

УДК 37.02+786.2(44)«17|18»

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THE ORGAN IN FRANCE AFTER THE REVOLUTION: THE GENESIS OF A LEGENDARY ORGAN SCHOOL

The organ was one of the victims of the French Revolution. The music of the great French classical authors and the instruments built by François-Henri Clicquot were a summit in the history of the organ in France, but with the Revolution the organ was seen as anti-bourgeois, inextricably linked to the two great enemies of ordinary people: the Church and the aristocracy.

Many organs were destroyed or abandoned because of the mere fact of being accommodated in churches, while those who were spared it was thanks to the work of organists who – when the churches were transformed into halls for the popular republican festivities – fit themselves to meet the request from the public of simple music, accessible to everyone: dances and variations on the most famous revolutionary marches, pieces in operistic style (opera was the most popular music genre at the time). The organ, previously religious, liturgical, polyphonic and harmonic, became melodic, secular, orchestral and descriptive.

Key words: *the organ, French classical authors, the Revolution, organ school, organists.*

Problem definition. Life and experience of the representatives of the legendary French organ school have always drawn attention of professional performers, teachers and music theorists. Their contemporaries' reminiscences and modern research data can be a valuable source of information for those who is willing to analyze and systemize the outstanding organists' creative works and teaching practices. The history of post-revolutionary organ music in France is the story of revival and establishment of national organ school on the basis of best European practices that is worth of conducting a detailed study.

Analysis of topical research works. Life and works of some representatives of the French organ school have been in the focus of attention of such scientists as A. Colling who studied French sacred music, F. Denis, H. de M. Fitz-James and C. Weitner who took special interest in the activities of various organists, Chr. M. Frommen, O. Ochse and Vierne L. whose research

works were devoted to European organ music and Ch-M. Widor who dwelled on peculiarities of performance of J. S. Bach musical pieces.

Thus, **the aim** of the article is to analyze and systematize the available information that concerns life, creative work and teaching practices of the representatives of French organ school, to reveal the factors that influenced their establishment as professional musicians, theorists and teachers.

Exposition. The organ was one of the victims of the French Revolution. The instruments built by François-Henri Clicquot (1732–1790) and the music of the great French classical authors were a summit in the history of the organ in France, but with the Revolution the organ was seen as anti-bourgeois, inextricably linked to the two great enemies of ordinary people: the Church and the aristocracy. Many organs were destroyed or abandoned because of the mere fact of being accommodated in churches, while those who were spared it was thanks to the work of organists who – when the churches were transformed into halls for the popular republican festivities – fit themselves to meet the request from the public of simple music, accessible to everyone: dances and variations on the most famous revolutionary marches, pieces in operistic style (opera was the most popular music genre at the time). The organ, previously religious, liturgical, polyphonic and harmonic, became melodic, secular, orchestral and descriptive.

It must be recalled that the Church was going through a terribly difficult time. In 1789 the Constituent Assembly abolished the privileges of the clergy and confiscated the Church's properties. The following year, bishops and priests were forced to take an oath of loyalty to the Civil Constitution. Many of them left the country when Christianity became a persecuted religion. The Catholic Church was overthrown by a succession of cults authorized by the State: first the Cult of Reason, replaced in 1794 by the Cult of the Supreme Being (under Robespierre) and then in 1796 by Theophilanthropy.

The musicologist François Sabatier, author of the treatise «Les Orgues en France pendant la Revolution» (1789-1802) («The Organs in France during the Revolution»), estimated the number of organs in France in 1789 in around 2000. After the government took possession of the Church's properties, the wealth of the monasteries were sold. 522 organs were auctioned. 418 of them were destroyed, including the largest in France, the 63-stops organ of Saint-Martin Abbey in Tours, and the other 104 survived because redeemed by parishes at bargain basement prices.

In 1795, the National Convention decreed the sale of the organs of parish churches and cathedrals. This decree, however, was suspended on public pressure and a few months later were converted into a more moderate law that established the sale of organs without adequate artistic value. In 1801 Napoleon and Pope Pius VII signed the Concordat which decreed the restoration of the legal status of the Catholic Church in France: only then the slow process of recovery began.

In the first half of the 19th century, some organists remained faithful to the classical tradition and were promoters of a severe style, contrapuntal, in contrast to the musical tastes of the time. Among them we mention: Alexandre-Pierre-François Boëly (1785–1858), François Benoist (1794–1878), Félix Danjou (1812–1866).

Alexandre-Pierre-François Boëly was a convinced promoter of the polyphonic works of Johann Sebastian Bach. He was the only one among his contemporaries who was able to perform the pedal parts of the Trio Sonatas and of the Toccata in F Major by Bach; Boëly wanted the instrument of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, where he was organist, to be equipped with a German pedalboard. The intervention was carried out in 1820 by Dallery and it was the first German pedalboard applied to a French instrument.

A further confirmation of the musical trends of the time is given by the dismissal of Boëly in 1851 by the vicar of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois: the latter judged the music performed by Boëly as «*trop grave, religieuse et pas trop assez divertissante*» (too strict, too religious and not fun enough).

Louis-James-Alfred Lefébure-Wély (1817–1869) was instead the most important among the organists who cultivated the musical taste of the time. He became organist at Saint-Roch in 1831, at age 14, in succession to his father (Isaac-François-Antoine Lefébure-Wély). He received the *premier prix* in organ in 1835. He was then organist at the Madeleine (since 1847) in Paris and at Saint-Sulpice (since 1863) of the same city.

His career was in close contact with that of Aristide Cavaillé-Coll (1811–1899), organ builder, whose instruments endowed with a new symphonic aesthetic marked a turning point in the history of French organ building. Lefébure-Wély was an imaginative performer, improviser and he was very skilled in exploiting the resources of the organ; for at least twenty years he was Cavaillé-Coll's favorite among the musicians who the latter chose for the inaugurations of his instruments.

Later, Jaak Nikolaas Lemmens (1823–1881) appeared on the scene. Lemmens was born on January 3, 1823, in Zoerle-Parwijs, in the Belgian province of Antwerp, son of Jean-Baptiste Lemmens (born May 21, 1785) and Anna

Catharina van Heusden (born 29 July 1790). The latter died on April 6, 1826, a year after giving birth to Jaak Nikolaas's sister, Rosa Constantina, who died on June 14, 1828 at the age of three years. Jean-Baptiste then married Marie-Elisabeth Helsen (February 1, 1827), and they had no children.

The young Lemmens received his first music lessons at an early age from his father, «koster» (sacristan and organist) at the parish church of Zoerle-Parwijs, as well as elementary school teacher in Zoerle. According to François-Joseph Fétis, Lemmens' musical talent was immediately evident: «His progress was so rapid that by the age of seven he was already able to sing and accompany the Gregorian melodies during the Masses. At age 11, he was sent by his father to study in Diest with the organist Van den Broeck, from whom he received lessons for six months» [8, 6-7].

We know nothing of the studies carried out by Lemmens over the next five years. In 1839 Lemmens enrolled at the Brussels Conservatory, where he studied piano with Léopold Goudineau. As explained by Lowell Lacey in «Jacques Nicolas Lemmens: His Life and works» (unfinished thesis, Columbia University), Lemmens initially studied piano, as the organ class was not established at the Conservatory of Brussels before 1841.

In the same year, however, his father fell ill and Lemmens had to suspend his studies and to come back to his hometown to replace him in his job. Shortly after, he was appointed organist at Saint-Sulpice in Diest: this was his first official assignment as an organist, one of the few which he took in his life, and which he gave up after 15 months to resume his studies at Brussels Conservatory in 1841. Lacey argues that Lemmens, when his father recovered, preferred to compete for the post of organist at Diest rather than return to Brussels, because at the Conservatory there was no organ class.

François-Joseph Fétis, director of the Conservatory, was willing to lay the foundations of a valued Belgian organ school and recognized in Lemmens the talent who could have given rise to this hope. Eager for Lemmens' return to Brussels, he worked to establish an organ class, whose teaching was entrusted to the German organist Johann Christian Friedrich Girschner (1794–1860).

Lemmens came back, becoming part of the Girschner's class, and he also finished his studies in piano under the guidance of Jean-Baptiste Michelot. In 1842 he won the *premier prix* in piano and in 1845 the *premier prix* in organ. Lemmens also won the *premier prix* in composition in the class of Fétis, who believed that Lemmens' aptitudes in the study of fugue and counterpoint were extraordinary.

In 1846 Lemmens moved to Breslau, Germany (now Wroclaw, Poland), to complete his training with the famous organist Adolf Friedrich Hesse, in the tradition of classical German organ school of Johann Sebastian Bach. Fétis was to encourage him to pursue his studies with Hesse and bring him to this purpose a scholarship from the Belgian government. It was clear to Fétis that a reform of the unsatisfactory style of organ playing prevalent in Belgium and France could only be effected on the basis of the old German tradition. Hesse, great virtuoso of the organ, was especially famous for his amazing pedal technique. He was the author of the method «*Kleine Pedalschule*» (1831).

Lemmens, however, spent a few months in Breslau (during the winter of 1846–1847) and the influence of Hesse on him, then, was less than what has often been said. Indeed Lemmens himself, in a letter addressed to his family and dated November 9, 1846, wrote the following words: «Here's the news from Breslau. Mr. Hesse has taught me very little, so little that I can say that I have come here for nothing, but I'm not a man not to profit from it. I practice the organ every day for three or four hours. Mr. Hesse comes approximately once a week, in order to be able to say that he comes, because he has nothing to teach me. In the beginning he told me that I play too fast. This is the only remark that he has been able to make to me. Then, realizing that he had nothing more to teach me about how to play the organ, he made me compose fugues for this instrument, hoping to be able to be my teacher in that way.

But what was the astonishment of this poor man when I presented to him an overwhelming fugue that I would not change at all with one of his! So he tried another way to keep me there. He told me that a good organist must know how to improvise. Yes, it's true. But I told him that this is not something that can be taught.

I must tell you also that I destroyed mercilessly Mr. Hesse at the piano too. He is considered to be the most accomplished pianist of Breslau. One Sunday we went together to a piano maker, the best in this town. There I had Mr. Hesse play first, of course. After he had played so bad, I fell on this poor piano like a lion and I overwhelmed Mr. Hesse as well as the piano maker and the other people who were there» [8, 16–18].

At this point the question arises: from whom thus Lemmens learned? It is very unlikely that his virtuosity was the result of the teachings of Girschner, as Lemmens was the first teacher at the Conservatory of Brussels to emphasize the technical preparation. According to Lacey, Lemmens was essentially self-taught. However, there is a second possibility. Fétis, who was also organist, had

planned the publication of a didactic treatise entitled «*Le Parfait organiste ou Traité de l'art de jouer de l'orgue*». This information leads us to hypothesize a contribution by Fétis to the making of Lemmens' technique.

In 1847 Lemmens won the second prize on occasion of the Belgian *Prix de Rome* for his cantata «*Le Roi Lear*». A year later he published his first organ compositions: «*Dix Improvisations dans le style et sévère chantant*» (Edition Schott, Mainz), dedicated to Fétis. On March 31, 1849, at the age of 26, he was appointed professor of organ at Brussels Conservatory, where he taught for 20 years. As a virtuoso organist, Lemmens made the works of Johann Sebastian Bach known in Belgium and France.

In 1850 Lemmens visited Paris for the first time, and there he came in close contact with Aristide Cavaillé-Coll. In the years that followed, his concerts at the Parisian churches of the Madeleine, Saint-Vincent-de-Paul and Saint-Eustache caused quite a stir in the French capital. For Cavaillé-Coll, Lemmens' concerts represented a turning point in his career as a manufacturer: an ideal interaction evolved between organ building, organ art and compositional style, and this was decisive in the emergence of the French symphonic organ style.

The style cultivated by Lefébure-Wély was not suitable to achieve the symphonic ideals to which Cavaillé-Coll aspired. In Lemmens, the great organ builder instead recognized «*le véritable organiste moderne*» (the true modern organist), and it was clear to him that the future of serious organ playing was laying in Lemmens' hands. He advised young talented French organists such as Félix-Alexandre Guilmant (1837–1911) and Charles-Marie Widor (1844–1937) to study under the guidance of Lemmens at Brussels Conservatory, rather than at Paris Conservatory.

On January 3, 1857 Lemmens married the English soprano Helen Lemmens Sherrington (1834–1906), who had been a student at Brussels Conservatory from 1852 to 1856. After the wedding, Lemmens spent much time in England, often absenting from his organ class at the Conservatory of Brussels, which he left in trust to his more experienced pupil, Alphonse Mailly. This situation was a source of controversy fueled by the magazine «*Le Guide Musical*» and, in the spring of 1869, Lemmens abandoned his post of professor in Brussels and went to live with his wife in England.

In 1878, three years before his death, he returned to Mechelen in Belgium and founded the «*École de musique religieuse*», later known as the Lemmens

Institute. At the beginning of January, 1881, Lemmens suffered from a heart attack, and died on the 30th of the same month in his country house, the castle «Linterpoort», in Zemst.

Lemmens' principles of organ playing were first enounced in the periodical «*Nouveau Journal d'orgue à l'usage des organistes du culte catholique*» («New organ magazine for Catholic organists»), published in Brussels by Vanderauwera. Twelve numbers were issued, for a total of 150 pages, during the first year of publication (1850-1851) and six, for a total of 72 pages, in the second year.

In 1862 Lemmens published the «*Ecole d'Orgue, basée sur le plainchant romain*» («New organ school, based on Gregorian chant»), essentially a review of the «*Nouveau Journal*». This organ method illustrates the basics of modern organ technique and its importance is underscored by the fact that it was later re-released in England (in 1884 by William Thomas Best) and France (in 1920 by Eugène Gigout and in 1924 by Charles-Marie Widor).

In the preface, Lemmens emphasizes the importance of piano studies for aspiring organists. According to Lemmens, an adequate organ technique requires a proper execution of the *legato*. This implies the use of substitutions (changes of a finger with another on the same key), glissando (legato of two notes with the same finger, crawling from one key to another), ligation of adjacent notes common to different voices, crossovers, the use of the base and the tip of the thumb finger to perform with the thumb both two adjacent notes.

It is now evident that these technical principles are not derived from Johann Sebastian Bach. The legacy of Bach, of which Lemmens' school believed to be the guardian, was in fact passed on from generation to generation undergoing alterations, and losing its authenticity under the influence of the executive trends of the nineteenth century, more and more directed towards the *legato* style.

Indeed, Lemmens did not leave written records in which claims to be the heir to the tradition of Bach. This misconception was formulated originally by Fétis and later reiterated by Widor (who studied composition with Fétis). Fétis considered the fingering with substitutions a heritage of Bach. We read when he writes about Bach in the second edition of his «*Biographie universelle*»: «Bach was not only a man of genius and the greatest musician of his time, he was equipped with a top talent in teaching, with incontestable superiority, the composition and the art of performance on the harpsichord and the organ. The complicated nature of the works for these two instruments, always written with three, four or five voices, forced him to devise a particular system of fingering,

known for a long time in Germany as «fingering to Bach», but which can be defined in a more significant way as «fingering with replacements». Widor wrote: «It is from him that have received the Bach tradition that he acquired in his youth at the school of the worshipful Hesse of Breslau and which he held with devotion to transmit it in its entirety to his students» [5, 179].

The pedal technique was treated by Lemmens in a comprehensive way. The exercises included in the «École d'Orgue» were: alternation of the tips, major and minor scales and the chromatic scale, crawling from one pedal to the other, heel crawling forward or backward along a diatonic pedal in preparation for the next note, replacement of one foot with the other, substitution between the heel and toe of the same foot, arpeggios, trills, intervals, chords.

Significant was the introduction of the use of the heel. Lemmens applied the principles of virtuoso manual technique to the pedal, restricting the movement to the indispensable and eliminating (by means of a larger movement of the ankles and the use of the heel) the need to make crossovers, typical of the pedal technique hitherto used, characterized only by the alternation of the tips. The style of Lemmens was also characterized by a definite sense of rhythm, the choice of not too fast execution tempos and a few changes of registration in the performance of a piece.

No one better than Widor assimilated the teachings of Lemmens. As previously mentioned, he issued a new edition of the «École d'Orgue» in 1924. In the preface, Widor explains other aspects of the teaching of Lemmens not specified in the original edition. He stresses the importance of the elimination of any movement which is not strictly necessary.

The hands and feet must be kept as close as possible to the keyboards and pedals and both knees and heels should be kept close (the knees until the interval of an octave, heels up to a fifth). When Lemmens played, Widor says, it seemed that his knees and heels were glued together.

In Lemmens' «École d'Orgue», we find a piece, the Fanfare in D major, which consists of a study of continuous *staccato*. This technical process, of which the Fanfare represented the model, will become typical of the French symphonic school (see for example Widor's Toccata in F major from his Fifth Symphony).

The Belgian composer and organist Flor Peeters (1903–1986), in his treatise «Jaak Lemmens, Organ Composer-en pedagoog 1823–1881», talks about the originality of the 'École d'Orgue', arguing that Lemmens was probably the first to give great importance to the *legato* style and to introduce the principles of replacement and glissando in an organ method.

The technical rules enounced by Lemmens were the basis of the teaching to his pupils and successors, the French organists Guilmant and Widor, who in turn passed these principles to the next generation (Marcel Dupré and his school): Lemmens therefore exerted a significant influence on the French organ playing and composition school.

Along with the aesthetics of symphonic instruments built by Cavallé-Coll, the radical reform of organ technique – of which Lemmens was the promoter – brought new life to the French school. Among the students of Lemmens, besides Widor and Guilmant, we mention: Joseph Callaerts (1830–1901), organist at Antwerp Cathedral and organ professor at the «École de musique flamande» of the same city, Clément Loret (1833–1909) and Alphonse Maily (1833–1918), who in 1869 succeeded to Lemmens as organ professor at Brussels Conservatory.

Paris Conservatory was established in 1795. The first professor of organ in the history of the Paris Conservatory was Nicolas Séjan (1745–1819), who was fifty years-old at the time and considered the most renowned organist in Paris. Before the Revolution, Séjan had held the positions of organist at the Parisian churches of Saint-André-des-Arts, Notre-Dame Cathedral, Saint-Séverin, Saint-Sulpice and the Royal Chapel. The musicologist Alexandre-Étienne Choron (1771–1834), while deploring the decline of the organ after the revolution, recognized in Séjan a worthy heir of the great organists of the past: Couperin, Marchand, Calvière, Daquin, etc. Even François-Joseph Fétis stated that Séjan was «the only talented organist» in Paris in the second half of the eighteenth century.

In another historical period, a teacher like Séjan would have called back to himself many young students, but in 1795 the churches were closed, the organs in ruins and the profession of organist in disgrace. With the organ class devoid of students, Séjan found himself teaching piano and music theory in the years 1796–99 in 1801.

The only year in which he taught organ was 1800 (when the Conservatory was perhaps endowed with an organ in the attempt, which proved to be vain, to encourage the study of the instrument). In 1802 the government (hence the Conservatory economically dependent) made cuts to expenses, and many teachers were dismissed, among them Séjan too. The organ class was restored in 1819.

François Benoist (1794–1878) was appointed as professor, a position he held for even 53 years (from 1819 to 1872). The exams at the Conservatory concerned improvisation: improvised 4-parts accompaniment to a given melody and improvisation of a 4-parts fugue on a given subject. In 1843 a third test was

added – free improvisation on a given theme. In 1852 a fourth test was added – performance by memory of a Bach fugue with pedal. In 1852, therefore, the study of the repertoire was recognized as a significant element of organ teaching.

Benoist knew for sure that the performance of the repertoire was part of the examination programs at Brussels Conservatory, where Lemmens was professor. The latter had given concerts in Paris for the first time in 1850 and his performances of pieces from the organ repertoire, especially the works of Bach, had impressed the listeners. Until Widor's appointment, the organ teaching at the Conservatory, however, remained focused on the study of improvisation.

Saint-Saëns became part of the class of Benoist in 1848. Here's an excerpt of what he wrote later on his old master: «Benoist was an ordinary organist, but an admirable teacher. A veritable galaxy of talents were formed in his class. He did not have much to say, but his taste was exquisite and his judgment very sure, nothing of what he said lacked in importance or authority ...».

Among Benoist's students we mention a number of outstanding organists:

- Charles-Valentin Alkan (born Morhange) (1813–1888), whose talent allowed him to become one of the best organists of his time, but at the time France offered a little chance of career for an organist of Jewish origin. Alkan devoted himself enthusiastically to the *pédalier* (piano with pedalboard), with which he played in concert also various organ works of Bach, and for which he wrote some compositions (of which 10 were transcribed for organ by César Franck and published in 1889 with the title «Préludes et Prières de CV Alkan choisis et arrangeés pour l'orgue par César Franck»).

- Édouard Batiste (1920–1976), who won the *premier prix* in organ in 1839. He was organist at the Parisian churches of Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs (1842–54) and Saint-Eustache (1854–76).

- Alexis Chauvet (1837–1871), called «*le petit père Bach*» (little father Bach) because of his fondness for Bach's works. He was organist of the Parisian churches of Saint-Bernard-de-la-Chapelle (1863–66), Saint-Merri (1864–69) and the Trinité (1869–1871). The Trinité church was erected in the years 1861–67 and the organ, built by Cavaillé-Coll, was inaugurated in 1869: Chauvet was the first organist of the Trinité.

- Félix Danjou (1812–1866), organist at the Parisian churches of Notre-Dame-des-Blancs-Manteaux (1830–34), Saint-Eustache (1834–40) and Notre-Dame Cathedral (1840–1847). In stark opposition to Cavaillé-Coll («the imitation of the instruments of the orchestra, which Cavaillé-Coll strives to achieve, is a

mistake that will prove to be fatal for the art of the organ if it will spread»), he was artistic director of the Daublaine & Collinet organ building enterprise.

- Théodore Dubois (1837–1924), who won the *premier prix* in organ in 1859. He was *maître de chapelle* at the the Parisian churches of Sainte-Clotilde (1863–69, with Franck organist) and at the Madeleine (1869–77, with Saint-Saëns organist). Replaced by Fauré as *maître de chapelle*, he became organist at the Madeleine (1877–96) in succession to Saint-Saëns. In 1896 he left the post of organist at the Madeleine (he was replaced by Fauré), to devote himself solely to the direction of the Conservatory. Widor wrote of him: «Unity, harmony: these two words always come to mind when we speak about Théodore Dubois ...».

- Alexandre-Charles Fessy (1804–1856), the first student of Benoist who won the *premier prix* in organ (1826). He was organist of the Parisian churches of Notre-Dame de l'Assomption, Madeleine (main organist since 1846) and Saint-Roch (1847–56). Like Lefébure-Wély, he was a worshiper of the musical taste of the time.

- César Franck (1822–1890), who won the *deuxième prix* in organ in 1841. He was organist at the Parisian churches of Notre-dame-de-Lorette (for a short period in 1853), Saint-Jean-Saint-François (from 1853 to 1859) and Sainte-Clotilde (from 1859 until his death).

- Louis-James-Alfred Lefébure-Wély (1817–1870).

- Camille Saint-Saëns (1835–1921).

- Théodore Salomé (1834–1896), who won the *deuxième prix* in organ in 1857. He was choir organist at the Trinité in Paris (1869–95) and deputy to the titular organist Alexandre Guilmant on occasion of the latter's concert tours in the United States. For a short time, also Georges Bizet (1838–1875), who won the *deuxième prix* in organ in 1854, Léo Delibes (1836–1891) and Jules Massenet (1842–1912) were students in Benoist's class.

César-Auguste Franck (1822–1890) succeeded Benoist on February 1st, 1872. The world organ was considerably changed over the three decades from the period when Franck was a student. The idea of the organ as a concert instrument was taking shape, along with a growing interest in the composed repertoire. But in the course of the 18 years in which Franck was professor of organ at the Conservatory there was only one significant change to the examination tests: the performance by memory of a Bach fugue was replaced by rote execution of a «classic piece». Franck may had taken part in the decision of this change, which was made in 1872.

The works of Bach continued to occupy a primary role among the works of the repertoire performed by students in examinations, but – in addition to the fugues – preludes, toccatas, chorale preludes and other forms were included. For the first time works by composers of the nineteenth century (Mendelssohn, Schumann and Lemmens) were performed.

As noted above, even with Franck however the lectures were devoted almost entirely to the study of improvisation. «Of the six teaching hours per week, the Master devoted at least five to improvisation, the most difficult test of the concours. He was not interested in performance: when a student was admitted in its class, it was taken for granted that he possessed an adequate technique for performing all the works of Bach». «Given the few lessons devoted to execution, we blinds, who in our school (Institut National des Jeunes Aveugles) had memorized many pieces, were swimming in abundance.

The others had inevitably a very limited repertoire. During the year, they prepared just the pieces requested for the exam sessions of January, June and for the concours. There was no need to worry about the performance: Franck changed the stops, drawn the unions, maneuvered the swell box pedal. This then explains how, with the exception of Dallier, Marty, Mahaut and Letocart, none of the winners of the premier prix in the class of Franck earned fame as a organ virtuoso» (Louis Vierne: «Mes Souvenirs»). As for improvisation and composition, Vierne considered Franck's teaching «truly miraculous» [6].

Henri Busser, who joined Franck's class 1889, said that when a student was in trouble improvising, Franck took his place at the console, «and then, under his fingers, everything became clear, wonderful, it was a real charm that ignited our enthusiasm».

Franck's organ class became the effective composition center of the Conservatory: Tournemire reports that a large number of listeners «fugitives from the classes of harmony, fugue and composition, frequented in secret the organ class» of Franck. Tournemire also took private lessons Franck's home in Boulevard Saint-Michel. A talented student as Ropartz even gave up the chance of winning the *Prix de Rome* in order to study composition with Franck rather than at the Conservatory. There was no doubt about the fact that Franck's teaching was of a higher order than what the «fugitives» experienced in their respective classes at the Conservatory. For Tournemire, his lessons shone «as the north rose window of Paris Notre-Dame Cathedral» and were «winged, free from the heavy chains of the rules» [5, 159].

Alfred Colling wrote in his book «*Franck ou le concert spirituel*»: «The course held by Franck did not resemble any other. Curiosity drew many young people to a teaching of which its originality had been extolled or criticized. And many of them, once there, they would not leave anymore. The infinite goodness of the educator, his inspired mastery, his open spirituality, his slow voice saying things so simple and so true chained them little by little, mysteriously to each other: they felt like brothers forever ...

When César Franck had formed a nucleus of disciples, people at the Conservatory begun to speak of a «*bande à Franck*». Those who expressed themselves in this way they did it out of malice, mockery, but in they knew very well what it really was ... It was a group of young musicians, bound to a teacher, revered, inflexible in his integrity, who worked with all their soul, and who showed with pride the joy of being who they were. They were detested. But more often envied. It is not unaware that the organ was only a pretext and that the course taught by Franck echoed with startling discoveries. The music really lived there» [1].

Franck died on November 8, 1890 to the aftermath of a road accident occurred the previous summer (the carriage that carried him was hit by an omnibus), from which he seemed to had recovered. Vierne received the news on 11 November: «I felt as if struck by a lightning, crushed, annihilated... I loved this man who had shown so loving kindness towards me, who supported and encouraged me, who had inspired in me a deep love for music, who had given me the greatest hope... and now, suddenly, he is no more than a shadow, a memory. I felt a terrible feeling, as if I had lost my father for the second time» [6, 25-26].

Among Franck's students, we mention:

- **Henri Busser** (1872–1973), formerly a student of Clément Loret at the «*École Niedermeyer*». He became the successor of Widor at the presidency of the «*Union des Maîtres de Chapelle et Organistes*» (UMCO) in 1937, a position he held for 36 years. He was organist at Saint-Cloud in Paris (1892–1932) in succession to Charles Gounod.

- **Henri Dallier** (1849–1934), who was choir organist of the Cathedral of Reims, his hometown, from when he was 16 years old to 1872. In 1878 he won the *premier prix* in organ. In 1879 he participated to the inauguration of the largest organ built by Merklin for Saint-Eustache church in Paris (four manuals and 72 stops) in the role of titular organist, a position he held until 1905, when he succeeded Fauré as organist of the Madeleine in Paris (1905–34, at Saint-Eustache was appointed Albert Périlhou, predecessor of Joseph Bonnet).

- **Dynam-Victor Fumet** (1867–1949), musician endowed with a complex personality. After a rebellious youth, tinted with anarchism, he devoted himself to spiritualism (he was also a medium). He went through a period of deep existential crisis, which took him to try to commit suicide. Survived for a miracle, he found his faith in God and in Jesus Christ. Fumet's career as musician was hampered by his deep mysticism, which led him to a total isolation from society. He was organist at Sainte-Anne-de-la-Maison-Blanche in Paris (1910–49). We report an excerpt of what was written by Bernard Gavoty about Fumet: «He was a really unique organist. A pupil of Franck, he was endowed with a talent for improvisation that made of him a genius. When I was young, I had the opportunity to hear him once playing the organ of the Church of Sainte-Anne-de-la-Maison-Blanche, in which he was organist. It was one of the most exciting experiences of my life...»[2, 14].

- **Louis Ganne** (1862–1923), who won a *premier accessit* in organ in 1882.

- **Vincent d'Indy** (1851–1931), who won a *premier accessit* in organ in 1875. In 1874, he was organist for a short time at Saint-Leu Saint-Gilles of Saint-Leu-de-la-Forêt (Val-d'Oise).

- **Henri Letocart** (1866–1945), formerly a student of Clément Loret at the «*École Niedermeyer*» (1879–85). He won the *deuxième accessit* in organ in 1887. He was organist at Saint-Vincent-de-Paul in Paris (1892–1900). In 1900 he became organist at Saint-Pierre in Neuilly near Paris, and in 1907 *maître de chapelle* of the same church, in which he served until 1945, year of his death.

- **Henri Libert** (1869–1937), who won the *premier prix* in organ in 1894, under the guidance of Widor (successor of Franck as organ professor at Paris Conservatory). In 1896 he was appointed organist at Saint-Denis Basilica, a role he held until 1937.

- **Albert Mahaut** (1867–1943), blind, previously student at the «*Institut National des Jeunes Aveugles*» («National Institute for Young Blind People»). He won the *premier prix* in organ in 1889. He was organist at the Parisian churches of Saint-Pierre-de-Montrouge (1892–97) and Saint-Vincent-de-Paul (1897–1909, in succession to Léon Boëllmann). Virtuoso of the organ, he sacrificed his own career to teach to blind aspiring organists and to help them to find a professional accommodation.

- **Adolphe Marty** (1865–1942), blind, formerly a student of the «*Institut National des Jeunes Aveugles*», where he then taught for 42 years. He won the *premier prix* in organ in 1886. He was organist at Saint-Paul in Orléans and then,

for almost half a century, at Saint-François-Xavier in Paris (1891–1942). At his death, his friend Albert Mahaut wrote: «He will continue to live by means of the many young organists he taught to, who in turn will contribute, either in person or through their students, to grow the prestige of the blind organists». Marty was the author of the instructional book «L'Art de la pédale du Grand Orgue» [3,95-96].

- **Gabriel Pierné** (1863–1937), successor of Franck at Sainte-Clotilde (1890–1898). He won the *premier prix* in organ in 1882.

- **Joseph-Guy Ropartz** (1864–1955) – in 1886 he enrolled in Massenet's composition class, but, after listening to «*Le chant de la Cloche*» by d'Indy, he decided to study with Franck, of which d'Indy was a student. He was then part of Franck's organ class and confided to him his aspirations to become a composer and an organist. As previously mentioned, the class of Franck was assiduously frequented by aspiring composers who felt the Master's teachings on composition far more valuable than those who were taught by effective composition teachers. Ropartz, as a student of Massenet's composition class, could have competed for the *Prix de Rome*, but he chose without hesitation to study under Franck's guidance.

- **Samuel Rousseau** (1853–1904), formerly a pupil of Benoist. Not to be confused with his son, Marcel Samuel-Rousseau (1882–1955), also a musician. He won the *premier prix* in organ in 1877. Rousseau, succeeding Dubois, was appointed *maître de chapelle* at Sainte-Clotilde, in which Franck was organist and where Rousseau himself had been choir organist.

- **Charles Tournemire** (1870–1939), who won the *premier prix* in organ in 1891, with Widor. Great improviser, he was organist at Saint-Nicolas-du-Chardonnet in Paris (1897–98) and successor of Gabriel Pierné at Sainte-Clotilde in Paris (1898–1939).

- **Louis Vierne** (1870–1937), almost blind from birth, he previously studied with Louis Lebel and Adolphe Marty at the «*Institut National des Jeunes Aveugles*». He won the *premier prix* in organ in 1894. In 1892 he became Widor's assistant at Saint-Sulpice, and in 1900 he was appointed organist of Notre-Dame Cathedral, a position he held until his death. He was teaching assistant of Widor (1894–96) and then of Guilmant (1896–1911) at the organ class at the Paris Conservatory and then professor of organ at the «*Schola Cantorum*» (since 1912) and at the «*École César Franck*». Vierne can be considered in all respects teacher, like the official professors, of the students of the organ class at Paris Conservatory in the period 1896–1911. Vierne died on the evening of June 2, 1937 at the

console of the organ of Notre-Dame, under the eyes of his pupil Maurice Duruflé, after finishing the performance of his piece «*Stele pour un enfant défunt*» (from «*Tryptique*», op 58) on occasion of his 1750th recital at the Cathedral.

At Franck's death, it was thought that the organ class could have been entrusted to Guilmant, Gigout or Dallier, but was instead Charles-Marie Widor to be appointed professor. Widor, at the time 46 years old, was known as organist of the Church of Saint-Sulpice for nearly 21 years, composer of eight organ symphonies for (he would compose other two symphonies in the following years) and the ballet «*La Korrigane*».

Despite not having teaching experience, Widor faced the experience without any shyness, fully aware and convinced of how to proceed. The appointment of Widor decreed the radical reform of organ teaching at Paris Conservatory and the birth of a brilliant organ school which persists to this day.

Widor gave his first lecture on 11 December 1890. In his introductory speech to the class, he spoke of his predecessor Franck as «an ingenious improviser», but he stressed how he considered a serious mistake to neglect the study of the technique and interpretation of the repertoire in favor of improvisation.

The technique taught by Widor was that he had learned from Lemmens. The technical mastery was for Widor an achievement to get through intelligence and will: he argued that «man must command the mechanics, the mechanics must not enslave the man»[6, 35]. For Widor, at the base of a good organ technique was a mastery of piano technique: «The time has passed when one could hope to make a tolerable organist from a bad pianist»[6, 40].

A very interesting testimony about Widor's playing style and teaching orientation is given by the preface written by the latter to a study by André Pirro on Bach. We share a few extracts: «He (Bach) played with the body leaning slightly forward, and without moving, with an admirable sense of rhythm, together with an absolutely perfect polyphonic whole, with extraordinary clarity, avoiding too fast tempos... A serious organist will use the means of expression of the instrument just architecturally, i.e. straight lines and plans. For lines, when he will shift almost imperceptibly from piano to forte and in constant progression, without jerks or surges. For plans, when will take advantage of a breath to close the swell box pedal between a forte and a piano.

If you try to reproduce the expressive quality of the human voice, we will not have an organ, but an accordion. The main feature of the organ is the grandeur. Any illogica change in the sound intensity, each variant that can not

be graphically represented in a straight line is a crime, a crime of damaged artistic majesty. We can consider as criminals those who make of the organ an accordion; those who arpeggiate and do not play legato, who have a poor sense of rhythm. With the organ, as well as with the orchestra, the precision must rule, a perfect ensemble of hands and feet it is absolutely necessary, both in the attack and in the release of the notes...

Reprehensible are the organists who do not play the four parts of the polyphony with a rigorous legato, the tenor as well as soprano, the contralto as well as the bass... To perceive clearly the repeated notes in a fast tempo, or even moderate, you have to insert pauses between them equal to the duration of the sound, and we can thus formulate this rule: each repeated note loses half of its value. In reference to long notes and slow tempos, it is appropriate to rely on common sense rather than to follow this rule slavishly.

What is rhythm? It is the constant manifestation of the will of periodic return of the strong beats... Woe to you if your time is not perfectly regular, if your will is not manifested on every breathing point of the phrases, on every «stop»; if you unconsciously allow yourself to be in a «hurry»! ... To be masters of themselves, it is necessary to eliminate any unnecessary movements. A good organist sits firmly in perfect balance on his seat, slightly tilted to the keyboards, never putting his feet on the sides of the pedalboard, but sliding them lightly on the pedals, and with heels close, as if they were nailed together, as well as the knees.

The nature has given us two guides of the utmost importance: with your heels close, the maximum possible distance between the tips is of a fifth, and with your knees close, you can space out your feet to the maximum of one octave. You will not get precision and sureness if not adopting this method, that is keeping the legs close and the feet always in contact... The organ is a wind instrument, which implies the need to breathe. As a literary phrase, the musical phrase has its commas, its points, its paragraphs». According to Widor, «Bach used essentially two tempos, one not very fast, corresponding to the Andante, the other slow, corresponding to the Adagio»[7].

Widor did not hesitate to make a critical analysis, measure by measure, of the performances of each student and this involved for the class a complete overhaul of the study of the repertoire. The initial skepticism with which he was received by the class became soon respect. Vierne, for example, stated: «Widor is the greatest organist I've ever heard» [6, 43].

While Franck's teaching of literature performance was focused exclusively on the requirements of the tests of the *concours*, Widor asked each student to bring a new piece each week to the class. The basis of the study of the repertoire was the music of Bach, whose wealth of chorale preludes was virtually unknown in France before Widor became teaching them at Paris Conservatory. In a second step, Widor added the sonatas by Mendelssohn, some pieces by Boëly and Saint-Saëns and some of his compositions.

Widor also insisted upon the study of musical forms and analysis and introduced his students to the different symphonic forms. «We had been completely ignorant of all that. One day, the Master exclaimed, «What? You have played the sonatas of Beethoven, and you haven't had the curiosity to ask yourself how they are constructed? This is the mentality of a parrot, not that of an artist!» [6, 32].

Widor's attention to the formal aspects was carried over his approach to improvisation, as Vierne emphasized in comparing the two teachers: «Franck applied himself above all to detail: melodic invention, harmonic discoveries, subtle modulations, elegance of design... in a word, to everything that belonged to the domain of pure musical expression. Widor, on the contrary, brought the main part of his effort to bear upon construction, logical development, the formal side» [6, 32].

Since October of 1891, Widor entrusted Vierne with the task of preparing the unregistered students to the admission to the class. In 1894, after winning the *premier prix* in organ, Vierne was officially nominated teaching assistant by the director Ambroise Thomas.

Among Widor's students we mention (the ones marked with an asterisk had been previously Franck's students):

- **Nadia Boulanger** (1887–1979), who at a young age was deputy organist to Fauré at the organ of the Madeleine.

- **Henri Busser** (1872–1973).

- **Edouard Commette** (1883–1967), organist of Lyon Cathedral from 1900 to 1952 and professor at the Conservatory of the same city. In 1927 he was the protagonist of the first recordings of organ music.

- **Marcel Dupré** (1886–1971).

- **Henri Libert** (1869–1937).

- **Henri Mulet** (1878–1967), who held the following positions in Parisian churches: organist at Saint-Pierre-de-Montrouge (1897–1901), organist at Sainte-Marie-des-Batignolles, choir organist of Saint-Eustache and Saint-Roch, organist of Saint-Philippe-du-Roule (1922–37). He was then organist of the

Cathedral of Draguignan (city in the south of France). He taught at the «École Niedermeyer» and at the «Schola Cantorum». Vierne had great respect for him: «Mulet, organist of Saint-Philippe-du-Roule, is a solid virtuoso and an excellent improviser. He has written fine organ works, that all serious organists have included in their repertoire» [4, 36].

- **Charles Quef** (1873–1931), organist at the Parisian churches of Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs (1892–93), Sainte-Marie-des-Batignolles (1895–98), Saint-Laurent (1898), assistant organist (1898–1901, successor of Théodore Salomé) and then organist at the Trinité (1901–31, successor by Alexandre Guilmant. He was replaced in the 1929–31 biennium by Olivier Messiaen, due to illness).

- **Alphonse Schmitt** (1875–1912), *maître de chapelle* at Saint-Philippe-du-Roule in Paris.

- **Charles Tournemire** (1870–1939).

- **Louis Vierne** (1870–1937).

The death of the director Ambroise Thomas in March of 1896 was followed by a new organization of the Conservatory. Théodore Dubois was elected new director and Widor succeeded him as professor of composition. Widor recommended Alexandre Guilmant as his successor: Guilmant too had studied with Lemmens and his appointment would therefore have allowed the continuation of the undertaken teaching line. The condition laid down by Widor was that Vierne (winner of the *premier prix* in 1894), which he had named teaching assistant, maintained that charge. Guilmant had great esteem for Vierne and agreed.

At the time of his appointment as organ professor at the Conservatory, Guilmant was 59 years old and was probably the most famous organist in the world. He had been organist at the Trinité for 25 years, his concerts at the organ of the Trocadéro had aroused the interest of the public for 18 years, he had played for Queen Victoria at Windsor Castle in 1890, and he had made his first tour of the United United States in 1893. Guilmant moved to Paris from Boulogne-sur-Mer (his hometown) in 1871, when he was named organist of the Trinité and he settled in the Rue de Clichy 62 (not far from the Trinité), where he opened a private studio. At the time of his appointment, unlike Widor, Guilmant was already a teacher of great experience, having taught for many years at his studio.

Guilmant was also president of the «*Schola Cantorum*» society and had composed many pieces for organ, including five sonatas (he would compose other three sonatas in the following years), the 18 books of «*Pièces dans différents*

styles» and the 12 books of «*L'Organiste pratique*»; he was also dealing with the collection and publication of early organ music works.

Guilmant was endowed with an extraordinary technique, despite the small hands barely covering the range of a ninth. There were two areas where Guilmant was superior to all the other organists: the knowledge of the repertoire and the art of registration. He knew the organ repertoire of every age like no other French organist of the period did.

Widor had focused his teaching of the organ repertoire on the works of Bach, to which he added some pieces of the most famous composers of the nineteenth century. Guilmant wanted the repertoire of his students to be broader and including a wide variety of styles, both antique and contemporary. The teaching of the repertoire, however, remained focused on Bach, about whom Guilmant wrote, in an article of 1898: «The organ music reached its summit with Bach, and this applies to all the music. One thing is certain: if the music has progressed since the time of Bach, it is thanks to Bach... all originated from his music. Bach is and probably will always remain the greatest of all composers... My admiration for Bach has no limits. I think that Bach is the music... If all the music, except that of Bach, was cancelled, music would still survive».

Guilmant's ability in the choice of the stops was legendary. Vierne called Guilmant «a colorist of the first order»[6]. While Widor taught the students the general principles of registration, Guilmant explained the proper use of each register. He was an advocate of authenticity in registration and argued with conviction that it was not appropriate to perform the music of a given historical period without having at disposal the timbres used at that time. In this regard, he stated: «performing a organ piece with different stops than those for which it was conceived is ridiculous as well as replacing clarinets with oboes or violins with trumpets in an orchestral composition» [5, 197]. Guilmant complained especially about the fact that modern organs did not have the stops requested by the early French music.

In his teachings, Guilmant often referred to Lemmens' «*École d'Orgue*», considering the directions of the Belgian master authoritative also as regards the performance of Bach's works. Guilmant too considered the *legato* as the veritable organ style, the goal towards which the fingering system has to proceed. Like Widor, Guilmant taught to keep knees and ankles very close, to restrict movements to the essential and to control with precision the attack and the release of the notes.

The separations between the repeated notes, the staccato notes, the articulation problems in general had to be assessed accurately. Guilmant also considered appropriate the choice of not too fast tempos, to privilege a clear and intelligible performance. As regards both the touch and the tempo, Guilmant urged to take into account the acoustics of the place of the performance and the size and the resources of the instrument. For example, a performance in a large church would require a less *legato* touch than that it would be used in a drier acoustic.

Among Guilmant's students, we mention:

- **Albert Alain** (1880–1971), father of Jehan, Marie-Claire and Olivier. Organist at the chapel of the convent of the Franciscan Sisters of Saint-Germain-en-Laye in 1903, and at the parish church of the same city from 1924 to 1971. Passionate about the art of organ building, he built an organ which is now kept at the *Maison de la Dîme* in Romainmôtier (Switzerland) and owned by the 'Association Jehan Alain', founded in 1987.

- **Augustin Barié** (1883–1915), blind, formerly student of Adolphe Marty at the «*Institut National des Jeunes Aveugles*». Great improviser, he was organist at Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris (1906–15). Vierne wrote about Barié in «*Mes Souvenirs*»: «in his soul burned an ardent flame» [6]. He died prematurely at the age of 31 years due to a stroke.

- **Joseph-Ermend Bonnal** (1880–1944), who interrupted his studies in piano (in the class of Charles Wilfrid de Bériot) to devote himself to the organ. After completing his studies in 1904 with Guilmant at the Conservatory with the *premier prix*, he studied the organ other ten years under the guidance of Louis Vierne and Charles Tournemire. He was deputy to Widor at the organ of Saint-Sulpice in Paris and of Saint-Saëns and Périlhous at the organ of Saint-Séverin in the same city. He was also organist at Saint-Médard in Paris and at Notre-Dame in Boulogne-sur-Seine. In 1920 he won the competition to become organ professor at Strasbourg Conservatory, but the competition was canceled by the municipality of Strasbourg, which refused to accept the appointment of a practicing Catholic organist. In 1941 he succeeded Tournemire at Sainte-Clotilde in Paris, a position he held until 1944.

- **Joseph Bonnet** (1884–1944), a virtuoso of international renown. In his youth he was organist at Saint-Nicolas in Bordeaux, Saint-Michel in the same city, and he was then organist at Saint-Eustache in Paris (from March 1906 to 1944). Before being part of Guilmant's class, he received organ lessons from Tournemire. In 1911 he was named organist of the «*Société des Concerts*» at Paris Conservatory,

in succession to Guilmant. In 1917 he was sent to the United States («*Mission Tardieu*») to feed the musical prestige of France and his concerts roused a huge success. In 1921 he created the organ department at the Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester, New York. In 1923 he returned to France and in 1937 he succeeded Louis Vierne as organ professor at the «*École César Franck*» in Paris. In 1940 he returned to the United States as ambassador of French music. He settled in New York and he was elected organist of the Worcester Art Museum. Later he founded the organ class at the Conservatory of Montreal, Canada.

- **Nadia Boulanger** (1887–1979).

- **Joseph Boulnois** (1884–1918), organist at Saint-Louis d'Antin in Paris (1909–14). He won the *premier prix* in organ in 1905. He died in 1918 at age 34, killed by the terrible Spanish flu, a few days before the armistice that marked the end of the Great War. At his death, Joseph Boulnois left an only child of 11 years, Michel.

- **Alexandre Cellier** (1883–1968), organist at the reformed church of l'Étoile in Paris from 1910 to 1968, the year of his death, and of the «*Société Bach*» (1918–39).

- **Marcel Dupré** (1886–1971).

- **Jean Huré** (1877–1930), who was organist at Angers Cathedral, Saint-Martin-des-Champs in Paris, Notre-Dame-des-Blancs-Coats (1910–18) in Paris, deputy organist to Périllhou at Saint-Séverin (1911–14, together with Saint-Saëns) in Paris and successor of Gigout at Saint-Augustin (1925–30) in Paris. He left two didactic works: «*La Technique de l'Orgue*'» and «*L'Esthétique de l'Orgue*».

- **Georges Jacob** (1877–1950), who was organist of Saint-Louis d'Antin in Paris and then at Saint-Ferdinand-des-Ternes of the same city.

- **Édouard Mignan** (1884–1969), organist at the Parisian churches of Saint-Thomas-d'Aquin (1917–34) and the Madeleine (1935–62, in succession to Henri Dallier).

- **Henri Nibelle** (1883–1966), previously a student of the «*École Niedermeyer*». He was choir organist at Versailles Cathedral (1907–09), choir organist at Saint-Vincent-de-Paul in Paris (1909–12), organist at Saint-François-de-Sales in Paris from 1912 and *maître de chapelle* at the same church (1931–59). He became almost blind and in 1959 he left his post and moved to Nice.

- **Achille Phillip** (1878–1959), organist at the Parisian churches of Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas, the Abbey of Val-de-Grâce (1903–50) and Saint-François-Xavier (1941–46).

- **Charles Quef** (1873–1931).

- **Alphonse Schmitt** (1875–1912).

- **Déodat de Séverac** (1873–1921), a pupil of Guilmant at the «*Schola Cantorum*». He was also a trainee in Franck's class. Of his music, inspired by his native land (Languedoc), Debussy said that «*sentait bon*» («*it smells good*») [2, 31]. The pianist Blanche Selva, in reference to the «regional» character of Séverac's music, pictured it as «*sister of thyme, rosemary and broom*».

- **Fernand de la Tombelle** (1854–1928), which embarked on a brilliant career as a concert pianist. The commitments due to numerous tours did not allow him to ensure the quorum required to be a titular organist: the positions he held were those of deputy organist to Fauré and then of Dubois at the Madeleine (1885–98) in Paris and of Guilmant at the Trinité in the same city. In 1896 he was among the founders of the «*Schola Cantorum*», at which he taught harmony until 1904, and where he was deputy to Guilmant – who was organ professor – on the occasion of the latter's concert tours in the United States.

- **René Vierne** (1878 – 1918), younger brother of Louis. Organist at the chapel of the convent of the Dominicans in Paris (since 1897), choir organist (since 1903) and organist at Notre-Dame-des-Champs in the same city (1904–14). Drafted into the army during the First World War, he died on the front, in Verdun, without being able, therefore, to fulfill the desire to be reunited with his brother «*sous la lampe de la même piano*» («*under the lamp of the same piano*»), as he called for in a letter to Louis a month before his death.

Marcel Dupré began his organ studies at the age of 12 at Guilmant's private study. In 1905 he was admitted as an auditor in the organ class at the Conservatory. The following year he joined the class and won the *premier prix* in organ in 1907. His words in recalling the studies with Guilmant: «Guilmant was the most severe of teachers. He interrupted me almost every measure to take care of the smallest details and I had to repeat the measure in question until he believed that every detail was in place. But he was always patient and kind. When I omitted a sharp, a flat or a pause, he said: «Put the glasses, Marcel» and, blushing, I corrected my mistake immediately. One can imagine the benefit of such discipline applied to a child. Later, when I entered the organ class at the Conservatory, where Guilmant taught for 17 years, I found him to be as much strict with adult students. Nothing went unnoticed; 'you can not get a perfect clarity – he used to repeat – without absolute precision, which consists in

attributing to each note its exact value. Always remember this principle of great importance: releasing a note exactly in time is as essential as playing it in time. Everything depends on it».

Dupré also noted how the executions of Guilmant were «a fantastic example of his teachings. The perfection of his technique, his brilliant virtuosity that led him never to play too fast, his soft legato, his fantastic clarity in highlighting the internal parts of the most complex polyphonies, his amazing musical phrasing made him famous soon» [5, 198]. Dupré's testimony is confirmed by that of another famous pupil of Guilmant, Joseph Bonnet.

Far from being discouraged by the precision required by Guilmant's teachings, the students responded with enthusiasm and affection to «*Père Guilmant*» («Father Guilmant»). The praise for Guilmant's teaching came not only from his students.

In 1906 Albert Schweitzer stated that «Guilmant is not just one of the most important performers, but also one of the most complete of today's teachers, endowed with an extraordinary pedagogical talent and historical and musicological competence. Thanks to him, the French have known the pre-Bachian music».

For Vierne, Guilmant, «wonderful teacher», formed «the most impressive generation of organists» that France has ever known.

A testimony of William C. Carl, a U.S. pupil of Guilmant and founder in 1899 of the «*Guilmant Organ School*» in New York: «Lemmens' *École* was highly recommended and used. Pedal scales were studied, as in Lemmens' method; Guilmant always spoke with great admiration of his master, Jacques Lemmens, of whom he had been one of the best students in Brussels. During the lessons, Guilmant was inflexible in demanding an absolute rhythmic precision. Not even the small imperfections passed unnoticed.

For the teaching of harmony, he used the «*Traite d'Harmonie*' by Reber and «*Notes et Etudes d'Harmonie*» by Dubois, as well as various exercises by Bazzini, Fennroli, Durand, etc. For the counterpoint, the reference was the «*Traité du Contrepoint*» by Fétis. In the teaching of these subjects, his «*Comprenez-vous?*» («Do you understand?») after each explanation was a demonstration of how he cared about the total understanding on the part of the student. I remember well how this question was addressed to me at least twenty times in the course of a single lesson of harmony».

In 1897 Guilmant bought a villa in Meudon (a small suburb of Paris), which then became the third place of residence of Guilmant, after Boulogne-

sur-Mer (1837–71) and Paris (1871–97). In his villa in Meudon, Guilmant staged a music studio, which in 1899 was equipped with a Cavaillé-Coll/Mutin organ with three manuals and 28 stops. After the organ was installed, Meudon became a center of feverish organ activity, to which students flocked from all Europe and from America.

Archibald Henderson, organist and choir director at the University of Glasgow, attended a lecture in Meudon in 1908 and reported Guilmant's meticulous attention to all the aspects of the performance. Here's his comment: «The criticism of Guilmant was helpful and constructive. Once, an enthusiastic and talented American student bothered him with his exaggerated movements at the console. Guilmant corrected him gently, saying, «Let me play like you do, and see if you like». So he faithfully imitated the student, who was the first to laugh out loud. As Guilmant later remarked, «these exaggerations should be avoided first because they are not necessary and they are annoying, not to say ridiculous, and second, because they involve a great loss of energy».

Guilmant died on March 31, 1911. Vierne, who held the position of teaching assistant for the previous 17 years, wrote: «Guilmant repeatedly and publicly expressed the desire that I would become his successor in the organ class. He thought that there would have been the right continuation of a teaching career began seventeen years ago, and which had contributed brilliantly to the formation of a school of organists unrivaled in France and which earned admiration abroad. But another decision was taken» [6, 62].

Vierne's appointment would have allowed the continuation of the teaching line undertaken first by Widor and then by Guilmant, but it was Eugène Gigout (supported by Fauré and Saint-Saëns) who was elected organ professor after Guilmant's death. Gigout had previously been organ professor at his private school. Compared to its predecessors Guilmant and Widor, Gigout returned to devote most of the lessons to the study of improvisation, but without neglecting the technical preparation and the study of the repertoire. Regarding the technique, also Gigout took as the basis the rules taught by Lemmens. Gigout was however proponent of a pedal technique more based on crossovers between the feet and on a more moderate use of the heel. In addition, Gigout was against the use of too slow performance tempos.

Among Gigout's students, we mention:

- **Maurice Duruflé** (1902–1986), who was also a pupil of Tournemire and Vierne. He won the *premier prix* in organ in 1922. He was choir organist at

Saint-Sever in Rouen (1916-19), organist at Notre-Dame in Louviers, deputy organist to Tournemire at Sainte-Clotilde in Paris (1920–27), deputy organist to Louis Vierne at Notre-Dame Cathedral in Paris (1927–30) and organist at Saint-Étienne-du-Mont in Paris from 1930 to 1975 (the year in which he and his wife, Marie-Madeleine Chevalier, were involved in a serious car accident, after which Duruflé was no longer able to play). He was deputy organist to Marcel Dupré as organ professor at Paris Conservatory from 1942.

- **André Fleury** (1903–1995), who had previously received lessons from Henri Letocart. As a student, he occasionally substituted Eugène Gigout at the organ of Saint-Augustin in Paris and Tournemire at Saint-Clotilde in the same city. He was appointed organist at Saint-Augustin in Paris (1930–48) in succession to Jean Huré, of which he had been deputy (1920–1930). In the period 1945–48 he was also organist at Saint-Bernard-de-la-Chapelle in Paris. In 1948 he moved to Dijon, where he became organist of the Cathedral. He returned to Paris in 1971 and he became co-titular of the organ of Saint-Eustache, upon request of the titular organist Jean Guillou, and organ teacher at the «*Schola Cantorum*». In 1978 he also assumed the position of organist of Saint-Louis Cathedral in Versailles.

- **André Marchal** (1894–1980), blind, formerly student at the «*Istitut National des Jeunes Aveugles*» (where his teacher was Adolphe Marty) and of Augustin Barié. He won the *premier prix* in organ (1913). He was deputy organist to Gigout at Saint-Augustin in Paris, titular organist at Saint-Germain-des-Pres (1915–1945) in Paris, in succession to Augustin Barié, and then at Saint-Eustache in Paris (1945–1963). He was organ and improvisation professor at the «*Institut National des Jeunes Aveugles*» and, from 1960 to 1979, at the American Conservatory of Fontainebleau (upon request of Nadia Boulanger).

- **Armand Vivet** (1869–1956), *maître de chapelle* at Saint-Augustin in Paris for 68 years (1888–1956).

Conclusion. The biographical data of French organists and teachers presented in the article demonstrate that each of the outstanding personalities, though influenced by their teachers' views and convictions and established European practices, made a valuable contribution in the national organ music. The professors of Paris Conservatory and their students whose life and creative works were described in the paper were by all means outstanding organ performers and teachers, well-known in France as well as in other European countries.

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АНОТАЦІЯ

Лука Массалья. Орган у Франції після революції: генеза легендарної органної школи

Орган був однією з жертв Великої французької революції. Музика великих французьких класичних авторів та інструментів, створені Франсуа-Анрі Кліко відіграли значну роль в історії органу Франції, але після революції орган розглядається як анти-буржуазне, нерозривно пов'язане явище з двома великими ворогами звичайних людей: Церкви та аристократії.

Багато органів були знищені або не розміщувалися в церквах, а ті, що були врятовані саме завдяки роботі органістів були розташовані в залах для популярних республіканських свят для задоволення запиту держави на просту, доступну для всіх музику: танці й варіації на тему найвідоміших революційних маршів, уривки в оперному стилі (опера була найпопулярнішим музичним жанром у той час). Орган, раніше релігійний, літургійний, поліфонічний і гармонійний, став мелодійним, світським, оркестровим і описовим.

Кількість органів у Франції в 1789 році було близько 2000. У 1795 році Національне збори ухвалили продаж органів парафіяльних церков і соборів. У 1801 році Наполеон і папа Пій VII підписав Конкордат, у якому

постановив про відновлення правового статусу католицької церкви у Франції: розпочався повільний процес відновлення. У першій половині 19-го століття деякі органісти залишилися вірні класичній традиції та були промоутерами суворого стилю, контрапунктичного, на відміну від музичних смаків того часу. Серед них були Франсуа Бенуа, Фелікс Данжоу і переконаний пропагандист поліфонічних творів Йоганна Себастьяна Баха Олександр – П'єр -Франсуа Бьоль.

Органний клас у Паризькій консерваторії був відновлений у 1819 році, коли Франсуа Бенуа був призначений професором. Бенуа змінив Сезар Огюст Франк, який займав цю посаду протягом 18 років. Після смерті Франка Шарль-Марі Відор був призначений викладачем органу в консерваторії. У 1896 році його змінив Фелікс-Олександр Гільман, який викладав орган протягом наступних 5 років. Ежен Жигу, який був обраний професором органу після смерті автора Гільман, навчав майбутніх органістів до 1925 року.

Таким чином, після переслідування з суто політичних причин після революції, французька органна музика поступово відновила свої позиції у 18 столітті, завдяки ентузіазму й таланту професора Паризької консерваторії та її численних студентів, які поширювали її всією країною.

Ключові слова: *орган, французькі класичні автори, Революція, органна школа, органісти.*

РЕЗЮМЕ

Лука Массалья. Орган во Франции после революции: генезис легендарной органной школы

Орган был одной из жертв Великой французской революции. Музыка великих французских классических авторов и инструментов, созданных Франсуа-Анри Кликко сыграли значительную роль в истории органа Франции, но после революции орган рассматривается как анти-буржуазное, неразрывно связано явление с двумя большими врагами обычных людей: Церкви и аристократии.

Многие органы были уничтожены либо не размещались в церквях, а те, что были спасены именно благодаря работе органистов были расположены в залах популярных республиканских праздников для удовлетворения запросов государства на простую, доступную для всех музыку: танцы и вариации на тему известных революционных маршей,

отрывки в оперном стиле (опера была самым популярным музыкальным жанром в то время). Орган, ранее религиозный, литургический, полифонический и гармоничный, стал мелодичным, светским, оркестровым и описательным.

Количество органов во Франции в 1789 году было около 2000. В 1795 году Национальное собрание приняло постановление о продаже органов приходских церквей и соборов. В 1801 году Наполеон и папа Пий VII подписали Конкордат, в котором постановил о восстановлении правового статуса католической церкви во Франции: начался медленный процесс восстановления. В первой половине 19-го века некоторые органисты остались верны классической традиции и были промоутерами строгого стиля, контрапунктического, в отличие от музыкальных вкусов того времени. Среди них были Франсуа Бенуа, Феликс Данжоу и убежденный пропагандист полифонических произведений Иоганна Себастьяна Баха Александр-Пьер-Франсуа Бель.

Органний класс Парижской консерватории был восстановлен в 1819 году, когда Франсуа Бенуа был назначен профессором. Бенуа заменил Сезар Огюст Франк, который занимал эту должность в течение 18 лет. После смерти Франко Шарль Мари Видор был назначен преподавателем органа в консерватории. В 1896 году его сменил Феликс-Александр Гильман, который преподавал орган в течение следующих 5 лет. Эжен Жигу, который был избран профессором органа после смерти автора Гильман, учил будущих органистов до 1925 года.

Таким образом, после преследования по чисто политическим причинам после революции французская органная музыка постепенно восстановила свои позиции в 18 веке, благодаря энтузиазму и таланту профессоров Парижской консерватории и ее многочисленных студентов, которые распространяли ее по всей стране.

Ключевые слова: *орган, французские классические авторы, Революция, органная школа, органисты.*