similarities. The second chapter explores a shared project of the two composers: the concert society La Spirale (1935-1937). While largely unstudied, this organization is known for having given rise to the group La Jeune France (1936-1942), an association formed by Olivier Messiaen, Daniel-Lesur, André Jolivet, and Yves Beaudrier, as the first three also took part in the executive of the former society. Through an exploration of La Spirale's activities, this thesis not only provides a complete and revisited list of all works performed at its concerts, but also qualifies the involvement of Jolivet and Migot.

Finally, this research will conclude with a comparative analysis of select movements from solo piano collections by Migot and Jolivet, *Le Zodiaque* (1931-1932) and *Mana* (1935), respectively. While Migot uses a more modal language to convey his lyricism, Jolivet employs an emancipated post-tonal idiom. This analysis will take into consideration pitch and motivic structure (modal and serial practices) and temporal sequences. Moreover, it will provide an examination of the use of the Golden Mean and the Fibonacci series in some pieces.

KEY-WORDS: André Jolivet, Georges Migot, La Spirale, analysis, Paris, 1930s, aesthetics, *Le Zodiaque*, *Mana*, French Music, concert society

Table of Contents

Page d'identification des members du jury <i>Résumé</i>	ii
<i>Résumé</i>	iii
Abstract.....	v
Table of Contents	vii
List of Figures.....	ix
List of Musical Examples	x
Acknowledgments	xii
Introduction	1
Chapter 1: The Aesthetics of Georges Migot and André Jolivet.....	10
Chapter 1.1: Introduction.....	10
Chapter 1.2: Georges Migot	12
Biographical Information	12
Migot's Personal Aesthetics	15
Rhythm and <i>eurythmie</i>	17
Chapter 1.3: André Jolivet.....	22
Biographical Outline and Major Influences	22
<i>La Magie</i> and the <i>Style Incantatoire</i>	26
Chapter 1.4: Synthesis	30
Chapter 2: La Spirale: The Shared Project of Migot and Jolivet	32
Chapter 2.1: Introduction.....	33
The Place of Concert Societies in Interwar Paris	32
The Schola Cantorum	36
Chapter 2.2: La Spirale.....	38
The Creation of La Spirale	40
The Executive	42
La Spirale's Activities	43
General Reception	47
Downward Spiral	49
Chapter 2.3: Conclusion	51

Chapter 3: <i>Le Zodiaque</i> and <i>Mana</i> : A Comparative Analysis	53
Chapter 3.1: Introduction	53
Chapter 3.2: <i>Le Zodiaque</i>	54
“La Balance”	56
“Le Verseau”	59
“Le Lion”	61
“La Vierge”	63
Chapter 3.3: <i>Mana</i>	64
“Pégase”	66
“Beaujolais”	67
Chapter 3.4: Synthesis	70
Conclusion	71
Bibliography	75
Annex 1: List of Concerts by La Spirale	80
Annex 2: <i>Psaume pour mon Zodiaque</i> by Georges Migot	88
Annex 3: Analysis of “La Balance”	89
Annex 4: Analysis of “Beaujolais”	89

List of Figures and Musical Examples

List of Figures

1.	Photo of Georges Migot	12
2.	Painting by Georges Migot.....	14
3.	Golden Mean	20
4.	Golden Spiral	20
5.	Photo of André Jolivet	22
6.	Photo of the Schola Cantorum, 269 Rue St Jacques, Paris	36
7.	Symbol of La Spirale	38
8.	Program of La Spirale’s first concert, December 12 th 1935	43
9.	Program of La Spirale’s concert, June 19 th 1936.....	44
10.	Program of La Spirale’s concert, March 5 th 1936.....	45
11.	Program of La Spirale’s concert, February 24 th 1937.....	46
12.	Program of La Spirale’s concert, April 28 th 1937.....	47
13.	Diagram of thematic material in “Le Verseau”	61
14.	Diagram of thematic material in “Le Lion”	63
15.	Tone rows in <i>Mana</i>	65

Musical Examples

1.	Mana mvt 3, “La Princesse de Bali,” mm. 1-3	27
2.	<i>Cinq Incantations</i> , Incantation B, “Pour que l’enfant à naître soit un fils,” mm. 1-6 ...	28
3.	“La Balance,” mm. 1-4	56
4.	“La Balance,” reduction of bass line mm. 1-15.....	57
5.	“La Balance,” mm. 1, L.H. group.....	57
6.	“La Balance,” mm. 3-4, group a.1	57
7.	“La Balance,” mm. 3-5, motive b; groups x., y, a.1, a.2	57
8.	“La Balance,” mm. 5-7, end of group a.....	58
9.	“La Balance,” mm. 7-8, group b.....	58
10.	“La Balance,” mm. 9-12, group c	58
11.	“La Balance,” mm. 13-16, group d.....	58
12.	“La Balance,” mm. 50-53, group a.1, a.2	58
13.	“La Balance,” Bass line from mm. 50-64.....	59
14.	“La Balance,” mm. 54-56, group b’	59
15.	“La Balance,” mm. 58-61, group c’	59
16.	“La Balance,” mm. 58-61, group c’	59
17.	“Le Verseau,” mm. 1-9.....	60
18.	“Le Verseau,” mm. 115-124.....	60
19.	“Le Lion,” mm. 1-5	62
20.	“Le Lion,” mm. 146-147	62
21.	“La Vierge,” mm. 1-4	63

Musical Examples (cont.)

22.	“La Vierge,” mm. 25	64
23.	“La Balance,” mm. 13-16 (group d)	64
24.	“La Balance,” mm. 13-16 (group d)	64
25.	“Pégase,” mm. 17-19	66
26.	“Pégase,” mm. 51-52	66
27.	“Beaujolais,” mm. 1-7	67
28.	“Beaujolais,” mm. 1	68
29.	“Beaujolais,” mm. 11	68
30.	“Beaujolais,” mm. 16-18	68
31.	“Beaujolais,” mm. 20-22	68
32.	“Beaujolais,” mm. 1-2	68
33.	“Beaujolais,” mm. 4-7	68
34.	“Beaujolais,” mm. 8-10	68
35.	“Beaujolais,” mm. 15-18	68
36.	“Beaujolais,” mm. 2-4	69
37.	“Beaujolais,” mm. 13-15	69
38.	“Beaujolais,” mm. 25-26	69
39.	“Beaujolais,” mm. 2-4	69

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Introduction

French composers Georges Migot (1891-1976) and André Jolivet (1905-1974) though born a half-generation apart entertained strong personal and artistic affinities during the 1930s. A rich correspondence testifies to the quality of their friendship, which was born upon their first meeting, in 1933. From 1935 to 1937, they worked closely together on a project that was instigated by the younger composer: La Spirale, a chamber music society which sought to promote contemporary works overlooked by the larger music organizations. This thesis, which centers on the years 1932-1937, documents Migot and Jolivet's involvement in La Spirale, assesses the degree of their aesthetic affinities, and compares their compositional techniques. With these various lines of inquiry, the aim is to provide a clearer picture of Migot and Jolivet's special friendship, evaluate its influence on their musical personalities, observe its impact on their common involvement in Parisian concert life, and, more globally, its significance for the wider French musical scene. Currently, the history of the French interwar music scene is dominated by composers such as Stravinsky, Ravel and the Groupe des Six. Ultimately, this study seeks to provide a better understanding of the variety of musical manifestations in 1930s Paris.

In Interwar Paris (1918-1939), there were many methods for diffusing contemporary music, with customs both new and old. The private salon concerts continued to be an important tradition of sharing music, while new mediums such as the radio were able to reach a wider audience with the trends of the day.¹ In addition to these, concert societies also provided a significant venue for the promotion of avant-garde music. The latter allowed for groupings of like-minded composers to review works of the day and decide which pieces they felt deserved to be put forth to the public. La Spirale had the mission to promote worthy yet overlooked compositions, and to provide more opportunities for deserving music, rather than being dedicated to premieres of new music. Moreover, several of the members of the executive had similar ideas about music, and three of them, Jolivet, Messiaen, and Daniel-Lesur, would go on to create the association

¹ For more information, see Myriam Chimenès, *Mécènes et musiciens : du salon au concert à Paris sous la IIIe République*, Paris, Fayard, 2004.

La Jeune France with Yves Beaudrier.² Although the executive of La Spirale was comprised of seven composers, it appears to be mostly Migot and Jolivet who were interested in keeping the society alive (a point which will be discussed further in this thesis). While the society did not necessarily seek to promote the esoteric ideals held by some of its members, La Spirale is an important element to discovering the relationship between Migot and Jolivet. In addition to showing their mutual respect and collaboration, the existence of the society leaves further traces of their friendship through their varied correspondence, which may not have been so voluminous if not for their common project (indeed, their letters slowed in the years following the society's end).

Literature Review

Georges Migot

One advantage to the research of Georges Migot is that a large body of primary sources is available, since Migot wrote extensively on his ideas in the 1920s and 1930s. The composer's written output fills several books, addressing the most diverse musical topics from the meaning of the word "singer" to the "proper use of music" (see the list of publications below).³

² La Jeune France was particularly well-known for promoting humanism in music, in opposition to the trends of neo-classicism which preferred music to be abstract. See Nigel Simeone, "La Spirale and La Jeune France: Group Identities", *The Musical Times*, vol. 143, n° 1880, 2002, p. 10-36. La Spirale is often only discussed in conjunction with La Jeune France, since the latter was essentially born out of the former.

³ Georges Migot and Jean Delaye (ed.), *Les Écrits de Georges Migot*, Paris, Les Presses Modernes, 1932, vol. 1, p. 30-31, 100.

<i>Essaies pour une esthétique générale</i>	1920
<i>Appoggiatures résolues et non résolues</i>	1922
<i>Jean-Philippe Rameau et le génie de la musique française</i>	1930
<i>Les écrits de Georges Migot</i> (in three volumes)	Ed. Jean Delaye, 1932
<i>Essaies commentés et complétés en vue d'une esthétique générale</i>	1937
<i>Lexique de quelques termes utilisés en musique</i>	1947
<i>Kaléidoscope et miroirs suivi de matériaux et inscriptions</i>	1970

These sources are of invaluable importance in understanding Migot's ideas on music.

From a historiographical perspective, Georges Migot is a fascinating figure. Some of his contemporaries hailed him as the most original French artist of his time (an opinion which was of course not shared by all),⁴ but he has been mostly overlooked by mainstream musicology since his death in 1976. There is, however, some relatively recent literature devoted Migot, his music and ideas, thanks largely to the efforts of French musicologist Marc Honegger. Honegger instituted a journal entitled *Les Amis de l'œuvre de Georges Migot* and established Migot's archives at l'Université de Strasbourg. Some of Honegger's publications include the *Catalogue des œuvres musicales de Georges Migot*,⁵ and "La Musique religieuse de Georges Migot."⁶ While Honegger's writings and musicological journal are invaluable in better understanding

⁴ Scherke stated in 1925 that "France today has no artistic representative more original than Georges Migot, musician-painter-philosopher." See Irving Scherke, "Georges Migot: The French Group of One," *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 11, n° 3, 1925, p. 7. It is possible that Migot's interest was inflated by certain writers such as Émile Vuillermoz in order to downplay the interest of the Groupe des Six. See François de Médicis, "Darius Milhaud and the Debate on Polytonality in the French Press of the 1920s," *Music & Letters*, vol. 86, n°4, 2005.

⁵ Marc Honegger, *Catalogue des œuvres musicales de Georges Migot*, Strasbourg, Amis de l'œuvre et de la pensée de Georges Migot, Institut de Musicologie, 1977.

⁶ Marc Honegger, "La Musique religieuse de Georges Migot", *Zodiaque*, n°167, janvier 1991, p. 2-6.

Migot in a general sense, they do not help to explain Migot's ideas about music, nor do they provide any comparison between Migot and Jolivet.

There are some other sources which deal with Migot in a general fashion, such as *La Route d'un musicien* by Pierre Wolff and *Connaissance de Georges Migot* by Max Pinchard.⁷ While these books both paint a broad picture of Migot as the philosophical artist, neither volume analyzes in detail his ideas, makes reference to his friendship with Jolivet, assesses their similarities, nor provides a discussion of Migot's involvement in La Spirale.

For a discussion of Migot's ideas specifically, Annie Trainaud's essay *La pensée esthétique de Georges Migot* attempts to explain the composer's thoughts, and makes them accessible to a more contemporary reader. While this source is incredibly useful, it still does not make any mention of the potential affinities with Jolivet, nor of his involvement in La Spirale.

One final authorship worthy of mention is the Master's thesis by Jerome Becker entitled "The use of astrology in twentieth-century piano works." It is noteworthy for including a discussion and brief analysis of Migot's *Le Zodiaque* through the lens of the esoteric thematic. While Becker confirms that Migot intended to convey his ideas through his composition, the author does not provide specific examples of how the music conveys his metaphysical notions.

In general, there is relatively little scholarship around Georges Migot, though there is a great wealth of primary source information. While one essay is invaluable in detailing Migot's thoughts on music, nowhere is Migot's rapport with Jolivet discussed. Likewise, there is no mention of his involvement with the concert society La Spirale.

André Jolivet

⁷ Max Pinchard, *Connaissance de Georges Migot: Musicien français*, Paris, Éditions Ouvrières, 1959 ; Pierre Wolff, *Georges Migot: La Route d'un musicien*, Paris, A. Leduc, 1933.

Compared to Migot, there is much more recent research available on Jolivet. In the last twenty years there have been at least six books on the composer, as well as several theses: Lucie Kayas's *André Jolivet*, Jean-Pierre Vançon's *André Jolivet*, Gérard Moindrot's *Approches symboliques de la musique d'André Jolivet*, among others.⁸ These books all address Jolivet more generally, discussing his upbringing and early influences; and each source also concentrates particularly on his peculiar ideas about music. All of these four books provide uniquely useful information on Jolivet's ideas, though Vançon is the only one to speculate on the correspondence between Jolivet's specific compositional devices and his esoteric notions of music.

In addition to these books are a few Master's and Doctoral Theses which discuss Jolivet's ideas about music in relation to specific compositions: Mya-Jean Caruso's "Music and Magic[...]," Benjamin Scott Tucker's "Atonality, modality, and incantation..." etc.⁹ These sources are useful in gaining different perspectives on Jolivet's ideas and seeing different analyses of various pieces. Finally, one important article provides an insightful analysis of the magic in Jolivet's music: "Is there Magic in Jolivet's Music?" by Katherine Kemler.¹⁰ This article is useful in that it affirms that Jolivet did indeed succeed in infusing his ideas into his musical works, yet it does not link specific compositional devices with an infusion of magic.

While it is often mentioned that Migot was a mentor and friend of Jolivet, and that Migot himself had esoteric notions of music, there is never a direct and detailed comparison between their aesthetics and philosophies. For example, Vançon mentions that Migot had esoteric preoccupations and shared them with his young friend, but the author provides no further details into Migot's ideas or music.¹¹ Moreover, Jolivet's involvement in *La Spirale* is oft mentioned in

⁸ Lucie Kayas, *André Jolivet*, Fayard, Paris, 2005. Gerard Moindrot, *Approches symboliques de la musique d'André Jolivet*. Paris and Montreal: L'Harmattan, 1999. Vançon, Jean-Claire, *André Jolivet*, Paris, Bleu nuit editor, 2007.

⁹ Maya-Jean Caruso, "Music and Magic — Man and the Cosmos in Jolivet's 'Suite en Concert'," DMA dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 2005. Michelle A. Cheramy, "Dwelling in the Secret : André Jolivet's *Ascèses* in the Context of his Life and Philosophy", DMA dissertation, Rice University, 2005. Benjamin Scott Tucker, "Atonality, Modality, and Incantation in two Works for Trumpet by André Jolivet, with a Discussion of his Technical and Aesthetic Principles", DMA thesis, The University of Arizona, 1994.

¹⁰ Katherine Kemler, "Is There Magic in Jolivet's Music?" *Music Review*, vol. 44, March 1983, p. 121-135.

¹¹ Jean-Claire Vançon, *André Jolivet*, Paris, Bleu nuit editor, 2007, p. 55.

these books and articles, though seldom in the context of his relationship with Migot (see Lucie Kayas p. 183-201 for her discussion of La Spirale, which provides much information on the organization of the concerts, but little insight into the relationship between Migot and Jolivet).¹²

La Spirale

While La Spirale is regularly mentioned in writings on Jolivet, there is relatively little published directly about La Spirale, and the archival information is vastly spread out. Moreover, La Spirale is almost always discussed in conjunction with La Jeune France, and no single book or article is devoted solely to the earlier society. There exists one article by Nigel Simeone entitled “La Spirale and La Jeune France: Group Identities;” one Chapter in Lucie Kayas’s book on Jolivet entitled “La Spirale et le groupe Jeune France : faire jouer et être joué;” and a master’s thesis by Pierre Gaucher entitled “De la spirale au groupe jeune France ; les tourments d’une avant-garde musicale.”

There is no single archive for this society, as is the case with other, larger societies from the time. However, one can piece together the activities of La Spirale by combing through all the important newspapers of the time, and discover more about the inner-workings of the executive by examining the correspondences between the members. Archival information can be found at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (in the Fonds Montpensier, looking in the files for the composers who were part of the executive; in the letters between Migot and Jolivet, Jolivet and Messiaen; and in newspapers which can be accessed online through Gallica). The press is also an important resource for discerning the reception of the society and opinions of the music performed. There are a few intact concert programs to be found in certain archives (fonds Montpensier at the BNF), but most of the programs can also be corroborated by combing through announces made in the papers.

Apart from the primary sources, La Spirale does sometimes figure in musicological literature. It is mentioned briefly (discussed on one and a half pages) in Michel Duchesneau’s book on music societies in Paris: *L’Avant-garde musicale à Paris de 1871 à 1939*.¹³ Three sources

¹² Kayas, *André Jolivet*, p. 183-200.

¹³ Michel Duchesneau, *L’Avant-garde musicale à Paris de 1871 à 1939*, Sprimont, Mardaga, 1997.

(mentioned above) discuss La Spirale in some depth: Nigel Simeone's article "La Jeune France and La Spirale: Group Identities," Lucie Kayas's book *André Jolivet* and Pierre Gaucher's thesis "De la spirale au groupe Jeune France (1935-1945): les tourments d'une avant-garde musicale."¹⁴

In his article, Simeone provides insight into the inner-workings of the society and discusses how Messiaen and Jolivet became friends.¹⁵ Simeone also provides a program list for the concerts of La Spirale. However, his article concentrates more on how La Jeune France was born out of La Spirale.

In a biographical tome on André Jolivet, Kayas devotes an entire chapter to his activity on the committees of La Spirale and La Jeune France.¹⁶ Her work is particularly useful for discerning the organisation of the international-exchange concerts, being the only author to examine this in-depth. Moreover, as the chapter figures in a book on Jolivet, Kayas focusses particularly on his involvement in the society, showing how he was particularly interested in the success of the society (her emphasis on Jolivet is unique).

Gaucher, in his master's thesis, covers extensively La Spirale as well as the activities of the composers from La Jeune France.¹⁷ He provides biographical information on most of the executive members of La Spirale (Nestor Lejeune, Georges Migot, Olivier Messiaen, Claire Delbos, Daniel-Lesur, Edouard Sciortino, and André Jolivet), and discusses extensively the environment of musical societies in the interwar period. He also provides invaluable insight into the group's financial situation, and an analysis of the works performed at La Spirale's concerts. Finally, Gaucher's work is key in providing a holistic insight into the deceleration and eventual end of La Spirale's activities.

¹⁴ Kayas, *André Jolivet*.

¹⁵ Simeone, "La Spirale and La Jeune France," p. 10.

¹⁶ Kayas, *André Jolivet*, p. 183-220, chapter four, "La Spirale et le groupe Jeune France: faire jouer et être joué."

¹⁷ La Jeune France was another, smaller group comprised of Olivier Messiaen, Yves Beaudrier, Daniel-Lesur, and André Jolivet.

Other publications do mention La Spirale, though only briefly and in conjunction with another main topic. Jean-Claire Vançon's short biography of Jolivet, particularly relevant for its explanation of Jolivet's musical ideas, also briefly mentions la Spirale and its importance for the development of Jolivet's career. Further, there are some discrepancies in the literature around La Spirale, as Vançon mentions that La Spirale held twelve concerts¹⁸ whereas Simeone mentions that it was in fact thirteen concerts.¹⁹

Nowhere in the literature on Migot or Jolivet are their ideas about music synthesised. While the affinities between their music and thought have been remarked upon (by Gaucher who was cited earlier in this Introduction, for instance) it has not yet been examined in depth. Furthermore, while there have been analyses of Jolivet's work in light of his ideas, no analytical comparison has been made between his esoteric music and that of Migot. Likewise, nowhere in the literature on la Spirale is their relationship or their mutual ideas emphasized, nor is it explained that these two composers seemed to be the most motivated to keep La Spirale functioning. While Migot and Jolivet began a friendship before 1935, their joint efforts on la Spirale undoubtedly represented an effort to, in some way, purport their ideas about music, even if the programming of La Spirale's concerts didn't reflect this; and their endeavour also undoubtedly played a role in strengthening their friendship as well as the links between their ideas.

Thesis Structure

This review of the literature has revealed a number of gaps in existing scholarship that this thesis will endeavor to fill, at least in part. Notably, the lack of evaluation of the affinities between Migot and Jolivet's musical aesthetics; the discrepancies in the literature on La Spirale's concerts, as well as the neglect of Migot and Jolivet's prime interest in the group; an absence of a rigorous analysis of the musical structures employed by Migot in the 1930s; and a dearth of speculation upon the correspondence between the musical devices employed by Migot and Jolivet and their philosophies of music.

¹⁸ Vançon, *André Jolivet*, p. 50.

¹⁹ Simeone, "La Spirale and La Jeune France," p. 28-30.

Chapter one of this thesis will first examine the ideas of Migot and Jolivet surrounding music, and then provide a synthesis of their ideas, pointing out the important similarities between the thoughts of the two composers. Wherever possible, examples will be provided to suggest how specific compositional devices might have been employed to infuse their ideas into their compositions. Chapter two will examine their involvement in La Spirale, giving an overview of the society's creation, efforts (including a complete list of their concerts), and demise, all while shedding light on how the ideas of Jolivet and Migot influenced their involvement in the society, and how it left traces of their friendship. As a complement to this chapter, a complete list of all the concert programs is provided in the Annex of this present thesis, including mentions of various reviews, if applicable (see page 93). Chapter three will consist of an analysis of Migot's *Le Zodiaque* and Jolivet's *Mana*. These works, both dedicated to the same medium (solo piano), were chosen because they were written in the three years leading up to La Spirale, thus providing a point of convergence with Migot and Jolivet's ideas, activities, and compositions.

Finally, this thesis offers an original contribution on three fronts: The ideas of, and relationship between Migot and Jolivet; their shared interest in La Spirale; and an original comparative analysis of two of their piano works. It provides the most current list of concerts performed at La Spirale; and for the first time, details the friendship and aesthetic convergences of Jolivet and Migot, and the impact of their friendship on their involvement in the chamber music society. Finally, this thesis provides a foremost analysis of piano cycles by the two composers, using a rigorous methodology derived from Lerdahl and Jackendoff's *A Generative Theory of Tonal Music* (1983), which allows for a clear vision of Jolivet's and Migot's aesthetic notions of proportion in their works.

Chapter 1

The Aesthetics of Georges Migot and André Jolivet : A Comparison

Chapter 1.1 Introduction

Interwar Paris (1918-1939) was an era dominated by neoclassical aesthetics, which entailed an emphasis upon objectivity, and a rejection of sentimentality in music.¹ Parisian musical life was thus overshadowed by composers such as Igor Stravinsky, Maurice Ravel and the Groupe des Six (Georges Auric, Louis Durey, Arthur Honegger, Darius Milhaud, Francis Poulenc, and Germaine Tailleferre), those who adhered to objectivity in their musical aesthetics.² In contrast to the Groupe des Six, there were composers such as Georges Migot and André Jolivet who held to a different philosophy. For the latter two, music was intended not as an insular work of art, but as a metaphysical force — a force to affect the performers and listeners in a transcendent fashion. Both Migot and Jolivet openly discussed their ideas, and the senior composer was known amongst the musical community in the 1930s for his esoterically fueled compositions. Migot had published books exposing his aesthetics starting in the 1920s, such as *Essais pour une esthétique générale* (Paris, 1920, 1937), *Appoggiatures résolues et non résolues* (Paris, 1922–31), and 3 volumes of various writings in 1932.³ In a 1937 article for the *Beaux-arts* periodical, the French music critic André Coeuroy mentions the “bribes d’esthétique transcendente [que Migot] rumine,” which suggests that the nature of Migot’s ideas about music was known by his contemporaries.⁴ As for Jolivet, Katherine Kemler writes:

although other composers have incorporated primitive (Stravinsky) or spiritual (Messiaen) elements in their music, Jolivet’s concept of returning music to its “antique original meaning” and writing it as an actual incantation is unique and the overall effect of his music is innovative.⁵

¹ See Scott Messing, *Neoclassicism in Music, from the Genesis of the Concept through the Schoenberg/Stravinsky Polemic*, UMI Research Press, Ann Arbor, MI, 1988, p. 76-77.

² Robert Shapiro (ed.), *Les Six: The French Composers and their Mentors Jean Cocteau and Erik Satie*, Exeter (UK), Short Run Press Ltd., 2011, Shapiro relates their rejection of sentimentality in music to a rejection of German music and the sentimentality found therein, due to the recent battle with Germany; combined with the recent search for “a distinctly French musical language,” p. 19. The Groupe des Six also sought to distance themselves from the Schola Cantorum, the institution at which Migot and Jolivet were associated in the mid 1930s (p. 23).

³ Georges Migot, *Essais commentés et complétés en vue d’une esthétique générale*, Paris, Presses Modernes, 1937. Georges Migot and Jean Delaye (ed.), *Les Écrits De Georges Migot*, Paris, Les Presses Modernes, 1932.

⁴ *Beaux-arts*, May 14th 1937.

⁵ Katherine Kemler, “Is There Magic in Jolivet’s Music?” *Music Review*, vol. 44, March 1983, p. 134.

Of course, other composers in Paris invested their music with transcendental notions. While Stravinsky had abandoned his inquiry into primitive values, Olivier Messiaen applied his spiritual ideas to his music, and several compositional elements of his music refer directly to aspects of his Catholic faith. For example, the note F sharp (or an F sharp major chord) is often used to represent God the Father.⁶ While his faith is usually represented in his music in a programmatic way, it is always more of an effect rather than an affect (as a consequence rather than as causality). In other words, his faith was a force of inspiration for his compositions, rather than being a source of animation which would make the music itself be a force.

This chapter will scrutinize the primary and secondary sources that explain in detail the ideas of Migot and Jolivet. This is to pursue two goals. First, rather than simply exposing their ideas, this chapter will focus specifically on the ways in which Georges Migot, André Jolivet, and certain musicologists have related their aesthetics to specific musical practices and compositional techniques; thus examining the compositional devices employed by the two musicians to create a metaphysical force through their music. Second, this will help to assess to what extent the aesthetics of the two artists converged.

⁶ Siglind Bruhn, *Messiaen's Contemplations of Covenant and Incarnation: Musical Symbols of Faith in the Two Great Piano Cycles of the 1940s*, Pendragon Press, Hillsdale, NY, 2007, chapter 2, "Elements of a Musical Language of Faith," p. 49.

Chapter 1.2: Georges Migot (1891-1976)



Figure 1: Photo of Georges Migot⁷ (1922)

Biographical Information

Georges Migot was known during his life as a war-hero; at the beginning of the First World War, he was gravely wounded “while carrying out a direct order.”⁸ It took him three years to recover, but, this time of reduced mobility allowed him to focus on his artistic talents and his interior life. This setback did not hinder his initial success, as he won several prizes in the years following the war, such as the Nadia Boulanger Prize and the Blumenthal Foundation Prize in 1921, among others.⁹ While his recovery was long, arduous, and indeed fortuitous, it led Léon Vallas to claim that “cette façon de miracle a conservé à l’art français un de ses représentants le plus originaux en la personne de Georges Migot, musicien, peintre et philosophe.”¹⁰ Moreover,

⁷ Photo taken from <http://georgesmigot.info/penser-la-musique-apres-de-bussy/george-migot/>.

⁸ There is a small card with the text “Très bon soldat... dévoué et très brave, n’a jamais hésité, même au péril de sa vie, devant aucune mission. Grièvement blessé le 24 août 1914 en portant un ordre prescrit...” found in the file on Georges Migot in the Fonds Montpensier, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Department of Music.

⁹ Biographical information is found in Marc Honegger, “Georges Migot”, *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000018636?rkey=luegBm&result=1>, consulted december 13th 2017.

¹⁰ Léon Vallas, *Georges Migot*, Paris, Éditions Maurice Senart, 1924.

Irwin Schwerke added that “his suffering lead him to spend as much time in this world as in the next.”¹¹ Migot did often give lectures on music and spirituality¹² and he was repeatedly described as having a heightened spiritual sense. This is affirmed by Jolivet, who wrote in a letter to Antonin Goléa that Migot was a vastly cultured man, gifted with a rare metaphysical acuity.¹³ Migot had gained a respectable reputation in Paris in his lifetime, and his most ardent supporters even considered him the “greatest musician since Debussy.”¹⁴

Besides musical composition, Migot also showed talent for other artistic media, and some commentators have argued that these aptitudes might have shaped his musical style. Irving Schwerke wrote that Migot’s melodic lines were influenced by his proficiency in the visual arts, and that in his music as in his painting, he infused emotion into the lines.¹⁵ Migot himself stated that “chacune de mes lignes sonores obéit au lyrisme et à la plastique. Je nomme lyrisme, l’émotion créatrice qui détermine ‘l’élan’ et le ‘tempo.’ Je nomme plastique, la transcription de ce lyrisme dans la matière sonore.”¹⁶ His interest in linearity can also be seen in his paintings,

¹¹ Irving Schwerke, “Georges Migot: The French Group of One,” *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 11, n° 3, 1925, p. 2.

¹² Migot’s archives at the BNF contain hand-written notes for various conferences on music and spirituality. See Georges Migot, “Articles et conférences de Georges Migot”, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Department of Music, RES VMA MS-882.

¹³ Jolivet wrote to Antoine Goléa in an unpublished letter cited in Philippe Gonin, “Vie et œuvre de Paul Le Flem, 1881-1984,” Doctoral dissertation, Université de Lyon 2 Lumière, 1998, p. 207: “Dans ce comité, nous étions quelques-uns à avoir des préoccupations ésotériques, notamment le président, Georges Migot, un homme d’une vaste culture, doué d’une rare acuité spirituelle, de qui j’ai beaucoup appris sur beaucoup de plans.” (“In this committee, many of us had esoteric preoccupations, notably the president, Georges Migot, a man of vaste culture, gifted of a rare spiritual acuity, from whom I have much learned on many levels.”) (All translations are my own unless otherwise stated).

¹⁴ “Il semble que les conditions soient désormais favorables à la compréhension profonde de l’œuvre de Georges Migot. L’expression musicale à laquelle Migot est parvenue par des voies entièrement personnelles constitue un lyrisme d’une totale nouveauté, la seule création vraiment originale ayant vu le jour après la mort de Debussy. L’avenir ne pourra que le mettre au premier rang de ceux qui ont formé le visage du XXe siècle” Cited by Stéphane Lemelin, notes for Georges Migot, *Le Zodiaque*, enregistré en 2005 et 2006, Stéphane Lemelin, 2 disques compactes, ATMA Classique, ACD2 2381, 2006. Probably taken from a newspaper article by Marc Honegger for the 70th birthday of Georges Migot, which can be found in the Fonds Montpensier at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département de musique. (“It seems that conditions are now favourable to a profound comprehension to the work of Georges Migot. The musical expression to which Migot arrived by entirely personal exploration constitutes a totally new form of lyricism, the only true original creation to see the light of day since the death of Debussy. The future can but put his works on the first row of those who shaped the face of the 20th century”).

¹⁵ Schwerke, “Georges Migot: The French Group of One”, p. 7.

¹⁶ Georges Migot, Jean Delaye (ed.), *Les Écrits De Georges Migot Vol 1: Lexique*, Paris, Les Presses Modernes, 1932, p. 177. “Each of my lines of sound obey lyricisme and plasticisme. I call lyricism, the creative emotion which

which make use of strong yet fluid lines (See figure 2). The trees in the painting below, for instance, have strong yet gently curved lines. The painting is dominated by the vertical lines of the trees' trunks, yet the various oblique angles projected by the branches soften what would otherwise appear as mere arrangement of parallel stripes over the grass.

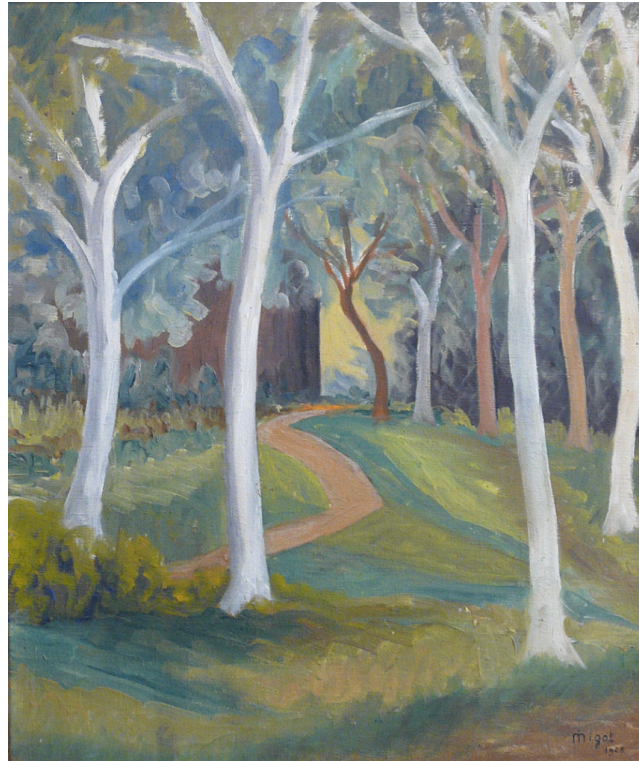


Figure 2: Painting by Georges Migot¹⁷

In the interwar years, Migot was sometimes pitted against *Les Six* by writers such as Émile Vuillermoz and Léon Vallas (and was even referred to as the “groupe d’un” by Irving Scherke in England) by reason of his unique style and thoughts about music.¹⁸

determines the ‘momentum’ and the ‘tempo.’ I call *plactisisme*, the transcription of this lyricism into sound material.”

¹⁷ Photo taken from “Galérie photo,” *Georges Migot: site officiel du compositeur*, <http://georgesmigot.info/galerie-photo/>, consulted the 14th of April 2019.

¹⁸ François de Médicis, “Darius Milhaud and the Debate on Polytonality in the French Press of the 1920s,” *Music & Letters*, vol. 86, n°4, 2005, p. 580. See also Scherke, “Georges Migot: The French Group of One,” p. 7.

Migot's Personal Aesthetics

Based upon Migot's writings, we can summarize the composer's style into a few essential elements: the primacy of lyricism, the fluidity of meter, and the importance of harmonics and tone colours. In Migot's thought, melodic lines have a greater importance than meter, and bar-lines can be considered more as guidelines than strict rhythmic frameworks. The composer writes:

pour le rythme, j'abandonne la métrique, c'est-à-dire le sens prosodique de la période musicale, pour atteindre à la rythmique [...] C'est la rythmique, articulant et reliant entre eux tous les éléments d'une phrase de prose opposé à la métrique du vers à coupes régulières.¹⁹

In Migot's philosophy, rhythm is not meant to be felt as pulses which propel notes further along the space-time continuum, but rather as a relationship between musical segments and phrases. Furthermore, he says that harmony is born out of "superposition des lignes,"²⁰ the addition of melodies together. This reveals a more horizontal view of music rather than an interest in vertical harmonies.

Some final aspects of composition which are exceedingly important for Migot — especially for his piano music — are tone colour and sonority, which he relates to the harmonic series. In his *Lexique*, he writes: "Couleur. Encore un mot venu des arts plastiques, encore une expression visuelle, pour qualifier certaines sensations auditives. Avec d'autres, que nous rencontrerons au cours de ce lexique, il précise la plasticité contenue dans l'art sonore."²¹ Further, in the postface of his piano collection *Zodiaque*, he writes that "la plasticité de la matière sonore n'est-elle pas comparable à des sphères immatérielles, sans cesse évanescentes et renaissantes, en des transformations perpétuelles, et sur lesquelles s'inscrivent les lignes, les rythmes, les accords."²² Here he is effectively relating the harmonic series and tone colour to plasticity found in the

¹⁹ Migot, *Les Écrits de Georges Migot vol 1: Lexique*, p. 167: "For rhythm, I abandon meter — that is to say, the prosaic sense of periods in music—to attain "rhythmics" [...] It is "rhythmics", articulating and relating between each other all the elements of a phrase of prose which may be opposed to meter of regular verses."

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 43. "Colour. Again, a word coming from the plastic arts, another visual expression, to qualify certain auditive sensations. With others, which we will recount throughout this *Lexique*, this means the plasticity found in acoustic material."

²² Migot, Georges, *Le Zodiaque*, Paris, A. Leduc, 1932, postface.

visual arts, and relating this again to immaterial spheres (likely hinting at the harmony of the spheres).

In his *Lexique*, Migot states that the piano differs from other instruments due to the special role played by the harmonic series. With wind instruments such as the clarinet or the trumpet, for instance, only one pitch is produced at a time (though it includes some harmonics); whereas with the piano, when a string is being struck, sympathetic vibrations will automatically occur in other strings.²³ He goes on to provide clues for how he wishes his piano works to be performed, emphasizing the importance of harmonics for this instrument. Migot writes:

Le piano ré-sonne des harmoniques, il crée donc de sphères sonores, — si je puis proposer cette image, — sphères vivantes et mouvantes toujours, qui s’allongent, s’étirent et se transforment perpétuellement. Sur cette continuité sonore en mouvement, j’inscris mes rythmes, mes lignes ou contrepoints.²⁴

He advises pianists to bring out certain notes in the middles of chords, depending upon their harmonic function;²⁵ and finally, he gives a few remarks on what he finds essential to a performance of his piano music :

1) une vraie matière sonore correspondant à la nature de l’instrument utilisé. 2) un vrai lyrisme sonore correspondant à la nature de l’instrument utilisé. 3) une vraie technique instrumentale, par laquelle il est possible de réaliser, parallèlement à la continuité du discours musical, une continuité sonore.²⁶

²³ Migot, *Les Écrits de Georges Migot vol 1: Lexique*, p. 162.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 163. “The piano re-sounds harmonics, and creates therefore sonic spheres, — if I can propose this image, — living spheres which move always, growing, pulling and perpetually transforming. On this sonic continuity which is in motion, I inscribe my rhythms, me lines or counterpoints.”

²⁵ “Dans les exemples suivants [a C major 7 chord followed by a higher B flat, each measure shows emphasis upon a different note of the chord], nous jouerons plus fort que les autres les notes indiqués en plus gros caractères et nous entendrons les différentes sonorités du si bémol qui vient après l’accord. Si la prévue est faite de cette variabilité de la matière du si bémol, en fonction des variabilités des intensités sonores attribués à chacune des notes qui composent l’accord qui précède ce si bémol, nous en déduisons ‘que la qualité sonore d’une note quelconque ne doit pas être cherchée sur la touche même de cette note, mais sur la ou les touches d’une ou des notes qui la précèdent’. Pour ma part, j’ai toujours constaté que les pianistes aux ‘belles sonorités’ usaient inconsciemment de cette loi que nous venons de formuler.” Migot, *Lexique*, p. 226. (“In the following examples, we would play certain notes louder, indicated in bold, and we would hear different qualities in the B flat which comes after the chord. If the proof of the variability of the B flat is made, by way of these variabilities in intensities attributed to each of the notes qui comprise the preceding chord, we deduce ‘that the sound quality of a note is not to be sought in the note itself, but in the keys of the notes which precede it.’ As for me, I’ve always considered that pianists with ‘beautiful sounds’ used, unconsciously, this law which we have just formulated.”)

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 167. “1) a true acoustic material corresponding with the nature of the instrument employed. 2) a true lyricism of sound, corresponding with the nature of the instrument employed. 3) a true instrumental technique, by which it is possible to realize, in parallel with the continuity of musical discourse, a continuity of sound.”

In summary, Migot's musical language was built upon the primacy of lyricism, the flexibility of meter, and the importance of the harmonic series. A successful performance of Migot's works (especially those for piano) must prioritize conveyance of the melody, using harmonies and rhythms to this end. In addition, the performer must also pay particular attention that they bring out the notes which convey harmonics and colours, which again serves lyricism in the music.

Rhythm and Eurythmie

As mentioned above, Migot states that he abandons the strict regularity of meter in favour of a more fluid "rythmique" in order to serve lyricism. But the composer also imbues "rythme" or "rythmique" with a broader meaning, for this notion plays an integral role in his philosophy on music, and thus, his compositional practices. "Rythme" is of course synonymous with the English word "rhythm", described by the Merriam-Webster dictionary as such:

an ordered recurrent alternation of strong and weak elements in the flow of sound and silence in speech; [...] the aspect of music comprising all the elements (such as accent, meter, and tempo) that relate to forward movement; [...] a movement, fluctuation, or variation marked by the regular recurrence or natural flow of related elements.²⁷

Migot provides a definition for the word "rythme" in his *Lexique*: "le rythme est la réalisation d'un rapport perçu entre deux moyens concourant à la création d'une œuvre. [...] Les rythmes les plus simples sont proposés par: deux lignes... deux couleurs, deux sons, deux syllabes, deux volumes."²⁸ He goes on to say that

le rythme linéaire réalisera l'unité de toutes les parties de la surface qu'il délimitera. Le rythme sonore conduira les sons les uns vers les autres. Le rythme 'volumaire' (du volume) liera les masses entre elles. Tous les rythmes d'une œuvre ont entre eux des rapports.²⁹

Hence, rhythm is not strictly the relationship of time in music, but a rapport of various aspects within art. There can be a rhythm of colours (one colour leading to another), of shapes, of sounds, a rhythm of harmonies, or a rhythm of melodies, etc. Migot takes this even further, positing a rhythm between rhythms, as it were. The rhythms created by harmonies themselves form rhythms—a type of "meta-rhythm."

²⁷ "Rhythm," *Merriam-Webster.com*, 2019, <https://www.merriam-webster.com>, consulted March 8th 2019.

²⁸ Georges Migot, *Essais commentés et complétés en vue d'une esthétique générale*, Paris, Presses Modernes, 1937. p. 79.

²⁹ *Ibid.* "Linear rhythm will realize the unity of all parts of the surface which it circumscribes. Sonorous rhythm will conduct sounds towards each other. "Volumic" rhythm will relate masses to each other. All rhythms of a work have a rapport between each other."

Thus enters Migot's conception of *eurythmie*. In the composer's own words, "cet ensemble de rythmes degage un harmonie. C'est l'eurythmie."³⁰ This term can be broken down into two parts: the prefix "eu" (from the Greek, meaning "good" or "true"), the word "rythme" and the suffix "ie" (denoting a noun). Thus, very simply, *eurythmie* is "good rhythm." For Migot, it first refers to the harmony created by an ensemble of concords between various aspects of music. The rhythm between varying colours, the rhythm created by changes in tempo, the relationship between melodic lines — the ensemble of these rhythms, when combined artistically, with specific intention, produce *eurythmie*. However, Migot also employs the term in a second, broader meaning. For him, it is intended to unite man with that which is transcendent. According to Annie Trainaud, the prime intention of *eurythmie* is to offer:

un chemin pour atteindre une unité qui nous accorde à l'unisson universel. [...] Nos propres rythmes – car notre cœur ne cesse de battre et notre sang de palpiter – sont alors intimement liés à une palpitation cosmologique qui nous dépasse infiniment et à laquelle nous adhérons entièrement.³¹

Furthermore, "l'eurythmie implique considérer l'homme comme un microcosme, représentation parfaite du macrocosme. Il y a donc une correspondance parfaite entre l'homme et le monde."³² In Migot's words, "il [l'eurythmie] établit le lien sacré qui unit l'homme à l'univers. La musique est un déjà-là qui attend de l'homme sa réalisation dans la création de l'œuvre musicale à l'unité parfaite, au nirvana."³³ *Eurythmie* is therefore a type of metaphysical constant that is used through music to unify humans with God, or the Universe.

Migot was not the first to speak of "eurhythmics" and the word is richly nuanced and deserves special attention. According to Irwin Spector, "the word eurythmic was first used in 1624 to apply to architecture where, as an adjective, it meant well-proportioned."³⁴ Among later

³⁰ Migot, *Essais commentés et complétés*, p. 80.

³¹ Annie Trainaud, *La Pensée esthétique de Georges Migot*, Strasbourg, Amis de l'œuvre et de la pensée de Georges Migot, 1983, p. 7. "Path to attain a unity which will accord us with universal unity. Our own rhythms — as our hearts do not cease beating and our blood does not cease to palpitate — are therefore intimately linked to a cosmological palpitation which surpasses us infinitely, and to which we entirely adhere."

³² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

³³ Migot, *Les Écrits de Georges Migot, vol 1: Lexique*, p. 177. ("It [*eurythmie*] establishes the sacred link between man and the universe. Music is an already-there which waits for its realisation through the creation of music by man, leading to perfect unity, to *nirvana*.")

³⁴ Irwin Spector, *Rhythm and Life: The Work of Émile Jaques-Dalcroze*, Hillsdale, Pendragon Press, 1990, p. 71.

definitions, Spector reports that of Rudolf Steiner (1861-1925) who used the word to refer to a practice consisting of “movement based on language and tone... [meant to encompass] a power of utterance in which the universe speaks through human movement.”³⁵ While this last distinction is much closer to Migot’s, there is no documentation to suggest a correlation between the two thinkers. It is safe to say, however, that Migot’s conception of *eurythmie* is distinct from the term associated with his contemporary Jacques Dalcroze (1865-1950). For Dalcroze, eurhythmics are a means of learning music through the rhythm as experienced by the moving body, free from any broader spiritual signification as with Migot. According to Spector, we only refer to Dalcroze’s ideas as “eurythmics” due to faulty translations.³⁶ Dalcroze’s teachings are described as “rhythmic gymnastics” in an article from 1913 in *The Musical Times* since “the term “eurythmics” wasn’t associated with them until later.”³⁷

Now, *eurythmie* is not something limited only to Migot’s music. On the contrary, the composer envisions it as a universal principle.³⁸ It is therefore potential to all music, possibly present in the music of Jolivet, Messiaen and even *Les Six*. However, in order for *eurythmie* to be present in a composition, there is one criterion which Migot posits: “la volonté esthétique supérieure par laquelle s’établit la concordance entre la sensation et l’exécution.”³⁹ Here, Migot is saying that *eurythmie* is also a force (or aesthetic will), a necessary element in joining sensations and executions, or ideas and their realization. In summary, it is the meta-rhythm, the harmonies of different rhythms (or the rhythms between different rhythms, or the harmonies between various types of harmonies) which is present when the artist wills a transcendence in their work, intentionally crafting such rhythms between harmonies for the purpose of uniting the listener and performer with that which is transcendent. It can only be present in a piece of music if the composer intends for it to be sublime.

³⁵ Spector, *Rhythm and Life*, p. 212.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

³⁷ No author, “The Dalcroze System of Rhythmic Gymnastics,” *The Musical Times*, vol. 54, no. 839, January 1st 1913, p. 17.

³⁸ Migot, *Essais commentés et complétés*, p. 82.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

According to Migot, one of the ways in which *eurythmie* can be manifest in a composition is by the use of the Fibonacci series, or the Golden Mean (or GM).⁴⁰ The latter is a ratio of 1.61803398875, a number which occurs when $A/B = A+B/A$ (see figure below).



Figure 3: The Golden Mean corresponds with the star on the above line.

Closely related to the GM, the Fibonacci series corresponds to the following succession of numbers: 1, 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 13, 21, 34, 55, 89, 144, 233, 377, etc. *ad infinitum*. This series is generated by the addition of two successive numbers. For instance, $1+1 = 2$, $2+1 = 3$, $3+2 = 5$, $5+3 = 8$, etc. Moreover, any number in the series divided by the previous number will result in an approximation of the Golden Mean (with the exception of the first two numbers). The bigger the numbers in the series, the more the ensuing ratio approaches the GM. For instance, $21/13$ provides a good approximation (1.61538461538), though not as accurate as $89/55$ (1.61818181818). The Fibonacci series and Golden Mean are often represented by the “golden spiral” pictured below:

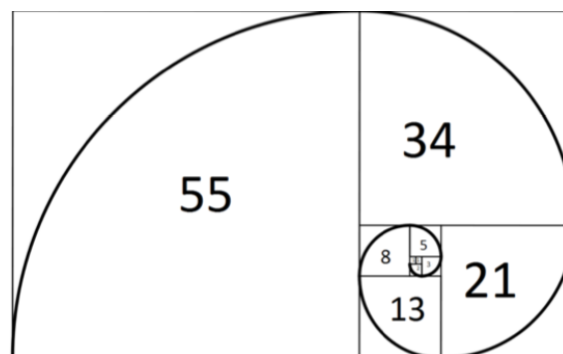


Figure 4: The Golden Spiral⁴¹

⁴⁰ “Nous proposons cette idée du centre eurythmique et nous ne l’opposons par à la règle d’or, au pentacle, à la série Fibonacci. Bien au contraire, il en est le centre avec la nature qui lui est dévolue.” (“ We propose this idea of the eurythmic center, and we do not oppose it with the Golden Mean, Pentacle, or the Fibonacci series. On the contrary, it is in this center with nature which is devoted...”). Migot, *Essais commentés et complétés*, p. 83.

⁴¹ Figure 3 taken from <https://www.whitman.edu/Documents/Academics/Mathematics/2018/Blausapp.pdf> .

The spiral offers a good visual representation of how the Golden Mean and the Fibonacci series can be a compositional tool of *eurythmie*. Each number in the series — each segment of the spiral — is a microcosm which, though it exists by itself, is connected to the macrocosm, to the rest of the series. Thus, when the Fibonacci or Golden Mean is present in a piece of music, it tangibly connects the music to something outside of itself.

Another important element of Migot's aesthetics is the "*centre eurythmique*." The composer explains that "s'il y a eurythmie, c'est que tous les rythmes qui composent cette eurythmie ont un foyer commun, point de depart et de retour de ces rythmes: centre de gravitation esthétique. Nous le nommons centre eurythmique."⁴² He states that "la position de ce centre eurythmique est telle, qu'elle est en même temps le centre d'intérêt de l'œuvre. [...] Ce centre eurythmique affirme l'unité de l'œuvre."⁴³ To illustrate this idea, Migot explains

L'eurythmie des cercles concentriques [est] l'eurythmie la plus simple.
Il y a eurythmie parce qu'il y a harmonie des cercles concentriques.
Il y a harmonie parce que ces rythmes ont des rapports entre eux.
Il y a rapports parce qu'ils ont une même directive.
Il y a directive une parce qu'il y a volonté d'un centre.
Ce centre est centre de divergence et de convergence de cette directive, de ces rapports, de ces rythmes, de cette harmonie, de cette eurythmie.
Cette volonté est le centre eurythmique.⁴⁴

The *centre eurythmique* is therefore the point of convergence of all eurythmic elements in a piece of music. It is the point where meets the will of the artist to create a transcendent work of art and this same work of art. According to Migot, it is from this point that *eurythmie* springs into the piece of music.

⁴²Migot, *Essais commentés et complétés*, p. 83.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 84. "The *Eurythmie* of concentric circles is the simplest form of *eurythmie*. There is *eurythmie* because there is harmony in the concentric circles. There is harmony because these rhythms [circles] have rapports between them. There are rapports because there is a shared directive. There is a directive because there is the will of a center. This center is the center of divergence and convergence of this directive, of these rapports, of these rhythms, of this harmonie, of this *eurythmie*. This will is the *eurythmic* center."

Chapter 1.3: André Jolivet (1905-1974)



Figure 5: Photo of André Jolivet⁴⁵

Biographical Outline and Major Influences

Unlike many, perhaps the majority, of professional composers from this era, Jolivet did not study music at the equivalent of the University level. He did, however, begin to learn music at an early age, and grew up with music (as well as the other arts) forming his way of thinking. His mother was an amateur pianist, his father an amateur painter.⁴⁶ He commenced lessons in piano and solfège as early as the age of four; and starting in 1910, he learned to play the cello thanks to a music program run by Abbé Théodas at church Notre dame de Clignancourt.⁴⁷ Although he had wished to continue on to professional studies in music, he instead respected his parent's

⁴⁵n.a., "Photo of André Jolivet," *André Jolivet, compositeur (1905/1974)*, <http://www.jolivet.asso.fr/fr/photographies/compositeur>, consulted April 30th 2019.

⁴⁶ Jean-Claire Vançon, *André Jolivet*, Paris, Bleu nuit editor, 2007, p. 14-15.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

desires and became a primary school teacher.⁴⁸ While this career track did not facilitate access to a musical profession, it did allow him the freedom to develop his ideas about music independently, rather than learning the more conformist conceptions taught at the Conservatoire de Paris or the Schola Cantorum, the dominant music schools of the time.

After completing his professional training as school teacher, he finally decided to study composition, and took private lessons from Paul Le Flem (1881-1884) (a teacher at the Schola Cantorum and one of the composers who later joined La Spirale). It was the cubist painter Georges Valannier who brought Jolivet to Le Flem for studies. The latter described his student as such: “sérieux, de la volonté calme, de l’esprit de décision... des hardiesses de rythme, une allure mélodique inhabituelle qui, comme des prémonitions, décelaient les germes d’un style qui devait plus tard s’épanouir.”⁴⁹ Furthermore, according to Philippe Gonin, Paul le Flem was the first real music teacher of Jolivet, and played an essential role in the development of the latter’s musical technique and personality.⁵⁰

While Le Flem had an important influence upon Jolivet in terms of giving him a background in regular music studies, it was the tutelage of Edgard Varèse which allowed Jolivet’s original ideas to flourish. In Jolivet’s own words,

l’étude, avec Varèse, de tous les aspects de l’écriture moderne, m’avait amené à adopter un certain nombre des principes de Schoenberg, que j’ai toujours utilisés selon les exigences de mon expression personnelle. ... Les points essentiels que j’ai retenus de la fréquentation de Varèse de 1929 à 1933 sont l’acoustique, le rythme et l’orchestration... L’acoustique, c’est-à-dire les dispositions instrumentales donnant les meilleurs résultats sonores... et Varèse m’a astreint à une discipline atonale plus sévère que celle des dodécaphonistes. ... j’établis ma théorie des notes pivots, et plus tard, l’utilisation du modalisme avec une harmonie atonale et finalement ma technique du milieu sonore.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Maya-Jean Caruso, “Music and Magic — Man and the Cosmos in Jolivet’s ‘Suite en Concert’,” DMA dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 2005, p. 2.

⁴⁹ Gonin, “Vie et œuvre de Paul Le Flem”, p. 186.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Hilda Jolivet, *Avec André Jolivet*, Paris, Flammarion, 1978, p. 63. “My studies, with Varèse, of all aspects of modern writing, lead me to adopt a certain number of Schonberg’s principles, which I have always used according to my own personal expression... The essential points which I retained from my time with Varèse from 1929 to 1933 are acoustics, rhythm, and orchestration... Acoustics, in other words, are the instrumental dispositions which lead do better sounds... and Varèse inscribed in me an atonal discipline even more severe than the dodecaphonists... I established my theory of pivot notes, and later, the use of modality with atonal harmony, and finally my technique of sonority.”

According to Lucie Kayas, two important “non-scientific” elements which Varèse imparted to Jolivet are the “projection du son” and “transmutation de la matière sonore.”⁵² She gives only two citations by the older composer to briefly describe these hefty notions. In the first quote, Varèse reflects on an experience he had while listening to the *Scherzo* movement of Beethoven’s 7th symphony:

Il me semblait sentir la musique se détacher à tel point d’elle-même, en se projetant dans l’espace, que je devins conscient d’une quatrième dimension musicale. Cette sensation est peut-être imputable à la place que j’occupais dans la salle: place exposée à une surrésonance. Ce phénomène fut une preuve vivante de ce que j’avais conçu bien des années auparavant et que j’appelle ‘la projection du son organisé’. Par ‘projection,’ j’entends la sensation qui nous est donnée par certains blocs de sons. Je dirais avec plus de bonheur ‘rayons de son’ si proche est cette sensation de celle produite par les rayons de lumière émis par un puissant projecteur balayant le ciel. Pour l’oreille comme pour l’œil, ce phénomène donne un sentiment de prolongation, de voyage dans l’espace.⁵³

Thus, *projection du son* is the phenomenon whereby the listener perceives the spatial progression of the sound in a hall, from the instruments to his ears.

When Jolivet defines this phenomenon, invoking the music of Beethoven as an example and comparing the sonic effect to a ray of light, his description bears a strong resemblance to that of his teacher:

le sens de projection du son est un phénomène sonore de caractère dionysiaque qu’on relève pour la première fois manifestée dans les œuvres de Beethoven. Voici l’explication qu’on en peut donner: si l’on compare le son à la lumière lancée jusqu’au ciel par un projecteur puissant, et qu’on le considère comme un phénomène possédant sa propre “aura” et capable de vivre dans l’espace, le sens de projection du son sera le dynamisme donné à l’émission de la matière sonore, dynamisme tel que la matière sonore, se dégageant rapidement de toute attache avec l’instrument émetteur, se projettera dans l’éther, où se développera son existence qui, comme l’éther, est d’essence vibratoire. [...] cette dynamique vient compléter la notion de rythme. Celui-ci n’est pas uniquement, en effet, la répétition de formules métriques ou seulement le débit du lyrisme, mais il est déterminé aussi par les phases et les intensités du flux sonore.⁵⁴

⁵² Lucie Kayas, *André Jolivet*, Fayard, Paris, 2005, p. 107.

⁵³ *Ibid.* “It seemed to me that the music detached from itself, in projecting itself into space, such that I became aware of a fourth musical dimension. This sensation is probably attributable to the place where I was sitting in the hall: a place exposed to a surresonance. This phenomenon was living proof of what I had conceived of many years before and which I call “the projection of organized sound.” By ‘projection’ I mean the sense which is given by certain blocks of sound. I would say with pleasure that “rays of sound”, so close is this sensation to that produced by rays of light emitted by a strong projector directed to the sky. For the ear as for the eye, this phenomenon gives a sensation of prolongation, of voyage through space.”

⁵⁴ André Jolivet, “André Jolivet, ou la magie expérimentale,” in *Contrepoints*, vol. 1, no 1, January 1946, p. 35. “The “sense of projection of sound” is an acoustic phenomenon of Dionysian character which we see manifested

As for “transmutation de la matière sonore,” Kayas describes it as “[une] expression empruntée à l’alchimie, qui concerne quant à elle l’évolution de la matière sonore au cours d’une pièce musicale.” She then cites Varèse:

Lorsque de nouveaux instruments me permettront d’écrire la musique telle que je la conçois, le mouvement des masses sonores et des déplacements de plans sera clairement perceptible dans mon œuvre et prendra la place du contrepoint linéaire. Quand ces masses sonores se heurtent, des phénomènes de pénétration et de répulsion sembleront se manifester. Certaines transmutations prendront place sur un plan et sembleront projetées sur d’autres plans. Ils [les masses sonores] se déplaceront à des vitesses différentes, selon des angles variés. L’ancienne conception de la mélodie ou de la polyphonie n’existera plus. L’œuvre tout entière sera une totalité mélodique. Elle coulera comme coule une rivière.⁵⁵

Jolivet also claims to use the “transmutation de la matière de sonore”, but he defines this notion in terms that differ from his teacher:

les *transmutations de la matière sonore* sont des modifications brusques de volume (donc d’intensité, de timbre) obtenues par l’addition à une ligne mélodique d’éléments harmoniques qu’à l’état pur elle détient en puissance. En quelques sorte, une “ionisation” du fluide harmonique créé par la mélodie, élément premier de la musique.⁵⁶

For the younger composer, this technique corresponds to the sudden addition of harmonic elements to a melody in order to add power to the music. As we will see below, both the “projection du son” and the “transmutation de la matière sonore” influenced the way Jolivet combined his ideas in order to bring music back to a more primitive, “magical” conception.

for the first time in the works of Beethoven. Here is an explanation which we give: if we compare sound to light which is thrown to the sky by a powerful projector, and we consider this as a phenomenon which has its own “aura” and which is capable of living in space, the sense of the projection of sound would be the dynamism given to the emission of acoustic matter, a dynamism which detaches quickly from the instrument, is projected into the ether, where it will develop its existence which, like the ether, is of vibrating essence. ... This dynamism comes entirely from the notion of rhythm. It is not uniquely, in fact, the repetition of metric formulae or the flow of lyricism, but it is determined also by phrasings and the flux of sound.”

⁵⁵ Kayas, *André Jolivet*, p. 108. “As new instruments [the ondes martenot] permit me to write music as I conceive it, the movement of acoustic masses and the shifts of planes will be clearly perceptible in my work and will take the place of linear counterpoint. When these acoustic masses clash, certain phenomena of penetration and repulsion will be manifest. Certain transmutations will take place on a plane and will seem projected on other planes. These masses will be displaced at different speeds, according to the various angles. The old conception of melody or polyphony will be no more. The work in its entirety will be a melodic totality. She will flow like a river.”

⁵⁶ Jolivet, “André Jolivet,” p. 35. “The “transmutations of acoustic matter” are sudden changes in volume (and therefore intensity, timbre) obtained by the addition of harmonic elements to a line of melody so that it gains a pure state of power. In a way, an “ionisation: of the harmonic fluid is created by the melody, which is the primary element of music.”

Besides the teachings of Varèse, Jolivet's aesthetics were greatly influenced by the cultures from Africa and the Far East. From an early age he was exposed to elements of African civilization through his uncle Louis Tauxier who was the "administrateur adjoint de première classe" and held a post in Guinea.⁵⁷ In addition to his administrative work, he was also active as an ethnographer, and wrote several books on the societies that he observed in his travels. Tauxier would often bring back objects to show Jolivet, and hence, catalyzed the young composer's interest in other civilizations. In fact, the composer's spiritual conception of music is mostly derived from non-European musical cultures.

La Magie and the Style Incantatoire

After Jolivet's period of tutelage with Varèse came the first major period in the young composer's career: his *période magique*. During this time, he sought to combine his concern for the "projection du son" and the "transmutation de la matière sonore" with a return to the music's primitive function in human society: a process of magic to unite mankind with that which is transcendent.

According to Jean-Claire Vançon:

une hypothèse fondamentale sous-tend l'ensemble du système esthétique [de Jolivet] : celle que la musique est un 'processus magique', et le musicien 'un intermédiaire entre le Ciel et la Terre, procurant à ses frères humains le moyen de s'intégrer dans le système universel et, plongé dans le visible, de ressentir grâce à lui l'Invisible.'⁵⁸

Hence, just as Migot saw music as a means to unite man with the macrocosmos, Jolivet conceived his art as a way to mediate between the earth, the rest of the universe, and to the invisible. In the composer's own words:

la musique est 'son' avant tout; ses ondes doivent saisir l'auditeur, l'emporter et l'assimiler à cet 'élément physico-sonore'. 'Elle ne doit pas seulement s'entendre, elle doit respirer, atteindre le système sympathique et agir sur le rythme du cœur,' pour enfin retrouver ses 'vraies attributions: l'expression sonore de l'homme avec le cosmos.'⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Kayas, *André Jolivet*, p. 132-135.

⁵⁸ Vançon, *André Jolivet*, p. 54. "One fundamental hypothesis underlies the entirety of this aesthetic system : that music is a 'magical process,' and that the musician is 'an intermediary between Heaven and Earth, procuring to his human brothers the means by which to integrate oneself into the universal system and, plunged in the visible, maybe thereby sense the invisible.'"

⁵⁹ Lucie Kayas and Laetitia Chassain-Dolliou, *André Jolivet: Portraits*, Arles, Actes Sud, 1994, p. 46-47. "music is, above all, sound; the sound waves must reach the listener, transport them and assimilate to this "physical-sonorous element. She [music] must not only be heard, she must breathe, attain the sympathetic nervous system

This is the essence of Jolivet's conception of music: music is not a mere art form to be heard, it is a breathing force meant to affect the listeners, working on their nervous systems, connecting with the rhythm of their heart, in order to unite them with that which is greater than humanity.

It is all well and good to say that Jolivet's intention for his compositions was to re-create the original meaning of music as a form of magic, but how exactly did he set out to accomplish such? Was it through specific intervals? Specific motifs? Which compositional devices exactly did he intend to express music as a form of magic? The answer lies in the "*style incantatoire*," which imparts a special quality to Jolivet's music by the adoption of specific compositional devices. According to Vançon, these procedures, that the composer uses in addition to "transmutation de la matière de sonore" and "projection du son", are repetition, proliferative and iterative expansion.

For Vançon, repetition is an inherent property of magic,⁶⁰ and Maya-Jean Caruso concurs: "To realize his conceptions of music, Jolivet used rhythmic repetition to evoke incantation[...]."⁶¹ Most genres of music make abundant use of repetition, as exemplified by the composers of the so-called learned canon (musicians from the Baroque, Classical, Romantic periods, and so on) or in the practice of popular and world music. But usually (except in the special case of ostinato figures), when short units from one to four bars recur, only one or two repetitions occur, and contrasting material is soon inserted before the repeated material is allowed to be restated. In Jolivet's "*style incantatoire*", short fragments are repeated (with variations) more insistently. For example, the motive at the beginning of "La Princesse de Bali" is repeated for several measures with slight and constant rhythmic variations, and the new figure introduced in bar 3 is also reiterated.

Example 1: *Mana* mvt 3 "La Princesse de Bali" mm. 1-3.⁶² (Removed for copyright reasons)

and act upon the rhythm of the heart" in order to find it's "real attributes: the acoustic expression of man with the cosmos."

⁶⁰ Vançon, *André Jolivet*, p. 59.

⁶¹ Caruso, "Music and Magic", p. 11.

⁶² Jolivet, André, *Mana*, Paris, Costallat, 1946.

As for “proliferative” and “iterative expansion,” Vançon explains that the former is “développement d’une proposition ouverte” while the latter is “la variation d’un élément clos.”⁶³ Furthermore, proliferative expansion is described as “une cellule génératrice, dont la ligne développe le potentiel... [qui] peut être le fait d’un agrandissement progressif des intervalles... ou [reproduction de] la constitution intervallique de la cellule — très souvent, la conjonction d’un demi-ton et d’une tierce.”⁶⁴ In other words, proliferative expansion entails the development of a motive such that the melody gradually widens to greater intervals.

While this device keeps the melodic line fairly-well contained within a small intervallic range, iterative expansion allows the development of a melody to reach wider poles. Vançon claims that “une même ligne peut par ailleurs circuler dans différents registres — donnant lieu à des *mélopées* accrochées à deux notes pôles, ou à des lignes non polarisées rapidement dispersées dans les registres.”⁶⁵ In other words, the development of a line to reach greater poles, with an element of repetition. The example that Vançon gives to support this are from Jolivet’s *Cinq Incantations*:

Example 2: Incantation B mm 1-6.⁶⁶ (Removed for copyright reasons)

In the example above, we can see that the motivic material begins with a repeated E flat, likely the initial pole. It then gives rise to a melodic line that springs upwards with gestures of increasing amplitude, always falling back to its initial starting point. The melody first reaches a D, a major seventh above the initial pitch (b. 3, 4 and again b. 5); then an F, a major both a major ninth and a major sixteenth above the initial E flat (respectively b. 4 and 6).

These devices, according to Vançon, are “la partie et le tout participant donc d’un même type d’élaboration: on y verra la mise en musique de la relation supposée harmonieuse entre

⁶³ Vançon, *André Jolivet*, p. 59-60. (“Development of an open motive” and “development of a closed element.”)

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 60. (“A generative cell, of which the line develops the potential... which can be done by the progressive largening of intervals, or by the reproduction of the cell’s intervallic constitution — very often by the conjunction of a semitone or of a third.”)

⁶⁵ Vançon, *André Jolivet*, p. 58.

⁶⁶ André Jolivet, *Cinq incantations pour flute seul*, Boosey & Hawkes, London, 1938, p. 2.

microcosme et macrocosme.”⁶⁷ In this way, repetition and proliferative and iterative expansion both connect music to the transcendent. The part, whether it is repeated or expanded carefully, is connected to the whole, and both undergo the transformation together.

This work in the example above (*Cinq Incantations pour flûte seul*) is also discussed by musicologist Katherine Kemler in her article “Is there Magic in Jolivet’s Music?”⁶⁸ This study was written largely as a response to Michel Gerard who had expressed skepticism towards Jolivet’s ideas. Kemler provides a background of Jolivet’s thoughts, tracing their roots and sources, and includes a lengthy analysis of his *Cinq Incantations pour flûte seule* (written in the same year as *Mana*). Her commentary does make reference to specific compositional devices, such as flutter tongue and the use of repetition, although it is still wanting in relating characteristic procedures to exact expressions of Jolivet’s ideas. For instance, she states that the use of flutter-tongue in the first movement “Pour accueillir les négociateurs—et que l’entrevue soit pacifique” “creates a kind of ‘other-worldly’ effect.”⁶⁹ This observation does not go very far in explaining how Jolivet may have successfully infused incantation into his music. Nevertheless, Kemler’s analysis is still helpful in identifying specific devices which might be explored further in his other works.

Other important procedures to consider are the use of numeric symbolism such as the Fibonacci series and the Golden Mean, the use of the acoustic scale, and a keen interest in the harmonic series.⁷⁰ In the words of Moindrot, “le symbolisme des nombres constitue un langage au moyen duquel l’homme peut établir une relation d’ordre analogique avec sa conception de l’univers. Du nombre découle naturellement l’idée de proportion.”⁷¹ He goes on to cite an article

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 60. (“The part and the whole therefore participate in the same type of elaboration: we see the placement in music of the supposedly harmonious relation between microcosm and macrocosm.”)

⁶⁸ Kemler, “Is There Magic in Jolivet’s Music?” p. 121.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

⁷⁰ Gérard Moindrot, *Approches symboliques de la musique d’André Jolivet*, Paris, L’Harmattan, 1999, p. 63-67.

⁷¹ Moindrot, p. 63-64.

that Jolivet owned and studied: Matila Ghyka's "Essai sur le rythme," in which the author stated that the use of certain proportions could lead to "pure rhythm."⁷²

Moreover, Vançon discusses the use of the acoustic scale in Jolivet's music.⁷³ This pitch collection is generated by the first seven notes from the harmonic series. In the key of C, for instance, the scale would comprise the notes of C, D, E, F sharp, G A, and B flat (following the equal temperament though, and not with the pure intervals resulting from the harmonic series). While the author does not tie this technical element to any component of magic or incantation, he does point out that it is used frequently by Jolivet either directly, or by carefully placing notes in the bass so that they produce the harmonics combined with the pedal in his works for piano, for instance.

Finally, Jolivet himself confirms to placing a greater importance upon harmonics than the tonal system and the chromatic scale:

Au point de vue technique, je m'efforçais, dans ces œuvres, à me libérer du système tonal. Ceci non pas en adoptant la théorie des douze demi-tons, artificielle à mon sens parce que négligeant les phénomènes naturels de la résonance. Mais au contraire en usant de ceux-ci avec tous leurs harmoniques et surtout les plus éloignés.⁷⁴

Chapter 1.4 : Synthesis

After the examination of Migot and Jolivet's individual aesthetics, we can notice some similarities between their ideas. Primarily, both composers saw music as a force that connects humanity with something greater than itself. As mentioned at the start of this chapter, this philosophy presents a stark contrast with the Neoclassical aesthetics, more prevalent in the

⁷² *Ibid.* While Moindrot mentions the Golden Mean and "pure rhythm," Ghyka in fact mentions that the ancient Greeks made use of irrational proportions as "correspondances morphologiques et rythmiques entre le corps de l'homme et l'Univers (Platon, 'Timée'); intermédiaire entre le 'macrocosme' et l'homme, le temple réfléchissait, accordait leurs 'eurythmies' respectives." ("Morphological and rhythmic correspondances between the human body and the Universe (Plato, "Timeus"); intermediaries between the 'macrocosmos' and man, the reflected temple, according their respective eurythmies.") See also Vançon, *André Jolivet*, p. 55, where Vançon states that Jolivet was also influenced by Ghyka's book *Le Nombre d'Or*.

⁷³ Vançon, *André Jolivet*, p. 62.

⁷⁴ Jolivet, "André Jolivet," p. 33. "From a technical standpoint, I tried, in certain words, to liberate myself from the tonal system. This was not to adopt a theory of the twelve semitones, artificial to my sense as it is negligent of the natural phenomena of resonance. But on the contrary, in using these [dodecaphonism] with their harmonics, especially those further along the series."

French musical scene of the 1930s, which prioritized objectivity and a detachment from emotions.

While the artistic conceptions by Migot and Jolivet show undeniable differences, both composers conceived their music in more horizontal terms, and both placed a great importance upon harmonics. They both were freed from the constraints of tonality; as Migot chose a more modal language, Jolivet opted for a more post-tonal language, often employing tone-rows. Furthermore, both composers gave lyricism the primacy of place in their music. We saw above that Migot promoted this value, and this is also true of Jolivet, who wrote that: “ces acquisitions techniques réalisées “transmutation de la matière de sonore” and “projection du son”, il reste à les mettre au service de l’expression mélodique, premier dépositaire du contenu émotionnel, élément d’authenticité de l’œuvre d’art.”⁷⁵

Interestingly, both composers also used numerical symbols to unite their listeners with the Universe, or God. This led to the most important similarity between these two composers (and it is indeed astonishing that the scholarship on these composers both use this phrase without making a connection between Migot and Jolivet): music is a means of inserting a microcosm into the macrocosm, whether by lyricism, the harmonic series, or the use of a ratio. Migot and Jolivet’s interests in esoteric considerations, although rather foreign to the Neoclassical tendency, were also shared by other French composers of the interwar period, such as Varèse or Messiaen. This phenomenon certainly merits further evaluation.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

Chapter 2

La Spirale: The Shared Project of Migot and Jolivet

Chapter 2.1: Introduction

Although Migot and Jolivet had been well-acquainted since their first meeting in 1933, their mutual involvement in the concert society *La Spirale* in the years 1935-1937 undoubtedly strengthened their friendship, and gave occasion to numerous letters documenting the relationship. While the mission of *La Spirale* was not to promote works with esoteric leanings, the mutual interest of Migot and Jolivet in music and spirituality was undoubtedly an important catalyst in joining forces with other composers such as Messiaen and Daniel-Lesur. The nature of *La Spirale*'s activities and the role that Migot and Jolivet played raises several questions such as: what was the need for a new concert society, why the name *La Spirale* was chosen, who was involved, to what extent, why were the activities held at the Schola Cantorum, what did the society accomplish, and finally, why was its life span so relatively short?

This chapter will first provide some context of music life in interwar Paris, addressing the rationale for creating a new concert society and the choice of the concerts' venue. Next will follow a discussion of the creation of *La Spirale*, that addresses the involvement of certain members of the executive. Then, there will be an exploration of the activities of the society, as well as a discussion of its reception and perception in the press, which will address the issue of the society's demise. Throughout the whole discussion, close attention will be paid to the roles that Jolivet and Migot played specifically in the life of *La Spirale*.

The Place of Concert Societies in Interwar Paris

Musical life in interwar Paris was dominated by a few important concert societies, which were essential vehicles for disseminating new music. While compositions in the 1930s were shared through radio broadcasting, gramophones, and private salon concerts, concert societies were still a dominant venue for the propagation of avant-garde music. With the larger societies, composers would submit their works in the hopes of allowing their music heard, or have their music proposed by members of the executive. This was the case with Jolivet, whose music was

played at the Société nationale de musique (SNM) thanks to Messiaen's suggestion.¹ With their concerts, these societies were influential in determining which works and composers were worthy of recognition, and in this way had a huge impact over avant-garde movements. Two of the largest, most authoritative societies of early modern France were the Société nationale de musique and the Société musicale indépendante (or SMI).²

The SNM was constituted in 1871 by Camille Saint-Saëns, Jules Massenet, César Franck, Romain Bussine, Henri Duparc, Ernest Guiraud, Jules Garcin, Gabriel Fauré, Théodore Dubois, and Paul Taffanel.³ Since its creation, it had been essential in promoting the avant-garde. For example, it premiered the majority of Fauré's works in his time.⁴ This society gave preference to chamber music repertoire, with the occasional orchestral concert. Towards the end of the 19th century, Vincent d'Indy (the director of the Schola Cantorum from 1904-1931, who will be discussed further below) joined the administration of the SNM. His influence on the aesthetic orientations of the society grew steadily, and he was criticized for showing preferential treatment to his students from the Schola Cantorum. This led to a conflict amongst the members, and a group of protestors left the SNM to create a new organization in 1910: the Société musicale indépendante. Works that were premiered at the SNM include compositions by members of La Spirale's executive: André Jolivet's *Quatuor* (1934), Migot's *Trio ou Suite à trois* (1936), Migot's *Trois berceuses chantées* (1939), André Jolivet's *Sonate* (1935), Migot's *Trois Chansons sur Trois Chansons de Margot de Phliéas Lebesgue*⁵ (1934), Olivier Messiaen's *Thème et variations* (1933), Édouard Sciortino's *Jardin Lunaire* (1935); and Parisian premieres

¹ Messiaen was on the Jury of the SNM and helped to have Jolivet's *trois temps* performed in 1931. See Barbara L. Kelly, "André Jolivet," *Grove Music Online*, <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000014433>, consulted June 24th 2019.

² Michel Duchesneau, *L'Avant-garde musicale et ses sociétés à Paris de 1871 à 1939*, Mardaga, Sprimont, 1997, p. 11.

³ Duchesneau lists these men as having been present at the SNM's first meeting. See *L'Avant-garde musicale*, p. 16.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁵ Title as written in Duchesneau's annex (p. 296), though there is in fact no work with this name in the catalogue of Migot's works. The actual title is likely *Trois berceuses chantées*. See Marc Honegger, *Catalogue des œuvres musicales de Georges Migot*, Strasbourg, Amis de l'œuvre et de la pensée de Georges Migot, Institut de Musicologie, 1977, p. XVII.

by well-known composers such as Paul Hindemith's *Kammermusik* (1939), and Schönberg's *Quatuor op. 37* (1939), among many others.⁶

As we saw earlier, the Société musicale indépendante (SMI) was born out of internal conflicts in the SNM, and founded in 1910 by Louis Aubert, André Caplet, Roger-Ducasse, Jean Huré, Charles Kœchlin, Maurice Ravel, Florent Schmitt and Émile Vuillermoz, Albert Zunz Mathot, and Gabriel Fauré. Ravel, Kœchlin, and others had been members of the SNM, but protested against the conservative programming of the senior society.⁷ Fauré also joined the new society, but did not leave the SNM. The SMI was perceived as much more avant-gardist than the SNM, having been created to promote the performance of works which were denied by the Nationale. It was also placed in opposition to the Schola Cantorum,⁸ given that Vincent d'Indy played a big role in both the SNM and the Schola. According to Duchesneau, the SMI ceased its activities in 1935 due to a lack of resources.⁹

There were also smaller societies which worked towards the diffusion of new music, such as Le Triton, La Sérénade, and Les Amis de l'orgue. Les Amis de l'orgue was founded by Bérenger de Miramon Fitz-James¹⁰ and Norbert Dufourcq in 1927;¹¹ it published a periodical entitled "Bulletin trimestriel des Amis de l'orgue," and organized concerts to promote organ music in Paris. Messiaen was given the chance to premiere his *Diptyque* during one such concert in 1930 while still completing his studies at the Conservatoire — an event which was also the start of his career as a performer and composer in Paris.¹² Unfortunately, there is not as much information available about Les Amis de l'orgue as there is about the other small societies Triton and Sérénade.

⁶ Duchesneau's book contains a substantial annex listing all of the programs (as far as possible) of the SNM. See pages 225-304.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 65-66.

⁸ See *ibid.*, p. 80. See also pages 100-101 for a discussion on "conflit social et esthétique."

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

¹⁰ Nigel Simeone, "Chez Messiaen, tout est prière: Messiaen's Appointment at the Trinity," *The Musical Times*, vol. 145, n° 1889, 2004, p. 36-53.

¹¹ W. A. Roberts mentioned the creation of the society "two years ago" in W.A. Roberts, "Church and Organ Music: Incorporated Association of Organists Congress at Hull," *The Musical Times*, vol. 70, n° 1040, October 1929, p. 919-922.

¹² Simeone, "Chez Messiaen," p. 36.

Sérénade was founded in 1931 by Yvonne de Casa Fuerte, Georges Auric, Roger Désormière, Igor Markevitch, Darius Milhaud, Nicolas Nabokov, Francis Poulenc, Vittorio Rieti and Henri Sauguet.¹³ Triton was founded one year later, at the instigation of Pierre-Octave Ferroud, in order to promote works overlooked by the SNM, SMI, and La Sérénade. Triton also preferred music which was not excessively post-romantic.¹⁴ According to Duchesneau, the creation of this society did not generate as much of a stir as that of the SMI (which had broken quite dramatically away from the SNM) and was therefore perhaps less well-known.¹⁵

¹³ Duchesneau, *L'Avant-garde musicale*, p. 124.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 133-134; p. 138: "Ferroud a insufflé à Triton une orientation esthétique caractérisée par la recherche d'une musique qui écarte "certains excès du post-romantisme"". ("Ferroud breathed the Triton into a certain aesthetic orientation characterized by the music which casts aside "certain excesses of post-romantism.")

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

The Schola Cantorum

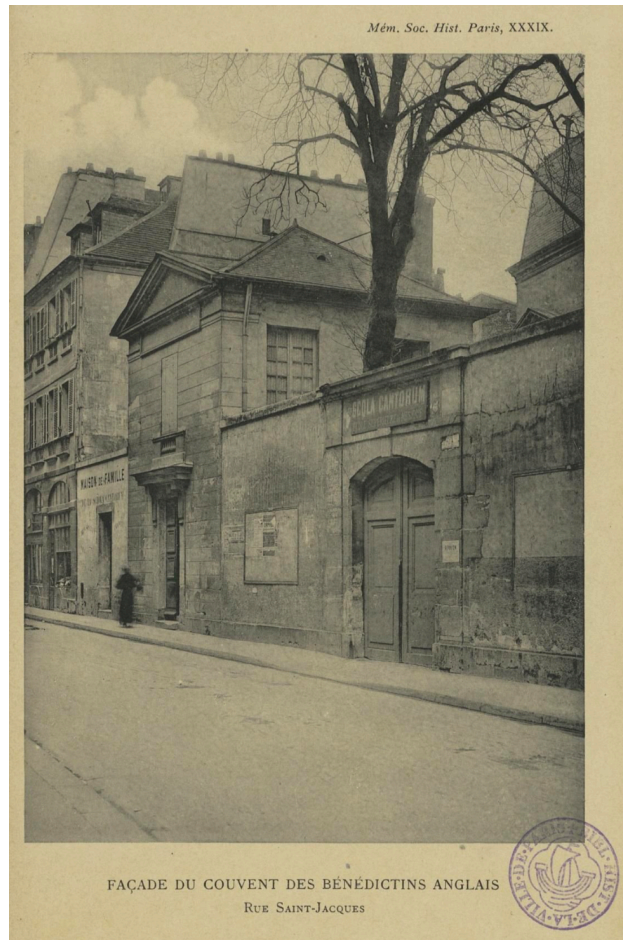


Figure 6: The Schola Cantorum, 269 Rue St. Jacques, Paris, where the majority of La Spirale’s Concerts were held¹⁶

The Schola Cantorum was a school established in 1894 by Vincent d’Indy, Charles Bordes, and Alexandre Guilmant. It was created in part in reaction to the “anachronistic teaching methods of the Conservatoire.”¹⁷ According to Jean et Francine Maillard, the Schola was conceived in order to group together all people interested in restoring religious music (Gregorian chant) in order to equip musicians with the tools to properly execute this music in Paris as well as the rest

¹⁶ n.a., “Paris. Rue Saint-Jacques, 269, Schola Cantorum, couvent des bénédictins anglais,” <https://bibliotheques-specialisees.paris.fr/ark:/73873/pf0001949170/0001?>, consulted June 23rd 2019.

¹⁷ See Robert Orledge and Andrew Thompson, “Vincent d’Indy,” *Grove Music Online*, <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000013787?rsk=y=q7bsuw&result=2>, consulted June 24th 2019.

of France.¹⁸ As the name would imply, the group also had a particular interest in promoting the concurrent reforms in liturgical music (with a particular interest in promoting Gregorian chant and polyphony).¹⁹ Vincent d'Indy was appointed director in 1904, and served in this capacity without interruption until his death in 1931.²⁰ The composer had an undeniable effect on the development of the Schola, and his passing left the urgent question of who could be his replacement. He had already anticipated this issue in a 1926 letter declaring his wishes for the continuation of the institution, putting forth his two choices for his replacement as head: Guy de Lioncourt (1885-1961) and Louis de Serres (1864-1942).²¹ The latter was named president of the Schola in 1931.

Nevertheless, Louis the Serres lacked the strong personality of d'Indy (who had for so long held much of the power in the administration) and the school entered a period of instability, which led to a schism in 1934. A general meeting was convened that year, and Nestor Lejeune was installed as the new president, along with Jules Le Febvre as another member of the administration. However, this change did not relieve all the tensions that had been building since the death of d'Indy, and various faculty members, including Paul Dukas and Gabriel Pierné, resigned rather dramatically from their positions within the Schola.²² Those secessionists created a new institution in 1935: L'École César Franck, in honour of the late French master. The few teachers who did stay at the Schola Cantorum included Paul Le Flem and Edouard Sciortino, and the vacuum left by the departure of so many faculty members led to the appointment of composers such as Daniel-Lesur and Olivier Messiaen, in 1935 and 1936, respectively. It was in the wake of these upheavals that La Spirale was born.

¹⁸ Jean et Francine Maillard, *Vincent d'Indy : le maître et sa musique*, Bourg-la-reine, Éditions Aug. Zurfluh, 1994, p. 201.

¹⁹ There was indeed an emphasis upon the restoration of religious music at the time of the creation of the Schola. Pope Pius X introduced a document entitled *Tra le Sollecitudini* in 1903, a document which encouraged an emphasis on Gregorian Chant and more traditional forms of liturgical music. See Walter William Whitehouse's dissertation on the subject, "The Musical Prelude to Vatican II: Plainchant, Participation, and Pius X", University of Notre Dame, 2008.

²⁰ Maillard, *Vincent d'Indy*, p. 103.

²¹ This letter is cited directly in Pierre Gaucher, "De la Spirale au groupe Jeune France (1935-1945) : les tourments d'une avant-garde musicale," Master's thesis, Université de Tours, 2001, p. 24.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 27.



Figure 7: The design, according to Lucie Kayas,²³ was probably drawn by Jolivet (although given that Migot himself was a gifted painter, it is equally possible that it was drawn by the more senior composer)

Chapter 2.2: La Spirale

The Creation of La Spirale

In 1935, André Jolivet (who was not yet a faculty member of the Schola, but had been a member of the jury for examinations) instigated La Spirale's foundation. The composer first approached Nestor Lejeune with the idea of creating a society devoted to Chamber Music.²⁴

Looking back at the *début* of La Spirale's, Jolivet wrote (in an unpublished letter)

Dans ce comité nous étions quelques-uns à avoir des préoccupations ésotériques, notamment le président, Georges Migot, un homme d'une vaste culture, doué d'une rare acuité spirituelle, de qui j'ai beaucoup appris sur beaucoup de plans. Si nous avons placé notre société de musique de chambre sous le signe de la Spirale, c'était pour en symboliser l'expansion que nous souhaitons indéfinie, et sur le plan artistique, affirmer notre volonté de spiritualisme. La spirale, en effet, est une courbe sans limite. Elle symbolise le progrès parce que, bien que rattachée constamment à un centre d'origine, elle ne cesse de se tracer une voie toujours nouvelle.²⁵

²³ Lucie Kayas, *André Jolivet*, Fayard, Paris, 2005, p. 189.

²⁴ An unpublished letter to Antoine Goléa is cited in Philippe Gonin, "Vie et œuvre de Paul le Flem," Doctoral dissertation, Université Lyon 2 Lumière, 1998, p. 207.

²⁵ "In this committee, a few of us had esoteric preoccupations, namely the president Georges Migot, a man of vaste culture, gifted with a rare spiritual acuity, from whom I learned a lot on many levels. If we placed our society under the symbol of the spiral, it was to symbolize the expansion that we willed to be infinite; and to affirm, on an artistic level, our spiritual volition. The spiral, in fact, is a curb without limits. It symbolizes progress because,

Again from the same letter, he states that

Les tendances des programmes de la Spirale étaient moins de donner des “Premières Auditions” que de faire réentendre des œuvres significatives, de jouer toute la musique contemporaine, et peut-être spécialement celle qui n’était pas admise, soit par la Nationale, soit par “Triton”. D’autre part, nous organisons des concerts d’échange avec des groupements similaires de compositeurs étrangers. Un de nos titres de gloire est d’avoir organisé en mars 1936, c’est à dire trois mois après sa mort, le premier festival d’œuvres d’Alban Berg.²⁶

What was the purpose behind creating a concert society? In the case of La Spirale, it certainly wasn’t in order to make a profit. Neither was it to disseminate the works of the members of the executive. La Spirale was built with the mission of promoting underserved, relatively recent works, preferring repeat performances of worthy music rather than constantly premiering new works, as was the trend with the other societies at the time.²⁷ This is confirmed by the description of the new society’s ambition published in *L’Art musical*: “Il veut, plutôt que des Premières auditions, faire réentendre des œuvres significatives.”²⁸ There were, nonetheless, many world premieres of new music over the course of La Spirale’s activities (about a third of all the works programmed were either Parisian or world premieres),²⁹ though still proportionally far less than the other societies such as the SNM, SMI, Triton, etc.³⁰

Also important to La Spirale’s mission was the advancement of international music, in exchange for the unbiased promotion of French music abroad. Several exchange concerts were programmed (40% of the total programming), including the American exchange concert (March 5th 1936), the Hungarian music concert (April 30th 1936), the French and Dutch concert (May 14th 1936), the French and Austrian concert (November 19th 1936), another Hungarian concert (February 10th 1937), and a Suisse-Romande one (March 12th 1937).

although constantly connected with its origin, it does not cease to trace an ever-new trajectory.” Gonin, “Vie et œuvre de Paul Le Flem,” p. 207.

²⁶ *Ibid.* “The programming tendencies of La Spirale was less to give “premieres” than to make re-heard significant pieces, to play contemporary music, and maybe especially to make heard music which was not accepted by the SNM or the Triton. On the other hand, we organized exchange concerts with similar groups of foreign composers. One of our “claims to fame” is to have organized, in March of 1936, that is 3 months after his death, the first festival of works of Alban Berg.”

²⁷ See the mission statement quotes in Simeone, “La Spirale and La Jeune France,” p. 11.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ See the annex of this present thesis, on page 93.

³⁰ Gaucher, “De la Spirale au groupe Jeune France,” p. 49.

A week before La Spirale's 1935 inaugural concert, the formation of the group was announced in *Le Guide du Concert*. The first concert was announced on the front page, with the caption "La Spirale, la nouvelle société dont Georges Migot est le Président, donne son concert d'ouverture le 12 décembre (à la Schola)." Also on the front page is a large drawing of Migot's head, as well as two more announcements relating to Migot: "'À Travers la mélodie de Georges Migot' par Marcelle Gavanier (Chopin. Le 13 décembre)" and "'Aveux et promesses' ballet de Georges Migot, sera prochainement monté à l'Opéra."³¹

This is interesting as, from the beginning, La Spirale is advertised in conjunction with Migot. It could be because he was a more recognizable figure than his colleagues at the time, since he was known both as a composer and a "war-hero."³² It could also be an indication that Migot was in fact an important— if not the—main instigator of the society. The composer was indeed the president, so it is easy to imagine that he was the most invested in La Spirale. However, from the correspondence of Jolivet with Migot and Varèse, we get the idea that the creation of this society may have originated more from the former who had discussed potential collaborators with his mentor.³³ Jolivet and Migot, sharing similar conceptions of the power of music, certainly had a particular friendship; it would therefore be logical to assert that those two men took most at heart the success of La Spirale (a claim which will be further supported later in this chapter).

The Executive

The organisational force of La Spirale consisted of nine composers related to the Schola Cantorum. Each member of the executive committee was at some point a professor at the institution, with the exception of violinist and composer Claire Delbos³⁴ (Georges Migot and

³¹ Simeone, "La Spirale and La Jeune France," p. 11.

³² See discussion in chapter 1 of this thesis.

³³ See Migot's letter Jolivet dated 13th december 1935 in which they discuss the members of the executive, and Varèse's letter to Jolivet dated the 5th of June in 1935 in which Varèse praises Jolivet's association with Migot and Le Flem. Georges Migot, Letters to André Jolivet, 1933-1974, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Department of Music, IFN-53046643.

³⁴ Messiaen's first wife.

André Jolivet did not begin to teach at the Schola until after 1935). The president of honour was Nestor Lejeune, while Georges Migot was the acting president, and André Jolivet was the treasurer. Other members of the executive committee included Olivier Messiaen, Claire Delbos, Paul Le Flem, Daniel-Lesur, Jules le Febvre, and Edouard Sciortino. Various members of the executive met in the early 1930s through the SNM; Daniel-Lesur, Edouard Sciortino, Georges Migot, Olivier Messiaen, Jolivet joined the faculty of the Schola in 1934.³⁵ Migot and Jolivet had been acquainted since 1933. Messiaen and Jolivet met in 1934 at the request of the former upon his reading of Jolivet's *Quatuor*.³⁶ According to Simeone, Jolivet introduced Messiaen and Daniel-Lesur to the music of the Second Viennese School, with which Varèse had familiarized Jolivet.³⁷

Of these nine composers, only a few are currently well-known. Messiaen is perhaps the most famous today; and Jolivet and Lesur's names gained some recognition for being later colleagues of Messiaen in *La Jeune France*. It is unfortunate that so little is known about Claire Delbos, a fine violinist and composer in her own right, who is usually only ever discussed in conjunction with her husband, as her life and career were tragically cut short by illness. Her music was featured twice at *La Spirale*: at both the society's premiere and penultimate concert.

As for the other members of the executive, Edouard Sciortino (1893-1979) studied with Vincent d'Indy, and was later appointed as the professor of Gregorian chant and Gregorian chant accompaniment (organ) at the Schola.³⁸ Jules Lefebvre taught composition and *études des formes musicales* at the Schola.³⁹ As we saw earlier, Nestor Lejeune was the new director of the Schola Cantorum after the changes in administration. He appointed Daniel-Lesur as professor of counterpoint in 1935. Lejeune also taught violin and directed the orchestra at the Schola. Daniel-Lesur (1908-2002), born in the same year as Messiaen, was the latter's classmate and

³⁵ Jean-Claire Vançon, *André Jolivet*, Paris, Bleu nuit editor, 2007, p. 50.

³⁶ Simeone, "La Spirale and La Jeune France," p. 10.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ His son, Patrice Sciortino, also became a composer. See Laurent Feneyrou, "Patrice Sciortino," *Grove Music Online*, <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000045477>, consulted June 24th 2019.

³⁹ Incidentally, there is a French painter with the same name (1805-1882).

friend throughout their years of musical instruction at the Conservatoire. His best-known work, *Le Cantique des Cantiques*, written in 1953, a choral work for twelve voices in seven movements, provides a fine example of Lesur's more tonal and modal compositional language. Finally, Paul le Flem taught counterpoint and directed the vocal ensemble at the Schola.⁴⁰

La Spirale's Activities

An analysis of La Spirale's concerts is not only useful to better understand the ideas of Migot and Jolivet with regards to the organization of a society, but also necessary due to certain discrepancies in the existing literature on La Spirale. Simeone states that La Spirale gave thirteen concerts (one of which was noted as a concert-hors-série), while Gaucher and Kayas both denote twelve. However, the dozen mentioned by Kayas are not all contained in the thirteen stated by Simeone. Indeed, Kayas omits two concerts put forth by Simeone, and the latter missed a concert later found by the former. In all available scholarship, fourteen concerts are listed. A fifteenth has been discovered by close examination of the newspapers of the time, one which has been omitted by all three secondary sources. An exhaustive table stating the full programs, the names of the performers, and certain concert reviews, can be found in the Annex (see page 93 of this thesis).

In addition to these discrepancies regarding the total number of concerts given, there are small errors throughout the research put forth by Simeone, Gaucher, and Kayas. In Simeone's list for example, the American concert is stated to have taken place on March 6th rather than March 5th. Further still, Kayas erroneously concluded that the "concert de musique féminine" was cancelled altogether, while Simeone affirms that it took place on February 24th, 1937 (which is the correct date).

A brief analysis of these fifteen concerts is as follows: the first and last concerts of the 1935-1936 season were comprised solely of music by the composers in the executive. All of the events took place at the Schola Cantorum, save for the *concert hors-série*, which occurred at the Maison des Tuileries. There was also a concert dedicated to the music of Alban Berg (programmed in

⁴⁰ For more information on le Flem, see Gonin, "Vie et œuvre de Paul le Flem."

1936 in the wake of the composer's death), and another one featuring music by female composers (February 24th, 1937). Since the six international exchange concerts already received close attention from Kayas,⁴¹ this discussion will focus rather on the other events of La Spirale.⁴²

Program lists are provided below, with asterisks (*) indicating premieres. For the two concerts comprised entirely of music by the executive composers (the first and last concerts of the 1935-1936 season), the programs are:

Claire Delbos	2 pièces d'orgue (organ)
André Jolivet.....	Mana* (piano)
Paul Le Flem.....	Chansons de Croisade (voice and piano)
Jules Le Febvre	1 ^{er} Quatuor à cordes (string quartet)
Edouard Sciortino	Hommage à Albeniz (piano solo)
Georges Migot	6 Petites Préludes (flute and violin)
Daniel-Lesur	3 Lieder (for voice, string quartet and piano)
Olivier Messiaen	L'Ascension (for organ)

Figure 8: Concert no 1, Schola Cantorum, December 12th 1935

Mana, a very important work in the development of Jolivet's career, was played three times in total at La Spirale, and had additional performances abroad (the American exchange concert in New York, for instance) thanks to its premiere at la Spirale on December 12th 1935. This piece will be examined extensively in the chapter 3.

The next (and final) concert devoted entirely to music by the composers of the executive took place at the Salon des Tuileries on June 19th, 1936. This event was announced twice, in *L'Art musical* and in *Comœdia* but there is no known review of it.⁴³ Surprisingly, this concert was

⁴¹ As listed above, these include the American exchange concert (March 5th 1936), the Hungarian music concert (April 30th 1936), the French and Dutch concert, (May 14th 1936), the French and Austrian concert (November 19th 1936), another Hungarian concert (February 10th 1937), and a Suisse-Romande concert (March 12th 1937).

⁴² See Kayas, *André Jolivet*, p. 191-201 for a thorough discussion of the International exchange concerts.

⁴³ *L'Art musical*, June 12th 1936, p. 761; *Comœdia*, June 19th 1936.

omitted by prior scholarship, however, it is safe to assert that it did indeed take place as it was announced the same day in *Comœdia*, and there is no evidence to support that it was cancelled.

Edouard Sciortino	<i>Agresties</i> (piano)
Georges Migot	<i>Poèmes du Brugnon</i> (voice and piano)
Daniel-Lesur	<i>Suite Française</i> (piano reduction of orchestral work)
Paul Le Flem	<i>Chansons de Croisade</i> (voice and piano)
André Jolivet	<i>Mana</i> (piano)
Jules Lefebvre.....	<i>Mélodies : Green, Sais-tu l'oubli , Le parfum impérissable</i> (voice and piano)

Figure 9: Concert no 8, Salon des Tuileries, June 19th, 1936

One member of the executive, Nestor Lejeune, never participated in La Spirale’s concerts. With the exception of Paul Le Flem, the other members of the executive had works programmed at concerts other than the two dedicated to the administrative composers. The music of Georges Migot was heard three times: in the two concerts mentioned above, and also at the concert of May 14th. Although his music was not listed on the program, it was reviewed in the press. Jolivet’s *Mana* was performed three times, the third instance being at La Spirale’s final concert of May 4th, 1937. Additionally, his *Quatuor à cordes* was played by the Nouveau quatuor Hongrois on February 10th, 1937. Three different works by Messiaen were programmed: *L’Ascension* for organ at the inaugural concert, *La Nativité du Seigneur* in the all-organ program heard on January 28th, 1937, and the *Poèmes pour Mi* in the concert hors-série on April 28th, 1937 (see below). Delbos was performed only twice, at the first concert and at the concert hors-série, where her work *L’âme en bourgeon* was premiered. Daniel-Lesur, Jules LeFebvre and Sciortino were all programmed three times. In addition to the two concerts listed above, the first two had a work premiered in the “concert d’orgue” (Daniel-Lesur’s *Cinq hymnes* and LeFebvre’s *Prélude, Aria et Final*) and Sciortino had a work performed in the final concert on May 4th, 1937.

As was mentioned earlier, La Spirale had many other concerts with unique programming. For instance, the concert on May 5th, 1936 was devoted entirely to the music of Alban Berg who had died on Christmas Eve the year before, shortly after La Spirale’s first concert (December 24th, 1935).

Alban Berg.....	<i>1^{er} quatuor à cordes</i> , op. 3 (string quartet)
Berg.....	<i>Sonate pour piano</i> op. 1 (piano)
Berg.....	<i>Sieben frühe Lieder</i> (voice and piano)
Berg.....	<i>Suite Lyrique</i> (string quartet)

Figure 10: Concert no 6, Schola Cantorum, May 5th, 1936

This concert was reviewed in *L’Art musical* by Henry Barraud, who wrote:

de magnifiques artistes se partageaient la responsabilité de l’interprétation: Mme Manchon-Theis, pianiste au jeu sûr, vigoureux et enthousiaste, Mme Suter-Moser, cantatrice sobre et émouvante, le quatuor Galimir qui évolue avec un brio et une musicalité extraordinaire parmi les terrifiants écueils du 1^{er} *Quatuor* et de la *Suite lyrique*.⁴⁴

The second season displayed yet more unique programming, with one concert devoted entirely to music by women composers (February 24th, 1937). Another discrepancy in the existing secondary sources exists surrounding this event. According to Kayas, it was originally scheduled for February 25th, but was cancelled entirely; while Gaucher states that it was planned to take place on February 10th, but was replaced with the Hungarian music concert. Someone corroborates that the women’s music concert did indeed take place on February 24th, a fact which is confirmed by the announcements and reviews in the *Guide du concert* and *L’Art musical*.

⁴⁴ *L’Art musical*, May 15th 1936. “Some magnificent artists shared the responsibility of interpreting the music: MME Manchon-Theis, pianist with a sure game, vigorous and enthusiastic, MMs Suter-Moser, singer of a sober and moving kind, the quartet Galimir which evolves with brio and extraordinary musicality among the terrifying pitfalls of the *Quatour* and the *Lyric Suite*.”

The program for this concert was as follows:

Henriette Roget	<i>Fantaisie sur des thèmes hébraïques*</i> (organ?)
Henriette Roget	<i>Deux ballades françaises</i> (voice, piano)
Suzanne Demarques	<i>Quatre contrerimes*</i> (for voice and harp)
Odette Fayau	<i>Asiatiques</i> (piano)
Claude Arrieu	<i>Suite</i> (oboe, clarinette, bassoon)
Marthe Henriot Bracquemond	<i>Trois poèmes*</i> (voice, piano)
Germaine Tailleferre	<i>Concert grosso</i> (two pianos)

Figure 11: Concert no 12, Schola Cantorum, February 24th, 1937.

Although the primary purpose of this chapter is not to analyze the politics of a concert entitled “feminine,” it would be remiss to ignore this unique choice of programming. The review in *L’Art musical* does not discuss the novelty of an all-female program, though it mentions that the concert showed “la pensée féminine à travers le prisme des sons.”⁴⁵ In reality, all-female concerts would not have been foreign to the audience of interwar Paris. There existed at the same time an *Orchestre féminin de Paris*, as well as numerous female conductors (as discussed by Jean-Christophe Branger in the *Revue de musicology*).⁴⁶ Other research has been conducted into women musicians in Paris, and Laura Hamer states that the Parisian all-female orchestra was initiated as early as 1911.⁴⁷

Another concert worthy of attention is the penultimate program given by La Spirale, the *concert hors-série*, which took place on April 28th, 1937. The program for this concert contained two important premieres by members of the executive, Claire Delbos and Olivier Messiaen:

⁴⁵ *L’Art musical*, March 26th 1937, p. 527.

⁴⁶ See Jean-Christophe Branger, “Être cheffe d’orchestre à Paris dans l’entre-deux-guerres, Les concerts symphoniques dirigés par Eva Brunelli, Carmen Studer-Weingartner et Gertrud Herliczka,” *Revue de musicology*, tome. 102, no. 2, 2016, p. 319-357.

⁴⁷ Laura Hamer, *Female Composers, Conductors, Performers: Musiciennes of Interwar France. 1919-1939*, Boca Raton, FL, Routledge, an imprint of Taylor and Francis, 2018.

Maurice Ravel.....	<i>Valses nobles et sentimentales</i> (piano)
Darius Milhaud	<i>3 Saudades do Brazil</i> (piano)
Claire Delbos	<i>L'âme en bourgeon*</i> (voice, piano)
Gustave Samazeuilh.....	<i>Suite en sol</i> (piano)
Olivier Messiaen	<i>Poèmes pour Mi*</i> (voice, piano)

Figure 12: Concert no 14, Schola Cantorum, April 28th, 1937

This concert in particular was well-received by the press, eliciting a very favourable review in *Le Ménestrel* on the 7th of May.⁴⁸ In this article, Roger Vingteuil wrote of what he found positive and negative in the new these new pieces by Delbos and Messiaen (praising the richness of their respective writings for piano), and asserted that “le groupement “La Spirale” [...] a offert une séance d’un très réel intérêt.”⁴⁹

General Reception

La Spirale as an organisation did not generate an enormous amount of discussion in the press, other than a few announcements at the onset of the society’s activities, and several reviews of individual concerts. There are, however, a few articles which-provide insight into the reception of the society as a whole.

The concerts given by La Spirale were generally well-received, even if they were not the most popular musical attractions among Parisians. Moreover, most of the individual concerts received positive reviews in the press, and the critics of the time wrote about the society itself mostly in favourable terms.

One very promising review was given after La Spirale’s second concert, written by Suzanne Demarquez (who had a piece performed twice at the society’s concerts, on January 23rd 1936 and February 24th 1937) in *L’Art Musical*: “La Spirale prend décidément une place en vue parmi

⁴⁸ Roger Vingteuil, *Le Ménestrel*, May 7th 1937.

⁴⁹ “The group ‘La Spirale’ offered a concert of very real interest.” He critiques *L’âme en bourgeon* by saying that Delbos missed opportunities to write lyrically and idiomatically for the voice, yet the bulk of his review is positive; and he qualifies her music as mystical.

les sociétés de musique de chambre si l'on en juge par l'accueil empressé du public qui assistait à sa seconde séance."⁵⁰

Yet another hearty and telling review was given in *Les Beaux-arts* almost exactly a year later. Discussing concert societies in general, André Coeuroy wrote:

la spirale, dont les efforts doivent être suivis, annonce à son tour ses quatre prochains concerts. La tendance spiritualiste est beaucoup plus marquée, et c'est encore un troisième public — nuance des amis de l'orgue — qui est ici visé. [...] La jeune musique a des talents à la pelle, mais elle manque d'administration.⁵¹

This review is illuminative for a number of reasons. First, Coeuroy considers that the efforts of La Spirale are worth pursuit. Second, he also nods to the spiritual aesthetics of Migot, Jolivet, and, perhaps, especially Messiaen. Indeed, the latter made frequent appearances at Les Amis de l'orgue, cited by Coeuroy. This however does not show that the spiritualism was viewed negatively, but it does hint that the public of La Spirale's concerts were perhaps more the same audience as the concerts of Les amis de l'orgue, rather than that of Le Triton (and definitely not the same listeners as the SMI or SNM). Finally, this citation also hints at the administrative difficulties that probably lead to the failure of La Spirale, which will be discussed further at the end of this chapter.

One final revealing article, again penned by Coeuroy for *Les Beaux-Arts* :

Triton est la véritable étoile de ces petits groupes. Mais il est des planètes moins connues [...] aussi qui méritent de temps en temps éloges et soutien. Ainsi la *Spirale*, où les tendances sont un peu incertaines et volontiers logomachiques : Georges Migot est là derrière; c'est un excellent camarade et un très bon musicien, mais j'ai peur qu'il n'ait pas encore digéré tout à fait les bribes d'esthétiques transcendante qu'il rumine, du feuillet dans la caillette, et de la caillette dans le bonnet, depuis ses années de collège. Il n'empêche qu'une soirée où l'on peut entendre les mélodies de Claire Delbos (*L'Ame en Bourgeon*) et celles de son époux Olivier Messiaen (*Poèmes pour mi [sic]*), où l'élan mystique reste humain, il n'empêche, dis-je, qu'une telle soirée soit une bonne soirée. [...] ⁵²

⁵⁰ *L'Art musical*, January 24th 1936. "La Spirale has decidedly taken its place among the chamber music societies, if we judge by the impressed welcome of the audience which attended the second concert."

⁵¹ André Coeuroy, *Beaux-Arts* date, January 22nd 1937. "Some other groups, la spirale; who's efforts must be followed, announces in turn its next four concerts. The spiritual tendency is much more marked, and it's a third public — nuance to *les amis de l'orgue* — which is aimed for here. This young music has a shovel-full of talent, but is lacking in administration."

⁵² André Coeuroy, *Les Beaux-Arts*, May 14th 1937. "The Triton is the true star of these little groups. But there are still some lesser-known planets [...] who also deserve from time-to time support and praise. Thus is La Spirale, who's tendencies are a bit uncertain and willingly logomachic: Georges Migot is behind it; he's an excellent

This article shows that Georges Migot was perceived as the governing force behind the society. It also tells that despite Migot's own unique aesthetic, he did not impose his ideas on the other composers who were played at La Spirale's concerts. It also mentions the humanistic mysticism of Messiaen, an aesthetic which was a key part of the emerging group Jeune France.

This positive reception and apparent promise showed by the society was, however, not enough to keep the spirale afloat.

Downward Spiral

Migot, along with Jolivet, were truly invested in *La Spirale*, right to the very end. The former had offered to premiere some of his own works at La Spirale, such as his *Rossignol en amour*, and *Premier livre d'orgue*, but this never materialized. In a letter to Jolivet, Migot hints at the fact that the *Rossignol* could not be premiered because Nestor Lejeune was unable to find the appropriate performers.⁵³ The organ work was discussed in letters from Migot to Jolivet as late as July 1937,⁵⁴ but its performance did not materialize due to the termination of La Spirale's activities after May 1937.

While Migot and Jolivet continued their correspondence with ideas to keep La Spirale alive, not all of the executive was unanimous in their desire to maintain its activities. As we saw before in André Coeuroy's review of the society the administration of La Spirale was disorganized. Gaucher's thesis on the subject identifies some specific problems, such as Nestor Lejeune's insufficient organisational skills⁵⁵ and a lack in advanced publicity for the concerts:

La pérennisation de la Spirale fut compromise par les déboires d'organisation. Secrétaire personnelle de Daniel-Lesur et dévouée à la cause de la Spirale, Anne-Marie Maison reçut les programmes de plus en plus tard et ne fut pas toujours en mesure de les communiquer à temps

comrade and a very good musician, but I fear he has not yet completely digested the transcendentale esthetics which he ruminates— from the leaflet in the bonnet, and from the bonnet in the leaflet—since his college years. It does not impede an evening where we may hear the melodies of Claire Delbos (*l'âme en bourgeon*) and those of her husband Olivier Messiaen (*Poèmes pour mi*), where the mystical momentum remains human. In other words, it does not impede that such an evening be a good one.”

⁵³ See Migot's letters to Jolivet dated March 24th and 27th 1937, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Department of Music, IFN-53046643.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, July 24th 1937.

⁵⁵ Gaucher, “De la Spirale au groupe Jeune France,” p. 74.

aux différentes revues musicales qui exigeaient elles-mêmes des délais très stricts. La publicité des concerts de la Spirale fut de moins en moins efficace.⁵⁶

In addition, Gaucher provides a thorough discussion of the society's financial affairs showing that the accounts held most often a negative balance, and that the concerts were not financially self-sufficient.⁵⁷ In a very telling letter to Jolivet written shortly before the premiere of *Poèmes pour Mi*, Messiaen says:

Je viens de vous adresser 50 programmes et billets, pour mon concert Spirale du 28 avril. Ces 50 billets, et prog. sont à envoyer à vos amis personnels. (J'ai donné, par ailleurs, à mlle Maison tous les billets nécessaires pour les éditeurs et sa liste d'adresses). Je compte fermement que vous m'amènerez 50 personnes.

Ce concert me coûte près de 2.000 francs de frais. J'aurais pu le faire à la Nationale ou ailleurs, avec un public tout prêt et sans déboursier un sou. C'est uniquement pour vous faire plaisir, ainsi qu'à Migot et à Monsieur Lejeune que je fonctionne à la Spirale le 28. Je vous demande [...] de vous intéresser d'une façon effective à concert en y venant vous-même et en m'amenant les 50 personnes [inclinaison]. Montrez que vous êtes un homme plein d'amour!

J'exige, avec une extrême rigueur, l'affection qui m'est due!
Avec ma bonne amitié et mes remerciements,
Olivier Messiaen.

P.S. En remerciement et pour « réveiller votre cœur endormi » comme disaient nos pères, vous recevrez un « livre » des « Poèmes pour Mi » (ce sont des nouvelles mélodies!)⁵⁸

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* “The sustainability of La Spirale was compromised by organisational woes. The secretary personnel of Daniel-Lesur, was devoted to the cause of La Spirale, and Anne-Marie Maison received programmes later and later, and were not always in measure to communicate these programmes to the different music reviews which in turn insisted upon very strict deadlines. The publicity of La Spirale's concerts became less and less effective.”

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁵⁸ Olivier Messiaen, Letter to André Jolivet, April 1937, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Department of Music, VM BOB-25908. Letter received on 18/4/37. “I have just sent you 50 programmes and tickets, for my concert at La Spirale on April 28th. These 50 tickets and programs are to be sent to your own personal friends. (I have also given, to mlle Maison all the necessary tickets for the editors and the list of addresses). I count firmly that you will bring me 50 people.

This concert costs me nearly 2000 francs in fees. I could have done it at the Nationale or elsewhere, with a ready public and without having to spend a penny. It's only to make you happy, as well as Migot and Lejeune that I am operating at La Spirale the 28th. I ask you [...] to make yourself effectively interested by coming to the concert yourself and by bringing me 50 people. Show that you are a man full of love!

I demand, with extreme rigor, all the affection which I am due.
With my good friendship and my thanks,
Olivier Messiaen.

PS. As a thank-you and to “wake your sleeping heart” as our fathers said, you will receive a “book” of the “Poèmes pour Mi” (these are new melodies!).”

While this letter shows a fascinating glimpse of Messiaen's personality, there are also certain facts pertaining to La Spirale that can be ascertained. First, Messiaen seems to be losing interest into the group when he says that the only reason why he is still involved with La Spirale is to please Jolivet, Migot, and Lejeune. While his reticence to premiering his *Poèmes pour Mi* seems to stem from his desire to have his music heard by a wider audience, his lack of faith in La Spirale's usual public shows that he may also have lost faith in the society. Indeed, Gaucher observes that Messiaen and Daniel-Lesur were against the continuation of La Spirale after its dissolution in December 1937/January 1938.⁵⁹ This coincides with the advent of La Jeune France, the other association in which Messiaen, Daniel-Lesur, and Jolivet sought to advance their aesthetic ideas.

Second, the fact that his concert cost Messiaen so much shows that La Spirale's finances were unstable. This is again corroborated by Gaucher, who showed that the society's concerts were largely a source of debt rather than revenue for the society.⁶⁰ It goes without saying that a concert organization, regardless of its good intentions, cannot be maintained without a healthy financial support network.

Chapter 2.3: Conclusion

From La Spirale's inception to well after its last concert, we see that among all of the members of the executive, Migot and Jolivet showed the greatest interest in developing and sustaining its activities. The idea for the society originated with Jolivet, and La Spirale was often mentioned in his correspondence with Migot. However, their shared fervour towards the society was probably only tangentially related to their shared aesthetic ideas. While Jolivet admitted that there was a common interest in esoterism among the members of the executive, there is no evidence that they sought to promote transcendently-inspired compositions. Rather, in keeping with their mission statement, La Spirale did give preference to re-auditions of lesser-known chamber works (with of course various exceptions).

⁵⁹ Gaucher, "De la Spirale au groupe Jeune France," p. 75: "Huit sur douze concerts fut déficitaires." ("Eight of the twelve concerts resulted in a loss").

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

While La Spirale does not appear to have been hugely influential (as represented by the fact that it is still little known and often misrepresented in musicological literature), it did impart a strong impetus to Jolivet's early career. It is also important to note that it provided a venue for his work *Mana* to be heard three times, and the international exchange concerts allowed for his music to be heard abroad. Moreover, La Spirale provided a springboard for La Jeune France, which incidentally led to the demise of the concert society, as Messiaen and Daniel-Lesur lost interest in maintaining both associations simultaneously. Other factors contributing to the society's downfall were poor administration and a lack of funds.

Regardless of the society's end, and besides the wealth of its activities, it represents an important period in the relationship between Migot and Jolivet. While the two had become acquainted in 1933, the Spirale years of 1935-1937 saw a stark intensification in their correspondence, with a decrease after the year 1937. There is less evidence of their friendship after the start of the Second World War, as the frequency of their epistolary exchanges slowed dramatically after 1939. The period of the convergence of their activities and ideas can thus be delimited to 1933-1939.

Chapter 3: *Le Zodiaque* and *Mana*: A Comparative Analysis

Chapter 3.1: Introduction

After having explored the ideas of Migot and Jolivet, and how their ideas shaped their involvement in *La Spirale*, it is time to examine their ideas through their compositions by way of musical analysis. Unfortunately, most existing analyses of their works are more strictly, or even entirely abstract without referring directly to the score; and none ties direct musical instances with their ideas (with the exception of Gérard Moindrot who reveals cases of the Fibonacci series in *Mana* as an esoteric compositional device). While there exists an analysis of Migot's *Zodiaque* in Becker's thesis entitled "The Use of Astrology in Twentieth-Century Piano Music,"¹ it does not go into much depth, or examine the intricacies of any particular movement. As for *Mana*, there exist a few analyses, though these tend to be either more philosophical than musical (as in the case of the analysis by Gérard Moindrot)² or strictly musical (as in the case of Lucie Kayas).³ In addition to a general overview of these two works, this chapter will provide an in-depth comparative analysis of "Balance" from *Zodiaque* and "Beaujolais" from *Mana*.

The analytical methodology will be adapted from the "grouping well-formedness rules" as explained by Fred Lerdahl and Ray Jackendoff in *A Generative Theory of Tonal Music*.⁴ As this theory was developed for the analysis of tonal music, there will be some limitations in its application to Migot and Jolivet's post-tonal works. However, Lerdahl and Jackendoff rules will be followed as much as possible in the analysis of groups and sub-groups. The "Grouping Well-Formedness Rules" (GWFR) can be summed as follows: Only consecutive elements may form a group (GWFR1). An entire piece is itself a group (GWFR2), though this may be divided in many smaller groups (GWFR3). Groups may not overlap (GWFR4). The end of a phrase cannot contain the beginning of a new group. Rather, the two must be part of the same group. If smaller groups are contained within a larger group, there must be no gaps between these smaller groups

¹ Paul Jerome Becker, "The Use of Astrology in Twentieth-Century Piano Music," DMA Thesis, Memphis State University, 1992, p. 82-90.

² Gérard, Moindrot, *Approches symboliques de la musique d'André Jolivet*. Paris and Montreal: L'Harmattan, 1999, p. 79-88.

³ Lucie Kayas, *André Jolivet*, Fayard, Paris, 2005, p. 152-163.

⁴ Fred Lerdahl and Ray Jackendoff, *A Generative Theory of Tonal Music*, Cambridge MA, MIT Press, 1983.

(GWFR5). In other words, if three chords are individual groups which also fit into a larger group, then all three must be part of the larger group, rather than the first and last or first two, etc. There cannot be gaps between smaller groups which make up a larger group. As for “Grouping Preference Rules” (GPR), a group must contain more than one pitch class (GPR1). Moreover, groups ought not to be too small. Groups must be selected logically, taking into account certain consideration of proximity (GPR2), with the musical elements of slurs, intervals, rests, motivic movements, sequences, etc. (GPR2/GPR3/GPR4/GPR6). Whenever possible, smaller groups must be notated symmetrically within larger groups (GPR5). For example, repeated notes which form a larger group ought to be divided into equal parts in their smaller groups. Though neither *Mana* nor *Zodiaque* are written in a tonal language, this theory of “grouping structures” can still show how melodies and sections are generated and developed throughout.

The works selected for analysis are “Le Verseau,” “Le Lion,” “La Balance” and “La Vierge” of Migot’s cycle of twelve concert études for piano, *Le Zodiaque*; and the first and last movements from *Mana*, “Beaujolais” and “Pégase”. Together, *Le Zodiaque* and *Mana* make a pair for a final synthesized analysis as both works are effectively solo-piano cycles, and both are representative of the ideas of the respective composers from the 1930s.

Chapter 3.2: *Le Zodiaque*

Le Zodiaque, a set of twelve concert études for solo piano, was written in 1931, and first published in 1932 by Alphonse Leduc. Each movement corresponds with one of the zodiac signs.⁵ A performance of the collection lasts for about an hour and a half, and it was premiered on the 24th of March, 1933 in Turin, by the Italian pianist Anna Urani.⁶ After this performance, Migot wrote *Psaume pour mon Zodiaque*, a set of poems to accompany each movement of this

⁵ Interestingly, while the work as a whole is dedicated to Emma Leduc-Ravina, each movement is dedicated to a specific pianist⁵, though the only movement which verifiably corresponds with the sign of the pianist the “La Balance,” which is dedicated to Marthe Bouvaist-Ganche.

⁶ E. Roggeri writes in *L’Esprit français*, March 1933, p. 74.

piano collection.⁷ The *Psaume*, in addition to being an accompanying piece of art, is very helpful in better understanding the ideas behind Migot's composition, and can help point to specific instances which relate to his concept of *eurythmie*.⁸ As was explained in chapter 1, *eurythmie* serves to unite the listener and performer with that which is transcendent (the Universe, or God). This is supported by Paul Becker, who asserted that "Migot used astrology in the *Le Zodiaque* in two ways: as a path to enlightenment, and as anthropomorphic representations of the signs through themes or moods. Migot viewed the zodiac as a means of gaining spiritual enlightenment." This author goes on to cite Marc Honegger, who wrote that "pour Migot elles n'ont pas seulement une valeur poétique de symbole, mais elles peuvent être, pour qui sait voir, l'un des Chemins secrets d'une vision spiritualiste du monde."⁹ Furthermore, the end of the Leduc edition contains a postface penned by Migot, in which the composer explains certain aspects of the interaction between his ideas and this work.

In the postface of the score, Migot relates the plasticity (a word borrowed from the visual arts) or sound to "des sphères immatérielles, sans cesse évanescences et renaissantes, en des transformations perpétuelles, et sur lesquelles s'inscrivent les lignes, les rythmes, les accords."¹⁰ These "immaterial spheres" are possibly a reference to the heavenly bodies, the stars which compose the signs of the zodiac. Hence, in the postface Migot ties the matter of inspiration (the Zodiac signs and constellations) to the composition.

A few general musical observations are in order. No movement contains a key signature, although the general mode can be easily observed by the final cadences. While each movement has a time signature, the meter frequently changes in movements 1, 2, and 8. Most of the movements use either 3/4 or a compound time (6/8, 9/8, 12/8, or 15/8), with the exception of the final étude, which is in 2/4. However, in keeping with Migot's ideas about time and his

⁷ The poems are all originally published in *L'Esprit français* in March 1933 after the premier of the work, and cited in the leaflet of Stéphane Lemelin's disc. See Stéphane Lemelin, notes for Georges Migot, *Le Zodiaque*, enregistré en 2005 et 2006, Stéphane Lemelin, 2 disques compactes, ATMA Classique, ACD2 2381, 2006.

⁸ Since only a few select movements will be analyzed in this chapter, the entirety of the *Psaume pour mon Zodiaque* will be available in the Annex, p. 97.

⁹ Becker, "The Use of Astrology," p. 86-87, citing Honegger "Introduction à Georges Migot, Musicien," *Revue Musicale Suisse*, vol 6, 1965, p. 352.

¹⁰ Postface of the score for *Le Zodiaque*. Migot, Georges, *Le Zodiaque*, Paris, A. Leduc, 1932.

heightened concern for lyricism, bar lines do not serve the purpose of dividing the music into weak and strong beats (as with traditional Classical music), and thus melodies which may appear to be syncopated should rather be perceived as having more rhythmic fluidity. The entire set contains 2137 measures, with an average movement length being 178 measures, and a median length of 172 (the shortest movement is number 9 at 100 measures, and the longest is number 4 with 261 measures).

The analysis of *Le Zodiaque* will begin with a detailed analysis of “La Balance.”; this will be followed by an examination of *eurythmie* in terms of the Golden Mean in a few key movements (“Le Verseau,” “Le Lion,” and “La Vierge”).

“La Balance”

Dualisme involontaire,
équilibre qui se cherche,
base solide,
mais la pensée chante...
Quel est le poids de l’amour ?

Before examining the structure of this movement, a few remarks on proportion are in order. While this movement does not employ the Golden Mean, there are many compositional devices which refer to balance in this movement. The first notable example is the left-hand motive of material A which spans the first page, from mm. 1-17:

Example 3: “La Balance,” mm. 1-4. (Removed for copyright reasons)

Firstly, the motive of a dotted eight-note and sixteenth-note in beat one followed by straight eight notes for the rest of the measure suggests the search for balance; which at first is staggered but later finds stability. Secondly, each measure contains a melodic rise and fall, again suggesting a search for the centre of equilibrium. Thus, each individual measure provides in itself a quest for balance. Moreover, 5 of the 6 pitches remain the same in each measure, while the first and lowest note changes each measure, always moving by a step. Further still, the bass line first travels down a fourth from A2 to E2. Then it moves back up to A2 and then higher still

The “a” group is completed as the L.H. returns to A2 and the R.H. begins the next melodic idea:

Example 8: “La Balance,” mm. 5-7, end of group a. (Removed for copyright reasons)

Example 9: “La Balance,” mm. 7-8, group b. (Removed for copyright reasons)

Example 10: “La Balance,” mm. 9-12, group c. (Removed for copyright reasons)

The y motive of a grace-note to an octave reappears from the beginning of the “a” melody.

Example 11: “La Balance,” mm. 13-16, group d. (Removed for copyright reasons)

The y motive reappears here as well.

These groups above are chosen by following the slurs (GPR2 as with group a), melodic segments (GPR3 as with group c). These four groups, a, b, c, and d all return at the midpoint of this movement, transposed up a tritone:

Example 12: “La Balance,” mm. 50-53, group a.1, a.2. (Removed for copyright reasons)

Moreover, this movement is exactly 100 measures in length (the shortest piece of the entire set). The A material returns at the exact half-point of the movement, transposed half-way through the octave. There are, some other modifications, as the L.H. line begins with the intervals of a semitone-semitone-augmented-second instead of the original tone-semitone-tone from the opening measures, and is transposed down an augmented fifth. The R.H. material is, however, transposed up a tritone exactly at the halfway-mark of the movement, a fact which could hardly be a coincidence. Below is a comparison of the L.H. from mm. 1-15 and mm. 50-64:



Example 13: “La Balance,” Bass line from mm. 1-15 (for reference), and 50-64 (written up the octave for ease of reading).

Groups b, c, and d are also repeated quite closely to the original a material:

Example 14: “La Balance,” mm. 54-56, group b’. (Removed for copyright reasons)

Example 15: “La Balance,” mm. 58-61, group c’. (Removed for copyright reasons)

Example 16: “La Balance,” mm. 62-65, group d’. (Removed for copyright reasons)

“Le Verseau”

Voici l’eau
 principe générateur et unificateur à la fois
 des lignes
 des volumes,
 des rythmes,
 des couleurs,
 attente et évasion,
 éternité éternellement passagère,
 cristal en perpétuel devenir.

The poem corresponding to the first movement helps to raise an important point. In the *Psaume*, Migot states that “Le Verseau” contains a “*principe générateur et unificateur à la fois*,” effectively asserting that the water (or the music representing the Aquarius) is able to generate and unify, much like *eurythmie* is intended to unify the listener and performer with that which is beyond themselves. Moreover, the next lines make direct reference to Migot’s discussion of

eurythmie as mentioned in chapter 1: “*des lignes / des volumes / des rythmes / des couleurs.*” Here, Migot is positing that this movement is *eurythmique* in these senses, through the lines (melodic), through the rhythms, and through the colours.

“Le Verseau” is in 6/8 (although the meter changes several times throughout, including 4/4 and 6/4 time signatures), with a tempo marking of *rapide, léger*, and the dotted quarter to be played between 120 and 138 bpm (beats per minute). This movement opens with a refrain (A theme), wherein the left hand carries a four note pattern (A flat, G, F, E), and a lilting rhythm is then shared by the two hands.

Example 17: “Le Verseau,” mm. 1-9. (Removed for copyright reasons)

The theme A (mm. 1-8) returns twice in the movement, at mm. 37-x (A’) and 115-x (A’”). The third iteration (A’”) is more complete than the second (A’), though it still contains small modifications from the first (A), such as the substitution of a D-flat for the original D-natural in the second eighth-note.

Example 18: “Le Verseau,” mm. 115-124. (Removed for copyright reasons)

It is important to note that the final return of the A material corresponds with the Golden Mean. Indeed, *Le Verseau* is 184 measures in length. Considering the duration of measures up until the last iteration of the A material gives the number 114 (as in, 114 measures before the final iteration of A). 184 divided by 114 gives the number 1.61403508772, which corresponds with the Golden Mean to the second decimal point (the Golden Mean being 1.6180339887). This is as close as possible, given the number of measures. This is represented in the diagram below, showing the iterations of the B and A material:

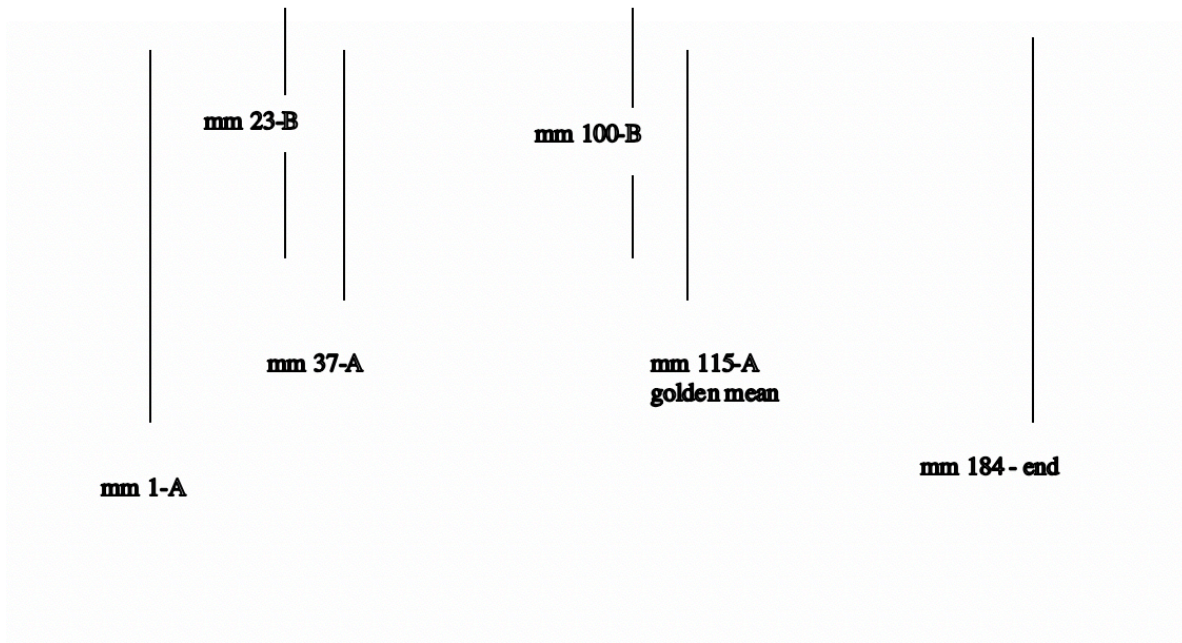


Figure 13: Diagram of thematic material in “Le Verseau.” Each line denotes the onset of thematic material (with the exception of the last line which shows the end of the piece, for reference). (Removed for copyright reasons)

As mentioned in chapter 1, Migot saw the golden section as a way to create *eurythmie*, and thus the most obvious way in which the composer attempted to incorporate his ideas into his composition.

“Le Lion”

Since various authors describe “Le Lion” as the climax of the work, or the finest movement, it is worth a more thorough examination here.¹¹

Force,
 mais non férocité.
 Toute la tristesse concentrée
 de l’isolement
 que trace autour de toi
 la crainte,
 et pourtant tendresse immense.

¹¹ Becker, “The Use of Astrology,” p. 47.

This movement has a main motive (here labelled A) which is introduced in the beginning, as well as a recurring melody (described as B), which is introduced at mm. 36. The main theme of a large half-note chord followed by a dotted rhythm (doubled by both hands in the lower register) is exposed in mm. 1-5, and reappears in fragments various times throughout the movement: mm. 7-10, 24-25, 27-28, 35, 94-95, 107, 139, 146-147, 171, 194, 213, 224, 233.

Example 19: “Le Lion,” mm. 1-5. (Removed for copyright reasons)

Similar to “Le Verseau”, there is one instance in which the recurrence of the main motive corresponds with the golden ratio, while in this case, mm. 146-147 is not the final iteration of this motivic material:

Example 20: “Le Lion,” mm. 146-147. (Removed for copyright reasons)

While this particular instance of thematic material A is relatively small in that it is present only in a fragment, it is still significant that it occurs at this exact moment. Whether it was intentional or not to have this material correspond with the Golden Mean, it does not appear in a way that distracts from the unfolding of the music — yet it is still clearly recognizable as the A material. The figure below shows all major recurrence of the initial motive:

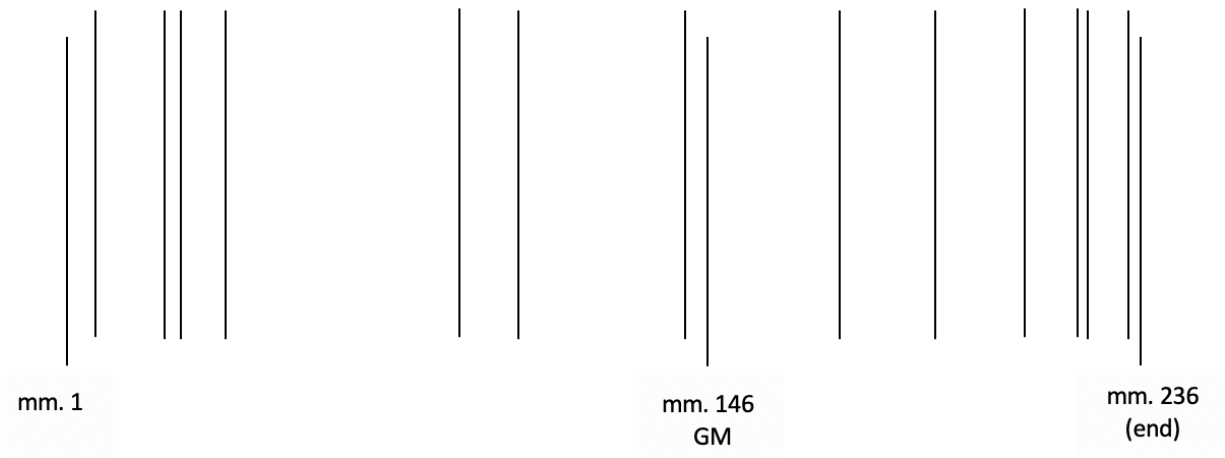


Figure 14: “Le Lion” each onset of the A motive is represented by a line above: mm. 1, 7, 24, 27, 35, 94, 139, 146, 171, 194, 213, 224, 226, 233. (Removed for copyright reasons)

Unlike “Le Verseau,” It does not seem that the presence of the A material at the Golden Point is significant, since it appears almost haphazardly throughout.

“La Vierge”

Tout est souple,
 d’inconnaissance claire,
 et pourtant le cœur bat
 et trouve des chemins
 qu’il n’ose parcourir
 – mais l’imagination y bondit,
 puis retour plein d’interrogation.

Given that the Golden Mean often occurs through the ratios of thematic material within various movements of *Le Zodiaque*, it is interesting to examine what occurs at the golden point of the whole work. The entire set of twelve études contains 2137 measures, and the golden point of the collection arrives at mm 25 of “La Vierge” (mm 25 of this movement coincides with mm. 1320 of the work, and $2317/1320 = 1.61893939$):

Example 21: “La Vierge,” mm. 1-4. (Removed for copyright reasons)

Example 22: “La Vierge,” m. 25. (Removed for copyright reasons)

Interestingly, this measure features an iteration of the main bass line motive of “La Vierge”: Bb, C, D flat. This melodic bass motive is repeated at these measures: 25, 26, 97, 105, and 118. While this particular motive (B flat C D flat) may not hold a particular importance with regards to the entire work, it is still interesting that it occurs at the “golden point” of the entire work. Further still, this same motive is present (reversed) in “La Balance,” at mm. 13-16:

Example 23: “La Balance,” m. 13-16 (group d). (Removed for copyright reasons)

Interestingly, the reprisal of material d occurs at mm. 62 in “La Balance,” which is very close to the GM in this movement of 100 measures (the Golden Ratio being 1.618, mm. 62 correspond to ratio rounded up to the closest decimal, or measure).

Example 24: “La Balance,” m. 62-65 (group d). (Removed for copyright reasons)

It is possible that this is all a coincidence; yet it is impressive that this occurrences of the Golden Mean in “La Balance” would not be significant on its own, for the G flat, F, F flat is only noteworthy in relation to the B flat, C, D flat of “La Vierge.”

In Summary, the Golden Mean appears at times as an intentional attempt at *eurythmie* via proportions — as with “Le Verseau” — though at times it appears plausibly coincidental — as with “Le Lion.” While “La Balance” does not itself employ the Golden Mean, it is still craftily proportioned, providing an example of other ways in which Migot might want to have created *eurythmie* in the music. *Eurythmie* is not tied specifically to special numbers, but rather in the intention behind the placement of such ratios. Moreover, having notes divided in two rather than being based upon the Golden Mean provides a more tangible sense of equilibrium in “La Balance,” as the image balancing of scales would suggest.

Chapter 3.3: *Mana*

Written in 1935, Jolivet’s *Mana* was premiered at La Spirale, and figures as Jolivet’s first real attempt to incorporate his early views on the true — magical — nature of music into his

compositions. This work is heavily inspired by concepts from the far-east, as the term “*mana*” itself is esoteric, coming from Melanesia, as it is the “force mystérieuse et active que possèdent certains individus, et généralement les âmes des morts et tous les esprits”¹². *Mana* is comprised of six movements, each one inspired by a figurine given to Jolivet by his mentor Varèse when the latter moved to the USA in 1933. Each object is considered a “fetish”, which in Polynesian cultures is an object which holds the spiritual significance of the ability to recall a person. In general, Jolivet follows a post-tonal language, often employing tone rows. These rows are as follows:

“Beaujolais”	E	B _b	G	A	F	E _b	F#	B	C#	C	D	A _b
“L’oiseau”	F#	G#	F	G	A	C#	D	E _b	C	B _b	E	B
“La Princesse de Bali”	A	B _b	B	D	C	G	D _b	D#	E	F	F#	A _b
“La Chèvre”	C#	G	A	F#	B _b	F	B	E	C	G#	D	E _b
“La Vache”	E _b	D	A _b	C _b	D _b	G	A	F#	C	E	B _b	F
“Pégase”	C	B _b	A	B	G	C#	E	E _b	F	G#	D	F#

Figure 15: Tone rows in *Mana*. Most of these series (with the exception of “La Vache” and “Pégase”) are outlined by Kayas in her book.¹³

¹² Jean-Claire Vançon, *André Jolivet*, Paris, Bleu nuit editor, 2007, p. 56

¹³ Kayas, *André Jolivet*, p. 152-163. Kayas states that these rows were written by Jolivet himself on an annotated copy of *Mana*.

“Pégase”

According to Messiaen (cited by Kayas), “Pégase” is the movement of *Mana* in which Jolivet best expressed his ideas about music. It merits therefore further attention. The final object is a small figurine of a zebra, which Jolivet named “Pégase”. Moindrot points out the fact that naming a zebra “Pegasus” would most likely have been a reference to the creature from Greek mythology. Thus, in his analysis, Moindrot provides extensive commentary on the story of Pegasus and Bellerophone. In a nutshell, the myth represents the surpassing of oneself, and according to this author, this is also the theme for Jolivet’s “Pégase”.¹⁴ Kayas also mentioned the Greek mythology in her analysis. She writes

Haussé au rang de mythe par son nom même, Pégase transcende totalement la figurine de paille qui l’a inspiré pour s’élever à des hauteurs quasi métaphysique sous-entendues par Jolivet dans sa présentation de janvier 1938. S’il a confié aux pièces de *Mana* ‘un message qui, au double point de vue esthétique et métaphysique, [lui] paraît d’une importance capitale’, *Pégase* est celle qui, par son ampleur, bascule dans une autre dimension.¹⁵

Regardless of the correspondence between Greek Mythology, this movement provides examples of Jolivet’s *Style Incantatoire* with the techniques of repetition and proliferative expansion. One example is the doubled sixteenth note motive exposed in mm. 15, centering around the extremities of E and D sharp (or the latter’s enharmonic equivalent of E flat), which is often developed and repeated throughout the movement.

Example 25: “Pégase,” mm. 16-19. (Removed for copyright reasons)

In this example, the melodic line returns to E as though it were a trampoline, each time rising with greater development, but always falling back down to the main pole. This motive is repeated and developed similarly in measures 50-52.

Example 26: “Pégase,” mm. 51-52. (Removed for copyright reasons)

¹⁴ Moindrot, *Approches symboliques*, p. 85-86.

¹⁵ Kayas, *André Jolivet*, p. 160 Kayas. She cites the expositor

This provides an example of repetition and proliferative expansion. Not only is the same motive repeated and developed at various intervals throughout the piece, but the motive itself entails repetition. Moreover, the notes are repeated and expanded around the same smaller motives.

“Beaujolois”

Moindrot mentions the fact that the number of measures in this movement correspond with the Fibonacci series. The main theme is elaborated in the first three measures, the second section begins on measure 5, the next section ends on measure 8, and third section runs from measures 13-21. Moreover, “Beaujolois” only has 33 measures, meaning that “L’oiseau” starts effectively on measure 34 and starts with the final note of “Beaujolois”.¹⁶ While the other movements do not demonstrate significant correspondence with the Fibonacci series, it is intriguing that these numbers are indeed present in the first movement of the work. It is perhaps impossible to tell if this was done on purpose, but it does seem to attempt — following Migot’s notion of *eurhythmie* — to insert the microcosm (the beginning of *Mana*) into the macrocosm (the Fibonacci series, a transcendent numerical sequence).

More practically, this movement begins with and is founded nearly entirely upon the notes exposed in the first few measures¹⁷:

Example 27: “Beaujolois,” mm. 1-7. (Removed for copyright reasons)

Kayas states that the tone row for this movement is E, B flat, G, A, F, E flat, F sharp, B, C sharp, C, D, and A flat; however, the beginning of “Beaujolois” presents the pitches from the aggregate in a different order: F, E, G flat, B flat, G, D flat, A flat, A, C, D, B, E flat. Regardless, the first few notes to be heard structure many later points of this movement. Initial melodic dyad E-B flat (see example 28 below) is taken up again in mm 5-6 (see example 27 above).

¹⁶ Moindrot, *Approches Symboliques*, p. 66.

¹⁷ A more complete analysis of this movement is available in the Annex.

Example 28: “Beaujolais,” motive from m. 1. (Removed for copyright reasons)

This tritone reappears again in m. 11:

Example 29: “Beaujolais,” motive from m. 11. (Removed for copyright reasons)

again in mm 16-18:

Example 30: “Beaujolais,” mm. 15-18. (Removed for copyright reasons)

and again in mm 20-22:

Example 31: “Beaujolais,” mm. 19-22. (Removed for copyright reasons)

In the same way, the motion from the G to the D flat followed by A to F (example 32) is re-purposed several times throughout the piece, in mm. 4-7 (Example 33), 8-10 (Example 34), 15-18 (Example 35) just to give a few examples:

Example 32: “Beaujolais,” mm. 1-2. (Removed for copyright reasons)

Example 33: “Beaujolais,” mm. 3-7. (Removed for copyright reasons)

Example 34: “Beaujolais,” mm. 8-10. (Removed for copyright reasons)

Example 35: “Beaujolais,” mm. 15-18. (Removed for copyright reasons)

In short, the material provided in the first two measures generates the rest of the movement.

Further still, the material in mm. 2-4 is brought back twice in this 32 measure-long movement:

Example 36: “Beaujolais,” mm. 1-4. (Removed for copyright reasons)

This is replicated very closely in mm. 13-15 (see example 37) and mm. 25-26 (see example 38).

Example 37: “Beaujolais,” mm. 13-15. (Removed for copyright reasons)

While unlike mm. 4, mm. 14-15 do not contain the continuation of the C-C-D and A B flat E flat cluster (represented above in end of the orange box and the purple box), the rest of the notes from mm. 2-4 are reproduced.

Example 38: “Beaujolais,” mm. 25-26. (Removed for copyright reasons)

Here, all of the pitches from mm. 1-4 are represented (including the notes E, F, G flat, and B flat from the very opening measure, shown in the red box).

In contrast with “La Balance,” it is challenging to structure these pitch-groups into a more standard grouping system following the GWFR/GPR. However, as is visible above, certain segments often reappear in the same order throughout the piece. This reveals plausible larger group structures. The example shown above (mm. 25-26), for instance, could group the green, orange, and purple segments together, as these are often reproduced in sequence as in the beginning of the movement, mm. 2-4 (See example 39):

Example 39: “Beaujolais,” mm. 2-4. (Removed for copyright reasons)

Chapter 3.4: Synthesis

It is interesting that the first movements of both *Le Zodiaque* and *Mana* correspond compellingly with the Golden Mean and Fibonacci series (respectively), but the correspondences between these sequences and motivic material in the remaining movements is insignificant. For both composers, these number patterns are a way of inserting a microcosm into the macrocosm. Again, it is impossible to speculate if this contiguity was premediated, if the composers meant to have the start of their cycles correlate microcosm and macrocosm. Nevertheless, even if it were unintentional, it would be difficult to dismiss such a finding as coincidence.

While Migot uses a more modal language to convey his lyricism, Jolivet employs a more post-tonal language to express his ideas. Yet neither language is restrictive, Migot is just as free to include extra-modal notes as Jolivet. Neither is the “tone row” restrictive to Jolivet, as he does not employ this device in the same way as its inventor— that is to say, he is not required to repeat the notes in sequence or in retrograde, or any variations at all. In both styles, we see that Migot and Jolivet both use rhythm to convey their ideas. For Jolivet this is through repetition and changes in the rhythm as in the melody of “Pégase.” For Migot, rhythm is present in a larger way as the correspondence between motives through the golden mean. Overall, while these two composers use vastly different methods of composition, they both use similar means to convey their ideas.

Conclusion

Through the years 1933-1937, there was a convergence between the composers André Jolivet and Georges Migot, such that they shared not only a common project in *La Spirale*, but also held similar ideas about the nature of music. These similarities — which have been explored in depth for the first time in this thesis, as one of its three main contributions— are better understood in the context of the composers' professional environment at the time, which was dominated by artists such as Stravinsky, Satie, Ravel, the Groupe des Six as well as a general emphasis upon objectivity in music. In contrast, for Migot and Jolivet, music was a means of connecting humanity with the transcendent (whether that takes the form of God or the Universe or some other entity). In other words, both saw music as a means of inserting the microcosm (humanity) into the macrocosm (that which is greater than humanity). This was, for these two composers, the ultimate inspiration behind their music. Although neither composer claimed that all of their music always served this end, it must still be considered as an important aspect of their compositions from the 1930s.

Beyond this congruent philosophy, the two composers also shared similar musical aesthetics and compositional techniques. One of the ways in which they both sought to connect microcosm and macrocosm was with the use of the Golden Mean and the Fibonacci series. By employing these sequences, which are infinite and exist outside of art, they aimed to connect their music to something directly transcendent. In addition to an interest with these numerical progressions, Jolivet and Migot both had a preoccupation with the harmonic series. For the latter, an understanding of the harmonic series is essential to an adequate performance of his works, as the performer must know which notes ought to be emphasized in order to bring out a richer set of overtones. Jolivet also composed his piano works with the harmonic series in mind, often placing specific notes further in the bass in order to achieve a greater spectrum of audible overtones. Finally, although these two musicians used differing harmonic languages (as the senior wrote in a modal style and the younger composed in a much more dissonant, emancipated post-tonal language), both prioritized lyricism as the highest aspect of any piece of music. For

these two composers, rhythm was secondary to melody, and the former existed to serve the latter.

In addition to similar esoteric and aesthetic ideas about music, Migot and Jolivet shared an interest in creating and maintaining the concert society La Spirale. The idea originated with Jolivet, and he sought out potential colleagues with the help of Migot. While a total of seven composers were involved in the executive committee, it appears that the interest in prolonging the society's activities beyond 1937 was mostly shared between Jolivet and Migot. Perhaps it was due simply to their friendship, and a desire to work towards a common project. Although they were undoubtedly aware of their similar esoteric preoccupations (which attracted many members of La Spirale's executive, as Jolivet admitted), they did not try to push these ideas by programming only mystical compositions. Of course, certain pieces did indeed exemplify such tendencies (such as *Mana*, a work premiered and performed three times at La Spirale), but in general the programming committee stuck to its mission of promoting pieces which would be largely overlooked by the other societies. Ultimately, despite Migot and Jolivet's enthusiasm for La Spirale, poor administration and weak finances led to its end in 1937.

While this thesis has provided an original examination of the ideas, compositions, and projects of Jolivet and Migot in the years 1931-1937, as well the first comparative analysis of their piano works, there is of course room to research their relationship beyond the start of the Second World War. How did their ideas change and evolve throughout the rest of their lives? Was the decrease of their correspondence a symptom of growing personal or artistic divergence?

In addition to an investigation of Migot and Jolivet's ideas, this thesis also presented the first comparative analysis of two of their piano works, *Mana* and *Le Zodiaque*. This analysis employed a methodology derived from Lerdahl and Jackendoff's *A Generative Theory of Tonal Music* (1983), which allowed for a clear comparison of the composers' notions of proportions in their works. In particular, there are examples of the Golden mean in the movement "Le Verseau" and other kinds of proportion in "La Balance," "Le Lion," and "La Vierge," in Migot's

work; and examples of proportion in *Mana* including “Pégase,” as well as uses of the Fibonacci series in *Mana*, more specifically the first movement, “Beaujolais.”

Finally, the analysis of Migot’s *Le Zodiaque* and Jolivet’s *Mana* not only reveal the ideas of their respective composers, but also highlights some similarities between the two composers. Both works have esoteric inspirations, and both employ, in some way or another, numerical symbols as a means to connect the music with the transcendent. Although these are all done in different ways, there is still a noticeable similarity between their methodologies and ideologies.

This thesis also provided, as another main contribution, the most complete and accurate list of concerts organized by La Spirale to date. However, there is still room for more research connected with the society. One concert in particular which merits further attention: the “Concert de musique féminine.” While the treatment of women composers in interwar Paris has been receiving increasingly more scholarship, the current literature does not address the fact that there is a “feminine concert” at La Spirale (and never a “masculine concert” — although most events featured all-male compositions). It is important to understand how women composers have been treated differently throughout the centuries, and this event from La Spirale provides an interesting case study that could be inscribed in such research. Furthermore, the findings from such a study could also aid in qualifying the originality of La Spirale’s programming. Furthermore, while there is now a more thorough list of all the programs put forth by La Spirale, little is known about the majority of the pieces performed, most of the composers are rarely discussed in today’s literature.

Perhaps the most interesting topic for further inquiry is in the realm of these esoteric notions of music. Other composers had mystical ideas around their compositions, such as Messiaen and Scriabin, but it was less common to see music as a true method for connecting humanity to the transcendent. In the same vein, many composers employed the Golden Mean (Debussy or Bartók for instance) but did they precise that this use was for a metaphysical cause? Did the ideas of Jolivet and Migot influence any other composers? Finally, what is the true extent of music’s metaphysical effect? While this last question would be challenging to explore in a

rigorously scientific form, it could be invaluable in helping us to better understand the effects of music upon us.

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Annex 1: List of La Spirale's Concerts

Date	Composers	Performers	Review
December 12th, 1935*	Claire Delbos..... <i>Deux pièces</i> André Jolivet..... <i>Mana*</i> Paul Le Flem..... <i>Chansons de Croisade</i> Jules Le Febvre..... <i>1^{er}</i> <i>Quatuor à cordes</i> Edouard Sciortino.... <i>Hommage à Albeniz</i> Georges Migot.... <i>6 Petits Préludes</i> (pour flûte et violon) Daniel-Lesur..... <i>3 Lieder</i> (pour chant quatuor et piano) Olivier Messiaen..... <i>L'Ascension</i>	Messiaen (org), Nadine Desouches (p), Daniel-Lesur (p), Elsa Ruhlmann (sop), Georges Cathelat (ten), Jan Merry (fl), Emile Mendels (v), Quatuor Crévoisier	
January 23rd, 1936*	Jean Langlais..... <i>Poèmes évangéliques</i> (pour orgue) François Gaillard..... <i>Trio à cordes*</i> Claude Arrieu..... <i>La Boîte à malice</i> Jean Barraud..... <i>Trois mélodies*</i> Suzanne Demarquez..... <i>Sonatine pour piano</i> Charles Kœchlin..... <i>3^e</i> <i>Quatuor à cordes</i>	Jean Langlais (org), Le trio Pasquier (MM. J. P. E. Pasquier), M. Pierre Maillard-Verger (piano), Mme M. Gérard (sop), Mme d'Aleman (piano), Mlle Nadine Desouches (piano), Le Quatuor Gentil (MM. V. Gentil, R. Ferret, E. Ginot, A. Lévy)	<i>L'Art musical</i> , January 31st, 1936 (Suzanne Demarquez) <i>Beaux-Arts</i> , January 30th, 1936
March 5th, 1936 (American concert)* All are Parisian premieres, save the Porter	Harrison Kerr..... <i>Quartet for strings</i> Roger Sessions..... <i>Sonata for piano</i> John Carpenter..... <i>Two songs</i>	Mlle Gisèl Kuhn (piano), Messiaen (piano), Victor Prahl (chant), Jan Merry (flute), Mlle Elen Foster	<i>L'Art Musical</i> , March 13th, 1936

	<p>Wallingford Riegger..... <i>Suite</i> pour flûte seule Isadore Freed..... <i>Sonata</i> for piano Charles Ives..... <i>Five songs</i> Quincy Porter..... <i>Suite en</i> <i>mi majeur</i> pour flûte, violon et viola</p>	<p>(piano), Quatuor Crevoisier, M Reyes (vn), Mlle Morand (va)</p>	
<p>March 26th, 1936</p>	<p>Jean Cartan... <i>2e Quatuor</i> (à cordes) Elsa Barraine..... <i>Deux</i> <i>pièces</i> (pour piano) Maurice Thiriet..... <i>Deux</i> <i>poèmes de Rutebeuf, 2</i> <i>Quatrains, Veni Creator</i> Henri Martelli..... <i>Sonatine</i> Maurice Emmanuel..... <i>5</i> <i>Chansons bourguignonnes</i> Maurice Emmanuel..... <i>1^{re}</i> <i>sonatine bourguignonne</i> Georges Dandelot..... <i>Trio</i> <i>en forme de suite</i></p>	<p>Mme Annie Bourgeois-Félix, Mlle Hélène Boschi, M. Pierre Bernac, M. Marcel Rémy, Daniel- Lesur, Olivier Messiaen, Georges Dandelot, Daniel Brunschwig, André Huvelin, le Quatuor Pro Nova, Gustave Rosseels, Jean Van Campenhoudt, Léon Van Hofstadt, Joseph Berckmans.</p>	<p><i>L'Art Musical</i>, April 10th, 1936</p>
<p>April 30th, 1936 (Hungarian Music)</p>	<p>Ernő Dohnányi..... <i>3^e</i> <i>Quatuor à cordes</i> Laszlo Lajtha..... <i>Motet</i> (ch et piano) Laszlo Lajtha..... <i>Dialogue vespéral – Les</i> <i>Montagnards</i> (chœur mixte à Capella) Tibor Harsányi...<i>Sonate</i> (pour violon et piano) Zoltán Kodály..... <i>Sonate</i> (pour piano et violoncelle, op. 4) Béla Bartók..... <i>Deuxième</i> <i>quatuor à cordes</i> (op. 15)</p>	<p>Le Quatuor Indig (MM. Indig, Belin, Koerner, Lemaire), Mme Ida Schlonnka, M. R. Goer, Ensemble chorale sous la direction de M. Maurice Bagot, M. Joseph Bernstein, Tibor Harsányi, André Huvelin,</p>	

<p>May 5th, 1936 (Concert in the Memory of Alban Berg)</p>	<p>Berg..... <i>1^{er} quatuor à cordes</i>, op. 3 <i>Sonate pour piano</i> op. 1 <i>Sieben frühe Lieder</i> <i>Suite Lyrique</i></p>	<p>Quatuor Galimir (Félix, Adrienne, Renée et Marguerite Galimir) Mme Jeanne Manchon-Theis, Mme Suter-Moser</p>	<p><i>L'Art musical</i>, May 15th, 1936</p>
<p>May 14th, 1936 (Contemporary French and Dutch music)*</p>	<p>Charles Berlandier..... <i>Suite</i> (pour violon, flûte, et harpe)*</p> <p>Henry Barraud..... <i>3 poèmes de réverdie</i></p> <p>H. Bading..... <i>Sonate</i> (piano et violon)</p> <p>W. Wijdeveld..... <i>Quatuor à cordes</i></p> <p>W. Meeuwisse..... <i>Sonnet</i></p> <p>Hendrik Andriessen..... <i>Fiat Domine – Magna res est amor</i> (Harmonisé par W. Pijper)</p> <p>Alexandre Woormolen..... <i>Livre des Enfants</i> (piano)</p> <p>Daniël Ruyneman..... <i>Quatuor à cordes</i></p> <p>Also performed, but not on the programme : Georges Migot.....<i>Deux poèmes du Brugnon</i></p> <p>Debussy..... <i>Préludes</i> (3)</p>	<p>J. Dumont, M. Mason, Mme F Kempf, Maria Branèze, Mm J. Bernard, Mme O. Moskowsky, M. A. Moskowsky, Le Quatuor Moskowsky, Mme C. van Staa Beversluis, M. Issac Cohen,</p>	<p><i>L'Art musical</i>, May 29th, 1936</p>
<p>June 19th, 1936</p>	<p>Edouard Sciortino..... <i>Agresties</i></p>	<p>Mmes Marcelle Gerar, Marthe</p>	

	<p>Georges Migot..... <i>Poèmes du Brugnon</i></p> <p>Daniel-Lesur..... <i>Suite Française</i></p> <p>Paul Le Flem..... <i>Chansons de Croisades</i></p> <p>André Jolivet..... <i>Mana</i></p> <p>Jules Lefebvre.... <i>Green, Sais-tu l'oubli, Le Parfum impérissable</i></p>	<p>Lebasque, Mme Valmy-Baisse, Nadine Desouches, Lucile Telly, Daniel Lesur</p>	
<p>November 19th, 1936* (French and Austrian music)</p>	<p>Anton Webern..... 5 <i>Pièces *</i></p> <p>Arthur Willner....<i>Concerto*</i></p> <p>Alexander Spitzmüller- Harmersbach...<i>Quatuor</i> op. 8</p> <p>Tony Aubin.... <i>Prélude, récitatif, et final</i></p> <p>Henry Barraud....<i>Belle étoile, Abat-jour, Un honime fini</i></p> <p>Charles Berlandier....<i>Suite</i> (violon flute et harpe)</p> <p>Paul A. Pisk.....<i>2 pièces</i> op. 3</p> <p>Ernst Kanutz.....<i>Danse du Travail</i></p> <p>Egon Wellesz.....<i>5 danses</i> op. 42</p> <p>*Note in <i>L'Art musical</i> 13 november 1936 (after the program list in the concert announcement)</p> <p>« Quatuor à cordes op 8 (A. Spitzmuller-Harmersbach). — ce Quatuor en 3 mouvements a été composé</p>	<p>Quatuor Galimir (M. Félix, Mlles Adrienne, Renée et Marguerite Galimir), Mlle Marguerite Le Fort, Louise Wacksman, Mme Lise Daniels, Mlle I. Aïtoff, M. G. R. Vidas, M. Masson, Mlle Kempf, Mme Jeanne Manchon- Theis</p>	<p><i>L'Art musical,</i> November 27th, 1936</p>

	<p>en 1930, pendant un séjour à Rome. Le 1^{er} intitulé « Thème et Variations » débute par un motif de caractère lyrique qui sert de base à cinq variations d'expressions très différentes. La première reprend le thème varié à l'alto, la seconde, sous un autre aspect, au premier violon avec accompagnement de <i>pizzicati</i>, la troisième est une sorte de <i>scherzando</i>, la quatrième et la cinquième reprennent l'atmosphère initiale. Le 2^e mouvement tient le rôle de <i>scherzo</i>. Une première partie très animée, et une reprise variée encadrent un trio expressif et archaïsant, qui contraste, par son tour élégiaque, avec l'élan fougueux du <i>scherzo</i> proprement dit. Le 3^e mouvement est entièrement dominé par une fugue curieusement conçue : le thème, en rythme de marche, est exposé à trois reprises avec des interludes. Suit une partie moyenne d'une facture et d'une sonorité très différentes. Le thème y est renversé, et exprimé par des <i>pizzicati</i> aigus. Puis le motif reparait à l'archet, dans sa forme primitive et aboutit à une fugue sonore et puissante qui sert de conclusion. »</p>		
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<p>January 28th, 1937* (Organ music)</p>	<p>Jehan Allain.... <i>Suite pour orgue*</i> Jules Le Febvre..... <i>Prélude, Aria, et Final*</i> Jean Langlais.... <i>Hommage à Francesco Landino— Mors et resurrectio*</i> Daniel-Lesur..... <i>Cinq hymnes*</i> Olivier Messiaen.... <i>La Nativité du Seigneur</i> Ermend-Bonnal..... <i>La vallée de Béhorléguy</i> André Fleury..... <i>Deux mouvements *</i></p>	<p>Allain, Messiaen, Langlais, Lesure, Fleury</p>	
<p>February 10th, 1937 (with the Nouveau quatuor Hongrois)</p>	<p>Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart.... <i>Adagio et Fugue en do minor K. 645</i> Laszlo Lajtha.... <i>5 Études</i> André Jolivet... <i>Quatuor à cordes</i> Tibor Harsányi..... <i>2^e quatuor à cordes</i></p>	<p>Nouveau quatuor hongrois</p>	<p><i>Le Ménestrel</i>, February 19th, 1937</p>
<p>February 24th, 1937 premieres</p>	<p>Henriette Roget..... <i>Fantaisie sur des thèmes hébraïques*</i> (Roget)</p> <p>Henriette Roget : <i>Deux ballades françaises</i> (Sternberg-Sellier, Roget)</p> <p>Suzanne Demarques..... <i>Quatre contrerimes*</i> (Rapin, Kempf)</p> <p>Odette Fayau..... <i>Asiatiques</i> (Cohen)</p> <p>Claude Arrieu..... <i>Suite</i> (Dupin, Labrousse, Chandor)</p>		<p><i>L'Art musical</i>, March 5th, 1937</p>

	<p>Marthe Henriot Bracquemond.....<i>Trois poèmes*</i> (Cernay, Bracquemond)</p> <p>Germaine Tailleferre..... <i>Concert grosso</i> (Tailleferre, Cohen)</p>		
<p>March 12th, 1937* All premieres save the Honegger and Bernard (Suisse-Romande music) ** (were not performed due to sick performers)</p>	<p>Roger Vuataz <i>Noël, triptyque*</i> Gustave Doret***... <i>Les feuilles mortes*</i> Jacques Dalcroze.....<i>L'Alpe voisine*</i> Stierlin-Vallon..... <i>Au fil de l'eau*</i> Ernst Bloch..... <i>Complainte*</i> Arthur Honegger..... <i>Chanson</i> Henri Gagnebin..... <i>3 pièces*</i> **Frank Martin..... <i>Trio *</i> Robert Bernard..... <i>Lampions éteints</i> Jean Binet..... <i>Puisque... Le bonheur*</i> J. Apothéloz..... <i>La mer*</i> A. Tanner..... <i>Chanson*</i> **E.-R. Blanchet..... <i>3 Préludes</i> Pierre Wissmer..... <i>Suite*</i> Aloys Fornerod..... <i>Concert pour deux violons et piano*</i></p>	<p>Mlle A.-M. Maison, Mlle S. Rapin, Mlle J. Blancart, Mme E. Foster, MM. D. Brunschwig, A. Huvelin, M. V. Gentil, Mlle Yv. Steinbach, Mlle C. Réard ***Mme H. Baker d'Isy</p>	<p><i>L'Art musical</i>, March 26th, 1037</p>
<p>April 28th, 1937* (Concert hors-série)</p>	<p>Maurice Ravel..... <i>Valses nobles et sentimentales</i> Darius Milhaud..... <i>3 Suadades do Brazil</i> Claire Delbos..... <i>L'âme en bourgeon*</i></p>	<p>Marcelle Bunlet, Olivier Messiaen</p>	<p><i>Le Ménestrel</i> May 7th, 1937</p>

	<p>Gustave Samazeuilh..... <i>Suite en sol</i> Olivier Messiaen..... <i>Poèmes pour Mi*</i></p>		
May 4th, 1937	<p>Yves De la Casinière..... <i>Quatuor en mi bémol</i> Louis Aubert..... <i>Première Sérénade, L'âme errante, Brodeuses, Mauvaise prière</i> (Dinville-Guillemet, Aubert) Edouard Sciortino..... <i>Deux pièces : Ibère, Berbère</i> (Viñes) Yves Baudrier..... 2 <i>poèmes de G. de Nerval : El Deschidado, Une allée du Luxembourg</i> (Cathelat, Daniel-Lesur) Daniel-Lesur..... <i>Trois Lieder de Henri Heine</i> André Jolivet..... <i>Mana</i> Florent Schnitt..... <i>Il pleure dans mon cœur, Musique sur l'eau, Kérole-Shal, Octroi, Star, Vendredi 13</i> (Dinville-Guillemet, Schmitt)</p>	<p>Mme Dinville-Guillement, Georges Cathelat, Ricardo Viñes, Louis Aubert, Daniel-Lesur, Florent Schmitt, Quatuor Brunschiwig</p>	

Annex 2: Psaume pour mon Zodiaque, Georges Migot

VERSEAU

Voici l'eau
principe générateur et
unificateur à la fois
des lignes
des volumes,
des rythmes,
des couleurs,
attente et évaison,
éternité éternellement
passagère,
cristal en perpétuel devenir.

POISSONS

Ils sont deux,
contradictaires dans leur
orientation ;
à travers l'un l'eau monte ;
à travers l'autre l'eau
descend.
L'eau les traverse.
Ou traversent-ils l'eau ?
Qu'attendent-ils ?
Rien :
Depuis toujours les cercles
de leurs yeux fixes et clairs
reflètent éternellement
le témoignage originel
du principe générateur vital.

BÉLIER

Du désir,
du désir toujours,
avec la tristesse
de ne rien pouvoir atteindre
sans le désir.
Avec la consciente force
d'être le tremplin du monde.

TAUREAU

Principe générateur
qui n'a pas le droit de choisir
son amour.

Et voici de la tendresse
car il aime
ce qu'il lui a fallu aimer.

GÉMEAUX

Deux jumeaux
qui se renvoient leur
tendresse
dans l'immatérielle joie
d'être venus au monde
au même instant.

ÉCREVISSE

Toute puissance des rythmes
articulés et contradictoires.
Du recul pour aller de
l'avant ;
carapace qui s'arque
pour aller en ligne droite,
où passent ton désespoir,
ta volonté,
ta colère,
ta fatalité ?

LION

Force,
mais non férocité.
Toute la tristesse concentrée
de l'isolement
que trace autour de toi
la crainte,
et pourtant tendresse
immense.

VIERGE

Tout est souple,
d'inconnaissance claire,
et pourtant le cœur bat
et trouve des chemins
qu'il n'ose parcourir
– mais l'imagination y
bondit,

puis retour plein
d'interrogation.

BALANCE

Dualisme involontaire,
équilibre qui se cherche,
base solide,
mais la pensée chante...
Quel est le poids de l'amour
?

SCORPION

Tu crois à la liberté,
mais tu ne peux sortir de ton
cercle :
Ta fin
tuera ton commencement.

SAGITTAIRE

Vers qui vole la flèche
irréelle ?
Après quoi court le centaure
?
Des bonds...
arrêt...
départ...
flèche...
sans but.

CAPRICORNE

Puissance,
tendresse,
rythme,
douceur,
et construction inlassable
d'un labyrinthe où tu te
meus;
mais sortir,
c'est tout briser !

*Psaume pour mon Zodiaque,
Georges Migot*

Annex 3: Analysis of “La Balance”

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Annex 4: Analysis of “Beaujolais”

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