

# Solon Michaelides, Scholiste?

**Kenneth Owen Smith**

University of Nicosia

smith.k@unic.ac.cy

## Introduction

Biographies of Cypriot composer Solon Michaelides (1905–1975) routinely note that he studied composition in Paris from 1930–1934, earning his composition diploma from the Schola Cantorum under the tutelage of Guy de Lioncourt (1885–1961) while also taking additional lessons from Nadia Boulanger at the Ecole Normale.<sup>1</sup> Following his studies in Paris, Michaelides returned to Cyprus where he embarked on his long and prolific career as a teacher, conductor, scholar, and composer. Given the rich cultural environment of Paris in the 1920s and 30s, along with the particular reputation of the Schola Cantorum as the focal organization of French nationalist musical conservatism, it is rather astonishing that Michaelides’s biographers have not attempted to connect his student experiences to his later work.

To some extent one might attribute this to the essentially laudatory nature of Michaelides’s early biographies, most of which appeared during his lifetime and were written in Greek for a general readership. But even recent scholarly treatments have largely neglected the question of whether Michaelides’s professional activities might be connected to his formative years at the Schola.<sup>2</sup> It is therefore important that current efforts to establish Michaelides research on a more solid scholarly footing not only eschew what has hitherto been a locally oriented celebratory discourse, but also link the composer more clearly with the musical developments beyond his relatively isolated career in Cyprus and Greece. This article aims to contribute to that undertaking by examining the circumstances that Michaelides encountered at the Schola Cantorum as potentially foundational for his musical and intellectual development.

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1 The following early sources are cited in George Leotsakos, “Solon Michaelides,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), 16:592; A. S. Theodoropoulou, “Σύγχρονοι Έλληνες Μουσικοί: 6 Σόλων Μιχαηλίδης” [Contemporary Greek Musicians: 6 Solon Michaelides], *Αγγλοελληνική Επιθεώρηση* [Anglo-Hellenic Review] 3, no. 6 (1947): 179–80; Fivos Anoyanakis, “Η Μουσική στη Νεότερη Ελλάδα” [Music in Modern Greece], appendix in Karl Nef, *Ιστορία της Μουσικής* [Einführung in die Musikgeschichte; Introduction to the History of Music], trans. from German by Fivos Anoyanakis (Athens: Appolon 1960), 598–9; Galatia Balta, *Σόλων Μιχαηλίδης* [Solon Michaelides] (Thessaloniki: 1980); S. D. Houliaris, “Οι Καντάτες του Σόλων Μιχαηλίδη (1905–1979)” [The Cantatas of Solon Michaelides (1905–1979)] (PhD diss., University of Thessaloniki, 1994). More readily available sources for Michaelides’s life and works are: Elena Lamari Papadopoulou, *Σόλων Μιχαηλίδης: Η Ζωή και το Έργο του* [Solon Michaelides: His Life and Work] (Nicosia: Cyprus Ministry of Education and Culture, 1994); Vasilis Kallis, “Compositional Histories,” in *Music in Cyprus*, ed. Jim Samson and Nicoletta Demetriou (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 130–1; Vasilis Kallis, “Solon Michaelides,” in *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001–), accessed 20 February 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

2 Vasilis Kallis, for example, who notes that certain of Michaelides’s works bear the imprint of Debussy’s influence, does not address the fact that Michaelides’s *scholiste* instructors generally disapproved of Debussy; see Vasilis Kallis “Compositional Histories,” 130–1 and Vasilis Kallis “Solon Michaelides,” *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001–), accessed 20 February 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

More specifically, it hopes to begin probing the extent to which Michaelides's decision to study at the Schola reflected an alignment between his aesthetic and political views and those of Vincent d'Indy (1851–1931) and his *scholiste* followers.

By the time Michaelides entered the Schola, the school had acquired a long-standing reputation as a politically and aesthetically controversial institution over which d'Indy exercised a high degree of personal control. Although widely recognized as one of France's leading institutions for musical training, detractors criticized the Schola for enforcing servility to d'Indy's doctrinaire methods rather than helping young musicians to develop their own unique talents.<sup>3</sup> Michaelides's choice to study in such a politically and aesthetically charged atmosphere under such a divisive figure as d'Indy requires explanation.<sup>4</sup>

When the twenty-five-year-old Michaelides went to Paris in 1930, he was leaving behind an isolated, largely agrarian colonial territory whose population numbered fewer than 350,000 people. Under the British, who had taken possession of Cyprus from the Ottomans in 1878, major towns like Michaelides's native Nicosia had experienced a steady rise in the availability of European art music, which correlated with the gradual urbanization of the predominantly rural workforce. But the extent of Cyprus's urban musical development should not be exaggerated. The most that research has uncovered is that Cypriot townsfolk were occasionally presented with the odd performance of European art music – usually of dubious quality – or might have had access to music lessons from one of a handful of foreign or foreign-trained Cypriot musicians.<sup>5</sup> The lifestyle of the overwhelming majority of Cypriots in 1930 was pre-industrial and agrarian, in which European art music would have played no part.<sup>6</sup>

Nonetheless, it was during Michaelides's youth that many Greek Cypriots began actively engaging with Modernity by cultivating their sense of Greek national identity.<sup>7</sup> For Greek-Cypriot musicians with middle-class aspirations, this inevitably involved engaging with nationalistic musical practices from the Greek mainland, which found their clearest expression under the rubric of the Greek National School.<sup>8</sup> With an aesthetic and political agenda formulated by the movement's leader, Manolis Kalomiris (1883–1962), Greek musical

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3 Émile Vuillermoz derided d'Indy as an unfeeling formalist and Béla Bartók found him pedantic and condescending; see Andrew Thomas, *Vincent d'Indy and His World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 135, 167–8. Similarly, Edgard Varèse, who left the Schola in 1905 after only one year of d'Indy's tutelage, characterized the Master as a "terribly pedantic musician ... capable of such stupidities," see Gunther Schuller, "Conversation with Varèse," *Perspectives of New Music* 3 (1965): 32.

4 Jann Pasler has argued compellingly that d'Indy's reputation, as it developed during his lifetime and posthumously, resulted from his intentional pursuit of an "oppositional discourse" strategy, whereby he attempted to differentiate himself—often by intentional exaggeration—from political and aesthetic rivals, see Jann Pasler, "Deconstructing d'Indy, or the Problem of a Composer's Reputation," *19th-Century Music* 30 (2007): 230–56. The relevant point for Michaelides studies is not whether d'Indy's reputation accurately reflected his actions, but why the Cypriot composer would have been drawn to study with a composer so obviously associated with such strong oppositional discourses.

5 Anastasia Hasikou, "The Emergence of European Music," in *Music in Cyprus*, ed. Jim Samson and Nicoletta Demetriou (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 106–15.

6 For the urbanization of Cyprus under the British, see Michael Attalides, *Social Change and Urbanization in Cyprus: a Study of Nicosia* (Nicosia: Social Research Centre, 1981), especially p. 52 for the distribution of the population between rural and urban areas.

7 Rebecca Bryant, *Imagining the Modern: the Cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus* (New York/London: I. B. Tauris, 2004), 2, 76–8; Kenneth Owen Smith, "The Organizational Field of Art Music," in *Music in Cyprus*, ed. Jim Samson and Nicoletta Demetriou (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 151–5.

8 For the most recent English-language overview, see Yannis Belonis, "The Greek National School" in *Serbian & Greek Art Music: A Patch to Western Music History*, ed. Katy Romanou (Bristol and Chicago: Intellect, 2009), 125–61.

nationalists adapted common elements of nationalist discourse to the Greek setting, locating the source of Greek musical identity in the regionally differentiated repertoires of Greek folk music. Michaelides remained aligned with this movement throughout his life, allowing his strong sense of Greek identity to guide his musical composition and aesthetic beliefs.<sup>9</sup>

The Schola would have provided the ideal environment for a young composer from the European periphery to immerse himself in a centre of musical nationalism that regarded itself as self-consciously defending tradition against a growing cosmopolitan avant-garde.<sup>10</sup> During the 1920s, as the most noteworthy musicians of the *belle époque* were passing away – Debussy had died in 1918, followed by Saint-Saëns in 1921, Fauré in 1924, and Satie in 1925 – only d'Indy, the most explicitly nationalistic member of his generation, remained. As Jane Fulcher has demonstrated, despite the emphasis that history normally gives to the musical innovators active during the interwar years, the dominant force in the Parisian music scene was an ascendant and somewhat reactionary French nationalism.<sup>11</sup> Rising to prominence with the government's wartime efforts to engender a sense of French unified identity, nationalism in the French arts was defined by the core values of classicism and Latinity, supported by an idealization of the order and rationality purported expressed by hierarchical institutions of the monarchy and the Catholic Church. For d'Indy, the musical foundations of this ideal were to be traced directly to him through a historical progression from Gregorian chant and the music of Palestrina, to Monteverdi, Bach, Beethoven, Wagner, and eventually to his teacher, César Franck.<sup>12</sup> In d'Indy's hands, the expression of French nationalism in new music consisted largely of adapting regional folk melodies to Wagnerian harmony (as transmitted by Franck), especially in the context of large-scale orchestral, choral, and dramatic genres.

Since d'Indy entrusted composition instruction to no one other than himself, we must assume that when Michaelides enrolled in the Schola in 1930 his intention was to study with the Master. Lioncourt only assumed direction of the composition programme upon d'Indy's death the following year. Known today mainly for having been among d'Indy's most steadfast apologists, Lioncourt seems to have recognized in his own lifetime that posterity would retain for him few accolades. In his autobiographical *Témoignage*, published in his seventy-first year, Lioncourt expresses regret that his numerous pedagogical and administrative obligations cost him the chance to attain renown as a composer. He assuages his disappointment by listing his many works of "some importance [that] have been heard very little." He also adds what seems to be a complete list of all of his former composition students, including Michaelides, noting that they had come from all parts of the world.<sup>13</sup> These examples point to what appears to be Lioncourt's

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9 Kallis, "Compositional Histories," 130–1 and Smith, "The Organizational Field," 154–5.

10 For concise overviews of musical life in interwar Paris, see Jann Pasler, "Paris, VII. After 1870," *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001–), accessed 20 February 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>; Mark DeVoto, "Paris, 1918–1945" in *Modern Times: From World War I to the Present*, ed. Robert Morgan (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1993), 33–59. For a detailed account of the interaction between political and intellectual currents that shaped interwar musical life in interwar Paris, see Jane Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual: Music and Ideology in France 1914–1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). For the social history of Parisian music of the period, see Myriam Chimènes, *Mécènes et musiciens du salon au concert à Paris sous la IIIe République* (Paris: Fayard, 2004).

11 Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual*, 12–13

12 Katherine Ellis, "En route to Wagner: Explaining d'Indy's Early Music Pantheon," in *Vincent d'Indy et son temps*, ed. Manuela Schwartz (Brussels: Mardaga, 2006), 111–21.

13 Guy de Lioncourt, *Un témoignage sur la musique et sur la vie au XXe siècle* ([Paris]: L'arch de noé, 1956), 11–12. The full quotation is: "Enfin je dois dire que toutes mes compositions de quelque importance ont été fort peu entendues [...]" The list of his compositions appears in a footnote, as does the list of his students.

feeling that history and circumstance deprived him from taking his rightful place as the successor to d'Indy. Such is the general tone of Lioncourt's *Témoignage*.

In contrast to Lioncourt, Nadia Boulanger would appear to endow Michaelides's musical pedigree with considerable prestige. Most written accounts mention that Michaelides studied with Boulanger at the Ecole Normale de Musique, whose faculty also included Paul Dukas and Pablo Casals. Founded by Alfred Cortot and Auguste Mangeot in 1919, pedagogy at the Ecole Normale resembled that of the Schola in that it aimed to provide a well-rounded and liberal musical education.<sup>14</sup> To judge by the diversity of Michaelides's mature activities, the breadth of subject matter provided by the Ecole Normale would certainly have appealed to him. As for Boulanger herself, despite being generally aligned with d'Indy and Schola politically – that is, rightist, royalist, and anti-Semitic – her teaching offered a broader musical aesthetic than d'Indy's, as she was prepared to engage with the music of Stravinsky and even Schoenberg.<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately, we know nothing about the nature and extent of Michaelides's studies with Boulanger, other than that he received no degree from the Ecole Normale. Thus, the real importance of Boulanger in Michaelides's musical training remains unclear. Unless evidence to the contrary comes to light, one must regard the Schola Cantorum as the principal location of Michaelides's musical development.

We may approach the question of how far Michaelides adhered to the ideological and aesthetic principles promoted by d'Indy at the Schola from four directions. First, we may consider the information about d'Indy and the Schola that Michaelides could have accessed prior to his enrolment. Presumably, such information would have provided the basis for his decision to study there. Second, we can examine the content of the Schola's Cours de Composition, paying particular attention to how its tenets were transmitted by Lioncourt's in his pedagogical and aesthetic writings. Third, we can try to gain a sense of the general atmosphere of the Schola during Michaelides's years there. And finally, we can consider the extent to which Michaelides's later activities and pronouncements demonstrate continuities with the aesthetic and political ideas he had been taught at the Schola.

As I hope to show, examining these four strands of evidence supports a hypothesis that Michaelides was indeed a convinced *scholiste*, at least to the extent that his pedagogical, scholarly, and compositional preoccupations generally conform to the Schola's overarching political and aesthetic positions. More importantly, if this hypothesis proves correct, it implies that Michaelides's singularly important role in defining musical modernity for a generation of Cypriots amounted to implementing a *scholiste* agenda in Cyprus during the very period that it was being abandoned in France, including at the Schola itself.

### **The Schola Cantorum of Vincent d'Indy, 1894–1931**

The politicized context of French artist life during the interwar period originated in the previous century against the backdrop of the Dreyfus Affair. Indeed, it was in 1894, the year of Alfred Dreyfus's conviction, that d'Indy and like-minded colleagues had founded the Schola Cantorum. Originally envisioned as the Fine Arts Department of the Institut Catholique, a university for future priests, the Schola was naturally aligned with the French right by virtue of its affiliation with the Church. As for d'Indy himself, his anti-Semitic, royalist, French-Catholic nationalism –

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14 Philippe Lescat, *L'Enseignement musical en France de 529 à 1972* (Paris: Fuzeau, 2001), 187.

15 Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual*, 116–7.

including participation in extreme right-wing organizations – are well documented.<sup>16</sup> Michaelides's decision to study with d'Indy forces the question of whether the young Cypriot's political and aesthetic sentiments aligned with those of the old Master.

If today we find many d'Indy's political positions repugnant, that alone does not justify characterizing him and the *scholistes* as musical reactionaries. As Jann Pasler has argued, d'Indy conceived of himself as a dedicated progressive, at least within his own understanding of what progress entailed. For d'Indy, personal edification through improvement upon preceding generations' artistic achievements constituted the definitive purpose and sole measure of value in true art. But rather than a linear development, true artistic progress resembled a spiral that constantly turned back towards its traditions, even as it moved farther away from them.<sup>17</sup>

In d'Indy's case, those traditions were explicitly rooted in his religious, regional, and class affiliations, which informed his self-image as a "creator-artist." The unsavoriness of d'Indy's agenda results from how he seemed to have linked his aesthetics to his anti-Semitic and racist views. After World War II, d'Indy's apologists – of whom Lioncourt was perhaps the most devoted – endeavoured to distance d'Indy's racist pronouncements and associations with extreme right organizations from the outrages of the Fascist states. For instance, writing in 1951 Lioncourt asserts that

Enfin, est-il besoin de préciser que l' "antisématisme" de d'Indy n'a rien de commun avec la doctrine raciste qui a pu engendrer les excès que l'on sait! C'était une attitude toute de defense: très attaché à nos traditions nationales, il estimait que l'influence trop grande, chex nous, de ceux qui ne les partageaient pas avait été pour notre art, à un moment donné, une cause de faiblesse, et pouvait éventuellement rester un danger. Rien de plus.<sup>18</sup>

(It is necessary to clarify that d'Indy's "anti-Semitism" had nothing in common with the racist doctrine that engendered the excesses that one knows! [D'Indy's] was a totally defensive attitude: as he was very attached to our national traditions, he believed that the very large influence of those in our country who did not share in them had become, at a some point, a cause of weakness for our art that could eventually be a lasting danger. Nothing more.)

It is important to note that Lioncourt's rationalization of d'Indy's racism appears in the context defending the enduring value of his master's work in light of the growing influence of innovations to which he had been vehemently opposed. In that context, it appears that Lioncourt understood that d'Indy's aesthetics could not be easily dissociated from his by then indefensible political views.

While musicologists sometimes argue for distinguishing d'Indy's politics from his pedagogical goals, he himself seems not to have been very concerned to do so.<sup>19</sup> Shortly before the Schola's foundation, d'Indy had participated in a committee charged with reforming the

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16 Manuela Schwartz, "Nature et évolution de la pensée antisémite chez d'Indy," in *Vincent d'Indy et son temps*, ed. Manuela Schwartz (Brussels: Mardaga, 2006), 37–63; Jane Fulcher, *French Cultural Politics and Music: From the Dreyfus Affair to the First World War* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 29–35, 206–7.

17 Jann Pasler, "Paris: Conflicting Notions of Progress," in *The Late Romantic Era: From the Mid-19th Century to World War I*, ed. Jim Samson (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1991), 402.

18 Guy de Lioncourt, "Achèvement du *Cours de composition* de V. d'Indy," *La revue internationale de musique* 10 (1951), 344.

19 Most notably, Andrew Thomson downplays the link between d'Indy's religious-political views and his racism, attributing the latter to an understandable, if regrettable, expression of society's prevailing values rather than the composer's own determined beliefs; see Thomson, *Vincent d'Indy and His World*, viii, 93–4, 120–2, 137–9, 220.

curriculum of the Paris Conservatoire. In his work with the committee, he had lobbied unsuccessfully to reorient the Conservatoire away from its single-minded preoccupation with competitions and prizes to focus instead on providing a holistic artistic and spiritual education. D'Indy's failure to win his Conservatoire colleagues over to his point of view left him exasperated with what he perceived as their bourgeois commercialism. Thus, when he joined with Charles Bordes and Alexandre Guilmant to found the Schola Cantorum, his goal was to challenge the Conservatoire openly by insisting on a complete aesthetic and ethical education that would produce well-rounded artists rather than mere performers.<sup>20</sup> In so doing, he was self-consciously positioning himself and his school as challenging the aesthetic authority of Republican democracy, as embodied by the Conservatoire, to represent the true spirit of French musical art.<sup>21</sup>

Following its move in 1901 to its current location on the Rue Saint-Jacques, neighbouring the seventeenth-century church Val-de-Grâce, the Schola Cantorum steadily conformed to the indomitable will of d'Indy, invariably known by his subordinates as *le Maître*, until it had become completely dedicated to promoting his totalizing aesthetic educational programme. Offering tuition on a wide array of instruments, the curriculum also required harmony, solfège, and music history. The Schola's highest degree (*diplôme*), which Michaelides earned in 1934, was the Cours de Composition. Graduation from the composition programme required demonstration of solid compositional technique and a thorough knowledge of historical repertoire. Of equal significance was the profound indoctrination d'Indy's students received in his moral-aesthetic system.

Given d'Indy's strongly rightist political leanings, his overbearing personal style, and his devotion to the music of Franck and Wagner, the Schola Cantorum is today often characterized as having been an encrusted institution of musical authoritarianism and conservatism. Even in d'Indy's own lifetime, opposition to the cliquish control that he and his *scholiste* protégés exerted over Société Nationale de Musique led Ravel and a number of other prominent musicians to found Société de Musique Indépendante in 1910.<sup>22</sup> Within the Schola itself, if any were unhappy with d'Indy's style there was little to be done as long as the Master lived. Following his death, however, resentment finally boiled over in 1935 when the board of directors expelled d'Indy's most devoted disciples, including Lioncourt, to make way for a modernized curriculum under more progressive leadership. The Schola's new aesthetic direction is best illustrated by the elevation of Olivier Messiaen as composition professor the following year.

Martin Cooper's assessment from 1951, just twenty years after d'Indy's death, provides a sense how quickly the composer and his Schola acquired an unfavourable reputation:

The solidity and excellence of [the Schola's] course of training were undeniable but, combined with the strongly dogmatic attitude of d'Indy himself and the weaknesses of his own theory of composition, it tended to form priggish and capable, rather than original musicians, strongly biased against any experimenting with what were

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20 Reform of the Conservatoire's curriculum would eventually be realized under Gabriel Fauré, appointed director in 1905. While generally spared the negative political positions associated with d'Indy's reputation as a pedagogue, Fauré's curricular reforms in many ways reflect similar concern for the student's overall artistic formation in which the Conservatoire's traditional obsession with competition and prizes was thereby downgraded; see Pasler, "Deconstructing d'Indy," 248–52 and Gail Hilson Woldu, "Le Conservatoire et La Schola Cantorum: une rivalité résolue?," in *Le Conservatoire de Paris, 1795–1995 Des Menus-Plaisirs à la Cité de la Musique*, ed. Anne Bongrain, Alain Poirier, and Marie-Hélène Coudroy-Saghai (Paris: Buchet/Chastel, 1996), 1:254–8.

21 As Jann Pasler demonstrates, while d'Indy and his supporters made opposition to the Republican Conservatoire a hallmark of the Schola's public reputation, the two institutions shared a large number of common pedagogical practices that have been generally overlooked by posterity; see "Deconstructing d'Indy," 245–54.

22 Michel Duchesneau, *L'Avant-garde musicale à Paris de 1871 à 1939* (Brussels: Mardaga, 1997), 35–51.

regarded as the inviolable fundamentals of the art. Like all schools, it catered for the average talent and it did much to raise the general standard of musical knowledge and taste throughout France [...] But no school can cater for the rare genius; and the comparatively negative and tolerant atmosphere of the Conservatoire was a more favourable atmosphere for the development of great originality, which was more likely to be tolerated by Massenet or gently encouraged by Fauré [at the Conservatoire] than by the violent and opinionated d’Indy.<sup>23</sup>

Nevertheless, d’Indy’s belief that true artistic progress depended on continuity with tradition retained its currency, even among his critics. We can return to Martin Cooper, who, in the same pages quoted above, admits that the Schola’s principal failing was its ‘over-emphasis on that fundamental rule of all *sane* artistic progress – that it is only from the art of the past that the art of the future can grow’ [emphasis added].<sup>24</sup> Despite the apparent incongruity of Cooper’s criticism that d’Indy over-emphasized sanity, his comment reveals the conceptual difficulty of simultaneously supporting progress and revering the past in the face of an increasingly irreverent avant-garde.

### The Context of Michaelides’s Decision to Enrol at the Schola Cantorum

Little is known about Michaelides’s reasons for choosing to study at the Schola Cantorum.<sup>25</sup> Notwithstanding its negative characterization by later commentators, during the 1910s and 20s the Schola was widely recognized as one of the most important and innovative institutions of music pedagogy in Paris.<sup>26</sup> In 1927, at the height of its prestige, the Schola published a book-length history of the school, edited by d’Indy himself.<sup>27</sup> Containing articles by the Schola’s faculty, the book portrays an organization self-conscious of its own prestige and proudly unapologetic for its controversial aesthetic positions.

Lioncourt’s contribution to the volume, a historical essay entitled “La Schola depuis 1900,” defines the school’s ambitious mission as providing:

un intense foyer de propagande musicale par l’enseignement et par l’action, un centre dont le rayonnement s’étend dans l’univers entier.<sup>28</sup>

(a magnificent home for the propagation of music through teaching and action, a centre whose radiance extends throughout the entire universe.)

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23 Martin Cooper, *French Music: from the Death of Berlioz to the death of Fauré* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1951), 126–7. Massenet and Fauré served consecutive tenures as Director of the Conservatoire.

24 Cooper, *French Music*, 127.

25 It would be revealing to know whether Solon Michaelides ever received first-hand testimony about the Schola from Yiangos Michaelides (1905–1971, no relation) a fellow Cypriot who graduated from d’Indy’s Cours de composition in 1929. Unfortunately, there is little evidence of any interaction between the two men. Thus, while it would seemingly defy credulity that there is no link between their respective decisions to study under d’Indy, any such connection must, in the absence of evidence, remain a matter of speculation. For the career of Yiangos Michaelides, see Kallis, “Compositional Histories,” 131 and Smith, “The Organizational Field,” 155.

26 Writing in 1925, René Dumesnil describes the foundation of the Schola as “l’événement le plus important dans l’histoire de l’enseignement musical en France au cours des cinquante dernières années” (the most important event in the history of music teaching in France over the last fifty years), “L’enseignement,” in *Cinquant ans de musique française, de 1874 à 1925*, ed. L. Rohozinski (Paris: Editions Musicales de la Librairie de France, 1925), 212.

27 Vincent d’Indy, ed., *La Schola Cantorum, son histoire depuis sa fondation jusqu’en 1925* (Paris: Bloud and Gay, 1927).

28 Guy de Lioncourt, “La Schola depuis 1900,” *La Schola Cantorum*, ed. Vincent d’Indy, 88.

He explicitly anchors this grand mission to d'Indy's aesthetic and pedagogical values, which, as we have seen, were intended to cast a strong opposition to the competitive commercialisation of music education at the Conservatoire:

[...] l'esprit directeur de la maison, dans le principe maintenant, a toujours été l'amour désintéressé de la Musique ... Cet esprit est partagé par tous les vrais scholistes, et chacun fait de son mieux, suivant ses moyens, sans chercher à remporter un succès au détriment du voisin. Mentalité bien rare, et heureusement bien vivante à la Schola.<sup>29</sup>

([...] the guiding spirit of the school, now a matter of principle, has always been the disinterested love of music [...] This spirit is shared by all true *scholistes*, and everyone does their best, according to their abilities, without seeking to attain success at their neighbour's expense. A very rare mentality, it is fortunately alive and well at the Schola.)

In subsequent chapters, Lioncourt's faculty colleagues elaborate on specific aspects of the curriculum. For instance, Eugène Borrel, who would later supervise the higher diploma in musicology, credits the Schola for transforming the previous century's mere curiosity about early music into a modern scientific discipline worthy of the highest level of study.<sup>30</sup>

For the aesthetic values promoted at the Schola, especially through the Composition program that Michaelides would eventually complete, the most important article is Michel d'Argœuves's "La Schola et la composition musicale." Before declaring what the Schola's composition program stands *for*, d'Argœuves takes pains to clarify what it stands *against*: the uninspired music of the avant-garde, which suffers from its detachment from tradition and proper aesthetic education:

Si les manifestations contemporaines de l'art musical sont généralement uniformes et amorphes, ce n'est pas tant à l'absence de tempérament des compositeurs qu'il faut l'attribuer, qu'à l'état d'esprit dont ils sont victimes.<sup>31</sup>

(If contemporary manifestations of musical art are generally uniform and amorphous, it is not so much due to the absence of personality in the composers as to the state of mind of which they are the victims.)

D'Argœuves emphasizes that the Schola provides an artistic and intellectual community of shared ideals that supports the *scholistes'* resistance to ephemeral styles of the day. In particular, he highlights the Schola's role as 'a safeguard against anarchy, disorder, bad taste, exaggeration, and eccentricity'.<sup>32</sup> As the following passage shows, d'Argœuves conceived of the Schola's struggle against the avant-garde movement in both apocalyptic and racist terms:

A l'époque où notre capitale se transforme en tour de Babel, au moment où les décaqués de la musique sont vidés au point de chercher un excitant dans le rythme des danses nègres, nous avons le devoir de ne pas laisser perdre un aussi précieux patrimoine. Notre nature, notre atavisme, notre culture, notre langue même nous y poussent.<sup>33</sup>

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29 Lioncourt, "La Schola depuis 1900," 109.

30 Eugène Borrel, "La Schola et la restauration de la musique ancienne," in *La Schola Cantorum*, ed. Vincent d'Indy, 133.

31 Michel d'Argœuves, "La Schola et la composition musicale," in *La Schola Cantorum*, ed. Vincent d'Indy, 113–14.

32 Ibid., 123–4.

33 Ibid., 126.



(At a time when our capital is transforming itself into a Tower of Babel, at the moment when the musically destitute are deprived to the point of searching for excitement in the rhythm of Negro dances, we have the duty not to allow such a precious patrimony to be lost. Our nature, our atavism, our culture, even our language, pushes us onwards.)

Having outlined the aesthetic stakes of the Schola's mission, d'Argœuves situates d'Indy's holistic artistic education in opposition to what he characterizes as the prevailing popularization and commercialization of music that results in mere technical training. Again, one may sense the implicit differentiation of the Schola's elevated pedagogical goals from those of the Conservatoire:

Tous ont suivi cet admirable cycle des cours de composition, où sont étudiées toutes les manifestations de l'Art musicale, depuis les plus anciennes jusqu'aux plus récentes [...] Les phases successives de l'évolution musicale y sont présentées dans l'ordre logique, non dans un but d'érudition, mais vers les fins mêmes que se proposait M. d'Indy [...] Il en résulte non seulement une connaissance complète de la musique, mais une formation s'étendant à tous les domaines de la pensée, une formation du goût et du jugement, et aussi une incontestable élévation des sentiments et des idées [...] A notre époque où l'argent joue un si grand rôle, où les œuvres d'art sont l'objet de la spéculation, la musique est souvent devenue prétexte à affaires, la réclame et la publicité jouent un rôle primordial; beaucoup de musiciens se sont volontiers abaissés au niveau des milieux où ils pressentaient une bonne clientèle et se sont soumis à leurs exigences. Tant n'est pas l'esprit de la Schola. En ce n'est pas un des moindres bienfaits de l'action d'Indyste que d'avoir entretenu chez tous le besoin d'idéal, sans lequel une œuvre d'art ne peut exister. Son enseignement ne s'arrête pas à la technique pure, il monte au delà. Ce n'est pas une instruction matérielle qu'il nous donne, mais bien une éducation intellectuelle.<sup>34</sup>

(All have followed this admirable cycle of the Cours de composition, in which all the manifestations of musical art are studied, from the oldest to the most recent [...] The successive phases of musical evolution are presented in logical order, not for the sake of erudition, but to fulfil the very ends proposed by M. d'Indy [...] The result is not only a complete knowledge of music but an education extending to all fields of thought, an education of taste and judgment, and also an incontestable elevation of feelings and ideas [...] In our time when money is so important, where works of art are investments, music is often used as a pretext for conducting business, market demand and advertising play a vital role. Many musicians have voluntarily lowered themselves to the level of environments where they sense a good clientele and have submitted themselves to their requirements. Such is not the spirit of the Schola. It is not one of the least blessings of d'Indy's action [*l'action d'Indyste*] to have maintained in everyone the need for an ideal, without which a work of art cannot exist. His teaching does not end with pure technique; it goes beyond that. It is not an instrumental training that he gives us, but an intellectual education.)

The Schola's true strength, according to d'Argœuves, lay in its adherence to a tradition traceable from Beethoven, through Wagner and Franck, to the music of d'Indy.<sup>35</sup> Indeed, he informs us, it is the incomparable genius of d'Indy, whom he describes "not as a Master, but ...

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 120–1.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 118–19.

the Master," that attracts students to the Schola.<sup>36</sup> While we do not know if Michaelides ever read this published history of the Schola, it seems fairly certain that whatever awareness of the Schola's reputation Michaelides may have had, it must have been based largely on the institution's own promotional materials. Thus, to the extent that he was familiar with the Schola's aesthetic and pedagogical goals, as exemplified in sources like the *Histoire*, we may also infer that he was attracted to its self-avowed moral-aesthetic agenda, as expressed in the preceding exemplary quotations. More to the point, Michaelides's decision to study at the Schola can only indicate his desire to follow the tutelage of Vincent d'Indy, with full complicity with the Master's monolithic political-aesthetic worldview.

### **The Schola during the Period of Michaelides's Studies**

As already mentioned, Michaelides's arrival at the Schola coincided with the death of d'Indy. Inevitably, the loss of *le Maître* led to immediate changes in the school's aesthetic direction, which turned out to be especially disastrous for the prestige and influence of Lioncourt and his fellow *d'indystes*. As Lioncourt recounts in his *Témoignage*, d'Indy's death provoked a minor intrigue over the master's instructions for the distribution of institutional power. According to Lioncourt, it was d'Indy's dying spoken utterance, made in the absence of any witnesses, that Lioncourt should become the director of the Schola. Unfortunately for Lioncourt, a written testament signed by d'Indy in 1926 named his colleague, Louis de Serres, as the new director, with Lioncourt assigned to the role of composition professor.<sup>37</sup>

Despite his disappointment, Lioncourt retained his unmitigated devotion to d'Indy for the remainder of his life, which nevertheless did not prevent him from introducing various changes to the Schola's composition curriculum. The most important of these for Michaelides was Lioncourt's reinstatement of the previously unenforced requirement to produce a graduation thesis. Similarly, Lioncourt instituted a superior diploma in musicology that also required a thesis and the analysis of a large-scale historical work.<sup>38</sup> Notwithstanding these modifications to d'Indy's practices, Lioncourt remained antipathetic to experimental or avant-garde music.

The loss of d'Indy and Lioncourt's disappointment at not being selected for the directorship of the Schola were quickly followed by the death of his wife in 1933, which seems to have been emotionally devastating for him. Lioncourt eventually succumbed to a debilitating depression that may have contributed to his subsequent departure from his beloved Schola. According to Lioncourt, after the return from the summer break in 1934 (thus, immediately following Michaelides's graduation), he and the old guard of d'Indy loyalists were removed from their administrative positions by the Schola's shareholders and replaced by younger members of the performance faculty.<sup>39</sup> As Lioncourt tells the story, he and his colleagues were invited to a surprise meeting with the Schola's shareholders where, after hearing the allegations of financial mismanagement, they were summarily removed from their managerial positions. A full-blown student uprising against the new management apparently ensued, which nevertheless failed to reverse the shareholders' decisions. Having been so unceremoniously dismissed from their administrative functions, Lioncourt and de Serres left the Schola in January 1935 to found a new school, the Ecole Caesar Franck, where d'Indy's artistic ideals might live on.<sup>40</sup> Little is known

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36 Ibid., 120.

37 Lioncourt, *Témoignage*, 163–9. The text of d'Indy's testament bequeathing the directorship of the Schola to de Serres is printed in *Les Tablettes de la Schola Cantorum* (March 1931), 44.

38 Lioncourt, *Témoignage*, 172–3.

39 Ibid., *Témoignage*, 179–83.

40 Ibid., *Témoignage*, 187–8.

about this new institution, about which seems nothing remains in the historical record beyond several changes of address before its closure in the 1990s.<sup>41</sup>

All this suggests that during Michaelides's attendance the Schola's high-minded aesthetic ideals were overshadowed by infighting and unrest, which had a deleterious effect on the psychological state of his professor. Perhaps that might explain Michaelides's pursuit of additional tutelage from Boulanger. In any case, Michaelides's actual experience could not have lived up to his expectations, assuming he would have anticipated studying in the type of environment described in publications like the *Histoire*, quoted above.

Regarding the actual content of Michaelides's compositional training, there can be little doubt that it followed the outline of d'Indy's textbook, *Cours de composition*, written for his eponymous degree programme. Originally published in two volumes, the version best known to posterity is the three-volume third edition. As he explains in the introduction, d'Indy's high-minded purpose in writing the *Cours* is to prepare the student

[...] meriter le beau nom d'artiste créateur, la connaissance logique de son art, au moyen de l'étude théorique des formes musicales, et de l'application de cette théorie aux principales œuvres des maîtres musiciens, examinées dans leurs ordre chronologique.<sup>42</sup>

([...] to be worthy of the fine name of creator-artist [and to gain] the rational knowledge of his art through the theoretical study of musical genres and the application of this theory to principal works of master musicians, examined in chronological order.)

Thus, the fundamental pedagogical principle of the *Cours* is to develop the student's historical appreciation for the great masterpieces through analysis and emulation, so that this knowledge will allow the student to create new works that are firmly based on the best of what had gone before.

The first two volumes of the third edition were prepared in d'Indy's lifetime by his protégé August Sérieyx. The final volume, devoted to opera, oratorio, and other large-scale dramatic genres, was drafted by Lioncourt in 1950, almost twenty years after d'Indy's death. Because Lioncourt relied on his notes and memory to draft his volume, it seems that some doubted its authenticity as a faithful presentation of d'Indy's teachings. That would explain why, in a 1951 special edition of the *Revue Internationale de Musique*, we find Lioncourt defending his volume as a faithful transmission of the Master's pedagogy.<sup>43</sup> In any case, there can be no doubt about Lioncourt's intent to preserve the reputation of his master, which he presents in terms bordering on the messianic:

[...] nous voulons espérer que la lecture de ce volume fera reviver, dans l'esprit de ceux qui les ont connues, les magnifiques heures consacrées par Vincent d'Indy à son apostolate vis-à-vis d'eux, et que leur mémoire leur rappellera les joies artistiques éprouvées en ces incomparables auditions commentées des grands Maîtres par ce grand Maître. Nous espérons aussi que, comme les deux premiers, ce troisième Cours contribuera à maintenir et à repandre encore davantage les habitudes d'ordre

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41 Lescat, *L'Enseignement musicale*, 186.

42 Vincent d'Indy, *Cours de composition*, ed. Auguste Sérieyx (Paris: Durand, 1912), 1:5.

43 Lioncourt, "Achèvement," 343.

et de logique, ainsi que l'esprit de foi et d'amour que l'auteur de la *Légende de Saint-Christophe* a apportés au monde musical.<sup>44</sup>

([...] we hope that reading this volume will revive, in the minds of those who knew him, the magnificent hours that Vincent d'Indy devoted to his apostles, and that they will recall the artistic joys felt in those incomparable sessions listening to the great master's descriptions of the great masters. We also hope that the third volume of the *Cours*, like the first two, will contribute to the maintenance and further proliferation of the habits of order and logic, and thus the spirit of faith and love, that the author of *La légende de Saint-Christophe* brought to the musical world.)

Since Lioncourt seems to have been incapable of expressing himself in any capacity without deferential reference to "le Maître," we may justifiably assume that Michaelides could hardly have escaped such of devotional reminiscences. Indeed, the adoration of d'Indy appears to be the singular theme in all of Lioncourt's writing, which is most evident in his work as editor of the Schola's monthly newsletter, the *Tablettes de la Schola Cantorum* from 1919–1935. The *Tablettes* provide the clearest insight into the Schola's intellectual and aesthetic atmosphere, especially the imposed reverence for d'Indy that must have permeated the entire experience of being a student there. In his *Témoignage*, Lioncourt offers his own assessment of the importance of his work in the *Tablettes*, which is rather remarkable for the manner in which he instinctively links his devotion to the conservative, nationalist legacy of d'Indy with casual expressions of xenophobia and racism:

Par les "Tablettes de la Schola," la petite revue mensuelle dont j'assumais la rédaction (ce qui ne m'empêchait pas, bien entendu, de demander des articles à autres), je pouvais vraiment collaborer à l'œuvre de mon Maître, développer ses idées et aussi exposer les miennes. Sans critiquer le principe d'une évolution normale de la syntaxe musicale, nous invitons les jeunes à se méfier de la 'nouveau à tout prix' et de tous les snobismes; à ne pas abdiquer le goût et le raffinement de notre belle France pour lui préférer des esthétiques nègres ou exotiques; en somme, à ne pas admettre que la musique pût devenir moins musicale!<sup>45</sup>

(With the *Tablettes de la Schola*, the little monthly journal for whose editorship I took responsibility [...] I could really work with the compositions of my Master, develop his ideas, and also present my own. Without criticizing the principle of the normal evolution of musical syntax, we invited young people to beware of 'novelty at all costs' and all forms of snobbery, not to forsake taste and the refinement of our dear France in favour of negro or exotic aesthetics. In short, to not allow music to become less musical!)

Examining the *Tablettes* from the years 1930 to 1934 opens a window onto Michaelides's experience at the Schola as a student of Lioncourt, whose contributions demonstrate his active cultivation of what detractors described as the Schola's cult-like devotion to d'Indy. For example, in the issue for May-June 1934 Lioncourt writes that d'Indy's life, like that of all the great composers, passed through three distinct "manners" (*manières*). As might be guessed, the three manners loosely correspond to the traditional division of Beethoven's career into three style periods. Although Lioncourt notes that the careers of Bach, Wagner, and even Debussy also exhibit the passage through these three manners, he concludes that

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44 Lioncourt, Introduction to Vincent d'Indy, *Cours de composition*, 3:7.

45 Lioncourt, *Témoignage*, 107–8.

[...] le meilleur exemple, le plus frappant que l'on puisse recontrer est celui de d'Indy lui-même [...] Sa carrière, où l'on voit si nettement les caractères-types des trois styles, est certes la plus probant illustration de sa théorie.<sup>46</sup>

([...] the best example, the most striking that one can find, is that of d'Indy himself. [...] His career, where one plainly sees the character types of the three styles, is certainly the most probing illustration of his theory.)

The above comment is just one of countless examples of Lioncourt's written adulation of d'Indy, which invariably portrays the Maître and his work as the culmination of an ineluctable historical evolution. Thus, regardless of whether Michaelides may have been disappointed at not studying with the master himself, he could not have avoided feeling that Lioncourt was making every effort to maintain the master's presence, at least in spirit.

Aside from the constant veneration of d'Indy, among the most striking impressions given by the *Tablettes* is the richness of the Schola's concert schedule. This is corroborated by the 1927 *Histoire*, cited above, which lists the 166 concerts for orchestra and choir that the Schola had presented since its inception in 1898 until 1925.<sup>47</sup> The programs for these large-scale concerts occupy a prominent position in every volume of the *Tablettes*, generally adhering to a consistent format in the journal's un-paginated front matter. Following an advertisement for recently published sheet music, invariably for compositions by d'Indy and other *scholiste* composers, there is normally a full-page programme for an upcoming performance involving the orchestra and mixed choir. Figure 1 presents the program from the Schola's 189<sup>th</sup> concert of excerpts from Monteverdi's *Orfeo* and Rameau's *Hippolyte et Aricie*, which took place on 18 March 1932 while Michaelides was a student there. That each volume of the *Tablettes* includes a program for a similarly elaborate performance indicates the regularity and frequency with which they took place. In addition to these large concerts, every issue of the *Tablettes* contains announcements for the Schola's numerous student and faculty recitals.

The programming of these performances inevitably reflected the Schola's historical and aesthetic values, which is to say the repertoire emphasized the music of Palestrina, Monteverdi, the French Baroque masters, Beethoven, Franck, and of course, d'Indy and other Schola faculty. Moreover, since each concert program is followed by historical and analytical program notes written by Schola professors (most often Lioncourt or d'Indy) the *Tablettes* offer a clear sense of the Schola's approach to integrating historical, analytical, and aesthetic pedagogy in a unified community of active musical artists.

The *Tablettes* are of particular interest to Michaelides research because they contain a few first-hand references to the circumstances of his graduation and departure from the Schola. The first such reference is from the July 1934 issue, which lists Michaelides as one of six graduates of the Cours de Composition, indicating that he completed his degree with the mention *bien* (Figure 2). In this issue we also discover that Michaelides's well-known textbook on modern harmony, previously only known in its Greek-language version, was in fact the translation of his graduation dissertation, entitled "L'harmonie modern" (Figure 3).

Finally, the *Tablettes* indicate that, initially at least, Michaelides maintained contact with the Schola after his return to Cyprus. The October 1934 volume, the first for the new academic year, includes the following brief news item (see Figure 4):

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46 Guy de Lioncourt, "Les trois manières," *Tablettes de la Schola Cantorum* (June 1934), 62.

47 "Partie documentaire," in *La Schola Cantorum*, ed. Vincent d'Indy, 228; see also Andrew Thomas, *Vincent d'Indy and His World*, 125–9.

Our comrade, Solon Michaelides, recently graduated from the Cours de composition after having just returned to his country, has just founded with some friends a school of music of which he is the director. This foundation includes a string orchestra, which will be joined by winds instruments and a mixed choir, completed by a children's choir, which promises very interesting possibilities for concerts. We wish long life to him and much success to this distant and courageous undertaking, born under the sign of the Schola.<sup>48</sup>

### Solon Michaelides, Scholiste.

As mentioned at the beginning of this essay, Michaelides's professional activities following his return to Cyprus and subsequent move to Thessaloniki have been well documented. Because of his tireless work as a music teacher, conservatory director, composer, conductor, historian, and essayist, Michaelides is widely acknowledged as having played a unique role in the establishment of the European art music tradition in Cyprus and Greece. In short, his career precisely embodies the *scholiste* ideal of the Artist-Creator-Pedagogue-Public Intellectual.

What remains for further examination is the extent to which the specifics of Michaelides's artistic and pedagogical output reflect ideological commitments corresponding to those espoused by d'Indy and later defended by Lioncourt. One may certainly recognize the *scholiste* aesthetic agenda in Michaelides's compositional choices, which invariably turn on musical and programmatic themes associated with Antiquity and Greek and Cypriot folk music, as well as his proclivity for large-scale works combining orchestra and choir. Moreover, his dedication to encouraging all members of the local community to participate in large ensembles, his openness to pupils of all technical levels, his concern for historical and analytical scholarship, his commitment to music education, and even his administrative work, all point to an effort to recreate in Cyprus the environment he had known as a student at the Schola.

But more than anything, as their own testimony unambiguously tells us, what unites all *scholistes* is their adherence to the moral-aesthetic worldview articulated by d'Indy, which asserts that the individual creator-artist can only hope to achieve meaningful progress by remaining faithful to the historical tradition of his own nation, even in the face of an ascendant cosmopolitan avant-garde. Towards the end of his life, in an interview with Greek composer Theodore Antoniou (b. 1935), Michaelides himself offers what is perhaps the best demonstration of his implicitly *scholiste* outlook. In response to Antoniou's question as to why Michaelides had eschewed the various advanced compositional methods that he himself had described in his own textbook, he offers the following explanation, which fairly summarizes how his whole range of aesthetic preferences are ultimately tied up with questions of his Greek identity.

Είμαι Κύπριος. Και εμείς οι Κύπριοι έχουμε την ψυχολογία θά 'λεγα του υπόδουλου Έλληνα, η οποία, είναι αρκετά διαφορετική από τη ψυχολογία του Ελλαδίτη Έλληνα. Αναζητούμε, αναζητούσαμε, επί αιώνες, πάντα, ακόμη και σήμερα, και όλες οι γενιές, τις ρίζες τις Ελληνικές. Από άμυνα, εθνική άμυνα, η προσήλωση στην παιδεία, στην καλλιέργεια του πνεύματος του Ελληνικού, της ψυχής μας, η εθνική άμυνα έναντι της Αγγλικής κατοχής, μας έκανε, προσωπικά τουλάχιστον σ' εμένα, να αναζητώ τις ρίζες στην έκφραση μου, της Ελληνικότητας της καταγωγής μας. Υποστηρίζαμε τότε, και κάναμε αγώνες ότι δεν είμαστε ελληνόφωνοι όπως ήθελαν οι άλλοι, είμαστε Έλληνες. Επομένως, η έκφρασις, με τους τρόπους τους αρχαιοελληνικούς τους οποίους είχα επαφή με τις μελέτες μου, η επίδραση του δημοτικού τραγουδιού, της βυζαντινής συνοδείας, των θρύλων, οι ιστορίες κλπ. δούλευαν με τέτοιο τρόπο ώστε στην αρχή να

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48 *Tablettes de la Schola Cantorum* (October 1934), 12.

στραφώ σε αυτή τη κατεύθυνση πιστεύοντας συνειδητά αλλά και υποσυνείδητα, πως αυτός ήταν ο τρόπος που μπορούσα να εκφραστώ.<sup>49</sup>

(I am Cypriot. And I would say that we Cypriots have the psychology of being subordinate to the Greek, which is quite different from the psychology of the Greek. For centuries, every generation, we have been seeking, even today we seek, our Greek roots. From the defense, from the national defense – the commitment to education, the cultivation of the Greek spirit, our soul – the national defense against the English occupation, at least for me personally, led to the search for the Greekness of our origins in the way I express myself. At the time, we strove and maintained that we were Greeks, not just Greek-speaking, as others wanted to suggest. Therefore, in my studies I became familiar with the ancient Greek modes of expression; the influence of folk song, Byzantine music, legends and stories, all worked in such a way that I turned first in that direction believing consciously and subconsciously that this was the way I could express myself.)

Later, following some general comments about the importance of education and audience development, Michaelides closes with the following observation about his own work:

Είναι δύσκολο να μιλήσω για το έργο μου. Αλλά, θα έλεγα ότι εκείνο που χαρακτηρίζει αυτά που έχω γράψει, είναι μια απλότης και λιτότης. Η διαύγεια και καθαρότητα στη σκέψη και αισθήματα, είναι βασικά στοιχεία για τον καλλιτέχνη και δημιουργό. Έτσι εκφράζομαι.<sup>50</sup>

(It is difficult to talk about my work. But I would say that what characterizes what I have written is simplicity and thrift. Clarity and purity in thought, and feelings, are essential to the artist and creator. This is how I express myself.)

While refreshingly free from the overt racism to which the nationalistic aesthetics of the Schola were inescapably bound, Michaelides claims for himself – and by implication all Greek Cypriots – an essential ethnic identity, traceable to Antiquity through an unbroken psychological inheritance, struggling to find its free expression against a foreign oppressor. Moreover, Michaelides understands his essential Greek identity as an *a priori* constraint on the artistic forms through which he may truly and meaningfully express himself. And while he declines to discuss the technical details of his work – remember that Antoniou’s question had referred to particular compositional techniques – there is no ambiguity about Michaelides’s explicitly *scholiste* self-characterization as a creator-artist, claiming for himself precisely the artistic virtues extolled by d’Indy: simplicity and thrift, clarity and purity of thought. It would seem, then, that we may justifiably count Michaelides as a lifelong adherent to the Schola’s idealistic nationalist aesthetics, as defined by d’Indy and his followers like Lioncourt. Michaelides’s underlying commitment to Schola’s aesthetic programme must be borne in mind as further research confronts his uniquely important role in the development of musical modernity for a generation of Cypriot composers, teachers, and musicians.

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49 Συνομιλία με τους συνθέτες [Conversations with the Composers], interview with Theodore Antoniou, provenance undetermined, early 1970s; the recording was kindly provided by the composer’s nephew Mikis Michaelides from his personal collection.

50 Συνομιλία με τους συνθέτες [Conversations with the Composers].



Figure 1. Programme for the 189<sup>th</sup> Concert of the Schola Cantorum, *Tablettes de la Schola Cantorum* (March 1932). Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Used by permission.



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<h2>Examens de fin d'année</h2>	
<p>Du 11 mai au 27 juin, le Directeur, assisté du Sous-Directeur et des membres de la Commission des Etudes, a procédé aux examens de fin d'année, à la suite desquels il a été décerné 56 diplômes dans les cours de Composition, Direction d'orchestre, Orgue supérieur, Piano supérieur, Violon supérieur, Harpe (cours supérieur), Chant grégorien, Déclamation lyrique, Harmonie, Contrepoint, Orgue second degré, Piano second degré, Violon second degré et Musique de chambre. Il a été également décerné 52 certificats de sortie de classe dans les cours intermédiaires et du premier degré.</p>	
<h3>DIPLOMES</h3>	
<p>obtenus avec la mention Très-bien</p>	
<p>COURS SUPÉRIEURS</p>	
<p><i>Composition.</i> — MM. PAPADOPOULOS, GOLEMINOFF.  <i>Direction d'Orchestre.</i> — MM. GOLEMINOFF, PAPADOPOULOS.  <i>Piano supérieur.</i> — M. VILLETARD, M<sup>lle</sup> TUAL.  <i>Violon supérieur.</i> — M<sup>lle</sup> THIRIOT.  <i>Harpe, cours supérieur.</i> — M<sup>lle</sup> HEMON.  <i>Etudes musicologiques.</i> — M<sup>lle</sup> GARROS, M. GUHMARD.</p>	
<p>COURS DU 2<sup>e</sup> DEGRÉ</p>	
<p><i>Chant grégorien.</i> — M<sup>lle</sup> DELOUSTAL.  <i>Déclamation lyrique.</i> — M. HOCH; M<sup>lle</sup> COSTE.  <i>Contrepoint.</i> — MM. AGARBICEANU, BRANZEU; M<sup>lle</sup> BERNARD (Marguerite).  <i>Orgue.</i> — M<sup>lle</sup> DROUET; M. MILAN; M<sup>lle</sup> KOLB.  <i>Piano.</i> — M. VALET; M<sup>lles</sup> PAUL, JAMIN, MALACHKINE; MM. PIELAWA, PAPADOPOULOS; M<sup>lles</sup> CAGLIERI, MINET, SORNAY.  <i>Violon.</i> — M<sup>lles</sup> LEROY (Lucie), VIOTTE.  <i>Musique de chambre.</i> — M<sup>lles</sup> LAUX, MAYER-PIZE.</p>	
<p>COURS INTERMÉDIAIRES</p>	
<p><i>Harmonie.</i> — MM. AGARBICEANU, HIRAO.</p>	
<p>avec la mention Bien</p>	
<p>COURS SUPÉRIEURS</p>	
<p><i>Composition.</i> — MM. MICHAELIDES, BRANZEU.  <i>Direction d'orchestre.</i> — M. BRANZEU.  <i>Piano.</i> — M. BREMOND; M<sup>lle</sup> SOUMAILLE.  <i>Violon.</i> — M. BLINOFF.</p>	
<p>COURS DU 2<sup>e</sup> DEGRÉ</p>	
<p><i>Chant grégorien.</i> — M<sup>lle</sup> AUTIN.  <i>Déclamation lyrique.</i> — M<sup>lle</sup> MILLARDET.  <i>Piano.</i> — M<sup>lles</sup> PATUREAU, DINARD; M. BRANZEU.  <i>Violon.</i> — M<sup>lles</sup> LEJEUNE (Marguerite), BLOUCH.  <i>Musique de chambre.</i> — M. HIX (rappel de diplôme).</p>	
<p>obtenus avec la mention Assez-bien</p>	
<p>COURS SUPÉRIEURS</p>	
<p><i>Composition.</i> — M<sup>me</sup> GUILMARD; M. LAZAR.  <i>Orgue.</i> — M<sup>lle</sup> TOUTAIN.  <i>Piano.</i> — M<sup>lles</sup> BERNARD (Marguerite), PERROY, MARGARITOFF.  <i>Etudes musicologiques.</i> — M<sup>lle</sup> MILET, M<sup>me</sup> UCHARD.</p>	
<h3>CERTIFICATS</h3>	
<p>obtenus avec la mention Très-bien</p>	
<p>COURS INTERMÉDIAIRES</p>	
<p><i>Harmonie.</i> — M<sup>lles</sup> Deloustal, Bois; M<sup>me</sup> Gouault.  <i>Orgue.</i> — M<sup>lle</sup> Fredet; M<sup>me</sup> Gouault.  <i>Piano.</i> — M<sup>lles</sup> Drouet, Borel, Pourchet.  <i>Violon.</i> — M<sup>lles</sup> Gérodiat, Le Bordays.</p>	
<p>COURS DU 1<sup>er</sup> DEGRÉ</p>	
<p><i>Solège.</i> — M. Clérissau; M<sup>lles</sup> Tanon, Lancelin, Billon.  <i>Chant grégorien.</i> — M<sup>lles</sup> Vanuxem (Françoise), Wolf; M<sup>me</sup> Rousseau; M<sup>lle</sup> Malachkine.  <i>Chant.</i> — M<sup>mes</sup> Aubry, Cardot; M<sup>lles</sup> Lavanoux, Maclaud, Bizos.  <i>Orgue.</i> — MM. Arnault, Bellino.  <i>Piano.</i> — M<sup>lles</sup> Le Doré, Courbis, Alexandre, Chauchet, Degouy, Petibon, Pilliard, Rochat.  <i>Violon.</i> — M. Poincignon; M<sup>lle</sup> Billon.  <i>Violoncelle.</i> — M. Dujardin.  <i>Harpe.</i> — M<sup>lle</sup> Piras.  <i>Histoire de la Musique.</i> — M<sup>lle</sup> Corderoy du Tiers.</p>	

Figure 2. List of diplomas and certificates awarded by the Schola Cantorum in May and June 1934. Michaelides is indicated as having received his diploma in composition with the mention "bien," *Tablettes de la Schola Cantorum* (May–June 1934), 77. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Used by permission.

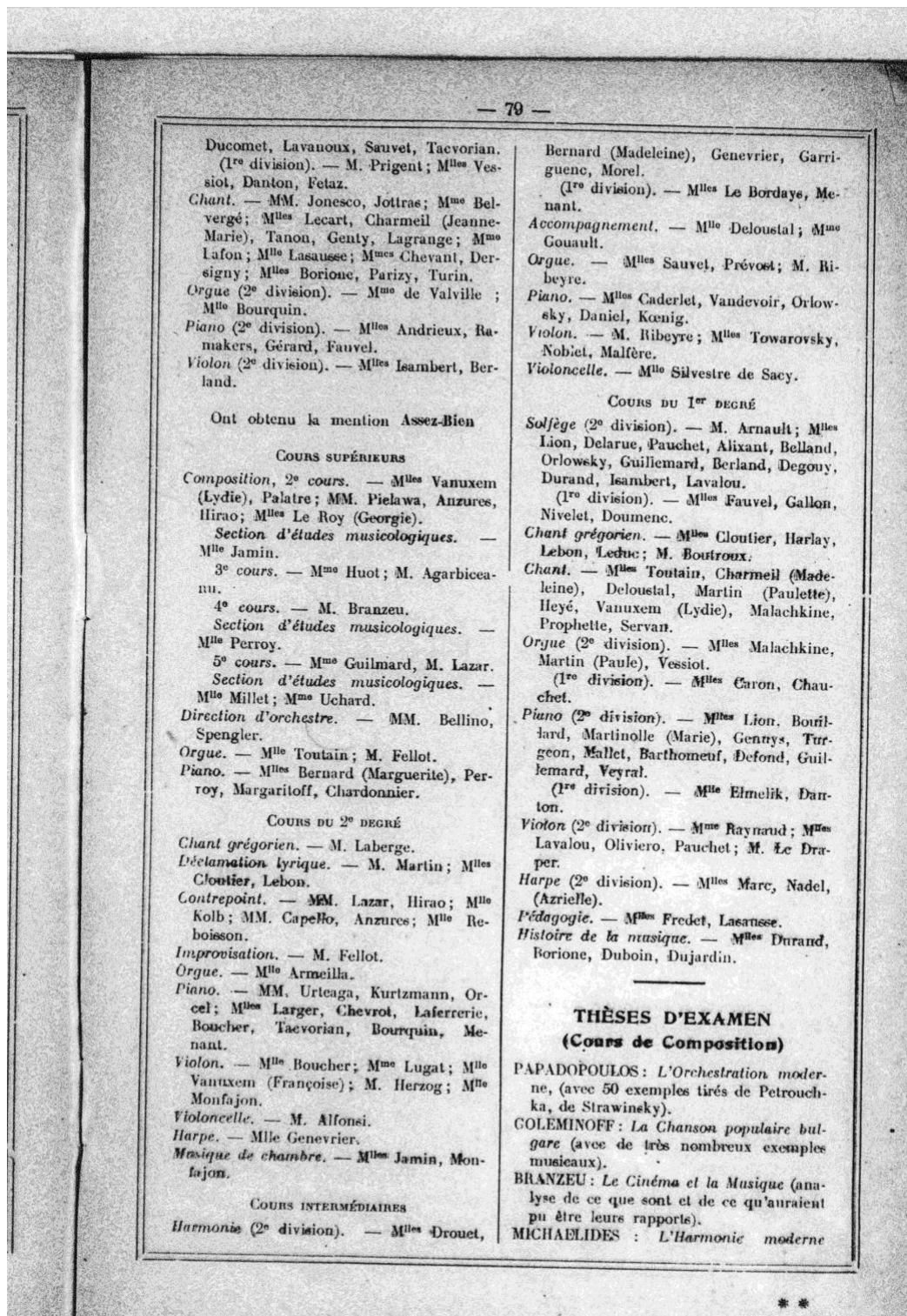


Figure 3. List of graduation theses accepted in 1934 by the Schola Cantorum including Michaelides's "L'Harmonie moderne," *Tablettes de la Schola Cantorum* (May-June 1934), 79. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Used by permission.

**Pays Basque.** — Avec le concours de l'excellent organiste, M. *Ermenâ Bonnal*, Mme *Malnory-Marseillac* a donné au cours des vacances à Saint-André de Bayonne, une audition de musique religieuse. Au programme : œuvres de *Bach*, *Mozart*, *Fauré*, de *Castillon* et les belles « Litanies » de M. *Louis de Serres*.

Une audition du même caractère fut donnée par Mme *Malnory-Marseillac*, à Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port, avec le concours de l'éminent violoniste, M. *Calvet*.

Par ailleurs, Mme *Malnory* a fondé à Bayonne, une école qu'elle dirigera. Elle s'est assurée pour l'enseignement la collaboration de Mlle *Gallier*. Inutile de dire que cette initiative obtient le succès le plus complet.

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**Arles-en-Provence.** — Grâce au dévouement de M. l'Abbé *Dagand*, la Schola d'Arles ne cesse de prospérer et de se développer, toujours suivant l'esprit et les tendances de notre école. Signalons parmi les auditions récentes, le récital de notre ami M. *Jean Vigué*, dont le public arlésien a vivement apprécié les qualités pianistiques et musicales.

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**Solismes.** Mentionnons le concert donné le 9 septembre, salle du patronage de Solismes, au profit des œuvres paroissiales, par Mlle *Paule Piédelièvre*. Beau programme et parfaite interprétation : Sonate en la mineur de *Schumann* ; Grave, de *Friedmann Bach*, Sicilienne et Rigaudon, de *Francoeur* (Mlle *Affichard* et Mlle *Piédelièvre*), mélodies de *Fauré* et chansons populaires (Mme de *Vésins*) : 1<sup>o</sup> Impromptu de *Fauré* ; Seguidillas d'*Albeniz* (Mlle *Piédelièvre*).

Le 14 octobre, à *Sablé*, concert, où Mlle *Paule Piédelièvre*, M. *Chizatel*, Mlle *Hélène Affichard*, furent chaleureusement applaudis. L'excellente Schola « *Stella maris* » participait à la séance. Parmi les œuvres entendues, nous citerons le troisième concert de *Ra-*

*meau*, le chant élégiaque de *Florent-Schmitt*. « A la claire fontaine », expressive chanson canadienne harmonisée par Mlle *Piédelièvre*, et la Chaine de *Bourrées* de Haute-Auvergne, de *Can-teloube*.

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**Chypre.** Notre camarade *Solon Michaelides*, récemment diplômé des cours de composition, vient à peine de retour dans son pays, de fonder avec quelques amis, une école de musique, dont il sera le directeur. Cette fondation comporte un orchestre à cordes, auquel des instruments à vent viendront se joindre, et un chœur mixte, complété par un chœur d'enfants, ce qui promet de très intéressantes possibilités de concerts. Souhaitons longue vie et plein succès à cette lointaine et courageuse entreprise, qui naît sous le signe de la Schola.

## L'Édition Musicale

La maison *Sénart* publie des « *Éléments de théorie musicale* », par notre professeur A. *Gabeaud*, qui a déjà fait paraître plusieurs ouvrages très appréciés concernant le solfège et la dictée musicale. Nul doute que celui-ci, comme ses devanciers, soit appelé à rendre d'utiles services. Il est consacré exclusivement à la théorie — indépendamment de tout solfège pratique — et est de nature à graver dans la tête des enfants des notions simples et justes. Contrairement à tant de traités, il étudie d'abord toutes les gammes naturelles, et nos différentes gammes majeures et mineures ne viennent qu'ensuite, après qu'on s'est assimilé le principe de l'altération. Cette méthode, déjà employée par A. *Sérieux* dans sa grammaire musicale, rend implicitement aux modes anciens leur droit de cité : il est bon d'apprendre aux jeunes généra-

Figure 4. Report on Michaelides's activities in Cyprus, *Tablettes de la Schola Cantorum* (October 1934), 12. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Used by permission.

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## Abstract

Solon Michaelides is generally acknowledged as one of the central figures in the establishment of the Western art music tradition in Cyprus and Greece. Most Cypriot and Greek music enthusiasts are aware that Michaelides studied composition in Paris at the Schola Cantorum under Guy de Lioncourt. However, there has not yet appeared any scholarly attempt to link Michaelides's mature work to the aesthetic background of his student training. Specifically, no one has addressed the obvious question as to how far Michaelides might be recognized as self-consciously promoting a *scholiste* agenda in line with the views of Vincent d'Indy. This article provides a framework for answering that question by examining the aesthetic and pedagogical environment in which Michaelides found himself as a student of the Schola. It concludes that the Cypriot composer was indeed a committed *scholiste*, and that he deliberately adhered to the ideals the true Creator-Artist as defined by d'Indy and his followers.

## About the Author

Kenneth Owen Smith is Associate Professor of Music and Coordinator of the Master of Music Programme at the University of Nicosia. His early research focused on French baroque music, comprising work on social history, the history of music theory, and manuscript studies. Most notably, his monumental edition of the songs of composer-theorist Sébastien de Brossard was published by the Centre de Musique Baroque de Versailles. His more recent work has focused on various subjects related to music in Cyprus and Mediterranean region. He has written on the organizational field of art music in Cyprus and has edited the 2015 volume of *Mousikos Logos*, dedicated to Music in/of the Mediterranean. Kenneth received his PhD from the University of Illinois in 2005 with the support of a Chateaubriand Fellowship from the French government. He has also recently completed an MBA and is extending his professional activities to include music-based social entrepreneurship.