Extrait du Rhuthmos

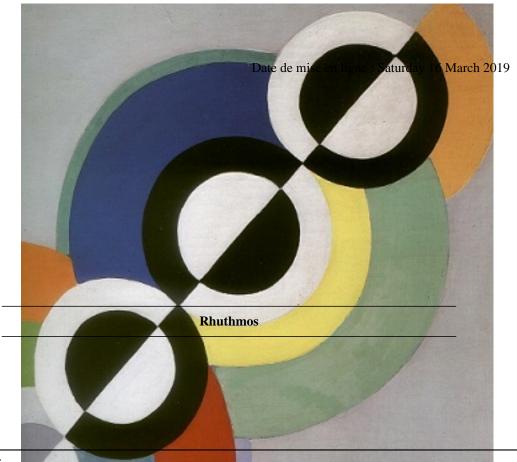
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Elements of Rhythmology vol. 3 - Conclusion

- Recherches

- Vers un nouveau paradigme scientifique ?

- Sur le concept de rythme - Nouvel article



Previous chapter

When, on the eve of World War I, Christian Ruckmich published his first bibliographical survey on rhythm studies, the time seemed to have come, as Micheal Goslton once put it, "for a science of rhythm to be formulated as a theoretical field in its own right." His list comprised more than two hundred titles (Ruckmich, 1913). However, paradoxically, as Golston also noticed paraphrasing Ruckmich, "*no complete study of rhythm* was ever made during the period in question; the subject as such was never officially articulated or codified. Rather, one finds issues of rhythm informing, to varying degrees, a significant number of discourses at different moments during the first half of the century." Rhythm appeared more of "a floating field, so to speak, mutually informing a variety of disciplines" than a clearly defined scientific concept (Golston, 1996, 2008).

Both this success and this paradox raise a series of legitimate questions: Why, first of all, such a sudden and powerful surge in the 1890s? Why a notion which was so pervasive in such a vast array of disciplines has yet never been, at the time, the subject of any proper philosophical investigation for its own sake? What were then the mechanisms by which rhythm "was 'carried over' [quote from Ruckmich] from one discourse to the next"? Finally, how now to "collate, chart, and analyze" the widespread use of the notion of rhythm "between 1890 and 1940"? (Golston, 1996).

To the first question Golston's answer was actually quite limited. Since he was mainly interested in the ethical and political future consequences of this rhythmic complex, he contented himself with describing the surge of studies devoted to rhythm in the twenty-five years preceding World War I. He made very few comments on the previous period.

Golston answered the second and third questions by giving the notion of rhythm the role of an "ideological incubator," that is, of a principle sufficiently vague and ductile to be adapted and become productive in a large array of disciplines.

Because, as Ruckmich puts it, the subject of rhythm is so easily "carried over" from one discipline to the next, rhythm moreover acted precisely as an ideological incubator, able to traverse easily and mutually inform diverse areas of discourse. Historically a unique production of the early twentieth-century machine-age, in which, Ruckmich intimates, it is destined to play a major theoretical role, rhythm was ready by 1913 to become deployed in generative theoretical relationships with/in a significant array of social, political, and scientific discourses. (Golston, 1996)

Finally, Golston answered the last question by considering the rhythmic complex of the pre-war period as an "incubational topography" and by tracing its numerous connection lines with the authoritarian regimes which developed subsequently in the 1920s and 1930s.

After becoming an object of inquiry in psychology, physiology, and musicology early in the century, rhythm is "carried over" into studies of genetics and eugenics, while at the same time playing an important role in theories of work and child-rearing. Ultimately enlisted in Fascist discourse, it is employed as a tool of propaganda for the construction of genetically encoded subject-bodies, as well as the body of the state, itself conceived as a complex array of interpenetrating personal, physiological, biological, racial, industrial, psychological, and historical rhythms. Thus by examining theories of rhythm as they were gradually articulated and as they informed one another in the first half of the 20th century, we are able to trace an incubational topography, as it were, in the making, and to come to an understanding of the mechanisms by which scientific and theoretical discourses are appropriated for ideological ends. (Golston, 1996)

Since Golston's essays (1996 and 2008), other scholars have complemented his investigation. In Germany, Inge Baxmann (2009) and, in France, Olivier Hanse (2010) have thoroughly examined the sociological, ideological, and political context of the rhythmic complex developed between the last decade of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century.

Building on these studies, I have, as far as I am concerned, concentrated on the theoretical side of the issue. The evidence gathered in the current book complements previous contributions but allows to answer somehow differently some of the questions raised.

1. Regarding the building up of the interest in rhythm during the 1890s, the current survey helped realize that we actually need to go much further back into the 19th century. If its last decade witnessed, in many fields, a noticeable multiplication of academic studies on rhythm, this sudden rush and the following rhythm mania reaching, artists, dancers, and pedagogues that lasted at least until World War I, did not come out of nowhere. Some researches already extensively using the notion were conducted as soon as the 1840s and 1850s in medicine, and natural science, as well as in aesthetics, art theory, and art history, no to mention alternative views on rhythm, that had already been developed by some poets, musicians, musicologists, and philosophers (for these views see vol. 2).

2. Concerning the paradox of a notion spreading in a vast array of disciplines without never being the subject of a theoretical investigation for its own sake, Golston's qualification of rhythm as an "ideological incubator" ready to become "deployed in a significant array of social, political, and scientific discourses" seems to account quite fairly for it. However, this characterization might tell only half of the story: it deals with discourses on rhythm only from their ethical and political consequences, that is from their subsequent developments. Yet, while the latter have certainly to be taken into serious consideration, we must also look at them according to their specific scientific and theoretical nature, which means to take into account their past history.

If the structuring role unconsciously played in this matter by the Platonic metric paradigm and its constant ignorance, indifference, or even hostility to challenges coming from poetics, art, or philosophy are correctly recognized, it becomes possible to answer Golston's interrogation concerning the lack of proper theoretical thematization. The unconscious acceptance of the metric model explains that it has never been really problematized. Most 19th-century scientists considered meter as a natural phenomenon and not as a concept that had its own complex history.

Moreover, the ductility of the term rhythm and its frequent transfer from one discipline to the next, in other words its ideological nature, become clearer. Although some subtle changes and differences were sometimes implemented, the various scientific uses remained within the larger limits of a single paradigm which constituted an homogeneous field allowing easy and harmless translations.

It also uncovers the deepest roots of the massive use of the notion of rhythm in the 1920s and 1930s by the authoritarian regimes which, more or less consciously, resumed with the authoritarian ethics and politics associated, from its very origin, with the Platonic concept of rhythm as meter (see vol. 1, chap. 2).

3. Concerning now the way to "collate, chart, and analyze" the widespread use of the notion of rhythm, this is where the difference between the perspective advocated in this book and that of previous studies is maybe the greatest.

We need, first, to better differentiate between various disciplinary uses and, in each discipline, between successive acceptations. We know, for instance, that in music the definition of rhythm significantly changed in the second part of the 19th century. Whereas it was ordinarily based on *regular beat* and *arithmetic arrangement of time intervals, written on a score*, it began to be increasingly viewed as *the movement*, that is, *the delay introduced by the musician, during his performance, between the written arrangement and the notes he actually plays.* Similarly, in poetry a

powerful opposition to the *classical metric norm* developed and a larger concept encompassing the *whole system of signifiers* tended to replace it.

But this was the same in science although, unlike in music and poetry, scientific definitions of rhythm remained within the Platonic frame. There was, for instance, a noticeable difference between the age-old medical definition and the one promoted, from the 1850s, by physiologists who replaced the *proportion between successive time intervals* by a *regular succession of separate beats*, and subsequently, during the last decades of the 19th century, by a *continuous wave-like form*. Due to the enormous prestige of physiology in the 19th century and the historical connection between the two disciplines, one is not surprised to find the same transformations in psychology, when it emerged after 1870 as an independent academic discipline, although some influences from poetic metric or musicology may have sometimes complicated its propositions. Finally, one observes the same shift in the concepts used by the emerging social sciences which, after 1890, passed from *succession of beats*, at the hands of Bücher, to *regular oscillations* in Aftalion's or Mauss' studies.

Naturally, all new acceptations did not purely and simply suppress their predecessors which were still used simultaneously for quite a time, so that the whole conceptual history of the Platonic paradigm in 19th century science looks like a tree growing younger branches alongside older ones.

4. We need, furthermore, to better understand what may be called the historical "complexity" of the Platonic paradigm. Whereas previous studies mainly aimed at reconstructing the making of an all-encompassing ideological discourse which spread in the first half of the 20th century, I tried to retrace the main *rhuthmos* or way of flowing of 19 th century scientific life without sacrificing the finer whirls that have unfolded on its sides. As a matter of fact, by contrast with ideology in which the requirement of consistency does not apply and with older Structuralist concepts of scientific paradigm such as those promoted in the 1960s by Kuhn and Foucault in which any scientific production in a given era is necessarily consistent with its general frame it is possible to recognize in the rhythmological paradigm that has dominated the 19th century, the existence of internal contradictions, or at least of nascent critical *rhuthmoi*.

Not only has the Platonic paradigm undergone a vast process of branching out but it has also sometimes witnessed the growth of diverging lines as in Brücke's critique of metrics and rejection of unnatural pronunciation of German poetry (chap. 1); in Meumann's rebuff given to the metric theories of his time, his interest in language not only as written but also as uttered speech, and finally his attention towards the whole sum of rhythmic processes in the subject hearing the uttered verse (chap. 3); in Schnaase's insistence that the rhythm in language should not be reduced to the succession of metric building blocks (be they quantitative or accentual) but should be enlarged to the vertical interweaving of theses blocks in and by the flow of sound-meaning (chap. 6); or in Mauss' reconsideration of the whole "social physiology" in the light of the larger system of linguistic or extra-linguistic signifiers responsible for the pragmatic effects of magic or religious ritual (chap. 16).

Although the description of the spread of the *metron* between the 1840s and the 1910s, of its structuring, constraining, and limiting effects on research, have been my main concerns, these unexpected branches unexpected both at the time and for the historian are maybe the most exciting findings of this long investigation. Indeed, their bifurcations echoed previous intuitions developed by a few poets, artists, and philosophers since the 18th century (see vol. 2), and clearly anticipated other significant practical as well as theoretical transformations that marked Western poetry just before and after World War I suffice it to think of William Butler Yeats' (1865-1939), Filippo Marinetti's (1876-1944), Virginia Woolf's (1882-1941), or Ezra Pound's (1885-1972) various but common obsession with rhythm. In addition, they shed new light, even if obliquely, on contemporary anti-metric innovations in philosophy such as the Jamesian *stream of consciouness* or the Bergsonian *durée*, or in sociology, on Gabriel Tarde's (1843-1904) interest in the *flow of the public opinion* under the influence of mass media or Georg Simmel's (1858-1918) concern with the *liquifying social and psychological consequences of the use of money*.

Elements of Rhythmology vol. 3 - Conclusion

5. We must, finally, note the emergence within the Platonic paradigm itself, with Riegl and later Wölfflin, of a new formalist perspective which implied a radical break with most of 19th-century scientific life and challenged the concept of process itself. Ironically, this new orientation, that gained momentum with the post-war interpretations of Saussure's linguistics at the hands of Roman Jakobson (1896-1982) and Louis Hjelmslev (1899-1965), set the basis, although it had emerged as a reflection on rhythm, for a complete "de-historicization" and "de-temporalization" of the scientific method that resulted in the rejection of the concept of rhythm altogether.

6. As in the previous volumes, I did not want to burden the reader with too many historical considerations. However, pending a thorough investigation, this theoretical spread in its Platonic as well as in its anti-Platonic forms can certainly be accounted for by the dramatic changes that occurred in most Western societies during the period. Great-Britain had entered a new phase of modernization as soon as the last decades of the 18th century; France had followed in its specific way in the first decades of the 19th century. After 1850, this movement spread out to most Western European countries and the United-States, accelerating after 1870 with the Second Industrial Revolution. Rapid industrial growth, strong urbanization, as well as development of new transportation and communication technologies triggered a kind of fluidization of societies and daily life. Corporate concentration, financialization, and growing imperialism radically changed the capitalist system itself.

These mutations, which accelerated between 1890 and 1914, may certainly account for the increased emphasis on the dynamic or processual character of the phenomena observed in each particular science and for the need to assess their temporal organization. Faced with these empirical requirements, most scientists reacted by borrowing metric concepts from the natural sciences, which had met with remarkable success since the first half of the 19th century. Yet, other scholars, depending on their education, on their attention to empirical facts, on their interest in the latest developments in visual art, music, dance, and poetry, or maybe simply on their innovation spirit, introduced new anti-metric concepts which were to revolutionize the 20th century rhythmology. I hope to be able to extend one day my investigation to these other ways to address the crucial problem of *process organization* be it that of language, consciousness, or society.