The French Flute Tradition

by

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DECLARATION

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Liesl Stoltz

1. 02. 2003
ABSTRACT

The French flute tradition is remarkable and is admired by flautists, teachers and students of the flute all over the world. The dissertation researched the development of this tradition from the pre-Baroque period through to the modern era and tried to determine the underlying factors that stimulated its development specifically in France.

The first key was added to the flute in France and with this the Hotteteres created the blueprint for the modern flute of today. During the Classical period the conservative French retarded the development of the instrument and the repertoire for the flute by initially rejecting additional keys. But Thomas Lot became famous throughout Europe for his four-piece, one-keyed flutes and François Devienne composed wonderful chamber music. During the Romantic period, Godfroy and Lot became the first manufacturers of the Boehm flute in the world and the French produced brilliant flautists, such as Paul Taffanel, Philippe Gaubert, George Barérre and Louis Fleury. Some regard Paul Taffanel as the most prominent flautist of the nineteenth century and Altès, Taffanel and Gaubert wrote important flute methods, which were used, and still are, by flautists all over the world.

Brilliant French flautists and teachers of the twentieth century are Marcel Moyse, René Le Roy, Jean-Pierre Rampal, Michel Debost, Pierre-Yves Artaud (to name but a few) and the French style of flute playing achieved world wide recognition during this century. Jean-Pierre Rampal established the flute as solo instrument and Francis Poulenc's Sonata for flute and piano and Syrinx by Claude Debussy form part of every flautist's repertoire.

The research indicates that various factors stimulated the development of such a strong tradition. These are: the cultural environment in general; the presence of outstanding families of flute crafters over many years, especially from the village of Le Couture-Boussey; the establishment of the Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique de Paris in 1795; the centralised system of music education; as well as the French language.
Dedicated to my parents, André and Betsy
and my sister, Christélle
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Orientation

The flute became popular in France with the troubadours. These poet-composers were very popular especially in Provence, Southern France (Grout & Palisca; 1998:84). In the study of early French musical life, the troubadours are of great importance. They were active for about two centuries, from the end of the eleventh to the end of the thirteenth century. During the troubadour times, the three-holed flute, known as the galoubet, was popular and used in lighter music and according to Bate (1975:71) this flute is still the main accompaniment to folk dances in France.

From the twelfth- to the fourteenth century, France was Europe’s most important centre of musical culture, which coincides with the period of great intellectual development under the influence of the University of Paris and of the wonderful blossoming of French Gothic architecture (Scholes; 1989:382). From the middle of the fourteenth century France was for many years involved in terrible wars and also experienced great domestic turmoil. However, what really is remarkable, is that Paris remained the cultural city of Europe.

Toff (1996:225) claims that Paris was still the musical capital of Europe from the mid-eighteenth century until the outbreak of the French revolution in 1789. She furthermore refers to a report in The Almanach Musical according to which Paris, with a population of 500,000, had 194 composers, sixty-three singing teachers, ninety-three violin teachers,

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1 Between 1353 and 1453 France was involved in the War of Hundred Years with England. In the second half of the sixteenth century France had religious wars which ended when Hendrik IV became the first Bourbon king. (He was a Protestant, but accepted the Catholics and the situation stabilised.)
and thirty flute teachers in 1783. There were also fifty-three luthiers, eighteen clavecin makers, eight fortepiano makers, and eight woodwind crafters! This environment stimulated the development of a strong music tradition.

The transverse flute took hold firstly in France, which is logical, given its French invention and then, by the turn of the eighteenth century, also in Germany (Toff; 1996:188). However, the transverse flute passed through several structural phases (Carse; 1939:101). At first it was a simple tube or reed which was blown across one end. During the middle ages and renaissance it consisted of a cylindrical tube which was closed at one end, blown across a side mouth hole and was provided with six evenly spaced finger holes. It was mainly in the tonality of D and G. Cross fingerings made the playing of chromatic notes possible within the two-octave range.

During the Baroque era the cylindrical tube changed to a conical one that had a contracting bore through the body with six finger holes and one key, the D#-key. French flute crafters added the first key and made an exceptional contribution towards the development of the instrument. The Frenchman Thomas Lot became world famous for his four-piece one-keyed flutes.

Manufacturers increasingly thought that by adding more keys, finger-technique would benefit. Some French flautists objected to this, which retarded the development of the instrument and as a result the flute was standardised much later than the violin. Eventually more keys were added and the four-keyed flute came into being during the eighteenth century.

During the Romantic era at first the eight-keyed flute was the standard instrument and then Theobald Boehm came with his invention in 1832. But it was his 1847-model, as modified by French manufacturers, which stood the test of time.

In the Baroque period, most flautists composed their own music. This was done until the Romantic period, where most of the general repertoire for the flute was by French-flautist
composers. Also in the twentieth century, the contribution of French composers to the repertoire for the flute, is enormous. France also produced brilliant flautists who became great virtuosos and toured extensively and spread the flute tradition far beyond the borders of France. And flute students from all over the world go to Paris to learn from the great teachers.

French crafters/manufacturers\textsuperscript{2}, flautists, teachers and composers all contributed to the development of the French flute tradition. The establishment of the \textit{Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique de Paris} (generally known as C.N.S.M.) in 1795 also had a profound influence on the development of this amazing tradition.

\textbf{1.2 Problem Statement}

As with fashion, art or cuisine, there are many different styles of flute playing. However, Nancy Toff (1996:100) claims that the supremacy of the French woodwind playing has been recognised for more than a hundred years, but that the style only achieved international predominance during the twentieth century. She adds: \textit{“Today, if there can be said to be an International Style of flute playing, it is an outgrowth of the French style.”}

Several foreign flautists openly admired and adopted the so-called French style, amongst them the legendary Sir Geoffrey Gilbert\textsuperscript{3} (Floyd; 1990:8), who claimed that a lasting impression was made on him after he heard several concerts and recording sessions of Marcel Moyse and René Le Roy. Many world-renown flautists of today, such as William Bennett (English), Peter-Lukas Graf (Swiss) and Paula Robison (American), to mention but a few, were trained in France.

\footnotesize

\textsuperscript{2} Initially flute makers were instrument crafters rather than formal manufacturers.

\textsuperscript{3} Geoffrey Gilbert was a well-known English flautist, once principal flute of the London Philharmonic and international performer.
Many questions come to the fore, such as why such a strong flute tradition developed in France; what factors contributed to the development of this tradition and how relevant is it in the today’s globalised world.

The goals of this dissertation are therefore:
- to provide a broad overview of the development of French flute tradition over the years;
- to summarise the contribution of the most important French flute crafters, flautists, teachers and composers;
- to determine the factors which stimulated this development;
- to highlight the special qualities of the French style of flute playing;
- to explain the dissemination of this tradition to various other countries;
- to comment on the relevance of the French tradition today.

1.3 Methodology

The research consists mainly of a study of the existing literature on the French flute tradition and the so-called French flute school. Informal discussions were held with Shigenori Kudo, Pierre-Yves Artaud, Peter-Lukas Graf and Jean Ferrandes. A questionnaire regarding the relevance of the French tradition in recent times was compiled and forwarded by e-mail to various internationally acclaimed flautists.

The dissertation is divided into two sections. PART ONE, consisting of chapters two to five, provides a broad overview of the contribution of French flute crafters/manufacturers, flautists, teachers and composers to the development of the flute tradition. The discussion is in chronological order from the middle-ages through to the modern period. The very important role of the Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique de Paris and other institutions are also briefly commented on.

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4 The author studied with these teachers in France and Italy from 1995 to 2001.
PART TWO, consisting of chapter six and seven, discusses the relevance of the French flute tradition in the global world of today. It summarises the special qualities of the French style and the factors that enhanced the development of the strong tradition. It also explains the international dissemination of the tradition and evaluates its position today.
PART ONE

The role of French Flute Manufacturers, Flautists, Teachers and Composers from the Pre-Baroque through to the Modern Era
CHAPTER 2

FRENCH MANUFACTURERS, FLAUTISTS, TEACHERS AND COMPOSERS
OF THE PRE-BAROQUE AND BAROQUE PERIODS

2.1 Introduction

Up to this stage in the history of the flute, there were various types of flutes such as recorders, flageolets, galoubets (French tabor pipe). There is much evidence that the flute was a popular instrument especially suitable for soft and charming music. Flutes featured prominently in many poems and several paintings, which can be seen in castles throughout France today.

The aim of this chapter is to show how flute crafters, flautists, teachers and composers of the sixteenth- to the mid-eighteenth centuries contributed towards the development of the French art of flute playing. The chapter is divided into two broad sections, the pre-Baroque and the Baroque periods.

2.2 Pre-Baroque

Unfortunately, the names of French flute crafters of this era are largely unknown and there also exists practically no information on the construction of the instruments, on the repertoire, performers or performing techniques of these early times (Powell; 2002). The first instrument makers appeared during the seventeenth century in the community of the turners or batons de chaises. They made both end-blown (flauto diretto or recorder) and side-blown (transverse) flutes.5

5 According to Carse (1939:102) the Renaissance cylindrical flute was made from wood, closed at the one end and blown across a side mouth hole. It was provided with six evenly spaced finger holes and was in the tonality of D or G. Cross fingerings made it possible to play almost all the chromatic notes within the two-octave range.
Claude Rafi (1515-1553), a French instrument crafter who made flutes and recorders and worked in Lyon, was regarded as one of the most celebrated artisans of the sixteenth century (Howard et al; 1984:777). He is first mentioned in 1515 in the archives of Lyons as ‘fleustier’ (flautist). Only a handful of Rafi originals survived, including end-blown flutes such as a tenor recorder conserved at Bruges, Belgium and another in Eisenach, Germany, as well as a tenor and a small bass recorder in Bologne, France (Pottier; 2002).

The manufacturing business of Mathurin (also named Methelin or Mathieu) de la Noue flourished in Lyon in the first part of the sixteenth century. He later moved to Paris where he lived in Rue de la Mégisserie until his death in 1544. He made flutes d'allamand coupées, (two-jointed German flutes), fifes, chalumeaux and oboes (Carroll; 1999:49; Pottier; 2002). The construction of the instruments in two parts enabled the player to slide the two parts together, thereby changing the pitch of the instrument. His attempt to make the flute tuneable was a remarkable development in the history of the flute.

The far-sighted Frenchman, Marin Mersenne (1588-1649), realised that the flute could be made fully chromatic by the addition of keys. He even provided an illustration of what such keys might look like. However, the flute acquired its first key more than fifty years later (Toff; 1996:43).

The flautists of this era were most probably troubadours (See p. 1.) who also composed their own songs. According to Guillebert de Metz, Chenenudy was probably the first French flautist of which the name is known (Duchamel; 1953:44).

Compositions of this period were mainly for festive occasions, such as weddings and feasts. Troubadours composed music with no specific instrumental indications and melodies could be played by violin, flute or oboe accompanied by a lute. Musicians probably improvised freely while performing. According to Baines (1943:234) the flute was used for soft music composed by troubadours as accompaniment for their love songs. Examples are songs by Josquin des Prés and Clément Jannequin.
Pierre Attaingnant, the first French printer of music (Grout & Palisca; 1998:250), published two volumes of songs namely *Chansons musicales a quatre parties* (1533) and *Vingt & Sept chansons musicales a quatre parties* (1533). Some of these were marked as being particularly suitable for performance by flutes or consorts of recorders (Carroll; 1999:48; Howard et al; 1984:776).

The Frenchman Simon Gorlier published the only pedagogical treatise of the sixteenth century: the so-called *Livre de tabulateur de flutes d'Allemand*, in Lyons in 1558. These texts (later called methods) were to play a very important role in the development of the French tradition. Unfortunately no copies of Gorlier’s treatise survived.

### 2.3 Baroque Period

This section is divided into three subsections in which the contribution of French flute crafters, flautist-teachers and composers is discussed.

#### 2.3.1 Flute Crafters and the Instrument

A very remarkable group of *artiste-ouvriers* who served the French Court during the reign of Louis XIV (1643-1715) are known to have reformed many of the early woodwind instruments (Bate; 1975:78). These instrumentalists and crafters were influenced by, but also influenced, the changing musical values and norms of their time.

In the early seventeenth century the instrument was just less than two feet in length, in the tonality of D (Getreau; 1991:32) and it had no keys. Johann Joachim Quantz, famous German flute player and teacher of Frederick the Great, wrote in 1752 in his *Versuch* that the D♯-key, the first key the flute acquired, was first added in France (See p11), and that it was then (1752) not yet a hundred years old. Although it is unclear at what exact time the one-piece Renaissance flute became the one-keyed conical Baroque flute, it appears that the Baroque flute existed in France well before the end of the seventeenth century (Carse: 1939:84).
The French flute of the late seventeenth century had the following features: its construction was made from either wood or ivory, three sections (and later four), a cylindro-conical bore that was pierced by seven holes; the closed D#-key that controlled the seventh finger hole and the tonality of D major (Howard et al; 1984:777). Chromatic notes were, for example, produced by means of complicated fingerings or by the obstruction of half of a hole (Fleury; 1923:525). The conical flute thus replaced the medieval cylindrical flute and became the standard instrument through much of the eighteenth century.

It is not until the year 1707 that there is evidence of the regular use of the transverse flute in France (Fleury; 1923:524). It must not however be taken for granted that the new instrument achieved its supremacy at once and that it immediately replaced the direct flute in the orchestra. For some time the direct- and transverse flutes were used together. Notices can be found in numerous scores stating "for transverse or direct flute", yet this duality did not continue for long.

Around 1700 to 1720 the three-piece, one-keyed flute, commonly called the Hotteterre flute, was the standard. (See pp. 10-12.) This three-piece transverse flute had a cork stopper in its head-joint, which could be adjusted by the player in order to tune the instrument. The cork was usually covered by a decorative crown, which made access a complicated process when a quick adjustment was required.

A major development occurred in the early 1720s in France, when the four-piece flute made its appearance. The middle joint of the flute was divided in two sections, each with three holes.

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6 The direct flute, end-blown flute or "Flauto diretto", is a type of recorder.

7 It can be accepted that from Haydn onwards the side-blown instrument is intended, though Mozart used the flageolet and so did Gluck.
Because the flute then had four sections, manufacturers could supply a set of interchangeable joints or \textit{corps de réchange}\textsuperscript{8} for the upper sections of the body (Howard \textit{et al}; 1984:778). Easy access to the cork now became necessary for every time a different \textit{corps de réchange} was used, the position of the cork had to be altered (Carroll; 1999:54).

Unfortunately, this crucial period in the development of the transverse flute is poorly documented. As a result it is extremely difficult to determine which individual craftsman is responsible for each of the vital woodwind inventions that originated during this time, all of them apparently in France and according to Baines (1943:276) probably within the circle of Parisian crafters.

Various other sources, such as Tula Giannini (1993:1), stress the importance of La Couture-Boussey in the fabrication of woodwind instruments. In this Normandy village of La Couture-Boussey, woodturning, especially for musical instruments, was a local craft, and it was in this village that the modern firms of Buffet, Lot, Thibouville and Godfroy also originated. In this region of France, bordering the royal residences of Anet and Versailles, water and fine wood, as essential elements of woodwind manufacture, were plentiful.

The following section explains the immense contribution of the Hotteterre-family to the development of the flute. Several of the earliest surviving one-keyed conical flutes in collections in Berlin, Graz and Leningrad are actually signed \textit{Hotteterre} (Bate; 1975:79).

\subsection*{2.3.1.1 The Hotteterre Dynasty}

The Hotteterre-family, from La Couture-Boussey, was by family tradition wood turners and crafters and players of the small bagpipes or musettes. These instruments were popular at dances, weddings, and other occasions and which, although in a more refined form, had become highly fashionable in Court circles.

\textsuperscript{8} \textit{Corps de réchange} or alternate joints were used for playing at different pitches.
The family played a crucial role in the development of wind instruments and in particular the flute, recorder, oboe and bassoon (Baines; 1943:276). Twelve members of the Hotteterre family were crafters and operated from the sixteenth- to the end of the eighteenth century. Jacques, known as le Romain, (c.1667-1760)9 was the principal figure in the remodelling of the Baroque transverse flute (Toff; 1996:43; Tranchefort; 1989:469). He was famous as manufacturer and musician who played the flute, oboe, bassoon and musette and served in the Chambre du Roy (The King's Chambers) up to 1747.

Jean-Baptiste (d.1770) and Nicolas, two of his four sons, were flute crafters as well as musicians. Jean-Baptiste succeeded his father at the King's Chambers. The third generation of Hotteterres was the most outstanding with five manufactures and one turner. Finally the fifth generation ends at the end of the old regime with the two artisan sons of Philippe. They were Philippe (1714-1773) and Louis (1717-1801).10

The Hotteterres' skill and experience in the drilling and fine-tuning of small wooden tubes are beyond question, but how they became involved with the remodelling of almost all the important woodwinds of their time is less certain (Géreau: 1991; 32). It seems that they were the first to construct the tube of the flute in three relatively short sections united by tenon and socket joints, similar to the stocks and drone tubes of their bagpipes.

The Hotteterre's also tried to make the instrument more expressive and improve its intonation. They achieved this by making the bore conical and the mouth- and finger holes smaller, and in this way increased the dynamic and colour range. Making the flute conical in stead of cylindrical made the third octave possible and also permitted crafters to drill the holes closer together which in turn made the stretch between the fingers smaller, and improved intonation (Géreau; 1991:32). Jean Hotteterre apparently also

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9 According to Gianmini (1993:34) Jacques Hotteterre's dates are 1728-1763.
10 The third generation of Hotteterres included Jeannot (1648-1732); Louis II (d.1692) the son of Louis; Martin (1712), son of Jean; Nicolas I (1637-1694); Louis II (d.1716); Nicolas II (1653-1727); and the son of Louis II, Philippe Hotteterre (1681-1736) (Géreau; 1991:31).
invented the closed D#-key, which controls the seventh finger hole in 1660 (Howard et al.; 1984:777).

The typical ornamental appearance of the instruments was largely due to fashionable Renaissance turnery applied to the thickenings left in wood or ivory. This was not only for decoration purposes, but also strengthened the sockets where the various joints met. Boxwood was the favourite material used from the seventeenth century to the early nineteenth, although many instruments were also made from ivory, ebony or some other hardwood.

Although these developments were decisive for the popularity of the transverse flute at the end of the seventeenth century, it did not overcome the problems inherent in the instrument. The flute was, according to Howard et al. (1984:779), the least successful of the Hotteterre family's experiments with woodwind instruments. For example, the cross-fingerings on the flute were less effective than it was on the oboe, recorder and bassoon because they resulted in poor intonation. Flautists had to find ways to compensate, i.e. by lipping, alternative fingerings, turning the flute in- and outward, which changed the tone quality drastically.

A strange, internal bore with a broken profile further characterised Hotteterre's three-piece flute. The diameter could change from joint to joint. Cone and cylinder could meet end to end, or the bores of two joints could make an abrupt step where they meet. The four-piece Hotteterre flute of the 1720s was simply a refinement of the older one-keyed conical flute in three pieces (Howard et al.; 1984:779).

It is remarkable that all Hotteterre joints have remained in the modern flute, but the strange bulbous feature of their bores was abandoned. Although these bores gave the satisfactory musical results desired at the time, it is very unlikely that their specific profiles were the result of deliberate experimentation. It is more likely that this manner of construction came naturally to the Hotteterres because of Jean Hotteterre being a bagpiper and bagpipe maker. (Baines; 1943: 277)
The influence of the Hotteterre family on woodwind instrument development and construction was monumental. It can be said that they created the blueprint for the modern woodwind instruments of today (Carroll; 1999:19).

2.3.1.2 Other French Baroque Flute Crafters
This section provides a very brief overview of other noteworthy French crafters of the one-keyed baroque flute.

Pierre Naust (1660-1709)
The workshop was in rue de L’Abre Sec, St Germain (Giannini; 1993:1). He is recognised as one of the great woodwind makers of the Baroque period. He made three-piece flutes and used a wide variety of materials. He made flutes under his own mark ‘NAUST’ and his flutes showed workmanship of the highest order (Giannini; 1993:4) and his workshop supplied instruments to leading French musicians. Naust’s daughter, Jean, inherited the workshop from her father, but got married to Thomas Lot in 1734.

Of his seven surviving instruments two are made from ivory, one with silver mounts, one is in ebony with silver mounts and three are in boxwood, of which one has ivory mounts.11 The flute d’amour in the museum of the C.N.S.M. is a very good example of his work.

Jean Lissieux (1670-1740)
He probably also originated from La Couture and was a well-established flute crafter (Giannini; 1993:6). He was married to Anne Lot and after her death to Antoine Delerabelée’s sister, Madelaine. Jean’s flutes were two-piece constructions with cylindrical bores, six finger holes and still no keys.

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11 See Appendix I for examples of Naust instruments.
Antoine Delerable (b 1686; d 1734)
He was an instrument maker who was initially employed in Pierre's Naust workshop (Giannini; 1993:6). After the death of Naust he run the workshop for some time together with Jeanne Naust. Antoine made instruments that compared well with that of his master, and he supplied instruments to musicians such as Philidor and Blavet.

Jean-Jacques Rippert (1696-1716)
Rippert's instruments show further innovation in the turnery around the joints and at the end cap. Whereas some of his flutes include the Hotteterre type turnery that is complex and bulbous both at the head and the foot, some show some simple head caps and joint turnery. This turnery served two purposes, as decoration and more importantly as a way to strengthen the socket and tenon joint. Of Rippert's four surviving flutes two are in boxwood and of the remaining two, one is in pear wood and the other in ivory.

Thomas Lot (c. 1708-c. 87)
Many members of the Lot family, originally also from La Couture Boussey, were involved in instrument crafting. However, Thomas Lot inherited the workshop of Pierre Naust, through his marriage to Jean Naust, in the Baroque period, Lot was one of the most noteworthy flute crafters. He made four-piece, one-keyed instruments (Carroll; 1999:53).12

Charles Bizey (c.1716-c.1755)
Bizey was one of the five foremost flute crafters in Paris in 1752. He owned a shop in rue Dauphine since 1749 and also made four-piece, one-keyed flutes. Only three of his flutes are still in existence (Giannini; 1993:38).13

Pierre Jaillard (1663-1731)
Born in Bourg-en-Bresse, he was an apprentice with Pierre Boissier14 in Paris from 1678-1683 and was one of the best crafters of his time. He emigrated to England in 1683 where

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12 See Appendix 1.
13 See Appendix 1.
he changed his name to Peter Bressan and made both three- and four-piece flutes (Pottier; 2002; Carse; 1939:88,113). More than forty of his flutes are kept in collections and museums in Europe.

Philippe de la Vigne (1690-1750)
According to Constant Pierre, he was apparently arrested in 1723 and in 1741 for the illegal crafting of eight musettes, two violins, a recorder, the lower part of a transverse flute and the possession of fifty-five tools for their fabrication. He surely made flutes, however, none of his instruments survived (Pottier; 2002).

Descoteaux (alias Francois Pignon) (c 1646-1728)
His studio was in rue Faubourg Saint-Antoine, Paris, but none of his instruments survived.

Louis J. Babtiste Fortier (early 1700’s)
He was a craftsman from Rouen and made one-keyed flutes from ebony with ivory mounts (Fairley: 1982; 43).

Jean Nicolas Leclerc (d. 1752)
He was another noteworthy Parisian maker during the first half of the eighteenth century and was succeeded by Gilles Lot, his son-in-law (Fairley; 1982:74). 15

About some of these manufacturers of the Baroque period (such as Chevalier and Dupuis or Depuis), there is no further information but for their names. The number of crafters alone is, however, absolutely remarkable and clear proof of the substantial contribution of these early French craftsmen to the building of the flute tradition. They provided the instruments, were in some cases also the flautists and composers and they encouraged composers to provide the music.

14 Unfortunately no information could be found on Boissier.

In conclusion, it is clear that by the early eighteenth century, the new one-keyed conical Baroque flute had become a favourite instrument of both virtuoso and amateur flautist.

2.3.2 Flautists—Teachers

Before the French Revolution (1789), music education in France was essentially provided by choir schools, located throughout France. Unfortunately, girls had no access to these schools, and therefore private instruction was their only opportunity to receive music education.

Although not perfect, the training at these schools made it possible for some of the really talented young provincial musicians to embark on decent careers. In France a handful of skilled flautists, such as Jacques Hotteterre, gave lessons to amateur musicians.

The flautists of the Baroque mostly used the one-keyed conical flute or *flute d’allemand* (German flute) as developed by the early Hotteterres. Many of them were either amateur players or flautist-composers. Flautists at this time were either employed by Louis XIV (a great music lover) or were under the patronage of the aristocracy and hardly penetrated outside the limits of the court. Concerts took place in the apartments of Versailles or in those of the aristocracy and were private affairs, to which only a very privileged few had access.

However, since 1725 flautists also performed at prestigious public concerts, such as at the *Concerts Spirituels*, a concert series created by Anne Danican Philidor (Perreau; 2001:39).
The *Concert Spirituals* could be regarded as a musical democratisation in the form of public concerts held at the Tuilleries-gardens in Paris, which created contact between artists and the general public and spread the taste for instrumental music into an environment, which until then, was only familiar with opera. According to Powell (2002) virtuoso flautists gradually achieved popularity and travelled to other cities and countries to perform as soloists (See Chapter 6).

Flautist-teachers also started to compile pedagogical treatises, called *methods*, which provided information on technique, as well as on ornamentation and articulation. The following sections discuss the most important flautist-teachers in chronological order. The first section mentions flautists employed by Louis XIV, whilst the second elaborates on flautists under the patronage of the aristocracy.

2.3.2.1 Flautists employed by Louis XIV
Since the late seventeenth century, several French flautists were connected with the court of Louis XIV and became famous virtuosos.

Philbert Rebille (1667-1717) and René Pignon Descoteaux (c.1646-1728) were popular and celebrated flautists (Quantz; 2001:30). They were appointed at the King's Court and the *Grande Ecurie.* Rebille was the very first esteemed player of the one-keyed conical transverse flute (Rockstro; 1967:137).

Jacques Hotteterre (1667-1760), also known as *Le Romain,* is regarded by Bate (1969:80) as the most distinguished member of the Hotteterre family. He was appointed as musician at the court of Louis XIV (till 1722), and was possibly the first flautist to play the one-keyed conical flute in the orchestra of the Paris Opera in 1681. It is therefore

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16 The term flautist-teachers is used where flautists were also important teachers. This also applies to flautist-composers.
17 'La Grande Ecurie' literally means The Great Stables. It was one of the musical organisations that operated under the patronage of Louis XIV (Carroll; 1999:91).
18 According to Rockstro (1928:536), it was Louis, not Jacques. Other sources, however, state that 'Jacques' was the most popular of the Hotteterres and that it was he who wrote the famous *Principes* and was employed by Louis XIV.
logical to assume that he was also the first to play this new flute in Lully's ballet, *Le Triomphe de l'Amour* (Toff; 1996:192).

*Les Principes de la Flûte Traversière* Op.4, by Jacques Hotteterre (Ballard Edition) is the only significant method of the first phase of the Baroque. It is regarded as the best work of its kind for the whole century. It is largely due to this work that Hotteterre became known as the father of French flute pedagogy (Toff; 1996:194). It was the first French treatise intended for the one-keyed flute and was reprinted several times and greatly imitated and plagiarised. Since *Les Principes* dates the definite acceptance of the transverse flute by French musicians (Fleury; 1923:524).

In his *method*, Hotteterre gives information on the practise of wind instruments. He elaborates on articulation (which is limited to the two syllables 'tu' and 'ru'), provides detailed indications about ornaments, trills, *port-de-voix* and accents, which is very important for the sound interpretation of French music from this era (Tranchefort; 1989:469).

Hotteterre's second treatise, *L'art de préluder sur la flûte traversière, la flûte a bec, sur le hautbois, et autres instruments*, Op.7, provides, apart from exercises and etudes, also important information on meter and rhythmical alteration. It is a theoretical work, accompanied by preludes of different characters, and provides an interesting approach to the art of improvisation in the eighteenth century (Tranchefort; 1989: 469).

Michel de la Barre (1675-1743) was the last great flautist of the reign of Louis XIV (Fleury; 1923:530). De la Barre, who studied with Philbert Rebille and René Pignon Descoteaux joined the King's Court in 1705. He served in the 'Grande Ecurie' from 1702-1705 and was a member of the Royal chamber orchestra, the Opera and the *Académie de Musique*. 
2.3.2.2 Flautists under the patronage of the aristocracy
These flautists were the protégés of various French noblemen and had to entertain at private parties.

Jean-Baptiste Loeillet (1680-1730)
This flautist-composer went to Paris in 1702 and was one of the most noted amongst the early players of the one-keyed flute. Unfortunately he moved to London in 1705 and changed his name to John Loeillet of London.

Anne Danican Philidor (1681-1728)
Anne was a Parisian born flautist-composer whose major contribution was the foundation of the Concerts Spirituels. (See p 15.)

Pierre Gabriel Buffardin (1690-1768)
Regarded as one of the most distinguished flute players of his time, he was also one of the first to adopt the new one-keyed conical flute. At the time when he was principal flautist in Dresden, Quantz\(^\text{19}\) was greatly impressed with his playing and studied with him for four months (Duchamel; 1953:47). Buffardin had flutes made to his own designs and is credited with the introduction of the register. He was especially known for his neatness and speed of execution. (J.S. Bach wrote his Partita in a minor for Buffardin.)

Jean-Christoph Naudot (c.1690-1762)
This Parisian flautist and contemporary of Blavet, was the protégé of the Count d’Egmont, Duke de Gueldre (Fleury; 1923:533) and possibly also performed at the Concerts Spirituels. He was an excellent musician, and after Quantz visited Paris, he mentioned Naudot with much approval in his autobiography.

\(^{19}\) Johan Joachim Quantz was a remarkable German flautist-composer and was in the service of Frederick the Great for over thirty years. His book, The true Art of Flute playing, is extremely valuable, offering general information on musical theories of the period.
Michel Blavet (1700-1768)
Urged by the Duke de Lévis, Michel went to Paris in 1723 and soon became the finest flute player in France. He was firstly employed by the Prince de Carignan and afterwards by the Count de Clermont, as director of his musical establishment (Rockstro; 1967:549). Blavet also appeared as soloist at the Concert Spirituel in 1726 and was appointed as principal flute in the Orchestra de l'Opéra in 1740 and kept this position up to 1760. What is really remarkable is that despite playing the flute left-handed, he was still regarded as the most able flautist of his time (Rockstro; 1967:549). Quantz visited Paris in 1726 and heard Blavet, Lucas, Naudot and other players of the one-keyed transverse flute, but considered Blavet to be the best (Duchamel; 1953:50).

2.3.3 French Composers of the Baroque

2.3.3.1 Background overview
The growth of the repertoire for the flute followed closely on the transformation of its structure, which took place in France in the late seventeenth century. (See pp. 7-9.) Toff (1998:194-200) distinguishes between three different phases.

The first phase of French Baroque flute music (1600-1725) is characterised by the amateur market that required music and French composers were quick to deliver. Composers dedicated their flute compositions to their rich and powerful pupils who were members of the aristocracy.

The early repertoire written for the one-keyed conical flute consisted mainly of elaborately ornamented folk songs, performed with singers, lutes, and other instruments (Powel; 2002). According to Fleury (1923:519) other compositions were airs from operas, ballets and oratorios, transcribed for solo flute, for flute and bass, and for two flutes without bass. This means that one or two treble instruments were played over a figured bass.

This unaccompanied flute duet was a favourite amongst amateurs and served, like the much rarer unaccompanied solo, both artistic and pedagogical purposes. Toff explains
(1996:193): "It was either contrapuntal, with the two parts relatively equal throughout, or homophonic, with the parts generally fitted into progressions of parallel thirds and sixths." This form continued well into the eighteenth century, long after the suite and sonata had declined in popularity.

The flute solo sonata underwent the most noticeable decline of any genre of flute music. Most of the sonatas published in Paris at this time were by foreign writers, such as Johan Baptiste Wendling and Christian Cannabich and the Italian Giuseppe Sammartini.

The second phase of French Baroque flute compositions (Toff; 1996:194) started at about 1725 and lasted until about 1740. It is characterised by events following the death of Louis XIV in 1715, such as fewer court concerts and the shifting of performances from the court of Versailles to the city of Paris.

During this period French virtuoso flautist-composers taught and performed mostly for the aristocracy and bourgeois public. They took full advantage of the music publishing business and public concerts and thus no longer owed their livelihoods to royal patronage but in stead to the functioning of the free market.

The third phase of the French Baroque flute began in the early 1740s (Toff; 1996:200) when, despite its popularity, composers lost interest in the flute. This situation reflected a growing musical sophistication when composition and performance became separate professions. This was due to the greater technical demands on performers, the enrichment of harmonic framework, the expansion of formal structures and more refined concepts of orchestration. Furthermore, the evolution of the musical style was in many ways more suited to the expressive capabilities of string instruments, than to the relatively less brilliant flute.

During the Baroque period the flute was known as an instrument which imitated bird-song or which was used for decoration. It was not yet regarded as a virtuoso instrument. Composers wanted their music to sell and therefore pieces had to be more impressive.
The very refined style of French baroque had to give way to works of technical display. This occurred as a result of the infiltration of the Italian style.

The flute was in the beginning stages of its development and incapable of performing efficiently because of some major mechanical obstacles. The first problem of poor intonation was largely due to varied distances between note-holes. In addition, the *corps de rechange* (inter-changeable joints) used by players, was not always of equal length and naturally influenced the pitch. Playing solo posed no problem, but together with other instruments it became a real problem. Secondly, the flute only had one key and difficult cross fingerings were used to produce chromatic notes. It could only play in the tonality of D and G.

However, the flute acquired a new role in the Baroque orchestra, with a large number of wind instruments and the flutes played an important role (Fleury; 1923:516). According to Howard et al (1984:784), the earliest orchestral appearances of the flute dates back to 1680 when it was used in French ballets and operas. Examples are Lully’s ballet *Triomphe de l'amour* of 1781, Charpentier’s *Médée* of 1694 and Destouches’ *Issé* of 1697. The flute entered the orchestra of the *Chapel Royal* by 1691 and soon appeared in orchestras throughout Europe (Howard et al; 1984:784).

2.3.3.2 Composers and Repertoire

In the pre-baroque, composers wrote music with many possible instruments in mind and melodies could be played either by the violin, flute, recorder, or oboe. From the mid-seventeenth century though, composers became interested and more inspired by the improved flute. As the instrument developed, so did the repertoire, which led to a whole generation of virtuoso flautists. In contrast to the pre-baroque music became a profession, as some musicians had to make their living from it. As a result composers, and actually all musicians, became much more serious and sophisticated.

Flute compositions of the mid-eighteenth century France reflected the larger musical trends of the era, as the rococo style emerged. Influenced by the new symphonic style,
composers tried out triadic themes, melodic arpeggiation and figuration, slower harmonic rhythm, an expansion of range and tonality, and in general, a fussier, more ornamented style (Fleury; 1923:536).

The following paragraphs discuss the compositions of the Baroque according to Toff's structure (See p.19).

The first phase (1600-1725)
(a) Pierre Gaultier (c.1643-97)
   His collections of suites and trios are amongst the earliest examples of compositions especially written for flute.

(b) Marin Marais (1656-1728)
   Marais, regarded by some as leader of the French school of bass viol, published his *Pièces en trio pour les flutes, violin, et dessus de viole* in 1692 (Toff; 1996:193).

(c) Jacques Hotteterre (1667-1760)
   He contributed significantly to the flute repertoire. His output comprises of two books with pieces for flute and bass and he was the first composer to write flute and harpsichord pieces in which the keyboard parts were fully recognised.

   Hotteterre composed the only unaccompanied flute music of this era, such as the two short *Echo* movements at the end of his *Pièces*, Op.2, the preludes in his *L'art de préluder*, and some arrangements of airs which were published by c.1721. He also composed two suites for unaccompanied flute and his music displays grace and special refinement. The elegant ornamentation is perfectly integrated in an elaborated and convincing style (Tranchefort; 1989: 469).

   His *Pièces* Op.2, edited and published by Ballard and dedicated to Louis XIV, includes two duos for unaccompanied flutes, three suites of pieces for flute and
continuo and short *Echo* movements for solo flute (Tranchefort; 1989:469). The work starts with two duos for flute in dialogue.

In 1712 Hotteterre published two additional works: A collection of trio sonatas Op.3 and a first suite of duos without basso continuo for flute, recorder, violes, etc. He arranged sonatas composed by Italians, such as Albinoni and Valentine, but only published his first original flute sonatas in 1715 (Toff; 1996:194).

His second book of flute pieces, Op.5 was published in 1715 just after the Op.2 pieces. Here he reunited pieces of different movements for flute and bass and described it as sonatas (Tranchefort; 1989:470). He also wrote a book of trio sonatas for transverse flutes, a second suite of pieces Op.6 and a third suite, Op.8. He was largely responsible for the eventual supremacy of the sonata over the suite, publishing eight sonata books for two flutes and sets for flute and continuo between 1724-1733.

Michel de la Barre (1675-1743)
The flood of eighteenth century flute music really started with Michel de la Barre, the most perfect representative of French flute composition of the seventeenth century (Fleury; 1923:528). His considerable output for the flute overshadows that of his contemporary, Hotteterre.

His works include a series of three books of trios in the grand Versailles taste, and clearly imitated Marin Marais's trios of 1692 (Perreau; 2001:41). These trios comprise of dance suites assembled according to tonalities. The interpreters can choose the movements they prefer to play. The first book of 1694 was a set of trios for two violins or flutes and bass (Carroll: 1999; 56).

La Barre's *Pièces* for flute and continuo, were the first chamber music especially intended for the flute and also the first solo flute pieces officially published in Europe (Howard *et al*; 1984:784). They are mostly in suite form and their
simplicity of line and elegance of articulation suited his performing style well. In
the preface La Barre gives specific instructions for articulation and
ornamentation. He was again a pioneer in 1707 when his third book, which
includes sonatas for two flutes and bass, was the first such score to be published
in Europe (Toff; 1996:194).

La Barre's compositions include fourteen books of flute and continuo music, flute
duets and trio sonatas (Carroll; 1999:56). Between 1709 to 1725, he composed
almost twenty-one suites for two flutes without bass, stylistically directly inspired
by his own trios (Perreau; 2001:41).

La Barre's instrumental suites consist of slow Preludes, rather pompous
Allemandes and pathetic Sarabandes, very much in the style of Lully. However,
with frequent introduction of ornaments, he changed their solemnity. All his
scores are extraordinary and the simple combination of one or two flutes with
basso continuo was quite unusual at that time (Fleury; 1923:529).

The suite of La Barre and Hotteterre with its flexible form became a French
national trademark. After 1700 the French style was infiltrated by the Italian,
which resulted in the suite being superseded by the sonata (Toff; 1996:194).

(e) Michel Pignolet de Monteclair (1667-1737)
He was one of the first composers to use the flute or pairs of flutes, as
accompanying or obligato instruments in cantatas (Carroll; 1999:56). His
compositions include various unaccompanied flute duets and a set of concertos
for flute and continuo. An example example of his work is the Sérénade ou Concert
divisée en trios suites.
(f) Philidor brothers

François-Danican Philidor (1689-1718) was born in Versailles and composed *Pieces pour la flûte* in two volumes. Pierre-Danican Philidor, (1681-1731) was also a flautist and composed three books of suites for two flutes.

The Second Phase (1725-1740)

This period was greatly characterised by the influence of the sonata on many composers. The most important amongst them are Joseph Bodin de Boismortier, Jacques Christoph Naudot, Jean-Marie Leclair, Michel Blavet and Michel Corette (Howard *et al*; 1984:784).

(a) Joseph Bodin de Boismortier (1689-1755)

De Boismortier was born in Thionville. He took composition lessons from Joseph Valette de Montigny and later joined the *Concerts Spirituels* and the *Académie Royal de Musique*. He composed for all instruments that were popular at that time, but the flute was his favourite. Between 1724 and 1729 he composed more pieces than Hotteterre and La Barre together in their entire lifetimes (Perreau; 2001:40).

Most of his compositions are for flute, and include various duos, trios without basso continuo, solos, duos with basso continuo, concertos, sonatas, a method, as well as many other significant works. His compositions were mainly aimed at the amateur market and as a result he avoided difficult tonalities. The movements of his trios are much shorter and harmonically less complicated than those of his predecessors.

His flute sonatas display a new virtuosity, with a lighter and more singing technique. The four or five movements of the sonatas include gracious rondos in the French style, musettes, gavottes and several slow and light movements. De Boismortier remained committed to certain melodic and decorative elements of the French style at a period when Italian music influenced many French composers (Tranchefort; 1989:140). But the Italian style soon influenced
everything and gradually De Boismortier abandoned the French style and
tenderness gave way to great virtuosity, which only the violin was capable of
earlier. The flute became a real rival for the violin, which is most notable in his
Op.9, Op.17 and Op.44.²⁰

His duos, (such as Op.1, Op.2, Op.6 and Op.8) were much more popular among
flautists than his trios. It seems that he wanted to democratise this type of duo in
which he stressed the principle of galante and refined conversation, a special
intimacy between two interpreters, who are equally important (Perreau; 2001:41).
De Boismortier never reduced the second flute to mere accompaniment. This
system of imitation was a golden rule in his duos, which were later imitated by
contemporaries such as Jean-Daniel Braun, Jacques-Christoph Naudot and Michel
Corette (Perreau; 2001:39).

De Boismortier composed the first solo French concertos for any instrument
(Perreau; 2001:41) and also wrote a valuable method, Principe de la flûte Op.40,
which unfortunately was lost.

He wrote Diverses Pièces pour une Flûte Traversière seule avec des Préludes sur
tous les tons et des seconds dessus ajoutés to serve as studies for the amateur
flautist. This album consists of several short, easy duos in which he avoided
strange tonalities, which may be difficult to sight-read for the beginner. All the
duos have a sub-title (Tranchefort; 1989:140) and are classified according to
tonalities, from C major to C# minor.

In 1733 he composed Quatre petites suites à deux flûtes traversières propres pour
ceux qui veulent commencer à jouer de la Clef de g. ré. Sol, sur la second ligne.
Here, De Boismortier anticipates Blavet who made transcriptions of his own duos
for flute (composed in 1728) in 1741, in the key of G as they are known today. De
Boismortier seems to have been a real innovator in many areas.

²⁰ See Appendix 2.
De Boismortier's contemporaries adopted the new Italian style of virtuosity, and produced purely virtuoso works in order to show off the technical possibilities of the flute.

(b) Jean-Christoph Naudot (c.1690-1762)
His output includes duets, sonatas for flute and bass, trio sonatas for two flutes and continuo and some excellent concertos for flute and strings (Carroll; 1999:61). His main contribution to the French flute repertoire was the publication of the first printed set of solo concertos. In his seven-part concertos he anticipates the concerti grossi which were to flourish in French music a few years later. His numerous and varied compositions place him in the first rank of the lesser masters of the instrumental composition of the Baroque.

(c) Jean-Marie Leclair (1697-1764)
Leclair, who founded the French violin school, composed many pieces for flute (Toff; 1996:199), most probably as a result of his association with Michel Blavet at the Concerts Spirituel.

His Sonatas (such as Op.2 and Op.9) reflect French and Italian elements because movements of the pièce genre or dances are mixed with movements indicated by Italian tempo markings. He used the special technical resources of the Italian violin school, but his music also required the use of French notes inégales. His compositions mostly had written-out instead of improvised ornamentation, which differ from the Italian. In most of his compositions, Leclair was particularly sympathetic towards the limited technical abilities of amateur flautists.

(d) Michet Blavet (1700-1768)
Blavet's work comprises, in particular, three books of six sonatas for flute and bass, which were published between 1728 and 1740. He was well aware of the technical limitations of the transverse flute and never wrote anything that
exceeded its possibilities. In these sonatas he was not afraid to omit the obligatory introductory Adagios, as well as the rapid finale movements for pieces of a less conventional character.

Blavet arranged three collections of pieces, little airs, brunettes and minuets for transverse flutes (Fleury; 1923:535). They are gracious in style and display the performer’s virtuosity, but the brilliant passages, as well as the more expressive ones, all show balance and good taste. Blavet not only wrote music for himself, but also inspired works by other composers.

(e) Michel Corette (1709-95)
He was an organist, but as with De Boismortier, his lack of first hand knowledge of the flute, did not prevent him from composing excellently for the instrument. He wrote the treatise Methodes Instrumentales, which includes a volume on the flute. Corette describes the flute (now made in four parts, of which the second is inter-changeable with others following the various diapasons) and he mentions the piccolo for the first time (Powell; 1996:22). He also provides some examples of almost improvised preludes, writes about transposition and even provide useful hints of how to adapt certain passages and arpeggios of violin music to the range and abilities of the flute.

Other Frenchmen who have also composed for the flute after 1725 include Jean-Daniel Braun, Pierre-Gabriel Buffardin, Louis Caix d’Hervelois, Nicolas Chédeville, André Chéron and Louis Gabriel Guilleman.

The Third Phase (c.1740-1750)
This period is especially characterised by the sudden drop in the quality and quantity of solo flute compositions. However, the instrument became an essential part of the orchestra. As stated earlier, the very first example of the transverse flute being used as an orchestral instrument was in Lully’s ballet, Le Triomphe de l’Amour. Four solo flutes
execute the prelude to this work, which is a sort of melancholic plaint. Lully very skillfully utilised the tender and poetic tone of the transverse flute.

(a) François Couperin (1668-1733)
Couperin composed music with no specific instrumentation, as did many other composers of this period. An example is his *Concerts Royaux*, which can be performed either on harpsichord, violin, flute, oboe, viol or bassoon (Carroll; 1999:57). They were intended for the Sunday concerts of Louis XIV and were originally played by Couperin (harpsichord) and the flautists Philidor, Dubois and others.

The *Nouveaux concerts à l'usage de toutes les sortes d'instruments de musiques* was written for one or more treble instruments and continuo. *Les Nations* consists of four suites of movements for two treble instruments such as flutes, violins or oboes and continuo. This work also contains music from other trios written at an earlier stage (Carroll; 1999:57).

(b) Jean Phillipe Rameau (1683-1764)
Rameau was one of the first composers to use the conical one-keyed flute in his orchestral scores. The new flute was featured in his two motets *In Convertendo* and *Quam Dilecta* (Carroll; 1999:58). Flutes also featured in his opera *Hippolyte et Aricie*. Rameau strongly promoted the flute and other woodwinds as orchestral instruments. One of the greatest chamber music collections ever written was his *Pieces de Clavecin en concert* scored for flute or violin, viola da gamba or violin and harpsichord (Howard et al; 1984:784). The treble part needs to be transcribed in several places when played by the flute.

Later eighteenth century composers for the flute include Benoit Guillemant, P. Evrard Taillard l'aîné, Jean Nicolas Leclerc (also an instrument crafter) and De Lusse.
2.4 Summary and Conclusions

Claude Rafi from Lyon was regarded as one of the most celebrated artisans of the pre-Baroque period. The efforts of the crafter Mathurin, also from Lyon, to make the flute tunable are also of major importance in the development of the instrument. Pierre Attaingnant was the first French printer of chansons and Simon Gorlier published the first pedagogical treatise of its kind in Lyon.

The first key that the flute acquired was added in France before the end of the seventeenth century. Prior to 1720 the Hotteterre flute, i.e. the three-piece, one-keyed flute was the standard instrument, but during the early 20s the first four-piece flutes were made, all of them apparently in France. In this regard many sources make special mention of the role of families of crafters (such as the Hotteterres and Lots) in the village of La Couture-Boussey.

The role of the Hotteterre family is of special importance. They were also the first to make the flute in three short sections and created the blueprint for the modern flute of today. But also remarkable is the amazing number of flute crafters who were mostly also the flautists and composers of this period. Jacques Hotteterre not only composed the only unaccompanied flute music of this time, but his method of 1707 is regarded as the most outstanding work of its kind for this period.

After 1725 flautists also performed at public concerts and virtuoso French flautists started touring to other countries to perform as soloists. Pierre Gabriel Buffardin and Michel Blavet were regarded as the most distinguished flautists in the world. And Michel de la Barre was a real pioneer with his great contribution to the flute repertoire of the seventeenth century.
3.1 Introduction

During the Classical era, France experienced four different styles of government, two republics and two empires. The period was characterised by seven revolutions or major coups d'état. Jones (1994:176) refers to France as the European State with the strongest revolutionary tradition. The Revolution meant that, that which was previously the exclusive privilege of the rich (including the arts), now also became accessible to the common man.

The establishment of the Conservatoire Nationale de Musique de Paris (C.N.S.M.) was a direct result of the French Revolution of 1789. The professors of this new Conservatoire (1795) were the principal members of the military band, the Harmonie de la Garde Nationale (Verroust; 1993:47) and the French capital became the ideal environment for wind instruments since the end of the eighteenth century. Courts no longer had the exclusive privilege of concerts, because public concerts, like the Concerts Spirituels, became very popular.

The main objective of this chapter is to explain the contribution of French manufacturers, flautists, teachers and composers in the Classical period. Section 3.2 however, firstly discusses the foundation of the C.N.S.M., whilst Section 3.3 elaborates on the issue of the acceptance of additional keys by the French. This important issue continued to be an obstacle in the flute's development for a very long time since it influenced flautists, as well as manufacturers and the repertoire.

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21 The Conservatoire National de Musique de Paris is generally known as the C.N.S.M. and the abbreviation is used throughout the remainder of the dissertation.
3.2 Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique de Paris

Prior to 14 July 1789 (Bastille Day), King Louis XVI guaranteed a high quality of singers and actors in France by the establishment of schools (in 1784 & 1786 for singers and actors respectively) where aspiring music students could be taught. After 1789, a great interest in instrumental music developed and the Institut National de Musique was founded on 8 November 1793 to promote instrumental music. In 1795 The Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique de Paris was established through the amalgamation of the École de chant et de declamation with the Institut Nationale de Musique. This institution was to play a dominant role in the development of the French flute tradition and became home to several generations of brilliant and influential flautists and teachers.\(^{22}\)

3.3 The acceptance of additional keys

The one-keyed conical flute remained the standard during the Baroque era, but by about 1775 manufacturers realised that the flute could be improved. French flute manufacturers made several important modifications to the flute. Their initial aim was to do away with the fork (or cross) fingerings, to facilitate chromatic playing with the help of additional keys (G#, B-flat and F), to homogenise the quality of the sound through the different registers and to expand the limited range (Compte; 1997:69).

In the early Classical era, English pioneers developed the four-keyed flute, by adding additional chromatic keys to its primary scale. There is evidence that the new keys were known in France as early as 1774, but they were not generally accepted till about 1789. The reason for this lies in the differences of opinion regarding the efficiency of the new keys and there were two distinct schools of thought. One, represented by François Devienne, was in favour of the one-keyed flute, whilst representatives of the other school,

\(^{22}\) The contribution of the C.N.S.M. will be accentuated throughout, but will be explained in more detail in Chapter 6.
Johann Georg Wunderlich, Antoine Hugot and Benoit-Tranquille Berbiguier, accepted the four-keyed flute.

Some flutes were now also provided with two additional foot-keys, C# and C. The flute was lengthened by more or less two inches. The added portion had two note holes which were covered by keys. (These keys were controlled by the little finger.) The C- and C#-keys were eventually removed as the transmission of low notes was difficult and the sound of a feeble intensity.

The following paragraphs compare the contents of two methods\textsuperscript{23}, written by the C.N.S.M professors, Devienne, Wunderlich and Hugot at the time of the debate. These methods are the only reliable evidence of the difference of opinion.

(a) \textit{Méthode pour la flûte} by François Devienne (1792-94)
Devienne supported the teaching principles of the eighteenth century and his method was intended for the flute with one key. It is in two parts. The first covers the principles of music, whilst the second part contains a series of pieces (including twenty little airs, eighteen little duos, six grand sonatas) with preludes in the same tonality for each piece.

Devienne acknowledged (Compte; 1997:71) that the new small keys were useful when playing slow movements, although he did not recommend them for playing fast movements. Furthermore, he rejected the additional extension to C# and C.

(b) \textit{Méthode de flûte du Conservatoire adoptée pour servir l'étude dans cet établissement, Paris: Imprimerie du Conservatoire du Musique} (1804) by Antoine Hugot and Johan Georg Wunderlich.
This method differed radically from the previous. Hugot and Wunderlich were much more liberal and open to new modifications. They accepted the three new

\textsuperscript{23} Unfortunately both these methods are largely outdated. They were written for one- and four keyed flutes and do therefore not apply to modern Boehm system flutes.
keys and the extension to the low C and C# and adapted their method accordingly (Hondré; 1996:56).

The instrument described in their method had two additional *corps de rechange*, which replaced the middle joint. One of these *corps*, which was shorter than the one being replaced, heightened the pitch, while the other, which was longer, lowered it (Compte; 1997:71). In order to eliminate the interchange between joints, Hugot and Wunderlich suggested a mechanism, which they called a 'pump', that could lengthen or shorten the body of the instrument according to the flautists' need. Unfortunately, the device was flawed in two respects: firstly, it affected the intonation negatively and secondly, the metal from which it was manufactured, made the instrument heavy and thus hindered comfortable playing by the left hand.

The above shows that Hugot and Wunderlich did not approve of the use of metal, which according to them, also resulted in a too big sound of poor quality. They also discussed the controversial issue of additional keys, to which Devienne was opposed and emphasised that the four-keyed flute was advantageous for:

- all pieces with one or more flats or sharps (accidentals/chromatic notes) in the key;
- better intonation of semi-tones, especially in the lower octave (the b-flat, and a-flat especially);
- better intonation of major and minor trills;
- a stronger and better tuned f# and f natural;
- the equalisation of 'feeble' notes and to make them stronger in the low register;
- many traits which were often technically difficult and without effect on the one-keyed flute.

Despite the addition of chromatic keys, one-keyed instruments remained popular and were manufactured through most of the nineteenth century. One reason for its survival was probably because it was cheaper to manufacture. Contemporary instruction books and surviving instruments also show that the one-keyed flute was not all out of fashion at the time when Beethoven composed his symphonies (Toff; 1996:47).
This controversy (which presumably was also politically motivated) affected manufacturers, flautists, as well as composers, and continued well into the nineteenth century.24

3.4 Manufacturers and the Instrument

The early nineteenth century saw several modifications to the flute's construction that were to have profound, even if delayed, effects on future manufacturing (Toff; 1996:49). The most celebrated French manufacturers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century include the Hotteterre-family, Charles Delusse, Claude Laurent, Pierre Naust, Auguste Buffet, Thomas Lot, Clair Godefroy and Jacques Nonon.

3.4.1 The Hotteterres

The contribution of the Hotteterres is discussed in pp. 10-13. They remained very active during this period, still experimenting with new ideas, which eventually resulted in major changes to their flutes. By 1815 the finger holes were visibly smaller than before and of varying sizes. The reduction of the tone holes of all woodwinds was yet another Hotteterre invention.

3.4.2 Charles Delusse

It is believed that Delusse invented the flûte harmonique (an instrument somewhat similar to the double flageolet) in 1780 (Fairley; 1982:31), as well as the bass flute,25 first manufactured in 1751.

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24 In Diderot's famous Encyclopédie Méthodique, which was published in 1785, he states "... it is pretended that an English musician had constructed a flute with seven keys in order to obtain all the semitones ..." (Bate; 1975:96). Maybe the controversy resulted because of the fact that the new developments came to France at a bad time following the Seven Years War against England, in which France suffered greatly.

25 The bass flute by Delusse is fully described in Volume 4 of the Encyclopédie of Diderot and d'Alembert (Galway; 1996:29).
Because the holes of the bass flute were drilled too far apart, it was practically impossible to close all of them. Therefore keys had to be added to manipulate them. It is most likely that English manufacturers noticed this new invention, applied it and developed their four-keyed flute. Therefore Delusse was probably more involved in the evolution of wind instruments than he was aware of. Some instruments made by Delusse, including the bass flute, have survived and are kept in the instrumental museum of the C.N.S.M. (Rockstro; 1967:552).

3.4.3 Claude Laurent

Laurent was a creative craftsman who manufactured most of his flutes between 1806 and 1848 (Giannini; 1993:215). In 1805 he started to make crystal glass flutes, which were patented on 10 September 1806 and for which he won a silver medal at the Paris Exhibition of the same year. For the tube of this flute he used glass, that necessitated silver tenons and sockets in order to strengthen the joints, longer springs to increase elasticity, and key mountings, which were screwed to the glass tube. Turned metal pillars were also used and Laurent was one of the first manufacturers to use forked steel springs. For the 1806-patent he invented the little roller which facilitated sliding of the right little finger from the low C# to C. This roller is still in use today and can be found on most modern Boehm system flutes. He also installed the support of the axis of the keys ([http://www.JLPublishing.com]).

Some critics claimed (Bate; 1975:108) that these flutes were just pretty too look at and not really better than their less flamboyant contemporaries. The use of glass for the tube was strongly criticised. Nevertheless, its intractability led to one interesting innovation. Although the joints could be ground down to form tenons fairly easily, the mating socket was both difficult to form and not very strong and therefore silver sleeves were cemented on to form the female part of the joint.

In about 1815 Laurent introduced cover plates, which were hinged transversely (Fairley; 1982:73). Laurent made three-, four-, seven-, eight- and nine-keyed glass flutes.
Most of his flutes had four fluted glass sections, five rings and blue glass caps. Laurent flutes still survive of which twenty-six are in private hands and the others in museum collections.

Laurent's glass flutes were precious and very expensive and therefore the perfect gifts for special people. The French government thus presented one to President James Madison during Lafayette's visit to the United States. This gesture shows that artisans in France were noted for their exceptional skill and that instrument crafting was considered a worthy profession ([http://www.JLPublishing.com]).

3.4.4 Thomas Lot

Thomas was the great-grand uncle of the very famous Louis Lot. He had a workshop in Paris (1734-1787) in the eighteenth century and was well known throughout Europe. He made four-piece, one-keyed instruments (Carroll; 1999:53; Duplaix; 1996:61). During Thomas Lot's career, which spanned over more than sixty years, the basic design of the flute hardly changed. It was the period of the four-piece-one keyed flute, usually with corps de réchange, apparently introduced by the Naust workshop (c1720) about the time that Lot arrived in Paris. Lot began his apprenticeship as the era of the three-piece Baroque flute was closing and by the end of his career the one-keyed flute was gradually being replaced by the four-keyed one (Giannini; 1993:36).

26 The majority of his flutes had the following features:
- four to nine silver keys
- glass 'corks'
- short silver tuning slides in the head
- faceted rock crystal caps
- flat steel springs on the keys
- flat leather pads
- fluted glass
- frosted bores.

27 According to Duplaix (1996:61) Thomas Lot's dates are 1740-1785.
3.4.5 Clair Godfroy Aïné

Godfroy was a celebrated woodwind maker in Paris in the early 1800s. He specialised in flutes and won many prizes at various exhibitions for his excellence.28

Both the Lot and Godfroy families were craftsmen from La Couture-Boussey in Normandy. The two family concerns later merged and operated under the name Godfroy-fils & Lot. Most of their innovations took place in the Romantic period when they reformed the Boehm flute.

3.5 French Classical Flautists, Teachers and Composers

3.5.1 Background Overview

The Classical era saw the beginning of extreme instrumental brilliance. During the period of the enlightenment in French art and philosophy, music became more rational and instrumental solos developed into an unrestrained, brilliant genre. This development in the late eighteenth century resulted in the rise of Romantic flute virtuoso. Never before had audiences been so dazzled by flautists, such as François Devienne.

As they toured the cities of Europe, French flautists had to develop a marketing strategy of which flamboyant virtuosity was the prime component. Little is known about these flautists and how they managed to survive. It is also not possible to judge their real standard (given the limitations of the instruments at that time) because it was prior to the time of recordings.

28 Godfroy flutes of around 1818:
- were made from granadilla wood.
- were equipped with five keys (C, B-flat, G#, short F, D#)
- descended to D
- had a partial tuning slide in the headjoint
- were 53.6 cm long, and were tuned to A = 440.
The flute was a favourite instrument of the Rococo (ca.1730-1770) and its prominence as a solo instrument continued towards the end of the eighteenth century when the string quartet and the keyboard sonata gained prominence over the solo sonata. However, since the mid-eighteenth century (1750), the flute started to play an important role in chamber music. Chamber music then was a broad term that even included concertos, since aristocrats still used private chamber orchestras.

The decline of the basso continuo and the replacement of the harpsichord by the fortepiano, which did not complement the woodwind instruments of the day, predicted the decline of the flute sonata. This new sonata style was best suited to the solo fortepiano (Toff; 1996:221). However, the flute did maintain its status as solo instrument; moreover, its role as concerto solo instrument was increasing and the sonata or duet for two flutes was another form which replaced the flute and keyboard sonata.

French composers had to cater for the needs, requirements and capabilities of a variety of amateur musicians, who were the main performers at that time. Therefore dance and folk elements were often included in serious music. The growth of the French middle class amateur market, as well as the increasing number of professional flautists, also created a need for the publication of pedagogical material. As a result, all the professors of the C.N.S.M.29 wrote methods, which included everything from instructions on performing techniques to studies and simple compositions.30

Compositions of the Classical era avoided the complex harmonies and structures of the Baroque and melodic lines aimed to give pleasure to listeners. Genres which were very popular in France at this time included duos, trios, quintets (combinations of either flute and string quartet, or flute, oboe and string trio) and wind quintets (consisting of flute, oboe, clarinet, horn, and bassoon), the symphony concertante (Verroust; 1995:50), as well as numerous transcriptions,31 mostly from violin pieces.

29 Devienne, Tromlitz, Hugot, Delusse and J. G. Wunderlich in the Classical Era.
30 See p. 34 for Devienne's method, p. 35 for Hugot and Wunderlich's and p. 42 for Delusse's method.
The composition style was increasingly influenced by the virtuoso phenomenon because the professional performer made new demands on the composer. Firstly, music had to focus on the soloist and secondly, the soloist required a repertoire of attention-maintaining devices such as a wide variety of contrast, suspense, special effects, and cadenzas. French composers therefore increasingly considered concertos as the right vehicles to attract audiences and wrote flute concertos with public performances at the *Concerts Spirituels* as their aim.

Brilliant flautist-composers contributed significantly to the development of chamber music in the Classical era. Due to the shortage of pieces, they composed either for themselves or for their students or especially for the C.N.S.M., which commissioned works for the annual final examinations.

The following paragraphs provide a brief discussion of the most important flautists, teachers and composers of this time. It is interesting that almost all of these men were flautists, as well as composers, because they had to provide their own music. They were either conservative, playing the flute with one key, or more liberal using the four-keyed flute32.

3.5.2 Flautists-Teachers and Composers

3.5.2.1 Charles Delusse (1731-1780)33 *

Delusse, who descends from a family of wind instrument craftsmen, was appointed principal flautist at the *Opéra Comique* of Paris in 1758 (Rockstro; 1967:553). He was an excellent flautist, composer and author, but is chiefly remembered as skilful manufacturer of wind instruments.

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31 See Appendix IV.
32 Players of flutes with four to eight keys are indicated by *.
33 There are some uncertainty surrounding the dates of Delusse. According to most sources his date of death is unknown. Duchamel (1953:51) believes it to be after 1780.
He was author of the method, *L'art de la Flûte Traversière*.$^{34}$ It is a very original method and of a much higher standard than previous methods. It also shows that some of these so-called amateur flautists were technically quite advanced. The method includes a novice series of progressive ‘lessons’ which consists of short studies, preceded by tonal studies. It also includes twelve brilliant Caprices,$^{35}$ which are clearly intended for more advanced flautists and indicate a remarkably free and daring writing style. This method is the first example of the application of harmonics, quarter tones and tremolos (Powell; 1996:23).

In 1751 Delusse published two sets of six flute sonatas with figured bass. Although his sonatas retain the baroque *basso-continuo*, the influences of the melodic character of the Rococo and the Mannheim school are evident (Toff; 1996:226). He also published six duets, six divertimentos for two flutes, six sonatinas for flute and bass and a volume of *Romances historiques*.

### 3.5.2.2 Francois-Joseph Gossec (1734-1829)

Although not a flautist, Toff claims (1996:226) that: . . . “Gossec was one of the most important forces in French classical instrumental music.” He was one of the first directors of the new C.N.S.M. and served as director of private as well as public musical establishments. He founded the orchestra of the *Concert des Amateurs* in 1760 and developed it into one of the greatest orchestras in Europe. His compositions for flute include a symphonie concertante for flute and violin, as well as duets and quartets.

### 3.5.2.3 Felix Rault* (1736-1800)

Rault was a student of Blavet and succeeded him as principal flute of the Paris Opéra. In 1768 he was engaged in the *Musique du Roy* and joined the *Concerts Spirituels*. He was known as the best teacher in France and Wunderlich was his best student (Duchamel; 1996:226).

$^{34}$ *L'Art de la flûte traversière* was published in Paris by M. DE LUSSE in 1761 (Lasocki; 1978:i).
$^{35}$ The Twelve Caprices were also separately published by Nova Music, London.
1953:52). He wrote numerous works for the flute, including sonatas, duos, concertos, trios for flute, violin and viola, trios for two flutes and bassoon.

3.5.2.4 Johan Georg Wunderlich (1759-1803)*

Wunderlich, a German flautist, came to Paris in 1776 to study with Felix Rault. Wunderlich was a member of the orchestras of the *Concerts Spirituels, Orchestre de l'Opéra* and the *Chapel Royal* (Hondré; 1996:58). He was appointed as flute professor at the C.N.S.M. from 1795 until 1802 (the second flute class) and from 1804 till 1816 (the only flute class) and his most famous students were Jean-Louis Tulou and Benoit-Tranguille Berbiguer.

In 1801, in addition to his heavy schedule as soloist and flute-teacher, he edited a *Méthode de Flûte*. Originally written by Hugot (See p. 35.), Johan Wunderlich completed it after his death in 1804. It was accepted by the C.N.S.M., published in 1804 and supplemented François Devienne's Method of 1795 (Rockstro; 1967:559).

Wunderlich's compositions include sonatas, duos, solos, divertissements and études (Duchamel; 1953:52).

3.5.2.5 François Devienne (1759-1803)

Devienne was one of the foremost French flautists of his day and the last of the brilliant galaxy of flautists who lent their splendour to the three reigns36 leading up to the outbreak of the Revolution (Fleury; 1923:537). Devienne was, together with Hugot, the first flute professor at the Conservatoire (1795) and Guillou was his best student. Devienne remained there till 1802 (Duchamel; 1953:53).

Even though he was of the 'old school' and opposed the use of new keys, (as explained in section 3.3) he nevertheless recommended the use of these to his students. But he

36 The reigns of Louis XIII, Louis XIV and Louis XV.
condemned the use of double- or triple-tonguing, saying that it would do more harm than good (Duchamel; 1953:53).

He wrote a method, as was expected from every C.N.S.M. professor at that time. In his *Nouvelle Method* (1794)<sup>37</sup> Devienne includes valuable information on classic performance practice, as well as useful practice duets. He also introduces Dougue, the French version of double-tonguing, for the first time (although he strongly rejects it), as well as the Turu which he regards as not effective. He goes as far as stating that the Tid'll of the Anglo-Saxons’ should not even have been mentioned (Powell; 1996:24-26). This fundamental method initiated the publication of an almost unbroken chain of methods, published by various professors of the C.N.S.M. Devienne’s method was later revised and updated by Philippe Gaubert for the Boehm flute (McCutchan; 1994).

Devienne was an exceptional composer who composed more than a hundred works in all forms, for all instruments and for every kind of combination.<sup>38</sup> He strove to promote composition for wind instruments in the late eighteenth century. His compositions for flute include sonatas for flute and bass, duos for two flutes (with or without keyboard), trios, quartets, and most importantly, concertos and symphony concertantes (Toff; 1996:225). According to Duchamel (1953:53), Devienne’s chamber music should feature alongside first class, chef-d’œuvre works because of its inspiring nature and therefore deserved to be re-edited.

Devienne’s trios with bass (Op.18 and Op.77) show excellent melodic invention in the dialogue. He also composed six trios for flute, viola and cello, six trios for flute, violin and viola and six trios for two flutes and bass (Tranchefort; 1989:266). Devienne wrote twenty quartets for flute, violin, viola and bass and *sonates en quatuor* for flute, violin, viola and cello in 1789.

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<sup>37</sup> According to Duchamel (1953:53) Devienne’s Method was published in 1795.

<sup>38</sup> During the French Revolution of 1789, Devienne composed more than sixty works of outstanding quality in only ten years.
His concertos need to be specially mentioned. They are of pre-classic nature and are usually in the traditional fast-slow-fast structure. Although the allegro movements have a clearly defined middle section with at least two new themes (a second exposition), the development section of the true sonata form is omitted (Toff; 1996:225). The instrumentation of Devienne’s flute concertos was standard for its time. Two violins, viola, cello, bass, and pairs of oboes and horns accompany the flute. The flute solo, accompanied by two violins, was a favourite textural tool. Devienne intended the technically demanding solo parts for himself or for another equally talented flautist. The range of these concertos is wide for that period (i.e. from d1 to a3). The solo melodic lines contain rapid passages, arpeggios, and large leaps and allow for cadenzas (Toff; 1996:226).

Devienne’s Symphonies Concertantes were performed at the Concerts Spirituels and are indicative of the form’s acceptance in general. They are dedicated to a specific flautist or to a friend of Devienne, unlike the bulk of his chamber music and concertos, which are all dedicated to his wealthy patrons (Toff; 1996:226).

3.5.2.6 Antoine Hugot* (1761-1803)

Hugot was professor of flute at the Ecole Gratuite de la Garde National which, shortly after its formation in 1793, was transformed into the Institut National de Musique and thereafter, in 1795, into the C.N.S.M. (Duchamel; 1953:54). He occupied the post till 1803 (together with Devienne) where his best-known pupil was Gebauer. He initiated the historically important Méthode de flûte adoptée pour servir à l’étude dans cet établissement which was completed by Wunderlich after his death in 1804. Toff (1996:227) claims that it was “... one of the leading methods of the nineteenth century ...” and according to Hondré (1996:56) some flautists even regard it as the turning point between eighteenth and nineteenth century flute-pedagogy (Hondré; 1996:56). It was the first official method of the C.N.S.M. and was re-edited so many times that the original is no longer recognisable.
Apart from teaching, Hugot performed regularly and was principal flute of the *Opéra Comique*. With the formation of Viotti’s theatre in Paris, the *Bouffons Italiens*, he was also appointed as principal flute. According to the Biography Universelle des *Musicains* (Duchamel; 1953:54), it was at concerts given at this theatre in 1796 and 1797, that Hugot’s talent really came to the fore. He was admired for the most perfect execution of flute music that had ever been heard in France.

Hugot composed two sets of flute sonatas in the 1790s, as well as an unusual set of *Six sonatas faciles* (six easy sonatas) for unaccompanied flute, a genre not common for that time (Toff; 1996:227). He also wrote six *grande solos* and rondos or etudes, which are actually extracts taken from his concertos.

3.5.2.7 Benoit-Tranquille Berbiguier (1782-1838)
Berbiguier studied flute, violin and cello, entered the C.N.S.M. at the advanced age of thirty-three, and studied flute with Wunderlich. He was a left-handed flautist, a phenomenon quite common at that time (Fairly; 1982:12), and was regarded as a brilliant performer, although he did not play in any important orchestra. He was also a gifted composer for the flute (Duchamel; 1953:56).

As stated earlier, Berbiguier was one of the flautists who differed from Devienne and approved the additional new keys. He also thought that Devienne should have tried the new articulation technique of double- and triple-tonguing (*dougue*), which he felt was very effective.

In his method, Berbiguier recommended the practice of scales, intervals and *sons-files* (thin long notes) to obtain a beautiful tone. He also included studies in different tonalities for the practice of different fingerings of chromatic notes.

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39 According to Duchamel (1953:54), he was appointed at the Théâtre de Monsieur, which became Théâtre Feydeau in 1791 and finally the Opéra Comique in 1801.
40 The mid-eighteenth century France was characterised by the Guerre des Bouffons (War of the Buffonists). This quarrel was about an Italian Opéra company in Paris that was tremendously popular with Italian Comic Opéra (Grout & Palisca; 1988:570).
According to Verroust (1991:32), Berbiguier composed the first French romantic flute concertos. They are very interesting, although at a different level than those of Drouet. Drouet's works display excessive virtuosity while Berbiguier's works are much more expressive and extremely stylish.

3.6 Summary and Conclusions

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the French school acquired a music institution of exceptional standard. As from this period the musical environment in general in Paris was dominated by the C.N.S.M. The most important flautists of this time, all studied at this institution. And from the first professor, Devienne, through Hugot, Duverger, Wunderlich and others, the standards of the C.N.S.M were to become the standards of the world (Toff; 1996:101).

It is evident that the French flute environment during the Classical period was racked with controversy regarding the acceptance of additional keys. The conservative French flautists could not decide which instrument they preferred and in this way retarded not only the development of the instrument, but indirectly also the repertoire for the flute. This argument concerning the acceptance of more keys continued into the nineteenth century.

The instrument's technical capacity was greatly improved by the late-eighteenth century mechanical innovations. The Hotteterre's role should again be highlighted. It was their invention to make smaller finger holes which was a major contribution to the development of the flute. Thomas Lot made four-piece, one-keyed flutes and became well known throughout Europe. And Claude Laurent made sophisticated glass flutes that are proof of the exceptional skill of French flute crafters. He also invented the roller on the foot joint, which facilitates sliding from c# to c. This device is still to be found on most modern Boehm system flutes.
The virtuoso-element became increasingly important and more and more flautists performed professionally. Composers had to write suitable pieces while folk tunes were incorporated in the music written for amateurs. Composers composed audience-friendly music, such as duos, trios, quartets and other chamber music. Francois Devienne's compositions for chamber music are particularly noteworthy. The solo flute sonata declined, but many concertos were composed and the flute started to play an important part in the orchestra.

His six concertos are of pre-romantic nature. Those written in the minor tonality has an emphatic tone and the impressive virtuoso element of romantic concertos is already present (Verroust; 1991:31).
CHAPTER 4

FRENCH MANUFACTURERS, FLAUTISTS, TEACHERS AND COMPOSERS OF THE ROMANTIC PERIOD

4.1 Introduction

The Romantic period was a time of extreme brilliance and show, decoration and embellishment in all arts, especially in fine art (e.g. the paintings by Delacroix and others) and music (e.g. the compositions of Frederich Chopin, Benjamin Godard, etc.) Another proof of these extremities was the construction of the Eiffel Tower in Paris for the Universal Exhibition in 1889 (Jones; 1994:230). Paris Universal Exhibitions took place in 1855, 1867, 1878, 1889 and 1900 and stimulated an interest in fashion and new inventions, such as musical instruments by French craftsmen (Jones; 1994:230).

One of the greatest inventions of this time, regarding musical instruments, was the Boehm system flute. But Theobald Boehm, a German from Munich, needed the approval of the C.N.S.M. to successfully market his instrument. This had not been easy and its acceptance took quite some time, after which French manufacturers made important modifications. This period also produced some outstanding French flautists and teachers. Because none of the great composers composed any noteworthy pieces for flute during this period, these flautist-teachers had to compose their own music.

This chapter traces the further development of the French flute tradition and summarises the most important contributions of manufacturers, flautists, teachers and composers who worked together and inspired one another.

4.2 Manufacturers and the Instrument

In the early nineteenth century, flautists could choose from a great variety of instruments, made from various materials. Most of the early nineteenth century French flutes were
conical with small embouchure holes and six small tone holes of varied sizes. They had four keys, i.e. a key for D#, F, G# and B flat, with eventually up to twelve additional keys and a separate joint for each hand. Since 1805, the keys of French flutes were suspended on rods and pillars and attached to a plate screwed to the body of the instrument. Many flutes had ivory rings or tuning devices, such as screw stoppers, registers or corps de rechange (Howard et al; 1984:675). Pierre Gabriel Buffardin apparently invented the register. It was a device, which regulated the internal tuning of the lower body and foot joint. The two-part foot joint could vary in length by about half an inch by sliding the telescopic sections of the body of the flute.

By about 1820 the eight-keyed flute (sometimes nine) with c or b as lowest note, was the most popular type and the standard everywhere, except in France. These flutes varied slightly in the width of the bore, and more so in the size of the finger holes. Some flautists used large holed flutes but others, such as Louis Drouet, preferred the small note-holes (Carse; 1939:92). Different types of flutes were used simultaneously and each type had its own strong supporters, which made composition complicated and teaching rather impossible. It therefore became vitally important to standardise the instrument.

During this century several new inventions and modifications to the flute's construction had profound, albeit somewhat delayed, effects on the future of flute manufacturing (Toft; 1996:49). Important French manufacturers between 1830 and 1860 were Buffet, the Godfroy and Lot families, Bonneville, Rive, Tulou & Nonon, Collinet & Sax and Borne & Juillot. All of them contributed in some or other significant way towards the refinement of the instrument.

However, nineteenth century French flute manufacturing was greatly influenced by the invention of Theobald Boehm. Some French manufacturers accepted his model, but made certain adjustments to satisfy the requirements of French flautists. However, the acceptance of the Boehm system flute was not immediate as strong resistance came from conservative flautists and manufacturers who did everything possible to retain the popularity of 'ordinary' (simple system) flutes.
The following paragraphs briefly discuss the Boehm model, which is necessary in order to understand the special contribution of the French manufacturers of this era.

4.2.1 Theobald Boehm

Boehm, a flautist and famous manufacturer from Munich, believed that the intonation, uneven tone and the very limited range of tonality of the flute could still be improved (Carse; 1939:49). According to him, a high quality flute should have large note-holes, more or less uniform in size and well placed for intonation. The holes should not be placed merely for the convenience of the fingers, but should be capable of serving the flute well in all three octaves.

Boehm replaced this system of holes in compromised positions, by a system of keys, which enabled all holes to be cut in the ideal acoustical positions while still being easily controlled by the fingers. Despite some loss of tone quality (Scholes; 1989:114), chromatic passages could be played with much greater ease.

For some years after completing his conical flute in 1832, Boehm exhibited and performed on his new instrument in Paris (Carse; 1939: 97). Presumably Vincent Dorus was already performing on it by 1834, when he joined the Paris Opéra and became a soloist with the Société des Concerts du Conservatoire (Giannini; 1993:109). However, sources differ on this matter. According to Toff (1996:53), it was Paul Camus, principal flute of the Opéra Italien, who was the first to introduce it in Paris in 1837 and who, supported by several other French flautists and crafters, was responsible for the growing popularity of the conical Boehm system flute in the French capital.

Meanwhile, French manufacturers of his period made several important modifications to Boehm’s flute. They kept the essence of his invention, but in order to facilitate its manufacture and to make performance on it less complicated, they modified some of its features and added their own devices.
The Boehm flute attracted more attention with all its new modifications. Its growing popularity was also due to its approval by the Institut\textsuperscript{41} in November 1838 and to the positive reception at the Paris Exhibition of 1839. The following year there were signs of increasing appreciation for the qualities of this conical flute. Several professional players in Paris accepted it, including Victor Coche, Vincent Dorus and Paul-Hippolyte Camus, but some conservatives such as Jean-Louis Tulou, Connix and Frich still preferred the simple-system flute (Giannini; 1993:113-116). Yet, one major obstacle remained, i.e. its acceptance by the C.N.S.M.

Boehm realised that his flute needed to be improved, especially after Camus's proposal of a Boehm flute class was refused by the C.N.S.M-Commission in 1840. In 1845 Boehm, with the help of Dr. Carl von Schafhautl, a German scientist, did acoustical research on conical and cylindrical tubes and on wood and metal (Duplaix; 1996:61-67). Their experiments indicated that a cylindrical bore with a slight contraction at the upper end would serve the instrument better than the conical tube, which had been accepted as the correct bore for over 150 years! By making the flute cylindrical instead of conical, a much greater sonority was obtained. Boehm decided in favour of the cylindrical flute in metal. He launched the new cylindrical flute in 1847 (Carse; 1939: 99) and his conical flute of 1832 gradually became less popular.

The new cylindrical Boehm flute displayed several properties suitable to the romantic temperament, such as the possibility of technical display in public performance. It could also produce different nuances, very similar to the human voice, which made it a favourite instrument to express elegance and many different emotions.

\textsuperscript{41} The Académie des Beaux Arts (Fine Arts), Institute de France
Boehm accomplished two things with his new invention. He invented a system which overcame the natural acoustic deficiencies of the ordinary flute, and a mechanism for making this system practicable (Howard et al; 1984:667). His aims were to increase the tone and to make it more homogeneous throughout the entire range. He wanted to improve its general intonation and make the playing of chromatic notes in all keys more accessible. Despite the excitement surrounding the cylindrical Boehm flute of 1847, its acceptance was not immediate (as was the case with the conical Boehm flute) as some French flautists and crafters strongly opposed it. Nevertheless, a number of disciples made quite significant additions and changes to suit the tastes of French flautists.

4.2.2 French Manufacturers and Modifications to the Boehm flute

The practicality of the 1832 ring-key flute was recognised early in France. Boehm system flutes were made and promoted by Godfroy, his son Vincent Hypolite and son-in-law, Louis Lot. Victor Coche, Auguste Buffet Jeune, as well as Louis Dorus (Montagu et al; 2001:43) also made modifications. Jean-Louis Tulou, just as François Devienne, was against the addition of keys and therefore continued to manufacture simple-system flutes. From 1850 onwards the French Boehm cylindrical flutes were usually made of silver or nickel silver and rarely from cocus or rosewood.

The following sections briefly mention the contributions of the most important French flute manufacturers of this period in alphabetical order.

4.2.2.1 Borne-Julliot

French flute maker Djalma-Julliot, also from La Couture-Boussey, was a real innovator. He worked as apprentice with great flute crafters, but wanted to make his own flutes. He realised that the original Boehm system high-e could be fingered correctly with just one vent hole, and invented a way to do this on a closed g# flute. Firstly he made the two keys that were operated independently by the third finger of the left hand, as they are on the g# system. By fitting a bar, which was operated by closing the second finger of the right hand, the lower of the two holes were automatically closed (They were previously
closed together with the right hand third.) This is an e-mechanism, often wrongly called a "split e", as it is the g which has been "split" ([http://www.flute-net.com])

Julliot studied many different models of flutes and then collaborated with François Borné. Their aim was to modify the Boehm system to produce a better sound and improve the intonation. They also made a conical piccolo in metal.

The one Borne-Julliot device which is still used in modern flute manufacturing, is the split-E or split-G device, which remedies the sharpness and difficult production of the e in the third octave (Toff; 1996:60).

4.2.2.2 Buffet-Crampon

Auguste Buffet was the founder of an important woodwind manufacturing concern in Paris in 1825, (Fairley; 1982:X) which was taken over by Mile Crampon in 1830. The firm became Buffet-Crampon in 1836 when Buffet's son married Mile Crampon. They invented flutes, needle-springs, the clutch, d# shake keys (1838) and moved the tubular axle rod to the player's side of the tube, in other words transferred much of the mechanism from the outer- to the inner side of the flute, which facilitated finger technique. According to Galway (1982:46) this was the greatest immediate improvement on Boehm's work.

Flutes modelled on the Boehm system were made and modified in 1838 by Buffet, in association with the flautist Victor Coche. Buffet was responsible for the most important modifications (Carse; 1939:97).

Victor Coche, brought out his perfected model which, according to him, was an improvement on the Boehm system (Boehm; 1964:64). Buffet's patent of 22 January 1839 was a flute designed together with Coche. Later, in 1867, Coche exhibited his

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42 This enabled two sorts of movement to take place on the same bar (Carse; 1939:57). This was accomplished by making the axle hollow and by passing a second solid rod through the tubular rod. By this means the outer rod could be made to move independently of the inner rod, or the two might by coupled by means of a connecting pin or a "clutch."
improved Boehm flute at the Paris Exhibition and was awarded the gold medal. Boehm, ironically, received little credit for his work up to this point (Fairley; 1982:28). Coche's flute was little more than an adaptation of Boehm's 1838-model, apart from its valuable C# and D# trill keys.

In 1885 the Buffet studio was sold to Evette and Ernest Schaeffer, but kept its original name. The firm thereafter concentrated on reed instrument fabrication and was taken over by Boosey and Hawkes in 1981 (Fairley; 1982:21).

4.2.2.3 Godfroy and Lot
Claire Godfroy Ainé was a celebrated woodwind craftsman, originally also from La Couture-Boosey, who worked in Paris from 1814 to 1878. He specialised in flutes and won various prizes at Paris exhibitions for his excellent workmanship (Gianini; 1993:67,214).

Louis Lot (1807-1896) was also raised, like the Godfroys, at La Couture-Boissey, and descended from a family with a great tradition. He started making wind instruments together with his father who was originally trained by the Hotteterres. Louis Lot later received further training from Godfroy, Martin, Noblet, Noé and Thibouville (Duplaix; 1996:61-67).

By 1826 Claire Godfroy had established himself as a leading Parisian flute manufacturer. When he retired in 1833, his son, Vincent Hypolite Godfroy, (1806-1868) took over and

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43 A Godfroy flute of around 1818
- was made from grenadilla wood
- had 5 silver keys (C, B-flat, G#, short F, D#)
- had D as its lowest note
- had a partial tuning slide in the head-joint
- was 53.6 cm long
- was tuned to A = 440.


45 La Couture-Boissey is the village in Normandy where almost all the major wind instrument manufacturers originated.
invited Louis Lot to be his partner. They formed the company Godfroy-fils & Lot in 1836 (Giannini; 1993:101) and their goal was to build and promote Boehm system flutes in France.

The following sections describe the modifications to (a) the conical Boehm flute of 1832 and (b) the cylindrical Boehm flute of 1847.

(a) The Godfroy-Lot conical Boehm flute
Godfroy-fils & Lot collaborated with the flautist Vincent Dorus whose passion for the instrument motivated them to manufacture the new Boehm model. Despite the huge financial risk, they went ahead and commercialised their new conical Boehm flute in October 1837 and they became the first makers of the Boehm flute in France, and after the inventor himself, the first in the world (Giannini; 1993:109; Duplaix; 1996:61-67). In 1843 Godfroy-fils & Lot made conical Boehm flutes from cocuswood. Their instrument differed from previous ones regarding the diameter, form of embouchure and keys.

A special key of G#, called the Dorus-key, was added to their flutes. The key was named after Vincent Dorus (Carse; 1939: 97), who adopted the Boehm flute round about 1834, but altered the G#-key. His mechanism, according to Giannini (1993:143): "...the most significant modification of Boehm's 1832 system..." combined the advantages of the open Boehm G# with the closed G#-key. It was a device which employed a weaker and a stronger spring, that kept the G#-hole open when the A-hole opened. It remained popular for about twenty-five years, especially with the players of the old flute who did not want to change to the open G#-key. Boehm never approved the device. The Dorus G# was later discontinued as it required a very strong spring to be controlled by a very weak finger, i.e. the left little finger. After 1870 Lot only added the Dorus key to his flutes when specially ordered.

(b) The Godfroy-Lot cylindrical Boehm flute
In August 1847 Godfroy & Lot acquired the right to manufacture the cylindrical Boehm flute (Carse; 1939: 99) and they did so with great efficiency. "From the beginning,
Godfroy and Lot standardised the cylinder flute they manufactured, and established the design of the French model used to the present day" (Giannini; 1993:135).

The characteristics of their new cylindrical flute were: in-line, perforated keys, needle springs, embouchure plate fixed on a chimney and a C-foot. They either used silver, mailléchort (a copper/zinc/nickel alloy) or wood for their instruments. Boehm regularly visited their studio in Paris and in 1847 he took several metallic tubes, onto which Godfroy & Lot installed embouchures and very elegant ring keys similar to their 1837-model (Duplaix; 1996:61-67). Henri Villette, Lot's apprentice, also collaborated with them to perfect the prototypes. 46

Their flutes were similar to those of Boehm in Munich, but for the inclusion of a d# trill-key. Because French players did not favour the open-G# key, it was replaced by the Dorus- or closed-G# Key (Carse: 1939; 97).

4.2.2.4 Hérouard, Frères
The Hérouard brothers were flute makers in Paris and Ezy (La Couture). They established their business in 1839 and continued well into the twentieth century. According to Giannini (1993:217) they had forty workers and produced moderately priced, five-keyed silver flutes of remarkable quality and they exhibited and performed well at exhibitions.

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46 At that time hard drawn silver tubes were not available and Louis Lot used a device similar to an old rolling press, but with three rollers. Sheet silver was passed between two rollers and the third roller brought the two edges together so the seam could be silver soldered. The silver solder and the ends of the sheets were beaten to harden and to produce a better bond as well as the same thickness as the rest of the tube. It is believed that the combination of the seamed tube, e work hardening of the tube and the age-hardening process of over a hundred years contributed to the sound of the Louis Lot flute (Adrian Brett). ([Http://www.flute-net.com])
4.2.2.5 Louis Lot

Louis Lot who preferred making metal flutes wanted to create his own trademark and therefore, he left the company *Godfroy-fils & Lot* together with Henri Villette in 1855.

The flautist Vincent Dorus collaborated with them by performing on and actually testing their new instruments. (In today’s terminology, he would be called ‘Lot-performing artist’.) On 25 March 1855, Lot sold his first cylindrical flute (of grenadilla wood) to Baron Roger. The beginning years were financially extremely difficult for the new studio and instead of only building new ones, they had to service many flutes (Duplaix; 1996:61-67). Seventy-two flutes were made in 1855, of which only five were in metal.

The silver Lot flute no. 5 was used at the *Orchestre de l’Opéra*, at the *Société des Concerts* and later became the official instrument of the C.N.S.M. During the following years, Lot improved it with some important modifications and moved away from the original Boehm instrument.

Because five- and eight-keyed flutes already had the closed G#, the change from the pure Boehm system was easy (as no changes had to be made). Some of Lot’s experimental flutes had tone-hole rings, and therefore open-hole flute, the most visible characteristic of the French-model flute, evolved naturally. Furthermore, Lot changed the form and height of the embouchure plate, the c-foot and the width of the tube. He also replaced the closed Dorus G# with the present G#-key (Duplaix; 1996:61-67).

When Vincent Dorus was professor at the C.N.S.M. his pupils played Boehm system cylindrical flutes manufactured by Lot (Giannini; 1993:172). Paul Taffanel won a premier prix that year and received a Lot flute as his prize. In 1869, a year after Henri Altès succeeded Vincent Dorus as professor at the Conservatoire, Lot made his *chef*
d'oeuvre flute. The Société Philharmonie of Shanghai commissioned it for the French flautist Jean Remusat. It was made of eighteen carats gold (Duplaix; 1996:61-67) and had the serial number 1375. This instrument became the property of Jean-Pierre Rampal in 1948 and was still used by him right up to 1988.

By 1876 Lot had already made 2150 flutes (870 of which were metal)! His apprentice, Henri Villette continued his work after his retirement and according to some flautists Villette’s flutes were even more highly sought after. Lot also trained many flute-makers, such as Claude Rive and Auguste Bonneville, Louis Lebret and Florentine Barbier, who originally, were jewellers and silversmiths. Many of them became celebrated manufacturers in their own right.

4.2.2.6 Jean-Louis Tulou
This influential flautist-manufacturer established his manufacturing concern in 1828 and made mainly five-keyed flutes till the late 1830s. In 1831 he formed a partnership with Jacques Nonon, which lasted until 1853. As from 1831 Tulou became strong competition for C. Godfroy (Giannini; 1993:70). He and Nonon participated in the 1834 exhibition and the jury rated their flutes as equal to Godfroy's regarding the quality of sound, which was a remarkable achievement.

In the 1840s Tulou designed his Flûte Perfectionnée. This flute only differed from the ordinary simple-system French flute, with its small holes and twelve keys, in respect of the f#-key. The f#-key was a small key which helped with the intonation of the f#" and f#". Tulou persistently rejected the addition of a second F key and keys for low c and c#.
As from 1840 to 1860 the Tulou flute was the official instrument at the C.N.S.M. (Giannini; 1993:128). Tulou was professor for thirty-two years, which meant that during that time the Boehm system flute could not be accepted.

In conclusion, the standard of the flute was thus finally established, i.e. the cylindrical Boehm flute as modified by French manufacturers. Despite Boehm's objections, Lot, as well as other French manufacturers, applied their own ideas. Whereas Boehm's G and G# were set slightly off-centre and activated by an independent rod, the French flute makers streamlined all the large keys of the centre joint into one line (Debost; 2000:28). The Anglo-Saxons call it the French model flute, which is still generally the most popular in the world (Duplaix; 1996:61-67).

This flute, as manufactured by Louis Lot, Claude Rive and Auguste Bonneville first became popular with performers of the French school (Montagu et al; 2001: 44). Philippe Gaubert was the first major flautist who changed to the open-hole flute, where after its popularity became contagious (Toff; 1996:101). Most French flautists after 1860 used silver modified Boehm system flutes and therefore played an important role in the promotion of the Boehm flute (Montagu et al; 2001:44).

4.3 French Romantic Flautists, Teachers and Composers

4.3.1 Background Overview

At the outbreak of the French revolution the flute was still regarded as a stylish instrument, but the loud and exuberant style of music played by the virtuosos of the

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48 An 1852 specimen of a ordinary flute by Tulou & Nonon had the following features:
- it was made of grenadilla wood;
- had four sections;
- the key-work was in gold;
- D was the lowest note;
- it was tuned to A: 40 and it was equipped with the new f# key.

49 It is interesting to note that these French streamlined models or in-line flutes are very scarce in South Africa. All the major flute companies, such as Powel, Yamaha, Muramatsu, Sankyo etc. produce these in-line flutes, as well as the offset mechanism flutes.
beginning of the nineteenth century, turned the interest of composers away from the flute. Orchestral repertoire became increasingly important, whilst solo and chamber works took a steep decline in both quality and quantity (Toff; 1996:241). Virtually no great composer of the first half of the nineteenth century wrote any solo music for the flute (Fleury; 1923:537), because the instrument did not have the capacity to produce the power and variety of tone required for Romantic musical expression.

Despite this, a number of great virtuoso French flautists had distinguished careers in this century, among them the Frenchmen J.L. Tulou, V. Dorus, L. Drouet, J.A.E. Demersemann, P. Taffanel (Howard et.al; 1984:785). These flautists were much more competitive than previously and they were the first to adopt the Boehm flute. Flute playing in general was increasingly regarded as a profession and virtuosity became very important. Flautists chose pieces that would show off their brilliant technique to the best and French flautists made the most of individual peculiarities to promote themselves and used abundant ornamentation, as well as reedy and metallic tone to enhance their performances.

French flautists were members of orchestras (Grande Opéra, Opéra Comique, Académie Royal de musique, Concerts Pasdeloup and Lamoureux), and taught at the prestigious C.N.S.M. They undertook concert tours to other European countries and also to the United States.

Furthermore, the challenging virtuoso repertoire of the Romantic period demanded many technical exercises and all great French teachers wrote methods, generally comprising of solfège principles, details about embouchure, position of the body, etc.

Paul Taffanel (See pp.69) founded the Société de musique de chambre pour instruments à vent in 1879, which inspired composers to write for the newly improved flute (Dorgeuille; 1994:17). The Society presented about six concerts per year in Paris and became an important force in reviving the woodwind quintet and other chamber music, which had lain dormant for nearly half a century. New works were commissioned from
composers, such as Charles Lefebvre, Gabriel Pierné and Charles Gounod. French composers wrote many bravura works, exploiting and showing off the possibilities of the improved instrument. It is therefore natural that the majority of compositions between 1865 and 1960 are French contributions. Emanuel Pahud (personal communication, December 26, 2002) and Michel Debost (personal communication, December 02, 2002) both agree and add that it can mainly be attributed to C.N.S.M. commissions.

Nineteenth century works performed by French flautist-composers, often their own compositions, were showpieces and mainly in the theme-and-variations form. However, since the early twentieth century there was plenty of research into musical timbre and French manufacturers equipped players with the tools to exploit a great variety of timbres.

Professional flautist-teachers were the main composers of Romantic flute repertoire. Understandably quite a few were better flautists than composers, but they nevertheless contributed to the flute repertoire as dedicatees and commissioners of compositions.

Other noteworthy French contributors were either virtuosi performers on other instruments or producers of salon music (Toff; 1996:8-249):

* Frederick Chopin (1810-1849) composed variations on Non piu mesta from Rossini's La Cenerentola for flute and piano;
* Bernhard Molique (1802-1869), a renowned violinist, arranged Boehm's Fantasy on themes of Der Freischütz, for flute and violin and composed the Concerto Op. 69. He also wrote a quintet for flute and strings;
* Benjamin Godard (1849-1895), another violinist, composed the popular Suite des trios morceaux, Op. 116 for flute and orchestra (a piano part is also available);
* Cécile Chaminade's (1857-1944) Concertino, op.107 is a typical example of nineteenth century passion and is clearly intended to fully display the virtuosity of the flautist.
* Camille Saint-Saëns (1835-1921) was especially interested in wind instruments and composed three noteworthy works: Romance and Odelette, both for flute and orchestra, as well as Tarantelle, for flute, clarinet and orchestra.

According to Verroust (1991:32) Romantic compositions are mainly of three categories. Firstly, there is concert repertoire, which includes concertos, air varies, concertinos,
fantasies, salon music and Pièces Belle Époque. Secondly, there are works written especially for amateurs, which include chamber music for flute and strings, flute solos, methods and etudes, and thirdly, transcriptions, mainly from violin compositions. Grande Solos were practical as etudes or as examination test pieces and sets of variations were the ideal vehicles to display the brilliant technique of virtuoso flautists.

Fantasies and airs variés were very popular and intended to display technique. These short works are based on original or popular themes or on opera airs. Following the example of Demersseman, flautists such as Jules Herman and Antoine Chardard, also wrote various fantasies. The Fantaisie brilliante sur Carmen of François Borné (1840-1920) was particularly successful and still is very popular.

A new form, Andante et Scherzo, emerged during this time and its success was presumably caused by the general acceptance of the Boehm flute. This form was often used by composers such as Albert Roussel, Henri Busser, Philippe Gaubert, Georges Enesco (McCutchan; 1994:75) and Paul Taffanel and seemed the best way to demonstrate sound quality and technical brilliance, musically (Verroust; 1991:28-37).

The modern flute school was born in France and dates from about 1885 (Toft; 1996:257). This so-called French school (which involves the art of playing the transverse flute in France) originated with Paul Taffanel. Most other flute schools (such as the Italian and American schools) stem from the French.

The remainder of the chapter highlights, firstly, the most important French flautist-teachers-composers and then flautists who were only performers and teachers.

4.3.2 Flautists-Teachers-Composers

4.3.2.1 Jean-Louis Tulou (1786-1865)
Tulou entered the C.N.S.M. at the age of ten where he was a pupil of Wunderlich and received a deuxième prix (second prize) in 1799. He was a distinguished artist and,
together with Louis Drouet, was the most prominent flute player in France at the time (Montagu et al; 2001:41). His tone, according to French standards, was perfect and his execution precise and brilliant, but the greatest charm of his playing was the inimitable grace and refinement of his expression (Rockstro; 1928:586).

Tulou was however very conservative and refused to accept the Boehm flute (Blakeman; 2001:878). He preferred flutes with smaller finger holes and a more traditional soft tone. His *Méthode de Flûte Progressif et Raisonnée adoptée par le Comité d'Enseignement du Conservatoire*, op.100. He describes his perfected model and the performance style appropriate for the music of that period and provides special fingerings for the one-keyed flute. He presents his flute with the five keys, e.g. e-flat, f-natural, g#, b-flat, c-natural and discusses the merits of the f♯-key. He also wrote the *Petite Méthode Élémentaire pour la flûte*, Op.108 for beginner flautists.

Tulou succeeded Joseph Guillou as professor at the C.N.S.M. (Duchamel; 1953:58) and Captain Gordon, Walckiers, Victor Coche, Brunot, Rémusat and Jules Demersseman were some of his pupils. Because sound was more important than anything else to him, he strove to improve his own *flûte perfectionnée* which produced the refined sonority he wanted.

In a way, Tulou had the same attitude as Devienne (fifty years before) towards the addition of new keys. He was firmly convinced that if more keys were to be added, (which meant more holes in the flute), the sound would become weaker. Therefore Tulou was largely responsible for the fact that the Boehm flute was not officially accepted earlier (Conté; 1997:71).

Tulou composed fantasies, Grand solos, variations, airs with variations, concertinos and concertos (See Appendix 4.2) (Verroust; 1991:32). His five concertos lie between those of Louis Drouet and Benoit Tranquille Berbiguier. The first Concerto in A includes a
strong and brilliant Rondo, but is still relatively simple if compared to No 3 in D,\(^{50}\) or to No 4 in e (dedicated to Viotti) which is the most brilliant of them all.

4.3.2.2 Louis Drouet (1792-1873)
Drouet was born in Holland (his father was French), but again, studied at the C.N.S.M. Round about 1807 he served as soloist in the service of the King Louis of Holland and thereafter at the court of Napoleon in France. Drouet was very highly regarded amongst French musicians and was also elected as principal flute of the *Chapelle Royal*. From 1840 onwards he was chapel master at the Court of the Duke of Saxe-Cobourg-Gotha (Duchamel; 1953:60).

Drouet supported the Boehm system and played on a French-model flute with mounted keys, but used the old articulation of *de-re* like Hotteterre, instead of the new *dougue* double-tonguing technique.

Drouet wrote a method for the eight-keyed flute, which was published in both French and German in London in 1827. The first part discusses elements of style and the use of embroideries and provides seventeen different examples of ornamentation. There is a section on the method of practising, as well as on double-tonguing. The second part concentrates on technical aspects of flute playing, such as breathing, sight-reading, accompaniment, and the tuning of the instrument, whilst the third part contains progressive studies and the fourth more advanced etudes (Powell; 1996:27).

Drouet owes his popularity to his ten concertos, which were apparently the most extraordinarily virtuoso works of the Romantic flute repertoire. The classical structure of the concerto is kept, i.e. modulation and the arrangement of solo and tutti passages, but it is applied in a much more energetic way. His main aim was to impress the audience and he didn't hesitate to take liberties (Verroust; 1991:32). A clear example is his Concerto, Op. 14, no.2, where the whole first movement consists of only one long solo, which is directly followed by an Adagio. This type of first movement served as grand and brilliant

\(^{50}\) The Concerto in D is the only one which is still published today (Verroust; 1991:28-37).
introduction. In Drouet’s case, the concerto was a real *tour de force*. In comparison to Berbiguière’s (See p.46-47.), his compositions show excessive virtuosity, whilst Berbiguière’s pieces are more expressive, but also extremely stylish.

4.3.2.3 Paul-Hippolite Camus (1796-c.1850)
Camus studied with Wunderlich at the C.N.S.M. and afterwards became principal flute in the orchestra of the *Porte St. Martin* theatre. By about 1837, when he was principal flute of the *Opèra Italien*, he adopted the Boehm flute. He was one of the first to use this new flute and he used it in its original form without the addition of the closed G# (Giannini; 1993:109).

His method, *La Méthode pour la nouvelle Flûte Boehm* (c.1830), supported the new double-tonguing technique. At this time the syllables *Tuku* or *Dike*, were used by almost all French flautists. He included standard exercises, such as scales and intervals, arpeggios and *sons-files* which were followed by brilliant studies in all tonalities, covering the whole range of the flute (Powell; 1996:28). He composed etudes, trios for three flutes, and a concerto (edited in London c.1852).

4.3.2.4 Victor Coche (1806-1881)
Coche studied with Jean-Louis Tulou at the C.N.S.M, received his first prize in 1831 and was immediately appointed as professor. He remained there until 1841. He was a renowned flautist and one of the firsts to adopt the Boehm system. He played a Buffet-made Boehm system flute and collaborated with Boehm to produce flutes to his own designs (Duchamel; 1953:63).

His pedagogical books include: *Méthode pour servir a L’Enseignement de la nouvelle flûte inventée par Gordon, Modifiée par Boehm et perfectionnée par V. Coche et Buffet Jeune* (Paris-1838), and *Examen critique de la flûte ordinaire comparée a la flûte de Boehm* of 1838 (Dorgeuille; 1994:164).
4.3.2.5 Joseph-Henri Altes (1826-1895)

Altes was a pupil of Jean-Louis Tulou at the C.N.S.M. Unlike his teacher he accepted the Boehm flute. He obtained his first prize in 1842 and succeeded Dorus as professor of flute from 1868 up to 1893. He was flautist in the orchestra of the Société des Concerts and was principal flute of the Opéra between 1848 and 1872 (Duchamel; 1953:65).

His Méthode pour la flûte système Boehm is the oldest French method for the Boehm system. It was progressive for its time and included charts of alternative fingerings to achieve perfect intonation. Powell (1996:29) describes Altes’s Grande Méthode as very complete and detailed. There is one whole paragraph on tuning. (Like Hugot and Wunderlich, he estimates the negligible difference between a diatonic semitone and a chromatic semitone.) The Altes-method was the first method Jean-Pierre Rampal used and it is still widely used today (Powell; 1996:29).

Flute music written by Altes included Grand Solos, (Verroust; 1991:35) transcriptions (he arranged violin sonatas for the flute), etudes and concert works. (See Appendix 4c for more detail.) Altes also adopted Kuhlau’s violin sonatas for the flute (Verroust; 1991:39). Drouet and Altes’s arrangements of Beethoven’s ten violin sonatas for the flute are indicative of the lack of original chamber music.

4.3.2.6 Paul Agricole Genin (1832-1903)

Like Demersemann, Genin was one of the French flautists-composers who wrote many fantasies. This form was highly fashionable at that stage and includes his Fantaisie sur Rigoletto, op.19 and Carnaval de Venise, op.14 for flute and piano (fantaisie variée) op.14.

4.3.2.7 Jules Demersseman (1833-1866)

Although born in Holland, he studied with Jean-Louis Tulou at the C.N.S.M. and was noted for his fine double-tonguing technique and display of virtuosity. He was called the French
Nicholson was described as the ‘Sarasate of the Flute’ (Fairley; 1982:32). He used the eight-keyed, instead of the Boehm system flute and as a result was overlooked for the better teaching posts.

Despite the fact that he rejected the Boehm system flute, his many compositions are valuable and still popular. They have long, impressive cadenzas that require great technical brilliance and excellent breath control. Apart from his numerous original compositions he also adapted Mozart’s violin sonatas for flute (Verroust; 1991:37).

4.3.2.8 Paul Taffanel (1844-1908)

He became a pupil of Dorns at the C.N.S.M. in 1858 and obtained three premier prix’s (in flute, harmony and fugue). He was appointed as professor and was principle conductor at the Opéra, in 1893. Taffanel was a brilliant teacher and produced flautists such as Philippe Gaubert, Gaston Blanquart, Marcel Moyse, Louis Fleury, Georges Laurent, Georges Barrère, Deschamps and Delangle.

The Taffanel and Gaubert Méthode Complète is known as the Bible of the French flute school (Shaw-Liva; 2000:12). The objective of this method is to treat all aspects of flute technique and it is especially notable for its concepts of varied tone colour. It was also the first C.N.S.M.-method to devote sections to style and orchestral excerpts. It also includes various exercises on articulation, simple slurs, daily exercises for finger technique, breath control, as well as arrangements of works by Bach and virtuoso etudes (Powell; 1996:29). The suggested ornamentation of Bach sonatas and cadenzas for Mozart Concertos, may be outmoded given more recent research, but according to Toff (1996:253) they represent an important benchmark in the revival of the neglected masterpieces of the flute repertoire.

Apart from Taffanel’s teaching skills, he was also a fine flautist who produced a perfectly homogenous tone throughout the range of the instrument, a quality common to great flautists of the French school. Together with Fleury, he gave new momentum to flute

51 Nicholson was the English virtuoso of the Romantic period.
playing by creating a new culture of pedagogy, playing style and repertoire, which included the revival of the mostly unknown flute music of the Baroque and Classical periods (Montagu et al; 2001:44).

As composer, Taffanel represents the last phase of the French romantic flute tradition. Toff (1996:253) describes his flute compositions as disappointing in the context of his famous reputation as performer and pedagogue. They are typical salon or contest music and include the technically very advanced Fantasia (on Carl Maria von Weber’s Der Freischütz), and Andante Pastoral et Scherzettino (an examination piece written in 1907 and dedicated to Philippe Gaubert). He composed the Grande Fantaisie (on themes from the opera Mignon) and transcribed some of Chopin’s piano pieces. He also wrote the beautiful Sicilienne-Etude, op.7 for flute and piano as well as a delightful woodwind quintet.

Although he did not make much of a contribution in terms of compositions, he is highly regarded for his inspiring support to other composers. He was one of the most respected members of the Paris musical scene in the nineteenth century and encouraged the composition of French woodwind chamber music. As stated in earlier he founded the Société de Musique de Chambre pour Instruments à Vent in 1879 as a means to achieve this goal.

According to Blakeman (2001:922) Taffanel was the founder of the modern French flute school, which has since become the international school. Some regard him as the most prominent flautist of the nineteenth century (Dorgeuille; 1994:17).

4.3.2.9 Philippe Gaubert (1879-1941)

Gaubert studied with Paul Taffanel at the C.N.S.M and received his first prize in 1894. In 1897 he became a member of the Orchestre de l’Opéra. Gaubert’s sound was well supported, incisive when playing loud and particularly pervasive in soft passages. He played with immense technical skill, without ever sounding aggressive or harsh, according to Samazeuilh (Dorgeuille; 1994:34).
In 1919 he succeeded Hennebains as flute professor at the C.N.S.M. and became a world-renown teacher. Gaubert however gave up his performing career and became a conductor. His pupils included Marcel Moyse, Louis Moyse, René le Roy and Robert Heriche. Gaubert made a few recordings between 1915 and 1920. At the turn of the century he worked together with Paul Taffanel to produce their well-known method. (See p.68.)

4.3.3 Flautists-Teachers

4.3.3.1 Joseph Guillou (1787-1853)
Guillou studied at the C.N.S.M. with Francois Devienne (from the age of ten) and received his premier prix in 1815. He was appointed second flute (under Drouet) at the Academie Royal de Musique and at the Opéra (under Tulou). During this time he replaced Drouet at the Chapel Royal and Tulou at the Opéra. He also undertook concert tours to the rest of Europe and England.

He played on a Clair Godfroy flute, made from granadilla wood, with six keys, corps de rèchange and tenons and mounts in silver of 1821. When Wunderlich retired in 1819, Guillou succeeded him as professor of flute until 1828 (Rockstro; 1928:591). He was also a very good teacher and his best students include Belquié, and Vincent Dorus.

4.3.3.2 Vincent Dorus (1812-1896)
He studied the flute under Joseph Guillou at the C.N.S.M. and won the premier prix in 1828. He obtained the principal flute position at the Theatre de Variétés in Paris, playing on the eight-keyed flute (1835-66). He also played in the orchestras of the Opéra and the Société des Concerts du Conservatoire and was regarded as one of the finest flautists in the world. Dorus also visited England in 1841 and was invited to perform with the London Symphony Orchestra (Duchamel; 1953:64).

In 1843 Dorus published his method, L’Etude de la Nouvelle Flûte, Méthode Progressive arrangé d’après Devienne, to coincide with the appearance of Godfroy’s nouvelle flûte. It
was specially written for that instrument; it is disappointing since it contains a minimum of text and mentions neither Boehm nor the Dorus key.

Dorus was apparently an excellent teacher and was appointed as flute professor at the C.N.S.M. He succeeded Tulou in 1860 and taught there until 1868. According to some sources (Duplaix; 1996:61-67) it is he, and not Taffanel, who should be regarded as the father of the French flute school. He began playing Boehm’s new conical flute in 1833 and also made some modifications to it. He was also the first in France to play the cylindrical flute and used the Godfroy modified Boehm system flute.

4.3.3.3 Adolphe Hennebains (1862-1914)
Hennebains studied with Joseph Henri Alîès at the C.N.S.M and received his first prize in 1880. Afterwards he studied with Paul Taffanel, who then became his greatest mentor.

On Taffanel’s recommendations, Hennebains was appointed principal flute in the orchestras of the Concerts Pasdeloup (1879), Concerts Lamoureux (1882) and the Opéra (1891). He was also appointed at the famous Société de musique de chambre pour instruments a vent (founded by Taffanel).

In 1909 Hennebains succeeded Taffanel at the C.N.S.M. as professor of flute (being chosen above Phillipe Gaubert and Gaston Blanquart). His pupils included Jean Boulze, Lucy Dragon, Albert Ehrmann, André Lespès, Albert Manouvrier, Joseph Rampal (father of the world-renowned Jean-Pierre Rampal) and Georgette René (Duplaix; 1995:57).

Hennebains was offered positions in the U.S.A., but turned them down, preferring to stay in France. His Louis Lot flute, was given to René Le Roy after his death. Fortunately his remarkable flute playing has been recorded.52

52 See Chapter 6 for a discussion of the relative importance of the French flute tradition today.
4.3.3.4 Georges Barrère (1876-1944)

He studied at the C.N.S.M. with Paul Taffanel and Joseph-Henri Altès and obtained his first prize in 1895. From 1897-1905 he was principal flute in the orchestras of the Paris Opéra and Colonne Concerts. Having succeeded Taffanel as leader of the French School of flute playing, he established the Société Moderne des Instruments à Vent in 1895. He was also a member of the Trio de Lutece and Edgar Varèse dedicated his Densité 21.5 to Barrère (the '21.5' referring to the density of Barrère's Powell-made platinum flute). Barrère also contributed to the development of the instrument with his idea of the low B natural key. 53

He studied with Paul Taffanel and Joseph-Henri Altès at the C.N.S.M. from 1889 till 1895 (Crane; 1991:22). From 1897-1905 he was principle flute in the orchestras of the Paris Opéra and Colonne Concerts (1902).

Apparently he had a very beautiful full sound without too much vibrato and, like Marcel Moyse and Jean-Pierre Rampal, an embouchure which was slightly twisted towards the left. He also made a significant contribution towards the development of the instrument with his novel idea of the low B-natural key.

In 1905 Barrère moved to New York where he became principle flute of the New York Symphony Orchestra and the Chicago Symphony Orchestra. He also taught at the famous Juilliard School of Music and the Institute of Musical Art.

4.3.3.5 Louis Fleury (1878-1926)

Fleury was one of Paul Taffanel’s best students at the C.N.S.M. After Georges Barrère’s departure to America, he took over the lead of the Société Moderne des Instruments a Vent and devoted most of his career to the promotion and popularisation of the qualities of the French flute school. He accomplished this by undertaking numerous concert tours to England, Italy, Egypt and America (Duchamel; 1953:67).
Fleury premiered Debussy’s *Syrinx* and other composers, such as Albert Roussel, Gabriel Piéron, Charles Koechlin, Jacques Ibert and Darius Milhaud, dedicated their compositions to him.

### 4.4 Summary and Conclusions

French flute manufacturing during this era was strongly influenced by the invention of the Boehm system, which not only increased the tone, but also made it more homogenous and also improved its intonation.

However, Jean-Louis Tulou refused to accept the Boehm system and made excellent instruments. He was professor at the C.N.S.M. for more than three decades during which period the Boehm system flute was rejected.

Meanwhile some French manufacturers made significant modifications that refined the instrument even more. The most important manufacturers were Godfroy and Lot, later Louis Lot on his own, and also Buffet-Crampton. The cylindrical Boehm flute, as modified by the French would become the standard instrument for many years to come. Philipe Gaubert was the first to perform on this flute and French flautists played a major role in the promotion of the Boehm system flute.

Apart from the inventor himself, the firm Godfroy & Lot was the first manufacturer of this flute in the world. The modifications to the instrument during the time in which the Lots and Godfroys flourished, present precious insight into performance practice and period sound, and also reflect the important contribution of woodwind crafters in creating the artistic basis of that sound. “As if from a single fabric, the Lots and the Godfroys formed a cohesive approach to flute making guided by the French aesthetic and predilection for beauty of sound and elegance of line” (Giannini, 1993:205).

53 Barrère initially started on a flute with six holes, but played the Boehm flute by 1889.
Furthermore, the Romantic period produced an amazing number of brilliant French flute virtuosos, such as Paul Taffanel, Philipe Gaubert, Vincent Dorus, Adolphe Hennebains, George Barérre and Louis Fleury. Taffanel is regarded as the father of the modern French flute school, and some regard him as the most prominent flautist of the nineteenth century, whilst Fleury undertook many international tours to promote the French tradition.

Altès, Taffanel and Gaubert wrote very important flute methods. The flute did not have the variety of tone required for romantic expression and consequently romantic composers were not interested in the flute. French flautist-composers were responsible for the majority of flute compositions of this period.

Taking into consideration the technical improvement of flautists and the many highly respected teachers in this period, France gained prominence as the home of the flute.
5.1 Introduction

During the early twentieth century Europe was plagued with increasing social unrest and experienced extreme international tension, which eventually culminated in World War I (Grout & Palisca; 1988:755). Similar unrest manifested in the musical environment, where musicians tried various radical experiments.

The twentieth century, however, was much more diverse than the Romantic period. Freedom of expression became increasingly important to artists in all fields. Music of the early 1900s, still intended mainly to please audiences, created a bridge between the Romantic and Modern periods. Flute music by Fauré, Debussy, Roussel, Ravel, and Gaubert are good examples of pre-war French compositions. After World War II, the French composition style changed radically and the compositions of Honegger, Milhaud, Poulenc, Varèse, Jolivet, Messiaen and Boulez are much more individualistic.

Furthermore, French flautists of this period distinguished themselves as outstanding performers. Their exceptionally high standard can be attributed to the role of the C.N.S.M. and their influence is evident in various countries world-wide.

This chapter is structured in a similar way than the previous, with the next section elaborating on the role of French manufacturers of this era.
5.2 Manufacturers and the Instrument

The French modified Boehm system flute was almost generally accepted and the minor modifications made during this century did not change the basic mechanism of the flute, but added even more finesse. The compositions of Claude Debussy and Maurice Ravel relied on a refined instrument, which offered much more variation and control of the tone palette, dynamic range, pitch, and expressive nuance. Without Boehm, Debussy’s *Syrinx* would never have been composed (McCutchan; 1994:61).

American and Japanese flute manufacturers took over where the French left off at the end of nineteenth century and sadly today there are no more noteworthy French flute manufacturers. But, it is important to remember that the new manufacturers modelled their flutes on the French modified Boehm system flute (Debost; 2000:29).

The following paragraphs provide a brief overview (in alphabetical order) of the role of the most important manufacturers of this time.

5.2.1 Louis Lot

After the death of Louis Lot in 1896, his successors continued his work and maintained his high standards. Flutes made by them were exhibited at universal exhibitions and received high awards. They were Henri Villette (who worked from 1876-1882), Debonneetbeau de Conte-lié (from 1882-1889), Emile Barat (from 1889-1904), Ernest Chambille54 (from 1904-1922) and his daughter, Gabrielle Chambille (from 1922-1951). She registered the Louis Lot trademark in her name and continued with the business up to her death in 1951, the year in which only five flutes were made and the doors of the Lot flute studio were closed forever (Duplaix; 1996: 61-67).

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54 Chambille was with the firm from 1882 as master crafter (Giannini; 1993:190).
According to Giannini (1993:205) the end of Louis Lot's firm "... signalled the end of the most brilliant era of flute making in France in which for more than two centuries the Lots and the Godfroys, tourneurs from La Couture, held the position of leadership."

Some very famous French virtuosos played on Louis Lot flutes. These include Gaston Blanquart, Jean Boulze, Jean Chefmay, Gaston Crunelle, Philippe Gaubert, Paul Jean-Jean, René le Roy, Georges Delangle, Pedro Eustache, Adolphe Hennebains, Jean-Pierre Rampal, Paul Taffanel and Fernand Dufrêne (Giannini; 1993:186).

5.2.2 Marigaux and Couesnon

Marigaux and Couesnon were the leading flute makers after the Lot studio closed (Howard et al; 1980:676). Marigaux merged with Strasser and Lemaire in 1934 and formed a new firm, Establishments S.M.L. According Giannini (1993:205) S.M.L. purchased the Louis Lot trademark in 1951 and the firm made fine flutes up to 1981, after which the firm specialised only in oboes and clarinets ([http://www.sml-marigaux.com/anglais/societe.htm](http://www.sml-marigaux.com/anglais/societe.htm)).

According to Debost (2000:30) the Couesnon-Moyse model is a large bore covered-hole French flute, made between 1930 and 1960. Right-hand finger keys compensate in that they are thicker on the forward side than on the player's side. Left-hand finger keys are extended beyond the alignment of the body to allow the rotation of the left hand to an improved position. Flautists like Aurèle Nicolet and Gaston Crunelle performed on this instrument.

5.2.3 Jack Leff Flutes

Jacques Lefevre established the firm Jack Leff Flutes in 1980. Pierre-Yves Artaud asked Lefevre in 1970 to manufacture an octo-bass flute, but he manufactured it only in 1983, following his own ideas regarding its form. Jean-Yves Roosen took over from Lefevre in 1987 and from 1994 he worked with Artaud on a new, more practical concept.
Initially, the octo-bass flute was traverse and not vertical, but following Pierre-Yves’s suggestion, Roosen decided to make the diameter of the tube wider – 38cm and vertical. The rolled out length of the tube is three meters and it is therefore impossible to make it diagonal. It is also impossible to stand while performing on this instrument.

This flute divides into six pieces to make transportation easier. The keypads are often made from leather. The embouchure is horizontal, like the normal flute and the flute weighs about 4.5 kg and is 1.30 meters long (Secq; 2002:21). Pierre-Yves Artaud presented the new instrument in 1984 with a performance of Rioryoanji, an arrangement for four octobass flutes (three previously recorded on tape) by John Cage. Ten of these instruments have already been manufactured and are mainly found in France, but also in England, Germany, Austria and Australia.

5.2.4 Other manufacturers responsible for minor modifications

5.2.4.1 Jean Barjon
He was responsible for the last French modification to the flute. His invention was to replace the flat screw cap of the head joint, by a parabolic one. Experiments at the laboratory of Professor E. Leipp, Professor of Musical Acoustics at the Science Faculty of Paris, indicated that the sound from a flute with a parabolic screw cap produced much more harmonics, which is necessary for a rich tone.

5.2.4.2 Michel Parmenon
He started to manufacture flutes in 1969 and produced instruments of great quality (Dorgeuille; 1994:135). At this time the facility of emission, i.e. an easier produced and larger tone, whilst still containing the maximum quality of the traditional French tone, was regarded as very important.

55 See pp. 88 for further detail on the contribution of Pierre Yves Artaud.
5.2.4 3 Thibouville-Lamy & Cie
According to Toff (1996:60) the 1902 patent (issued to J. Thibouville-Lamy & Cie.) covered three trill keys, facilitating c1-c1#, B-C, and B flat-B. The 1909 patent granted to Mme. Cornélie Villedieu Laubé added another trill key that improved several existing trills and permitted a new trill, g3-a3, when operated in conjunction with the upper (C-D) trill key.

5.2.4.4 Louis-Fernand Vigue
His innovation of 1913 reversed the touches of the right-hand little finger for the c1# and c1 keys in order to facilitate the c1-d1 trill. In addition, he added a second lever for the left little finger, which controlled the c#-key, and created c1-d1 flat and c#-d# trills, until then impossible on a Boehm system flute. Two other trill mechanisms made several difficult third-register trills much easier (Toff; 1996:60).

5.3 Flautists-Teachers
Most well known French flautists had or still have very busy careers. They perform as soloists (in France and internationally), and as members of orchestras and also teach. What they have in common is that almost all studied at the C.N.S.M! This clearly is proof of the very important role that this institution played, and still plays, in the development of the flute tradition. 56

Because of the large number of outstanding professional French flautists of this period, only the most important will be discussed chronologically.

5.3.1 Marcel Moyse (1889-1984)
Marcel Moyse studied with both Paul Taffanel and Philippe Gaubert, as well as with Adolphe Hennebains, at the C.N.S.M. and won his premier prix at the age of sixteen. He assisted Philippe Gaubert at the C.N.S.M. for ten years and succeeded him in 1932 as

56 Other noteworthy French flutists include: Joseph Rampal, Gaston Blanquart, Georges Delangle, Georges Laurent, Fernand Dafrène, Roger Bourdin, Raymond Guiot, Christian Lardé, Sophie Cherrier, Philippe Pierlot (last student of Joseph Rampal) and Benoît Fromanger.
professor up to 1940, after which he immigrated to the United States. During the late 1920s and throughout the 1930s Marcel Moyse gave master classes at his home in St Amour, France.

Moyse was known as a strict, demanding teacher and a controversial figure. Nevertheless he had a decisive influence on the development of the French style of flute playing. According to Lawrence (1998:6) Moyse was one of the most influential flute teachers since Taffanel and Gaubert. He accepted about twelve students (the official limit) in his class, which met three times per week. In his lessons he used similar material to Taffanel, Gaubert and Hennebains, but increasingly insisted on a singing style, a feeling for the operatic voice. Moyse taught and played music and not merely the flute, i.e. he used the flute as a means to his goal. His clear articulation and sweet tone were most expressive with a finely controlled vibrato.

According to the American record journal Disques, Moyse was one of the foremost flautists of his time. Rampal claims “What might be considered the French school could really be called the Moyse school. Moyse opened the door for us, being the first one to take the flute from the orchestra to the solo stage. He developed the flute as a recital and solo instrument, even to the point of competing with violinists for opportunities” and “... he was the first to imagine that a flute player can be a great soloist. For my generation, he was king” (Goll-Wilson; 1986:10).

Moyse was principal flute in some leading French and foreign orchestras. Various composers dedicated their compositions to Moyse, including Albert Roussel (the first movement of Joueurs de flutes), and Jacques Ibert (his Concerto). Sadie (1980:661) claims that when Moyse premiered the Concerto in 1934, it signified the re-birth of the flute as solo instrument after a century of neglect.

57 See Chapter 6 on the Spread of the French flute tradition.
The Moyse Trio, consisting of himself, his son Louis, and Blanche Honegger, was founded at a time when public interest in chamber music was increasing and since the mid-1930s the Trio regularly toured Europe.

Moyse never recorded before 1926-27, which makes it impossible to appreciate his talent in the first phase of his career (Dorgeuille; 1994). He was also associated with a variety of companies in France but later he recorded mostly for the Gramophone Company and Colombia Gramophone. He made the first French recording of Mozart's Concerto in D Major in 1930.

Moyse apparently did not have a naturally brilliant technique and therefore wrote an enormous quantity of exercise books. According to Blakeman (2001:254) he combined a scientific approach to technique with a romantic quest for musical expression. These study books, which were intended for his students at the C.N.S.M., were reprinted several times and are still used today by flautists all over the world. Leduc published thirty-two volumes of flute exercises by Moyse! Some contain strictly original material, whilst others are based on music by other composers, such as Chopin and Wieniawski.

The following paragraphs mention the most important of these study books:

(a) Tone development through interpretation
This is a famous melody book. Moyse used this compendium of opera arias taken from Verdi's *La Traviata* and various other French operas, for the study of expression, vibrato, colour, suppleness and their application to different styles (Kushick; 1977:287).

(b) *Enseignement Complète de la flûte*
Eleven books on different aspects of technique form part of this series. Only the most important ones are mentioned.

1. *Le débutante flûtiste* (The beginner flautist) of 1933 is an elementary tutor, which systematically presents all the notes of the flute, beginning with those that are the easiest to produce. The emphasis is on tone quality and interval placement.
2. *Exercices journaliers* (Daily exercises) of 1922 is a twenty-six day cycle of exercises. Each exercise is lettered, and a calendar-like chart shows what has to be practised on each day of the cycle. Some exercises are repeated more than others.
By the last day, the flautist would have covered all the material. It consists of a large number of exercises to complement, but not to replace the existing methods of Altès and Taffanel & Gaubert.

3. *Etudes et exercices techniques* (1921)
It features études and numerous tiny technical workouts, to be repeated several times. Moyse compiled this series of studies to address a variety of technical foci, particularly tone, precision, legato and finger technique.

4. *Ecole de l'articulation* (1927)
5. *Mécanisme-chromatisme* (1927)
6. *De la sonorité-art et technique* (1932)
By far the most famous of all his study books, *De la Sonorité* includes exercises for long tones and dynamic variations. It is recommended by famous flautists, such as James Galway (1982:135), Paula Robison (Kushick; 1977:288) and Marzio Conti (Clardy; 1992:10).

7. *Gamme et Arpèges* (1933)
8. 26 *Exercices et Études, Op.107 de Furstenau* (1939)
10. *Vingt exercices et études sur les grande liaisons, le trille, les point d'orgue, etc* (1933)
11. *Dix-huit exercices ou Études de Berbiguier* (1938)

Since Moyse’s *L'Enseignement complét* several renowned flautists-teachers have tried the same. If one were to compare *L'Enseignement complét* of Moyse with a study book by, for example, the English flautist Trevor Wye (such as his books on tone, articulation, breathing etc.), they seem like mere copies of what Moyse have already said and explained many years earlier.58

(c) 50 variations on the Allemande of Bach from the sonata for flute alone - for the study of articulation, ornamentation, trills, groppetti, and grace notes. (1964)
(Zen-On Music, Tokyo)

(d) The golden age of the flautists (1979)
(Published by Moyse)

(e) *Comment j'ai pu maintenir ma forme*59 (English translation of text by Paul Douglas: *How I stayed in shape.* West Brattleboro: Vermont. 1974.)

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58 Another South African flautist also observed this, after having studied the texts.
Following his death in 1984, Moyse’s influence continued to be evident in the growing popularity of C.N.S.M.-style master classes, the continued sales of his exercise books, and the reissuing of many of his recordings.

Some of his most famous students are John Francis Hériche and Louis Moyse (French); Peter-Lukas Graf, Auréle Nicolet and Raymond Meylan (Swiss); Charles Dagino, Paula Robison and Ramson Wilson (American); Trevor Wye and William Bennett (English). Raymond Guiot and Jean Doussard, initially students of Crunelle, (as well as Aurelle Nicolet) also changed over to Moyse’s class (McCutchan; 1994:123).

5.3.2 Gaston Crunelle (1898-....)
Crunelle studied at the C.N.S.M. with Philippe Gaubert and received his premier prix in 1920. He then toured Europe and made a successful career as chamber musician. He was principal flute of the orchestras of the Opéra -Comique, (1933-1964) as well as of the Association des concerts Pasdeloup. In 1941 he took over Moyse’s flute class at the C.N.S.M., when Moyse stayed in St. Amour during the war. Upon Moyse’s return in 1946, there were two flute posts and Crunelle taught together with Moyse at the C.N.S.M. up to 1969. During this time his class apparently won no less than 135 premier prix’s. He produced world-renowned flautists, including Jean-Pierre Rampal, Christian Lardé, Michel Debois, Maxence Larrieu, Pierre-Yves Artaud, James Galway and Claude Gerard.

The second movement of Roussel’s Joueurs de flute is dedicated to Crunelle.

5.3.3 René Le Roy (1898-1985)
Le Roy, a highly regarded chamber musician and recording artist, initially studied with his father and took private lessons from Hennebains and La Fleurance. He entered

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60 Moyse frequently gave master classes also in the USA and Japan.
61 René Rateau took over Moyse’s Conservatoire class (McCutchan; 1994:123).
Gaubert’s Conservatoire class at the C.N.S.M. in 1917 and received the premier prix after only one year! He was also extremely fortunate to inherit Hennebains’s Louis Lot flute when Hennebains died in 1915.

Le Roy succeeded Gaubert as director of the Société des instruments à vent de Paris and as professor at the C.N.S.M. In 1922 he founded the Quintet Instrumental de Paris, which toured throughout the world. He also toured extensively, whether as soloist or part of a chamber music group. He lived in the USA for some years and upon his return to Paris he was appointed as professor of wind ensemble at the C.N.S.M. (for fifteen years). The famous Sir Geoffrey Gilbert (English) was one of his students.

Many composers, such as Vincent d’Indy, Guy Ropartz and Albert Roussel dedicated works to him. Together with Claude Dorgeuille, Le Roy wrote a method Traité de la Flûte, historique, technique et pédagogique (Dorgeuille; 1994:69).

5.3.4 Jean-Pierre Rampal (1922-2000)

Rampal’s father, Joseph Rampal, the premier flautist from Marseilles, was his first teacher. Afterwards he continued his studies at the C.N.S.M. with Gaston Crunelle. His first broadcast was the Ibert Concerto for the French Radio in 1945 (Rees; 2000:20). He started his solo career just after the war and signed his first concert tour contract in 1946 when he was only twenty-four years old. Thereafter followed a position at the Vichy Opéra in 1951 and in 1956 he became principal flute of the Paris Opéra.

As a solo recitalist, he gave performances with piano and harpsichord player Robert Veyron Lacroix, a partnership that lasted thirty years. Rampal was a pioneer who popularised the flute as solo instrument. Full-length flute recitals gained musical credibility and he attracted audiences whose numbers could be compared to those of famous pianists and violinists. At the start of his solo career, however, his performance was met with a certain amount of resistance from orchestral players, who believed that by inviting a soloist their jobs would become insecure. However, Jean-Pierre Rampal created increasingly more solo opportunities for orchestral players.
From 1945 onwards he was also very active as a chamber musician and became a member of the French Wind Quintet. In 1952 he founded the Paris Baroque Ensemble, one of the first chamber music groups dedicated to the revival of Baroque music (Rees; 2000:20).

At the top of his career, Rampal was giving 150 concerts per year. According to Toff (1996:5) by the mid-twentieth century he became "...a one-man road show for his instrument..." He studied Enesco's *Cantabile et Presto* with the composer, transcribed works by Khatchaturian and Franck, and published editions of works by Vivaldi, Bach, Quantz, Devienne, Boehm, Cimarosa and others (Rees; 2000:20). His *prémiers* include the concertos of Haydn (1955), Rivier (1956) and Jolivet (1950) as well as the Poulenc Sonata (1957). He commissioned works from leading French composers including the Sonata for flute and harp by Damase and the Sonatine for flute and piano by Boulez. He was also responsible for the revival of works by Moscheles, Kuhlau, Carulli, Guillini, and others.

Rampal was probably the most famous example of the so-called French style. He is particularly admired for his performances of classical music, where his clear, mellow tone, beautiful colouring and delicate articulation are especially suited for interpreting Bach and Mozart's works (Sadie; 1988:612).

His teaching philosophy was to encourage a natural style of flute playing. According to Michel Debost (personal communication, December 02, 2002) he had "...such grace, such ease, such generosity, such charm...". Debost worked with him at the Opéra and for several recording-sessions. Rampal always refused to give him lessons and simply told him "...if you want to learn from me, just listen to me..." Rampal encouraged his pupils to take risks, to use their own creativity and not to enforce set ways of how music

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62 He edited several works of mainly the Baroque and Classical periods for the International Music Company.

63 Although he commissioned this work, he eventually refrained from doing its premier. Serverino Gazzeloni eventually premiered it.
should be interpreted. He firmly believed that technique should never get in the way of a musical performance (Rees; 2000:21). His best-known students include Alain Marion, Shigenori Kudo, Patrick Gallois, Claudi Arimany and Philippe Bernold. He regularly performed with Isaac Stern (violin), Mstislav Rostropovich (cello) and many others.

5.3.5 Michel Debost (1934)
Debost was a student of Gaston Crunelle at the C.N.S.M. and obtained his premier prix in 1954. From 1963 till 1964 he continued his studies with Marcel Moyse. He won prizes at several international competitions including Geneva, Festival du Printemps de Prague, Festival de Moscou and Munich. He succeeded Rampal at the C.N.S.M. in 1981 and taught, together with Alain Marion up to 1990. While living in France, he played in the Orchestre de Paris and also gave regular master-classes.

When Debost was teaching at the Conservatory he tried to interest his students in the instrumental playing and in the repertoire. His teaching philosophy is based on the principle of doing everything in a simple way. According to him simple pieces and exercises should rather be practised well, instead of working on pieces and etudes, that may be too advanced technically. Many of his students are highly regarded flautists in Europe. They include Emmanuel Pahud (Swiss-French), Pierre-André Valade (French), and Clara Novakova (Tschech).

5.3.6 Maxence Larrieu
Larrieu was a student of Joseph Rampal (Jean-Pierre’s father) in Marseille before he entered the C.N.S.M. in 1950 to study with Gaston Crunelle. He won his premier prix in 1951. During the first part of his career he played in the Lamoureux orchestra, as well as in the Paris Opéra. In 1978 he was appointed as professor of flute at the Geneva Conservatoire (Switzerland) and at the Conservatoire in Lyon. Like Rampal, he favours the repertoire of the eighteenth century and he made numerous recordings under the label, ‘Denon’ in Japan (Goll-Wilson; 1988:7).

64 He strongly influenced Patrick Gallois in this regard. (See p. 90.)
5.3.7 Alain Marion (1938-1998)

Marion, another student of Joseph Rampal went to Paris where he received private instruction from Jean-Pierre Rampal. Although he never succeeded to enter the C.N.S.M. he assisted (1974) and finally succeeded Jean-Pierre Rampal in 1977 as professor at the C.N.S.M. Marion and Rampal worked together for many years and they founded the Nice International Summer Academy\(^{65}\) where Marion became Artistic Director, as well as flute instructor.

His career started when he appeared with the Jeunesse Musicales orchestra as soloist. Highlights of his orchestral career include the foundation of the Orchestre de Paris (1967); principal flute with the Orchestre National de France (1972-1976) and principal flute of the Ensemble Intercontemporaine of Pierre Boulez. Notwithstanding a full orchestral career, he was a highly respected flute teacher who, according to Verroust (1991:18), supported his students in their pursuit of international careers by recording and touring with them. Like Moyse, he believed that the opera aria is one of the best ways to teach instinctive musicianship.

His numerous students include, Sophie Sherrier (who also succeeded him as professor at the C.N.S.M.), Benoit Fromanger, Philippe Bernold, Marzio Conti, Yumiko Sakuma, Andrea Griminelli, Emmanuel Pahud, Alexis Kossenko, Denis Loupatchev, Mayu Sato, Kazunori Seo and Sarah Louvion.

\(^{65}\) Centre International de Formation Musicale in Nice.
5.3.8 Jean-Claude Gérard (1941)

Gérard was one of the last students of the celebrated Gaston Crunelle at the C.N.S.M.\textsuperscript{66} He was principal flute of the orchestras of the Concerts Lamoureux and the Opéra de Paris, and won several international competitions, which was the kick-start for his solo career.

However, in 1972 he moved to Hamburg. Since 1989 he organises the Chamber Music Festival, Musiques au Large in Quiberon, France.

5.3.9 Pierre-Yves Artaud

He received the premier prix in flute and chamber music (1967–70) at the C.N.S.M., where his teachers were Gaston Crunelle and Cristian Lardé. He has performed all over the world as soloist or with ensembles such as the Trio à Cordes de Paris and the Arditti Quartet (Artaud; 1994:25) and with famous orchestras under the direction of P. Boulez, P. Eotvos, J.C. Casadesus, A. Tamayo, A. Louvier and L. Foster. He is the associate artistic director as well as soloist of the Ensemble 2e2m.

His teaching career started in 1982 when he was appointed flute professor at the C.N.S.M. of Boulogne-Billancourt.\textsuperscript{67} Since 1985 he is professor of flute and pedagogy (woodwind section) at the C.N.S.M. and since 1999 also professor at the Ecole Normale de Musique de Paris: Alfred Cortot.\textsuperscript{68} Pierre-Yves Artaud is also very highly regarded as researcher. He holds a diploma from the Group d’Acoustique Musicale of the Université de Paris IV. Between 1981 and 1986 he was selected by Pierre Boulez to be responsible for the workshop of instrumental research at I.R.C.A.M. (Traversieres; 1994:25).

Artaud’s contribution to the French Flute tradition is enormous. He is a word-renown specialist of contemporary music and composers of various countries dedicate their

\textsuperscript{66} According to the Traversières magazine n°28/62 he was the last student of Marcel Moyse.
\textsuperscript{67} C.N.R : Conservatoire Nationale de Région.
\textsuperscript{68} The Ecole Normale de Musique de Paris – Alfred Cortot is a private music institution. It is one of the two main music schools in Paris, the other being the C.N.S.M., which is a government-subsidised institution.
He premiered several works, and recorded more modern works than any other flautist before him. More than 350 works had already been dedicated to him!

Together with Yves Roosen he was responsible for the construction of the octo-bass flute. Furthermore, Artaud has compiled several teaching methods and treatises. He wrote a book on flute teaching (intended for his pedagogy-students at the C.N.S.M.), as well as one on contemporary music techniques. Examples are:


He formed a flute orchestra, *Orchestre Français des Flutes*, with various types of flutes (such as bass, contra-bass, alto, tenor, piccolo and the concert flute) with the aim of introducing new works by contemporary French composers.

Over the years Artaud received many awards and together with Toru Takemitsu, he is also chairman of the Tokyo Franco-Japanese festival of contemporary music.

5.3.10 Philippe Bernold (1960-)

Bernold studied with Alain Marion and Raymond Guiot at the C.N.S.M. obtaining his premier prix in 1982. He was appointed as principle flute at the *Orchestre de l'Opéra National de Lyon* under John Eliot Gardiner in 1983, but remained active as soloist and won the very prestigious Jean-Pierre Rampal International Flute Competition in 1987. Since then his solo career flourished and he gives more than fifty concerts per year.

He has appeared as soloist and chamber musician with internationally acclaimed artists, such as Mstislav Rostropovitch, Jean-Pierre Rampal, Marielle Nordmann and Maurice André. He also performed with the *Orchestre de Paris*, the *Franz Liszt Chamber*
Orchestra (Budapest), the Hallé (Manchester), the Prague Chamber Orchestra, the Orchestre National de Lyon and the Orchestre de l'Opéra de Lyon (Traversières; 1995:27).

He has performed under conductors such as Lorin Maazel, Jean-Pierre Rampal, John Eliot Gardiner, Semyon Bychkov, Kent Nagano, Yehudi Menuhin, Maurice Bourgue in some of the worlds most famous concert halls. Bernold also performed at the festivals of Aix-en-Provence, Ojai (USA), Cannes, Radio-France, Strasbourg, Evian, and the National Flute Association of America (1995).

Bernold is also a much sought after teacher and started off as assistant to Pierre-Yves Artaud at the C.N.S.M.(1992-1995), after which he was professor of sight-reading. In 1994 he was appointed successor to Maxence Larrieu at the C.N.S.M in Lyon (Traversières; 1995:27).

His recordings include Debussy's Sonate No. 2 for Flute, Viola, and Harp (1989), for which he won the Grand Prix de l'Académie Charles Cros, as well as recordings with some of France's finest musicians, including Bruno Pasquier, Catherine Collard, Frédérique Cambreling, Jean-Jacques Kantorow, Jean-Philippe Collard, and Laurent Cabasso.

5.3.11 Patrick Gallois (1956-)

Gallois studied with Jean-Pierre Rampal at the C.N.S.M. He was principal flute of the Lille Orchestra in 1975 and of the Orchestre National de France from 1977 to 1984, but resigned in 1985 to focus on his very succesful international solo career. He frequently tours Europe, the USA and Asia giving concerts and master classes. He taught at the Ecole Nationale de Musique in Alnay-sous-Bois, France, but moved to Quebec, Canada in 2001. He still presents master classes every year at the Ecole Britten in France.

Gallois's teaching philosophy is that students should have the courage to play as individuals (Kern; 1999:11). According to him, students often play technically
impeccably and everything in the "correct" way, but have little individuality and. "... we don't need one of them!" "...Who's to say what is the correct way of interpreting Bach? Bach is dead, but what we need, is a personality...

He made several recordings with the Japanese firm JVC and the acclaimed Deutche Gramophone and is one of the first Frenchmen to make a career with a modern wooden flute. Gallois's edition of the Paganini Caprices (Leduc, Paris) includes an introduction on the technique of circular breathing, which he suggests using for the execution of these caprices. Unfortunately this outstanding manual is at present only available in French.

5.3.12 Emmanuel Pahud (1970-)

Pahud was born in Geneva and is of Swiss/French origin. A student of Alain Marion and Michel Deboost at the C.N.S.M., he obtained his premier prix at the age of twenty and thereafter continued his studies with Aurele Nicolet, Pierre-Yves Artaud, Andras Adorjan and Peter-Lukas Graf.

He was selected principal flute of the Berlin Philharmonic under Claudio Abbado at the age of twenty-two and kept the position for eight years. (His teacher, Aurelle Nicolet also occupied the same position earlier.) This prime position led to his almost immediate fame. His career took a different angle when he abandoned his orchestral career to teach at the Geneva Conservatory, while still maintaining a very busy international solo career.

He performs all over the world and appears regularly at festivals throughout Europe, U.S.A. and the Far East. In 1996 he signed an exclusive contract with EMI classics and has since received several awards for his outstanding musicianship (Traversières; 1996:24).

70 CD D.G.G. 435 768-2
5.4 Modern French Composers

5.4.1 Background Overview
In the early twentieth century a new trend developed resulting in a strong turn against the Romanticism and the solo virtuoso flute works of the nineteenth century gradually became less popular amongst flautists and composers. French composers of the twentieth century, however, found the expressive character of the flute specially appealing (Sadie; 1988:264).

Because of the growing interest of the French in orchestral colour there developed a renewed interest in solo and chamber music for the flute. Many twentieth century French composers, such as Debussy, Honegger, Ibert, Milhaud, Ravel, Roussel and Varèse, wrote sonatas for flute and piano, or chamber music using the flute together with other instruments (Howard et al; 1984:785). Most of these works were commissioned by the C.N.S.M.

After World War Two, French composers in particular, developed a preference for solo sounds and exploited the tonal possibilities of solo instruments. Tonal contrasts were expressed in various forms, such as contrasts between different registers of the instrument, untraditional and multicoloured timbres on a single note, extreme dynamic contrast, and unusual articulation (Toff; 1996:273). This is the time when the flute took centre stage in works by Debussy, Varèse, Honnegger, Jolivet, etc.

Some French composers of the twentieth century made a significant contribution to the modern repertoire for the flute, but many compositions are still relatively unknown, in comparison to compositions of earlier periods. It is therefore relevant to discuss at least some of these compositions in more detail than those in previous chapters.
5.4.2 Composers and Repertoire

5.4.2.1 Gabriel Fauré (1845-1924)

Fauré was professor of composition and later director of the C.N.S.M. He was one of the founders of the National Society for French Music and his refined, highly civilised music exhibits all the aristocratic qualities of the French tradition.

In 1898, Fauré was asked by Taffanel, then flute professor at the C.N.S.M., to write both a virtuoso and a sight-reading piece for the annual flute examination (Fagan; 1999:12). The result was *Morceau de Concours* (the sight-reading), composed on Bastille Day, and the Fantaisie, Op.79, which is still very popular today (Morris; 1999:136). With *Morceau de Concours*, Fauré’s aim was to accentuate phrasing, style and rhythm and he accomplished this with music of such simplicity, sincerity and freshness, that it is irresistible. Gaston Blanquart premiered both pieces. The Fantaisie is still one of the prescribed works for the entrance exam at the C.N.S.M.

5.4.2.2 Claude Debussy (1862-1918)

Claude Debussy was a very influential figure in the development of modern flute repertoire. His contact with the Impressionist movement and modern French poetry, contributed to his mature style in which formal structure was of minor importance, whilst mood, atmosphere and colour have special significance. This is evident in *Syrinx* for solo flute (1913) and in his Sonata for flute, viola and harp (1915). He also used the flute masterfully in his orchestral works.

*Syrinx*, the first really outstanding solo piece in the twentieth century (Toff; 1996:260), was composed in 1913 as incidental music to Gabriel Mourey’s play, *Psyché*, which was inspired by a statue, *The last breath of Pan*. *Psyché* told the story of Pan, a favourite subject (a Greek myth) of French impressionistic composers.

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71 Although Fauré’s dates classify him as a Romantic composer, his works are regarded as modern.
The solo had to be played from backstage as the final melody before Pan’s death (Rampal: 1991:12). The piece expresses an evocative mixture of Celtic mysticism and Dionysian sensuousness. Because of its depth and sensitivity it seems almost rebellious in reaction towards the very brilliant, yet generally shallow pieces of previous decades.

Debussy dedicated this very poetic work to Louis Fleury, who premiered it on December 1, 1913 at the Louis Mons theatre in Paris. *Syrinx* remains an essential piece in the flute repertoire and overshadows most other compositions for solo flute. With this composition Debussy exploited the special qualities of the flute, such as its “narrow dynamic range, limitation to relatively short melodic phrases, ‘microscopic focus’, the ability to understate nuances of colour and affinity for the conjunct melodic line” (Toff; 1996:260).

Probably the most appealing of his sonatas, is the Sonata for flute, viola and harp, which was written when he was sick with cancer. It was the second Sonata of an intended series of six sonatas for various instruments. Unfortunately only three were completed before his death in 1918. This sonata is neo-classical in nature. It was originally scored for flute, oboe and harp, but Debussy realised that by using the timbral combination of a breathy flute and a throaty, often muted viola with the harp, he could achieve more subtle effects and an intimate mood (Grayson; 1999:7). Typical of this piece is Debussy’s extraordinary use of timbres. It is an intimate, tender work of which the composer wrote: “...it is frightfully mournful and I don’t know whether one should laugh or cry - perhaps both” (Morris; 1999:133)?

The orchestral works *La Mer* and *Prélude à l’Après-midi d’un faune* also show Debussy’s sensitivity for the flute as orchestral instrument. He used pianissimo strings, muted horns, harp and sustained chords or tremolos, instead of more rhythmic figures, and the effect is that the moving line of the flute stands out against this thin texture.
5.4.2.3 Albert Roussel (1869-1937)
Roussel, in his chamber music, treats the flute with originality and, like Debussy shows a special sensitivity towards its character (Tranchefort; 1989:746). His Joueur de Flûte Op. 27, includes four individual programmatic movements and is perhaps the most famous of Roussel’s many works for flute and piano. Roussel dedicated each of the movements to one of the leading French flautists of that period (Toft; 1996:261). Pan was dedicated to Marcel Moyse, Tityre, to Gaston Blanquart, Krishna to Louis Fleury and Mr de la Pejaudie to Philippe Gaubert.

In Pan, Ancient Greece is symbolised by the altered Dorian mode. Tityre, the shepherd who came from Virgil, brings forth a fast Scherzo. The most beautiful of all four pieces is Krishna, a meditation dedicated to the Hindu god and based on a Hindu mode. It is one of the most bewitching oriental evocations of Roussel, which is followed by Monsieur de la Pejaudie, the flautist-character in Henri de Régnier’s novel, La Pêcheresse (Tranchefort; 1989:746).

5.4.2.4 Maurice Ravel (1875-1937)
Ravel was a student of Gabriel Fauré at the C.N.S.M. Unfortunately, he did not contribute to the solo flute repertoire, except for the arrangement of his Pavane pour une infante defunte, although he used the flute in the exquisite septet, Introduction and Allegro. However, he gave a very prominent part to the flutes in his orchestral masterpiece Daphnis et Chloé (1909-12), in which Debussy’s influence is obvious. Critics often disapprove of the septet because of the melodies, seductive harmony and alluring colour, which popularised the piece. Despite this, it is in the form of a concerto movement with a slow introduction and a harp cadenza near the end, and therefore has all essential qualities of a well-proportioned and carefully integrated composition (Larner; 1996:85).

The Introduction and Allegro scored for flute, clarinet and string quartet was commissioned by Maison Erard, the C.N.S.M.’s supplier of harps and pianos
and was premiered by Gaubert on 22 February 1907 (Tranchefort; 1989:728).

5.4.2.5 Philippe Gaubert (1879-1941)
He composed throughout his life and his compositions for flute are his most important. He was a virtuoso flautist, conductor and composer and according to Cobbett (1929:443), his music is neo-classical, tinted with Modernism. Although his compositions for the flute are not all of the same quality, their writing style, however, is remarkable. They are also very relevant for research on the specific qualities of the so-called French school (Dorgeuille; 1994:32).

Gaubert's compositions include *Madrigal* (1908) for flute and piano, *Sicilienne* (1914) for flute and orchestra (transcribed for flute and piano) and *Nocturne et Allegro Scherzando*, which was an examination test piece (*Morceau de Concours*) in 1906 (McCutchan; 1994:67). He also composed fine salon music for flute and was awarded second prize in the *Prix de Rome.*

With his first sonata he commemorates his teacher, Taffanel, who died nine years earlier. The second Sonata was dedicated to Marcel Moyse and the third to Jean Boulze, who was principal flautist when Gaubert conducted the orchestras of the Paris Opéra and the *Concerts Lamoureux.*

The opening of his *Pièce romantique* for flute, piano and cello, has a rich orchestral feeling with long singing lines interwoven in the texture and impressive surging climaxes. A more delicate moderato section follows and Gaubert combines the two contrasting ideas at the end. The *Trois Aquarelles* (three watercolours) of 1926, again for flute, piano and cello repeat the broad pattern of his three sonatas. The movements are: On a clear Morning, Autumn evening and Serenade (Shaw; 2000).

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72 The *Prix de Rome* is a very sought after prize for new compositions.
He revised the *Méthode Complète* for which Taffanel left important notes and added some of his own exercises. It was first published in 1923, but re-edited several times.

5.4.2.6 *Les Six*

A group of young Parisian musicians, unofficially known as *Les Six*, characterises the trend known as 'economy of expression'. Their main aim was to achieve simplicity and clarity in composition, with a minimum of emotion. They strongly opposed the German romanticism and impressionism, but were receptive to jazz, with its syncopation and complex rhythms.

The use of woodwinds and brass were much more popular than the use of string instruments (as in jazz) and the piano was used as a percussive instrument. Harmony was almost always tonal. The *Les Six*, at its prime from 1917 till 1927, has been described as 'beauty of banality' (Toff; 1996:262). Four of its members composed for the flute: Arthur Honneger, Germaine Tailleferre, Darius Milhaud and Francis Poulenc.

(a) Arthur Honneger (1892-1955)

Honneger studied with Vincent d'Indy and Charles-Marie Widor at the C.N.S.M and was a member of *Les Six*. His popular piece for solo flute, *Danse de la chèvre* (Dance of the goat), soon became a favourite with flautists and together with Debussy's *Syrinx*, Varese's *Density 21.5* and Jolivet's *Incantations*, it is one of the pre-1940 classics for solo flute.

The piece, originally intended for the ballet, *La Mauvaise Pensée* (The Evil Thought) by Sacha Derek\(^7\) was written for René le Roy. Honneger seems to portray a simple scene, like the cinematic technique of showing a scene in the distance, zooming up on the detail and then disappearing into the mist once again (Sasaki; 1994:7).

(b) Darius Milhaud (1892-1974)

\(^{73}\) According to Halbreich (1999:278) the *Danse de la chèvre* was probably written around 1921 and not in May 1919.
Milhaud also studied at the C.N.S.M. He wrote a sonata for flute, oboe, clarinet, and piano, Op. 47 a sonatine for flute and piano and a concerto for flute, violin and orchestra, which was premiered by Blanche Honegger and Marcel Moyse.

A piece, which is especially dear to the composer, is his Sonatine, which is by far the best known amongst his flute compositions. It is dedicated to Louis Fleury and Jean Wiéner. Even when the piano plays alone for a few bars, there is something about the writing style that suggests that this is a flute work, so beautifully does the style dovetail (Cobbett; 1929:144).

(c) Francis Poulenc (1899-1963)

Poulenc was a student of Charles Koechlin, a disciple of Erik Satie and formed part of Les Six. He wrote only one solo-piece for flute, the classically balanced, stylish, and lyrical Sonata, but it remains one of his most popular compositions. The sonata consists of three movements in a free form: Allegro malinconico, Cantilena and Presto Giocoso. “A slightly nostalgic atmosphere and haunting melodic ideas are present right through the piece, while florid passage work shows off the instrument in all its brilliance” (Umezawa: CD cover).

Poulenc was commissioned (on recommendation of Rampal) by the Coolidge Foundation to compose a chamber music work in memory of its founder. But he did not know the founder and decided to write it for Rampal instead. In January 1958, with the Foundation’s permission, Rampal premiered the new work at the Strasbourg Music Festival with the composer at the piano (Goll-Wilson; 1991:X). It was exceptionally well received and soon gained the reputation, not only as one of Poulenc’s most important works, but as a landmark in the history of Twentieth century flute music.

74 According to some authors, such as Toff (1996:262) the sonata was already premiered in June 1957 at the Strasbourg Music Festival.
5.4.2.7 La Jeune France

Another group of French composers strongly opposed the popular, but (according to them) trivial, lightweight and witty music of Les Six. They were known as La Jeune France, which was founded in 1936 by André Jolivet, Olivier Messiaen, Daniel-Lesur and Yves Baudrier. Edgar Varèse served as their unofficial mentor (Toff; 1996:275). Their aim was to stimulate the composition and performance of new music. The following French composers were members of La jeune France.

(a) Edgar Varèse (1883-1965)
Varèse studied with Charles-Marie Widor, Albert Roussel, and Vincent d'Indy at the C.N.S.M., but diverged from his mentors in the extreme. His orchestral work Ameriques clearly shows the influence of Debussy with the use of the alto flute to generate melodic sections, as in Debussy's Faune.

He wrote Densité 21.5, in America in 1936 for the inauguration of Georges Barrère's platinum flute. The premiere was on 16 February 1936 in the Carnegie-hall, New York (Scholes; 1989:1072). Varèse used the flute in an original manner. According to Pierre-Yves Artaud (1996:154), Densité is written almost against the nature of the flute. With Densité, Varèse was a pioneer and used the flute, a traditionally non-percussive musical instrument, to produce previously extra-musical sounds.

Densité 21.5 is Varèse's frustration thrown to the face of the music world. It is as if he wanted to cry out: "...What can we do with this instrument in 1936? Its possibilities are too limited!". It is therefore a cry of powerlessness and hopelessness. The sound of the flute is projected with an extraordinary violence from the high- to the extreme low register, up to such a climax that either a point of saturation or rupture of sound is reached. It is clear that Densité reflects a struggle and that Varèse started off where other composers before him have stopped (Artaud: 1996:152).

75 It was the same year in which Debussy wrote Syrinx. (and just a few months before Jolivet's Cinq Incantations)
76 Writer's own translation from French.
In Densité he used highly contrasting dynamics, complex rhythms, un-pitched percussion, non-serial atonality, contrasting long and short notes and reduced melodies to mere motives. Sharp contrasts of dynamics and range, gave either an effect of instruments playing simultaneously, or of an echo. The different timbral characteristics of the flute’s registers and their use, in combination with the note-by-note changes in attack and intensity, are structural elements of Varèse’s compositions. What Densité is best known for, among flautists, is its key clicks (Toff: 1996; 274).

(b) André Jolivet (1905-1974)

Jolivet studied with Edgar Varèse at the C.N.S.M. from 1930 to 1933. His compositions for flute, often heard at international competitions, include the *Cinq Incantations* for solo flute and the technically and emotionally very demanding, *Chant de Linos* for flute and piano. The flute is also given high priority in his chamber music, because he regards it as “...l’instrument de la musique par excellence...”.

The *Cinq Incantations* represents a special highlight in the flute literature. They were composed after Jolivet’s visit to North Africa in 1936, where the sonority of the Ney, as well as the cultural impact, inspired him to write these five superb poems in which the flute is treated with greatness and mysticism. These pieces were the first in the solo flute repertoire to require extended use of flutter tonguing (Toff; 1996:275) and also include other contemporary performing techniques, such as pitch slides of a half step. To interpret these five plaints (Artaud; 1996:153), it is vitally important to have a strong sense of rhythm, a thorough understanding of the form and to make extreme use of colours.

*Chant de Linos* was composed for the Conservatoire’s examen des prix in 1944. The composer combined neo-impressionistic sensuousness, sparkling, irregular rhythms (5/4

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77 The most popular edition of the Cinq incantations is the one by Boosey and Hawkes (1938).
78 A diagonal flute of the middle east.
79 This is obtained by rolling the flute in- or outwards or by slinging the fingers so that only half a hole is covered. (This technique is obviously only possible with open-hole flutes) or by using special fingerings for quarter tones.
80 This is the year when Jean-Pierre Rampal obtained his premier prix.
in the slow laments and 7/8 in the fast dances) that came from his interest in the human
instinct for dance (Morris; 1999:133), as well as Greek modes. *Chant de Linos* seems
like a tormented response to the wartime atmosphere. It is a type of ancient Greek
threnody, a funeral lament or plaint interrupted by cries and ritual dances. This work can
almost be regarded as a sonata for flute and piano because it requires technical brilliancy
from both players. The two parts are woven together and form a strong bond. Jolivet also
arranged the piano part for string trio and harp (Grayson; 1999:8).

The Flute Concerto No.1 is also a popular neo-classical work (Pellissier; 1992:10), with a
complex, but melodious solo part and string orchestration. Jean-Pierre Rampal, Jolivet’s
favourite flautist, premiered it in February 1950, with the composer conducting (Artaud;
1996).

Jolivet’s work has always been highly regarded in France, but during the past few years
also made a comeback internationally. His technique of blending different types of music
with an essentially tonal base, is an original way to extend traditional patterns of
harmony, while rejecting twelve tone techniques and avant-garde experiments (Morris;
1999:141).

(c) Olivier Messiaen (1908-1992)
Messiaen studied at the C.N.S.M with Dukas and Dupré and thereafter taught harmony
and composition at the C.N.S.M. (Hutchinson; 1993:8). Since 1950, he did serious
ornithological studies and thereafter included bird-song in his compositions. *Le Merle
Noir*, (meaning blackbird) is his only work for flute. It was, as almost all note-worthy
French pieces of this century, an examination test piece at the C.N.S.M, but has since
become a standard in the contemporary flute repertory.

Like Jolivet’s compositions, it is equally challenging for both flautist and pianist. *Le
Merle Noir* is the first of his birdsong based compositions (Griffiths;1986:241) and
Messiaen combines his rhythmic theories with variegated songs of birds (Schiff:1995).\textsuperscript{81} \textit{Le Merle Noir} gives timbre a practical role. It requires the use of flutter-tonguing and there are improvisatory cadenza sections in order to imitate birds (Toff: 1996; 274).

5.4.2.8 Pierre Boulez (1925-)

Boulez was Messiaen’s star student at the C.N.S.M. in the harmony class of 1940. He also studied serial techniques with René Leibowitz, the academic standard-bearer of the Second Vienna School of Schoenberg, Berg, and Webern, which clearly shows that he did not support the aims of \textit{La Jeune France}. He entered the Parisian musical scene in his early twenties and was regarded as a radical composer and a sarcastic polemicist whose intention presumably was to rewrite the history of twentieth-century music to justify his own innovations.

The Sonatina for flute and piano is one of his earliest compositions and the first one regarded by Boulez as truly his own.\textsuperscript{82} It dates from the brief period when his compositional style was influenced by Schoenberg, and is therefore uniquely different to his other compositions. According to Toff (1996:275), Jean-Pierre Rampal commissioned it, but strangely enough, declined to perform it. Severino Gazzelloni finally premiered it at Darmstadt in 1954.\textsuperscript{83}

It is one of the most original compositions ever written, and combines the schools of Stravinsky and Schoenberg. Boulez was influenced by Stravinsky’s revitalized rhythm and also by the reconfigured harmony by means of the twelve-tone technique of Schoenberg and Webern. Yet, when Boulez composed the Sonatina, Schoenberg had apparently stopped his harmonic experiments, and Stravinsky was still using the rhythms of Brahms. He thus combined the elements and by throwing Stravinskian rhythms at Schoenbergian harmonies the young Boulez overstepped the ‘supposed’ limits. In the Sonatine he released an explosion of musical violence, nervousness, and instability.

\textsuperscript{81} The choice of the black bird is important for it is the song of one of the three birds that he applies the most and also uses in no less than six orchestral works.

\textsuperscript{82} Recording of the Sonatine: Erato 2292-45648-2 CD

\textsuperscript{83} Tranchefort, (1989:151) claims that Jan van Boterdael and Marcelle Mercenier premiered it in Brussels, in 1947.
(Shiff; 1995). The form is apparently modelled on Schoenberg’s *Chamber Symphony*, Op. 9. However, the slow melodies are in the impressionist tradition of Debussy.

Boulez used the flute in his chamber music work, *Le Marteau sans Maître*, which is scored for the unique combination of alto flute, guitar, vibraphone, xylorimba, percussion (including vibraphone, but prominently bongos) and viola. It is in a circular, improvisatory form (Toff: 1996; 274), its style is slightly jazzy and also oriental, with a frantic rhythm, and is atonal. *Le Marteau sans Maître* strongly influenced composers of several generations in many countries to write abundant scores of flute-and-vibraphone music.

5.4.2.9 Jacques Ibert (1890-1962)

Ibert’s compositions are full of charm and sparkle and use both Impressionistic and Neo-classical elements (Morris; 1999: 139). Ibert retained classical forms although he used them in a special and more flexible manner (Toff; 1996: 263). He was influenced by the vague colours of Debussy and Ravel, in works such as *Jeux*, (Sonatine for flute and piano), *Trois Pieces Brèves*, (for woodwind quintet) and *Aria* (for flute and piano—both 1930). His later compositions, include *Pièce* for solo flute; the beautiful *Entr’acte* for flute and harp; and the masterly, but also warm and charming concerto ( premiered by Marcel Moyse). 84

The concerto is one of the most popular concertos for the flute ever written. It makes a fundamental contribution to the limited concerto repertoire for flute (Morris; 1999: 139) and is regularly prescribed at international competitions. It is in the typical Ibert-style with a classical three-movement structure (fast-slow-fast). It starts with a rhythmically, sharply accented Allegro, based on two alternating themes, while the strings (in the first and the second movements) have considerable melodic importance. In the *Andante*, the soloist introduces a long and majestic melody, while the orchestra creates a warm and eloquent atmosphere with subtle pianissimo shifts of harmony. The influence of the

84 The arrangement of Entr’acte for flute and guitar is also very popular.
Romantic concerto is evident in the final Allegro scherzando. Full freedom is allowed to the soloist, who should bring the piece to an end with an awesome display of technical virtuosity and musical energy (Pellissier; 1992:9).

5.4.2.10 Jean Rivier (1896-)
According to Toff (1996:263) Jean Rivier is regarded as an outstanding contributor to the flute literature. Rivier composed a quartet for four flutes, three pieces for unaccompanied flute, (eg. Virevoltes) a concerto, three pieces for flute and piano, and several other pieces for chamber music. He dedicated his flute concerto of 1955 and his Sonatine for flute and piano to Jean-Pierre Rampal.

5.4.2.11 Eugène Bozza (1905-1991)
Bozza was one of France’s most productive composers, and composed several pieces for wind instruments (Gandrup; 2001:12). His compositions are technically quite advanced, but portray his amazing perception for melodic grace, refined forms, as well as an understanding of the characteristic sound of individual instruments.

The beautiful solo piece, Image Op.38, composed for Marcel Moyse, remains the most popular and has become a standard piece in the flute repertoire. The contrasting sections (long lines and technical passages) in this piece are typical of French music of that period and reflect the influence of his mentor, Henri Busser.

5.4.2.12 Jean Francaix (1912-1997)
Francaix was a pupil of Nadia Boulanger at the C.N.S.M. His numerous compositions are “...classical in inspiration, elegant and witty, graceful and idiomatically and delicately written for the instrument...” and represent a particular French style of musical expression (Morris; 1999:139). His Divertimento for flute and piano and the suite for unaccompanied flute are probably his most popular, but he also composed a woodwind quintet (1933), a quadruple concerto for woodwinds and orchestra, a suite for flute and guitar as well as many other chamber music works (Toff; 1996:264).
5.4.2.13 Henri Dutilleux (1916-)
Dutilleux studied with Maurice Emmanuel and Henri Busser at the C.N.S.M., after which he worked at the Radio France and taught at the Ecole Normale de Musique de Paris: Alfred Cortot. His compositions stand apart from both traditionalists and avant-garde techniques, but reflects the influence of Debussy, Roussel and Stravinsky.

His only contribution to the solo flute repertoire is the popular Sonatine for flute and piano. It is composed as examination test piece for the C.N.S.M. and is often prescribed at international competitions. However, Dutilleux personally regards it as not really representative of his style (Potter; 1997:7).

5.4.2.14 Jean-Michel Damase (1928-)
Damase also studied at the C.N.S.M. and composed numerous works for flute (Toff; 1996:264). The most popular of these is the Sonata en Concert where he took advantage of the Baroque suite’s forms and movement-headings. The optional cello is used as continue, as in Baroque fashion, often playing in parallel with the piano’s left hand and very seldom taking any freedom on its own. With all his tonal expansion, Damase almost anxiously avoids any trace of modernism. His music is sophisticated, but at the same time very appealing (Teubner; 2000).

5.4.2.15 Heinz Holliger (1939-)
This well-known German oboe virtuoso is also a leading composer of avant-garde music. He studied with Boulez and started to use avant-garde effects on the oboe. His Lied for flute (or alto-, bass-, or amplified-flute ad lib) uses techniques such as the trumpet attack, key clicks and most original of all, requires circular breathing (Toff: 1996; 277).
5.5 Summary and Conclusions

Nancy Toff (1996:100) claims that the supremacy of the French woodwind playing has been acknowledged for more than a hundred years, but that the style achieved world-wide predominance during the twentieth century.

Although there are practically no more French flute manufacturers of note, the Louis Lot Boehm flute was accepted world wide and was copied and modified by American makers, such as Powell and Haynes and the Japanese companies, Sankyo, Muramatsu and Yamaha. The minor modifications to the flute did not change the basic mechanism of the flute. Very interesting is the octo-bass flute which was manufactured by Jean-Yves Roosen and Pierre-Yves Artaud.

The C.N.S.M. still plays a major role in maintaining the exceptional standard of the French tradition. It can be compared to an engine, which generates the energy. Famous teachers of this period include Marcel Moyse, René Le Roy, Jean-Pierre Rampal, Michel Debost, Alain Marion and Pierre-Yves Artaud. Pierre-Yves Artaud is internationally acclaimed for his performance of contemporary works.

By commissioning new works on a regular basis from leading composers, the C.N.S.M. is also largely responsible for the French flute repertoire of this period. The compositions for flute by Gabriel Fauré, Claude Debussy and Philippe Gaubert are well known and popular, also in South Africa. Very interesting is the very different composition styles of Les Six (e.g. Poulenc’s Sonata) and La Jeune France (e.g. Varese’s Densité 21.5 or Jolivet’s Chant de Linos).

It is clear that the modern French flute environment is extremely vibrant. Nowhere else in the world are there so many virtuoso flautists in one country. It seems as if they have all the right qualities to maintain the stature of their tradition. The large number of world-renown flautists mentioned earlier is indicative of the important position of French flautists in the international music world.
PART TWO

Elements of the French Flute Tradition
CHAPTER 6

THE QUALITIES, RELEVANCE AND INTERNATIONAL DISSEMINATION OF
THE FRENCH FLUTE TRADITION

6.1. Introduction

The preceding chapters elaborate on the development of the French tradition over the years and highlight the special contributions of craftsman (later manufacturers), flautists-teachers and composers. As stated on p. 106, the French style gained world-wide recognition over the years. As Peter-Lukas Graf (personal communication, December 14, 2002) puts it: "... many 'French qualities' are nowadays no more exclusively French, but internationally accepted. They were brought into other countries by French flautists."

But what are the outstanding characteristics of the French style? Are there special factors that boosted this exceptionally high standard of flute performance? How did the French style become the international style? And are there lessons to be learnt from the development of the French tradition? This chapter is an attempt to answer these questions.

6.2 Defining the French style of Flute Playing

Doing something with style means doing it in a grand or elegant manner (Oxford Dictionary; 1987:860), but as with fashion, art or cuisine, there are many different styles of flute playing. As mentioned earlier (See p.3.), Sir Geoffrey Gilbert (Floyd; 1990:8) openly admired the French style and after having attended concerts by Moyse and Le Roy, he wondered: "...how were these flutists able to produce such warmth and expression of sound?" He then studied with René Le Roy, who advised him to change his instrument, embouchure, articulation, and vibrato! He subsequently became internationally known.
Many regard Marcel Moyse's style as the perfect example of the French style. He was a self-made man with a strong sense of self and these characteristics were strongly present in his music (McCutchan; 1994:138). His approach was entirely through the eyes, ears and heart. A lesson to be learnt from this great master is that he taught and played music, and not merely the flute. He taught 'style' by telling lengthy stories to communicate musical concepts. Some of these were metaphors from nature, whilst others were ordinary human stories. He would describe the entire exposition of a concerto phrase by phrase, as a walk in the woods, complete with changes in weather and terrain and encounters with animals.

According to Paula Robison (Goll-Wilson; 1994:9) Moyse always emphasised the importance of expressiveness. He taught mostly from the French repertoire, with its ideas of colour, inner sensibility and supreme elegance, but he also used Italian arias to demonstrate the typical warm way of Italian phrasing and singing.

Jean-Pierre Rampal was probably the most famous exponent of the so-called French style. His philosophy was to encourage a 'natural' style. He taught his pupils not to be constrained by set ways of how a piece of music should be interpreted, but encouraged them to use their own creativity and take risks. He also firmly believed that technique should never get in the way of the musicality of a performance (Rees; 2000:21).

Peter-Lucas Graf, who is regarded as a brilliant pedagogue (and is French-trained), teaches style in a very different way. He expects that his students should respect the wishes of the composer. He believes strongly that through analysing a piece, students will more clearly understand the meaning of the phrases. To him each note in a phrase has a specific purpose and each note should be given careful consideration. He places particular emphasis on rhythmic and harmonic aspects, which is understandable seeing that he is also a conductor. He wants his students to have a thorough understanding of the harmonic progressions on which to build their melodies. Graf's teaching of style is therefore more 'purist' than that of Rampal, but it shows that style can be taught if it is not an inborn quality.
Shigenori Kudo, on the other hand, who studied with Rampal, has a more liberal approach. “Every once in a while I discover students with unique styles, whose Bach is ‘for instance’ very untraditional. I try not to stifle that difference and try to listen to a style that is different from mine and I enjoy learning from their techniques. There is no such a thing as a one correct performance of a Bach sonata. Good musical interpretation is always changing and with change we grow musically” (Kim; 1996:10). Debost agrees (personal communication, December 02, 2002) and speaks about his teaching of Emmanuel Pahud: “I did not have to teach him except a few ropes and tricks. Enforcing strict ideas would have hurt him more than help him. You don’t bridle up a thoroughbred like a plough horse.”

Patrick Gallois, also stresses the importance that students should find the courage to play as individuals (Kern; 1999:11). He expresses his concern about students who play “fantastically”, but all in the same way and adds: “... we don't need one of them!” He continues: “Who’s to say what is the correct way of interpreting Bach? Bach is dead, but what we need, is a personality.”

The above clearly shows that it is not at all easy to define the so-called French style. However certain common qualities are discussed in more detail in the next section.

6.3 Unique qualities of the French Style

6.3.1 Tone

According to Patrick Gallois (personal communication, December 26, 2002), the most outstanding aspect of French technique is the tone, i.e. its focus, colour and clarity. All these elements contribute to virtuosity. Sir Geoffrey Gilbert (Floyd; 1990:88) describes the quality of the French sound as naturelle. The tone of the French style is rather unique and has been described as silvery, pure, sweet and, above all, refined (Toff; 1996:100). Most French teachers, when talking about virtuosity, start with the aspect of tone. This is why French flautists play with such a clear sound even when playing fast passages (Gallois; personal communication: December 26, 2002).
Marcel Moyse emphasised the importance of homogeneity of the sound throughout the registers of the flute (Kushick; 1977: 287), which is one of the most difficult qualities to acquire. His students used his study book *Tone development through interpretation*, to develop homogeneity of sound by playing well-known melodies. Rampal (Hegvik; 1972:183) believed that when changing registers, the mouth position should stay the same, in order not to interfere with the homogeneity of the sound. What changes, according to him, is the direction in which the air is blown. To produce the sound as smoothly as possible, i.e. without ‘bumps’, students should always think about the passage from one note to another. The sound needs to flow without any kind of technical constraint.

The French tone is not necessarily large, on the contrary, its carrying power results from quality rather than quantity. Tone-colour is therefore more important than volume. The simple elegance of the French tone reminds of the music of Debussy (e.g. *La Mer; Syrinx*) with its great variety of tone colours.

6.3.2 Vibrato

A rather sensitive issue is vibrato, which is an important element of sound. Taffanel, Gaubert, Maquarre and Barrère, all believed that vibrato is not ‘produced,’ but rather is the result of the naturally breathed tone, and is in fact something resulting from one’s own musical emotions (Toff; 1996:107). Typical of this “natural school” of vibrato was Moyse, who did not teach vibrato as such; instead, he wanted a warm, singing tone, from which vibrato naturally proceeds. Rampal also never specifically addressed vibrato, he just used it. “Both flautists, however, have played expressively and with vibrato” (Floyd; 1996:91).

Gilbert (Floyd; 1990:91) explains: “I have found from experience that the French temperament is such that most French flautists play with vibrato naturally. On the other hand,

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86 According to Gilbert (Floyd; 1990:88) the English school was based on a darker and louder sound.
the English are trained almost from birth not to reveal their emotional involvement. Therefore, it has been necessary for me to teach the mechanics of playing with vibrato”.

Alain Marion warned that vibrato should be flexible to enhance phrasing and that a heavy vibrato should not be used to disguise poor sound (Goll-Wilson; 1998:27). According to him students often try to ‘produce’ vibrato without really understanding why and how to obtain it. They sometimes force the sound and end up vibrating only in the or only the diaphragm instead of using both, together with the abdominal muscles.

6.3.3 Articulation

A second technical aspect is tonguing. Already in the eighteenth century Jacques Hotteterre claimed (Toff; 1996:101) articulation to be an important element of the French style. French teachers strongly emphasise articulation as well as phrasing, which are equally important components of the characteristic refinement of their style.

The traditional French method of tonguing implies placing the tongue between the teeth and the mouth is often slightly open between the different tongue strikes (Gallois; personal communication, December 26, 2002). This method enhances clear and rapid articulation both in speech and flute playing. The pronunciation of “la flute” is the perfect example of the ideal tongue position. The simpler the movement within the mouth as the “tu” is pronounced in elementary articulation, the better the result.

French tonguing (détache with the tongue outside the mouth) is a special way of articulation that requires tonguing between the lips. This ensures a much clearer, neater and lighter attack. If the tongue is too thick it will cause clumsy articulation. French tonguing is not suggested for repeated notes, since there will be too much movement of the tongue and the effect will not be exact and light enough. However, it is very useful when starting phrases or where legato playing follows a tongued note. The tongue’s function here is to launch sound, and then influence much of the phrasing by subtle articulation. Pierre-Yves Artaud (1996:112) explains that this type of tonguing is very useful at moderate tempos when playing accentuated notes
(for instance in the beginning of Berio’s *Sequenza*) and for very piano attacks in the high register.

### 6.3.4 Breath Control

Another typical characteristic is their breath control. Jean-Pierre Rampal breathed rapidly and through the open mouth. Because of his belief of doing everything naturally, breathing on the flute was like every-day breathing to him, only slightly deeper. French-trained Emmanuel Pahud (of the younger generation) also breathes through the open mouth. This technique helps to direct the air stream towards the back of the mouth cavity. It also ensures an open throat so that air can flow freely without being cut off. It helps to keep the neck relaxed, which is vitally important for good tone production.

But as with everything else, there are also negative aspects. Debost comments (personal communication, December 02, 2002) that it is common to see that many fantastic flautists of the same school play in the same brilliant way. He adds: “Young instrumentalists should be encouraged to leave the French cocoon and see the world. I have always wondered why there are so many talented players in France, and so few good orchestras... such individual talent and such poor ensemble playing...”.

### 6.4 Factors that enhanced the standard of French flute playing

The extraordinary number of French virtuoso flautists during all periods is proof of the exceptionally high standard of French flute playing. Why is it that France produces more flute performers than any other country and how do they maintain this standard? This section covers some of the underlying factors.
6.4.1 Cultural Environment

During previous eras, France was regarded as the musical centre of the world (See p.1.) Paris remains musically vibrant in the twenty-first century. On any day, an average of twenty classical concerts are presented, together with jazz, folk and popular music performances, as well as ballet, and traditional music and dance. France Musique broadcasts approximately 400 concerts per annum (although at low frequency for a limited public). France-Culture and France-Classique also programme classical music.

Although the city shares the global crisis regarding both the role of serious music and the notion of a distinct national music, the centralised government in Paris is committed to support for arts and culture organisations. This is an extremely important factor.

6.4.2 The system of music education in France

Peter-Lukas Graf (personal communication, December 14, 2002) cites the very centralised system of music education in France as a determining factor. The real advantage of the system of music education in France lies in the quality of teaching at a very early stage, which is a major factor when it comes to the clear sound and unique style.

The approximately 4000 Music Schools controlled by the state, Municipal music schools, National music schools and Regional Conservatories converge to the two National Supérieur Conservatoires de Musique, one in Paris and one in Lyon. This number is almost incredible and the structure of music teaching is absolutely remarkable.

The training and accreditation of music teachers is under the control of the Minister of Culture, as are the different courses. The Conservatoires are varying in kinds. Those with a fairly restricted range of courses are the Municipal Schools of Music (Ecoles Municipales de Musique) found in small towns; then there are the National Schools of Music (Ecoles Nationales de Musique) in medium-sized towns.
As a result of the growing awareness of the need for co-operation between the ministries of education and culture, 'special music classes' were established in 1966. This scheme allows musically talented pupils to attend a normal school (for general education) for 50% of the week and spend the other 50% on "specialised instrumental work" in a local conservatoire (Terry; 1985:228).

In the larger centres there are National Regional Conservatories (Conservatoires Nationaux de Région) with a full range of courses up to graduate level. Their main aim is to prepare students to become performers and also to prepare them for the entrance at the C.N.S.M of Paris or Lyon, which is necessary because of the tough competition for the limited number of places. There are different levels, starting from "debutants" (beginners) followed by elementaire (elementary), "moyen" (medium), préparatoire supérieur (preparing for the superieur level) and supérieur.

There are flute professors in Nantes, Bordeaux, Lyon, Strasbourg, Lille, Clermont-Ferrand, Dijon, Mulhouse and Marseille that nobody knows about, but who lay the groundwork for the "stars" of the C.N.S.M. By the time these young people reach the C.N.S.M., the instrumental essentials have been firmly established and the great teachers can just open their minds and prepare them for artful performance.

Finally there is the principal Paris Conservatoire (C.N.S.M.) and its more recent advanced Conservatoire in Lyon.

87 An act of 1975 made nursery education an important priority. "Music education in the nursery school is justified on grounds of enjoyment, socialisation and the importance of child development. Singing is seen as the basis of music education, and teachers should show a constant concern for intonation, quality of articulation, and correct breathing" (Terry; 1985:230).
6.4.3 The C.N.S.M.

As stated in the previous section, there are only two of these, one in Paris and one in Lyon. These are the most prestigious music schools in France, training performers to international standards. On completion of courses students are awarded a premier prix or a deuxieme prix.

The quality of teaching at the C.N.S.M., and the exposure provided by this institution, are important factors. Through the years the C.N.S.M. managed to have the services of much respected teachers, such as Paul Taffanel, Philippe Gaubert, Marcel Moyse, Gaston Crunelle, Jean-Pierre Rampal, Michel Debost, Alain Marion and Pierre-Yves Artaud.

Michel Debost’s opinion (personal communication; December 02, 2002) is that it is probably also the free tuition and the competitive recruitment that goes with it, that have contributed to the high level, although he warns: “... the latter can be a mixed blessing, crushing everything in its path.”

It was also expected from the teachers to write methods. It is clear from the number of methods written that the French put a lot of effort into the improvement of flute technique. Taffanel, Gaubert, Altès and others, all produced methods for use by their students. These include exercises on scales, arpeggios, articulation and tone. They are excellent references (like bibles) to students from all parts of the world and are still largely in use at the C.N.S.M.

Through the years, this institution not only produced brilliant flautists, but also stimulated the development of the flute repertoire by commissioning works from leading composers for the annual examinations. This custom resulted in the creation of a body of pieces, which are the epitome of French flute teaching. According to DeBost (Personal communication, December 2, 2002) “Some lemons have fallen through the cracks of course, but to say that they are “not worth the paper they are printed on” is showing total ignorance about teaching complete flute playing. Unfortunately, these commissions have ceased, in favour of less worthy, but more politically correct, repertoire.
6.4.4 The École Normale de Musique de Paris: Alfred Cortot

Despite having the name of what was previously associated with teacher training, the École Normale de Musique de Paris is basically an institution training performers. Entry is restricted to those with a high level of performing ability.

Alongside the C.N.S.M. it is regarded as the most advanced institution of music education in France. It is a private institution and it also accepts ‘older’ students (i.e. older than twenty one), which is very important for foreign students who cannot enter the C.N.S.M because of the very rigid age requirement. Many of the professors of the C.N.S.M. also teach at the École Normale. It is generally known that it is easier to enter this institution, but it is much more difficult to get out, meaning to pass the final examinations.

It is also important to mention the general structure of the classes at the École Normale. All classes are master classes, which means that a student comes to a flute class once or twice a week, but the class lasts for the whole day. And all students from the specific teacher must attend, which means that a student always plays in front of the other students. Visitors from the general public are also allowed and in this way students are always prepared and also learn to perform in front of an audience.

6.4.5 The French language

According to Michel Debost (personal communication; December 02, 2002) the French language is the most dental of European tongues, which surely helps with articulation and tonguing. Because the language is spoken in the front of the mouth, they are accustomed to placing their tongues in the right position for articulation. This is partly why French players have such a clear and neat attack when playing. Andras Adorjan (Goll-Wilson; 1986:7-11) explains the importance of mother tongue in articulation and agrees that the French has a real advantage in articulation. This method enhances clear and rapid articulation both in speech and flute playing. The pronunciation of “la flûte”, according to Adorjan, is the perfect
example of the ideal tongue position. The simpler the movement within the mouth as the “tu” is pronounced in elementary articulation, the better will the result be.

All flautists however, despite their mother tongue, can develop such precision, which is a very important quality.

6.4.6 French crafters/manufacturers

The presence of several families of instrument crafters (over many generations) in the Normandy village of La Couture-Boussey, is a major factor, because this is really unique.

Back in the nineteenth century Louis Lot was ‘king’ of French woodwind manufacturing. He perfected the Boehm system flute and provided French flautists with such a sophisticated instrument, which greatly enhanced their level of performance. French flautists worked together with manufacturers and made important suggestions towards the refinement of the instrument. These flutes produced a light tone and vibrato, in great contrast to the strong and steady sound of the wooden instruments of German and English flutes.

It was this relation between flautists and manufacturers (Lot, Bonneville, Marigaux, Couesnon, etc.), which was responsible for the high quality of the French instruments in the second half of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century (Graf; personal communication, December 14, 2002). But this is a two-way (the chicken or the egg.) story. Good instruments, finally capable of competing with instruments like the violin, inspired flautists to perform more technically brilliant pieces. This demanded more technically advanced compositions and also inspired the manufacture of higher quality instruments.

However, despite the fact that there are today no modern French flute manufacturers of note, the country still produces many outstanding flute performers. This shows that a country need not manufacture flutes in order to have good flautists. Some flautists like Pierre-Yves Artaud

88 This is also the manner in which classes are structured at the C.N.S.M.
(personal communication, December 2, 2002) believes that there was firstly a demand for good flutes, which created the need to manufacture suitable instruments, and not the other way around. However, the presence of good instrument crafters over many years made a very significant contribution to the development of the French flute tradition.

France was also the first country where flautists, composers and manufacturers had accepted the Boehm system flute (Pahud; personal communication: December 26, 2002). This has contributed significantly to the development of the French flute tradition. Today the French model of the Boehm flute is used globally.

6.5 The International Dissemination of the French Flute Tradition

This section elaborates on factors that caused the international spread of the French flute tradition to other countries around the world. Figure 6.1 illustrates the dissemination of French flautists across the world, starting with Paul Taffanel.
* The two current teachers at the CNSM of Paris

* Kazanori Seo (Japanese)
6.5.1 Tours

Since the Romantic period, various professional French flautists also earned their living by undertaking extensive tours to foreign countries.

According to the literature, Drouet (See p.) was the first French flautist who had a very rewarding tour in 1826 in Europe, after which he settled in St. Petersburg. He had a flute factory in London (1818) and tried to establish himself there, but neither he, nor his French flutes, had been accepted by the English (Montagu et al; 2001:41). He was also one of the first French flautists to travel to New York (Verroust; 1991:32).

In the early nineteenth century, about 1824, Joseph Guillou performed in London at a Philharmonic concert. Thereafter it was Louis Dorus, probably the best French flautist of the Romantic period, who was invited to perform with the London Symphony Orchestra (Duchamel; 1953:64).

The modern breed of the French virtuosi, among them Louis Fleury (1878-1926), Phillipe Gaubert (1879-1941) and René Le Roy (1898-1985), toured England in the early twentieth century, and were well received by the public, although, according to Toff (1996:103) professional flautists in England did not begin their Francophile conversion until the mid-1930s. Fleury went there after taking over the Société Moderne des Instruments a Vent from Barrère. His goal with these tours was to popularise the qualities of the French flute school.

Geoffrey Gilbert (Floyd; 1990:8) acknowledged that a lasting impression was made on him after hearing several concerts and recording sessions of Moyse and Le Roy, and he wondered: "... how were these flutists able to produce such warmth and expression of sound? ...". He then went on to study with René Le Roy, who converted him to the silver flute (a Louis Lot), to light front of the mouth articulation; and to the French concepts of tonal colouring. He subsequently developed an international reputation.
French influence probably first entered Japan when Jean-Pierre Rampal toured there as soloist.

6.5.2 Emigration

French flautists emigrated to various countries, especially after World Wars 1 and 2. This section mentions some of the most important French flautist who emigrated from France.

The French flute school found a second home in the USA in the early part of the twentieth century, when a whole generation of Gaubert’s students emigrated. These men took with them the tonal ideas of the French (tonal homogeneity, the famous sensitive timbral control and vibrato) which they learnt first hand from Taffanel, Hennebains and Gaubert.

The brothers André and Daniel Maquarre became principal flautists of the Boston and Philadelphia orchestras, respectively. René Rateau became principal flute of the Chicago Symphony and Georges Laurent of the Boston Symphony Orchestra.

Georges Barrère had a tremendous influence on the standard of flute performance in the USA. In 1910 he founded the Barrère Ensemble. He was one of the founder members of the New York Flute Club in 1920, principle flute of the New York Symphony Orchestra, taught at the Juilliard School of Music and also at the Institute of Musical Art. He was the teacher of the famous American flautist, William Kincaid.

René le Roy was considered by the Americans as the greatest representative of the French flute school of his time (Dorgeuille; 1994:57). He toured extensively and resided in North America from 1940 till 1950. Marcel Moyse emigrated to the United States in 1940. He taught at the Marlboro College of Music in Battleboro, Vermont, the School of Contemporary Music in Boston, at the Conservatoire de Musique in Montreal, the Haynes studio in New York and at the Hart School of Music in Hartford, Connecticut (McCutchin; 1994:178).
Michel Debost emigrated to the United States in 1988 and since then teaches at the Oberlin Conservatory in Ohio (Debost: personal communication, December 02, 2002).

Mathieu Dufour left France to become principal flautist of the Chicago Symphony orchestra.

In the twentieth century a few outstanding young Frenchmen went to Germany and Austria; firstly, because of the very high standards of orchestras in these countries and secondly due to the few French orchestras. These include Benoit Fromanger, and Philippe Boucly, who are in Munich with the Simphonieorchester des Bayerischen Rundfunks, Jean Claude Gérard who is professor at the Hochschule für Musik in Stuttgart and Emmanuel Pahud (Swiss-French) who was principal flute with the Berlin Philharmonic.

Marcel Moyse taught at the Geneva Conservatory from 1932-1942 and was appointed first flute of the Orchestre Suisse Romande in 1935.

6.5.3 Master Classes

Many French performers and teachers present regular master classes, not only in France, but in many other countries around the world, as far as South America and Japan. This normally takes place during the European summer, when all the music institutions close for the holiday season and students from all over the world enter for these classes.

The Académie de l'ete de Nice was for instance a joint venture by Jean-Pierre Rampal and Alain Marion. Many students who were not fortunate enough to enter the C.N.S.M. attend these master classes with Rampal and Marion. And after the death of both Rampal and Marion this organisation still continues.

Even Michel DeBost who now lives in the USA, still present regular master classes in France and other European countries.
6.5.4 Recordings

The recording industry contributed significantly in spreading the French flute tradition. By the 1930s recordings had introduced the French sound to people all over Europe and America.

Some students of Paul Taffanel held prominent teaching and orchestral positions in Europe and the USA and made some of the first recordings of classical repertoire. Furthermore, the recordings of Jean-Pierre Rampal and his colleagues (such as Michel Debost) at the C.N.S.M. have been of inestimable value. They contributed to the expansion of the flute repertoire and raised the technical standards of flute performance internationally (Toff; 1996:5).

Many French performers of today go to countries such as Japan to record, because it is much cheaper.

6.5.5 Foreign Flautists who studied in France

Another factor behind the international dissemination of the French tradition is the many foreign students who studied and still study at the C.N.S.M. and who create even more competition between students. Coming from many different countries, and schools, they bring with them many new ideas regarding interpretation and technique.

Foreign students became interested in studying at the C.N.S.M. with French teachers, after having listened to the music of flautists, like Le Roy.

The following are some of the most outstanding foreign flautists who studied in France.

6.5.5.1 American
Paula Robison studied with Marcel Moyse at the C.N.S.M. and was the first American to win the Geneva International Flute Competition.
Ramson Wilson studied with Marcel Moyse.
Robert Stallman was a student of Jean-Pierre Rampal, Alain Marion and Gaston Crunelle.

6.5.5.2 English
Geoffrey Gilbert studied with René Le Roy.
William Bennet and Trevor Wye studied with Marcel Moyse.
James Galway was a student of Jean-Pierre Rampal.

6.5.5.3 German
Karl-Heinz Schütz was a student of Philippe Bernold at the C.N.S.M. in Lyon.

6.5.5.4 Japanese
Shigenori Kudo studied with Jean-Pierre Rampal at the C.N.S.M. and was the first winner of the Rampal International Flute Competition. Kazunori Seo and Kaori Higashida are young upcoming Japanese flautists who studied in France.

6.5.5.5 Italian
Silvia Careddu, of the younger generation, studied with Pierre-Yves Artaud at the C.N.S.M and was overall winner of the Geneva International Flute Competition in 2001.

6.4.5.6 Spanish
Claudi Arimany studied with Jean-Pierre Rampal.

6.5.5.6 Swiss
André Pépin and André Jaunet, both studied with Marcel Moyse.
Peter-Lucas Graf, Raymond Meylan and Aurelle Nicolet, studied with both André Jaunet and Marcel Moyse (Graf; personal communication, December 14, 2002).
Emmanuel Pahud, the most famous of the younger generation, studied with Michel Debost and Aurelle Nicolet.

6.5.6 The French model flute
This French model flute also made its way to other countries. Since 1855, Louis Lot sold his flutes in Italy, England, North America, South America, Spain and The Netherlands.

89It is on Rampal’s very first tour to Japan that Shigenori Kudo heard his music and also followed him to the master classes in Nice. He later became Rampal’s prodigy student in Paris and frequently gave duo concerts together with his teacher. Having obtained his premier prix at the C.N.S.M. in 1979 he accepted the post as flute solo of the Orchestre Nationale de Lille. Since 1988 he teaches at the École Normale de Musique de Paris. He also teaches in Tokyo, Japan, performs internationally and gives regular master classes.
The Frenchman, Georges Barrère, who left France in 1905 for Boston, apparently introduced the metal flute in the USA. As stated earlier, many French flautists emigrated to the States and took with them the silver flutes with open holes which became so popular that by 1917 the William S. Haynes Company stopped making wooden flutes.

Meanwhile European flute making went into decline and these American manufacturers, led by Haynes of Boston, built copies of Louis Lot style Boehm flutes. When the English firm of Rudall, Carte & Co. closed after World War 2, the Lot style metal flute became the only type in regular production all over the world.

The French model became the model for everybody. Even the German flutes changed the relatively heavy look of their mechanism into a more elegant and 'French one' (Graf: personal communication, December 14, 2002).

Powell, an American company, claims that their flutes still resemble Louis Lot flutes, which initially inspired Verne Powell. According to Steven Wasser (1998:58) there is still some similarity in the designs of their flutes. Powell reproduced the Lot model flute as starting point, but developed it from there and added some modifications.

6.6 The Status of French or French Trained Flautists Internationally

According to the literature it is beyond doubt that French or French trained flautists still feature prominently internationally. This section summarises the comments of some world-renown flautists on a questionnaire about the position of French flautists today.

6.6.1 French trained flautists as members of juries of international competitions

According to Peter-Lucas Graf (personal communication, December 14, 2002) it is quite logical to find French trained flautists on the juries. "But I also remember competitions

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90 This section is based on the answers to questions which was e-mailed to various flautists. The questions also only relate to French flautists and not also to French-trained flautists.
without any French colleague (agreeing that some of the jury-members had a French 'background'. Barthold Kuijen, a Belgium Traverso flautist, strongly disagrees (personal communication, November 28, 2002). According to him members of international juries are no longer largely representatives of the French. Debost (personal communication, December 02, 2002) also supports this view and adds: "The juries of the resent Munich-, Prague- and Kobé-competitions, were international."

Emmanuel Pahud believes (personal communication, December 26, 2002) that members of international juries consist mainly of previous winners of international competitions. According to him many previous winners were French, and it is therefore logical to find them on the juries. Most of them are respected performers and successful teachers. Ramson Wilson (personal communication, December 23, 2002) feels that the juries of Munich and Kobé, where he served, were quite diverse, but that the Jean-Pierre Rampal Competition is more French-orientated. According to Patrick Gallois many jury members are from the French tradition, because the majority of world-renown flautists studied in Paris. “But it doesn’t necessarily mean they only represent the so-called French school, because they have developed their own personalities and way of playing and built careers in their own countries with different influences and styles” (Gallois, personal communication, December 26, 2002).

6.6.2 The performance of French flautists in international competitions

International competitions bring together flautists from all over the world and it is interesting to see whether the French maintain their supremacy. It is possible to do this by looking at the winners of the most resent editions of important competitions in Europe:

The Swiss-born but Paris-educated Peter-Lucas Graf (personal communication, December 14, 2002) that amongst the winners of most international competitions one can find German, Japanese, Italian, Swiss, English, Hungarian, and Russians, just as frequently as French flautists. According to him the French flautists do not predominate anymore.
Emmanuel Pahud (personal communication, December 26, 2002), on the other hand, believes that Paris still produces large numbers of outstanding players because of its very high training level. "... these players are trained for virtuosity and solo repertoire, and therefore do much better in these International Competitions than in auditions for orchestral jobs" (Pahud, personal communication, December 26, 2002).

Pahud's teacher, Michel Debost, supports this more or less claiming that French trained flautists are often on top of competitions. "... such was the case in Geneva in 2001, where four young ladies (three from the Conservatoire, one from Lyon) made a unanimous impression on the jury where I was serving with a handful of gentlemen from various countries..." (personal communication, December 02, 2002)

The American flautist, Ramson Wilson (personal communication, December 23, 2002) is very confident when he replies on the question whether French or flautists who studied in France are in general the best candidates at international flute competitions "... Absolutely! It's the quality of their education...". He states openly in an interview that their standards are consistently very high and that they are "unbeatable."

Emmanuel Pahud, referring to the technique of these flautists, claims that it is their quick and easy articulation, fast fingers, control over dynamics and the articulation throughout the range of the flute, which make them rise above the ordinary (personal communication, December 26, 2002).

6.7 Summary and Conclusions

The so-called French style can be defined as refined, but expressive and colourful. Special qualities are the tone, vibrato, articulation and breath control. The cultural environment, the crafters of La Couture-Boussey, together with the system of music education, the outstanding

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91 The answers to these questions provide a mere indication of the importance of French or French-trained flautists today, because it was not a formal questionnaire. Also mostly French trained flautists were interested in answering the questions.
quality of the music institutions, the nature of the language, all contributed to the development of this tradition in France.

The French qualities are generally accepted today, as a result of tours by French flautists, emigration, master classes, recordings and foreign students who studied in France.
CHAPTER 7

GENERAL CONCLUSION

The aim of this study was not to prove that the French tradition is superior in any way, also not to say that the French are the greatest flautists in the world. The dissertation explains the development of the tradition over many years and tries to analyse why such a strong tradition developed specifically in France.

The research elaborated on the role of flute crafters, especially the families from La Couture-Boussey, such as the Hotteterres, Pierre Naust, the Godfroys and Lots who became world-renowned flute makers. The Hotteterres created the blueprint for the modern flute of today; Godfroy and Lot became the first manufacturers of the Boehm flute (outside Germany) in the world and Louis Lot was one of the most famous flute manufacturers ever. It is also true that some modern flutes manufacturers in other countries openly acknowledge that their flutes are modelled on the French modified Boehm system.

The strong tradition of flute crafters demanded a growing repertoire and over the years the French composers made a vital contribution to the development of the tradition. During the Romantic period the majority of compositions for flute was by French composers. French music of the early twentieth century by composers, such as Fauré, Debussy and Roussel, forms part of the repertoire of every flautist. French compositions from the second half of the twentieth century is very different and flautists enjoy playing Poulenc's music, but should also try Jolivet, Varése, Messian and Boulez.

It is not only French flautists who are excellent performers. On the contrary, there are many brilliant flute performers all over the world, but the number of really brilliant French or French-trained flute virtuosos over the years and even today, is remarkable.
The so-called French style of flute playing, with its special qualities, has also become the standard of the world.

Over the centuries the French produced world famous teachers, such as Paul Taffanel, Marcel Moose, Jean-Pierre Rampal, Alain Marion and Pierre-Yves Artaud, to name only very few. And many of these teachers produced methods, which are invaluable to any serious student of the flute.

It is also evident that the system of music education (from nursery school stage to the highest levels) plays a very important part in the establishment of the tradition. It proves what a driving force a well-organised education system can be. This needs to be researched in more specific detail, but falls outside the scope of this dissertation. Over the years the C.N.S.M. and private institutions, like the École Normale de Musique, played a vital role in producing brilliant performers, teachers and composers.

Any flautist who is really interested in becoming a professional performer should be encouraged to study with some of the French teachers or to attend some of the regular master classes by French or French-trained flautists. Not only is the standard of the classes a real eye-opener, but also the vibrant and stimulating, but very competitive, atmosphere.
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Appendix 1
Flute manufacturers of the Baroque

Flutes of the Naust workshop

A flute by Lissieu

Source: http://www.usd/ismm/oberlender.html
Appendix 2
French Compositions of the Baroque

BOISMORTIER, JOSEPH BODIN DE (1689-1755)
6 Concertos, op. 15 (C,A,D,b,A,e)
Nos. 1-3 (C,A,D)
Nos. 4-6 (b,a,e)
Concerto, C, op. 21, no. 3
Concerto, a, op. 28, no. 7 "Zampogna"
Concerto, G, op. 28, no. 8 "Zampogna"
Concerto, e, op. 37, no. 6
Diverses pièces, op. 22 [as 55 Leichte Stücke]
12 Petites Sonates, op. 13
Sonatas, op. 1 (D,g,e,A,b,D)
No. 1, g
Sonatas, op. 2
Nos. 3, 9 (D,G)
Sonatas, op. 6 (G,C,g,D,a,b)
No. 2, C
No. 3, g
No. 6, b
3 Sonatas, op. 9
No. 1, e
No. 2, G
No. 6, e
6 Sonatas (Suites), op. 25
2 Sonatas, G,C, op. 27
Sonata, g, op. 34, no. 1
Sonata, C, op. 34, no. 2
Sonata, e, op. 34, no. 3
Sonata, a, op. 34, no. 6
Sonata, C, op. 44, no. 3
3 Sonatas, op. 51
Sonatas, op. 91 (D,g,e,A,c)
Nos. 3, 6 (G,c)
No. 6 (c)
6 Sonates en trio, op. 7 (D,b,A,d,G,e)
No. 1, D
No. 4, d
BUFFARDIN, PIERRE-GABRIEL (c.1690-1768)
Concerto, e
ELVET, MICHEL (1700-1768)
Concerto, a
15 Duets
3 Récueil de pièces: 5 pieces
3 Sonatas, op. 1 (c,e,D,G,A)
No. 4, C
Sonatas, op. 2 (no. 1, C "L'Henriette"; no. 2, d, "La Vibray"; no. 3, e, "La Dhérouville"; no. 4, g, "La Lumagne"; no. 5, D, "La Chauvet"; no. 6, a, "Le Bouget")
No. 2, "La Vibray"
No. 3, "La Dhérouville"
No. 4, "La Lumagne"
No. 5, "La Chauvet"
No. 6, "Le Bouget"
Sonatas, op. 3
No. 2, b
Variations on a Theme by Corelli

Peters (ed. Ausbach/Haunt)
Broekmans (ed. Vester); International
Ricordi (ed. Scheck & Ruf)
Peters (ed. Nagel)
Zurfluh (ed. Cout & Cruncelle)
Leduc (ed. Patern), Müller (ed. Kolneder); Ricordi (ed. Ruf); Schott (ed. Ruf)
Sikorski (ed. Ruf & Zoller)
Amadèus (ed. Hess), Barenreiter; Boosey ed. Fleury), Müller (ed. Kolneder;
Schott (ed. Bergmann)
Billaudot

Barenreiter (ed. Harras); Billaudot (ed. Paubon); Piper
Hofmeister (ed. Clasenapp)
Hofmeister (ed. Spindler); Kalmus
Schott (ed. Dollein)
Ricordi (ed. Ruf)
Ricordi (ed. Ruf)
Schott (ed. Dollein)
Boekmans (ed. Bowen); Zimmermann (ed. Delius)
Barenreiter (ed. Frtcher); Müller (ed. Frtcher)
International (ed. Schlegner)
Mössler (ed. Nagel)
Oxford (ed. Beechey)
Müller (ed. Frtcher)
International; Zimmermann (Schlegner)
Zimmermann (ed. Schlegner)
Bärenreiter (ed. Raugel)
Kunzelmann (ed. Mariassy)
Oxford (ed. Parkinson)
Oxford (ed. Platt)
Oxford (ed. Pfaff)
Schott (ed. Ruf)
Schott (ed. Dollein)
Barenreiter (ed. Ruf)
Heinrichshofen (ed. Htpf)
Schott (ed. Ruf)
Schott (ed. Ruf)
Nova (ed. Lasocki)
Breitkopf (ed. Kubitschek); Nova (ed. Douglas)
Heugel (ed. Pincherle); Universal
Billaudot (ed. Paubon)
Mühsa Pan (ed. Harms)
Schott (ed. Dollein)
Boosey (ed. Rawski); Breitkopf, Mölzer (ed. Koch);
Schott (ed. Bergmann)
Billaudot
CORRETTE, MICHEL (1709-1795)
Concerto, A, op. 3, no. 3
Concerto, C, op. 4, no. 3
Concerto, e, op. 4, no. 6
Concerto, d, op. 26, no. 6
Concerto concerté, B, op. 8, no. 1
Concerto concerté, C, op. 8, no. 3
Concerto, G, op. 8, no. 6
Concerto de Noël
No. 4, Concerto Noël suisse
No. 5, Concerto Noël allemand
No. 6, L'ob Cott. Ich Christen allzu gleich

COUPERIN, FRANÇOIS (1668-1733)
L'Apothée de Lully
Concerts royaux (C, D, A, e)
No. 1, C
No. 2, D
No. 3, A
No. 4, e

COUPERIN, FRANÇOIS (1668-1733)
L'Apothée de Lully
Concerts royaux (C, D, A, e)
No. 5, C
No. 6, B
No. 7, E, "Ritournel de l'amore"
No. 8, C

HOTTETERRE, JACQUES MARTIN (1674-1763)
Liste de préaludes, op. 7 (as 10 Preludes)
Echo, op. 2
[in 50 Klassische Studien für Flöte]
Sonatas, op. 3, nos. 1 & 2 (g,G)
Suites, op. 2
No. 1, D
No. 2, A
No. 3, A
No. 4, e
No. 5, g
Suite, b, op. 4, no. 1
Suites, op. 5 (D,A,F,d) [transposed per composer's instructions]
No. 2, e [transposed per composer's instructions]
No. 3, D
[as Sonate]
Transpositions, op. 3, nos. 1-6

LA BARRE, MICHEL DE (ca.1675-1741)
Pièces, op. 4 (Suites in D, G, e.g.d)
No. 1, D
1er livre: Suite, C
2e livre: Suite no. 9, C
[as Sonate dite l'Inconnue]
3e Suite des trios: Sonate V, C
4e Suite de pièces, F
5e Suite, e

101/20m/2ob, bc/hpd
(rec., 20/J/11), bc
3/4/2ov/3ob, bc
hpd, fl ad lib, str
5fl, bc
3 recfl, bc
(rec., 20/110, bc
Bblm, 2vn, bc
fl, 2vn, bc
flm, 2vn, bc

SCHOTT (ed. Ruf)
Broekman (ed. Paulus/Hess)
Schott (ed. Ruf)
Bärenreiter (ed. Ruf), Nagel (ed. Ruf)
Amadeus (ed. Paulus/Hess)
Amadeus (ed. Paulus/Hess)
Amadeus (ed. Paulus/Hess)
Amadeus (ed. Paulus/Hess)
Amadeus (ed. Morgan/Hess)
Amadeus (ed. Paulus/Hess)
Amadeus (ed. Paulus/Hess), Peters (ed. Hofmann);
Richli (ed. Gruy-Lamberti)
Nova (ed. Block)
Kunstmann (ed. Marissay)
Doverhouse (ed. Hadidjan)
Broekman (ed. Musicall);
Peters (ed. Nagel)
Schott
EMT (ed. Boulay)
King's Music
EMT (ed. Petit)

EMT; Musikara
Dussaud, Musica Rara (ed. Higginbottom)
Durand, Musica Rara (ed. Lasocki); l'Onseu-Lyre (ed.
Gilbert & Hanson), Schott
Billardot, Heinrichshofen
Härtel, Heinrichshofen
Zimmernunder (ed. Epping/Michael)
EMT (ed. Boulay); International (ed. Rampal)

EMT; Musica Rara
Durand (ed. Duval); EMT (ed. Boulay); Schott (ed. Ruf)
Universal (ed. Vester); Zimmernunder (ed. Epping/ Michael)
Bärenreiter (ed. Schmitz); Schott (ed. Ruf);
Zimmernunder (ed. Michael)

Schott (ed. Doelken & Delius)
Schott (ed. Bergmann)
Universal (ed. Vester)
Schott (ed. Ruf)
EMB (ed. Mariassy)
Musica Rara (ed. Smith); Nagel (ed. Schäffer), Nova (ed. Lasocki)
Nova (ed. Lasocki); Pelikan (ed. Ruf)
Nova (ed. Lasocki)
Nova (ed. Lasocki)
Moeck (ed. Braun)
Amadeus; Sikorski (ed. Ruf & Zeller)
Amadeus; EMB (ed. Mariassy); Eulenburg (ed. Knecht)
Bärenreiter (ed. Ruf)
Ricordi (ed. Scheck & Ruf)
Richli (ed. Violetter)

Heugel (ed. Bowles & Borgini)
Sikorski (ed. Nagel & Radeke)
Ricordi (ed. Scheck & Ruf)
Ricordi (ed. Ruf)
Richli
Pegasus (ed. Violetter)
Schott (ed. Doelken in Alte fr:z. Duette)
Sikorski (ed. Ruf & Zeller)
LECLAIR, JEAN-MARIE (1697–1764)
Concerto, C, op. 7, no. 3
2e stabation de musique (suite with overture), g, op. 8
Sonata, C, op. 1, no. 2
[as op. 3, no. 2]
Sonata, e, op. 1, no. 6 [as op. 3, no. 2]
Sonata, e, op. 2, no. 1
Sonata, C, op. 2, no. 3
Sonata, C, op. 2, no. 5
Sonata, D, op. 2, no. 6

LOEILLET, JEAN BAPTISTE "JOHN LOEILLET OF LONDON" (1680–1730)
Sonata, F, op. 1, no. 1
Sonata, C, op. 1, no. 2
Sonata, g, op. 1, no. 3
Sonata, D, op. 1, no. 4
Sonata, c, op. 1, no. 5
Sonata, F, op. 2, no. 2
Sonata, d, op. 2, no. 4
Sonata, c, op. 2, no. 6
Sonata, b, op. 2, no. 8
Sonata, C, op. 2, no. 12
12 Sonatas, op. 3
Nos. 1-6 (C,d,F,a,g,d)
No. 1, C
No. 7, e
No. 8, G
Nos. 9-12 (D,b,D,G)

LOEILLET, JEAN BAPTISTE "LOEILLET DE GANT" (1688-ca 1730)
12 Sonatas, op. 1 (a,d,C,F,B,C,e,d,g,F,G,C)
Nos. 1-3 (a,d,G)
Nos. 1,4,5,6,7 (a,c,C,d)
Nos. 1,2,3 (e,c)
Nos. 10, F
12 Sonatas, op. 2 (F,g,d,b,c,e,d,g,F,g,D,g)
No. 5, e
No. 5,7, (e,c)
12 Sonatas, op. 3
No. 1, C
No. 2, B
Nos. 2-6, 10 (B,g,C,c,e,d)
No. 7, B
No. 8, F
No. 9, B
No. 11, A
No. 12, e
12 Sonatas, op. 4
No. 2, a
No. 4, C
No. 6, g
Nos. 9, 10 (C,C)
Nos. 11, 12 (fa)
6 Sonatas, op. 5, book 1 (c,b,d,D,g,c)
6 Sonatas, op. 5, book 2 (D,e,G,C,e)
Nos. 1,4,5 (D,g,C)
Nos. 1,9 (D,g)
No. 6, e

EMT (ed. Ouibradout); Poetsch (ed. Crussard)
Leuckart (ed. Rezd); Ricordi (ed. Scheck & Ruf)
Southern (ed. Wummer)
Belwin, International (ed. Rampal)
Breitkopf; Raimon; Ricordi; Schott (ed. Bouillard)
Zimmermann (ed. Zanke)
Breitkopf; Ricordi
Breitkopf, Poetsch; Schott (ed. Ruf); Sikorski (ed. Hofer von Winterfeld)

Moeck (ed. Ruf); Schott (ed. Bergmann & Champion)
International (ed. Beon); Lemoine (ed. Beon)
Moeller (ed. Schroeder); Schott (ed. Ruf)
International (ed. Beon); Lemoine (ed. Beon)
Schott (ed. Ruf)
International (ed. Beon); Lemoine (ed. Beon)
International (ed. Beon); Lemoine; Nova; Schott (ed. Ruf)
Breitkopf; Ricordi; Heinrichshofen (ed. Ermel & Kluge); Musica Rara (ed. Sadie); Universal (ed. Ring)
Breitkopf; Ricordi; International (ed. Beon); Lemoine (ed. Beon); Musik Press (ed. Mann)
Breitkopf; Ricordi; International (ed. Beon); Musik Press (ed. Sadie)
Leduc (ed. Pouleau)
Breitkopf; Ricordi (ed. Ruf)
E.G. Schirmer (Weiss-Mann)
Leduc (ed. Pouleau); Musikhaus Pan; Rudall, Carte (ed. Lovering)
Leduc (ed. Pouleau); Schott (ed. Ruf)
Leduc (ed. Pouleau)

Breitkopf; Ricordi (ed. Hinnethal)
Moeck (ed. Mönkemeyer)
Heugel
Breitmanns (ed. Felklamp)
BMI-Canada (ed. Kasemets)
Breitmanns (ed. Felklamp); Moeck (ed. Mönkemeyer)
Heugel
Leduc (ed. Fleury); Leduc (ed. Veilhan & Salzer)
Schott (ed. Pouleau)
Heugel
Schott (ed. Scherber & Kutz)
Leduc (ed. Pouleau); Rudall, Carte (ed. Lovering)
Heugel
Breitkopf; Ricordi (ed. Hinnethal); Ricordi (ed. Ruf)
Hargui (ed. Mini); Heinrichshofen (ed. Ruf); Noetzel (ed. Wood)
Breitkopf; Ricordi (ed. Hinnethal)
EMB
Zurfluh (ed. Pouleau)
Leduc (ed. Pouleau)
Moeck (ed. Mönkemeyer)
Breitkopf; Ricordi (ed. Hinnethal); De Ring (ed. Eizen)
Breitkopf; Ricordi (ed. Hinnethal)
Musica Rara (ed. Sadie)
Schott (ed. Ruf)
Leduc (ed. Pouleau)
Oxford (ed. Beecher)
Zurfluh (ed. Pouleau)
Appendix 3
Flute manufacturers of the Classical Period

Flutes by Bizey

Source: http://traverso.frecyellow.com/flutes1.html
French Flute Compositions of the Classical Period

DEVIENNE, FRANÇOIS (1759-1803)

Air with (6) Variations, D
Concerto no. 1, D
Concerto no. 2, D
Concerto no. 3, Bb
Concerto no. 4, C
Concerto no. 5, C
Concerto no. 6, F
Concerto no. 7, C
Concerto no. 8, G
Concerto no. 10, D
Concerto in D, posthumous
6 Duos, op. 1 (G, D/D, C, D, B, A)
6 Duos, op. 5, nos. 3–5
6 Duos, op. 15 (A, D, C, C, C, F) [as op. 3]
6 Easy Duets, op. 18 (D, C, G, C, A, F, C)
12 Duos, op. 27 (C, C, D, C, G, D, F, D, B, g, G)
6 Duets, op. 82 (D, D, C, D, G, D)
6 Duets Concertants, op. 83 (D, A, D, C, C)
Quartet, G, op. 2, no. 1 [as op. 11, no. 1]
Sinfonie concertante, op. 76

SONATAS

Sonatas, e, op. 53, no. 1
Sonatas, op. 58, nos. 1, 6 (a, B)
Sonatas, op. 68, livre 4 (D, G, C, A, D)
Nos. 1, 4, 5 (D, A, C)

4 Sonatinas, 4th series (D, F, C, d)

6 Trios, op. 1
No. 2, D
No. 3, C
No. 5, g

6 Trios, op. 19 [same as op. 66]

Trios, op. 61, nos. 1–3 (C, B, d)
Nos. 1, 2, g
Nos. 3, a

Trios, B, op. 63

Trios, g, op. 66, no. 2

Trios, F, op. 66, no. 5

COSSEC, FRANÇOIS-JOSEPH (1734–1829)

Gavotte et Tambourin
Quartet, D, op. 14, no. 1
Quartet, B, op. 14, no. 5
HUGOT, ANTOINE (1761–1803)

Duets, op. 9, nos. 1–3

International
Heuwelmeijer
Ed. Musica, International (ed. Boelme), Kalmus
Heuwelmeijer
Ed. Musica
Simrock
Heuwelmeijer
Heuwelmeijer
Heuwelmeijer
Heuwelmeijer
Heuwelmeijer
Record
Ashdown
Southern (ed. Weinschul)

Novo (ed. Lasocki)

International
Hengel (ed. Dudley)
Billaudot (ed. Paubon), EMB (ed. Szebenyi & Nagy)
International (ed. Rampal)
Schoit (ed. Szebenyi)
EMB (ed. Imre)
Hengel (ed. Dudley)
EMT (ed. Chabanaud), International (ed. Rampal)
Billaudot (ed. Paubon), EMB (ed. Szebenyi & Nagy)
Billaudot (ed. Paubon)
Billaudot (ed. Paubon)
Heuwelmeijer
Litoff (ed. Drüner)
Heuwelmeijer
Heinrichshofen
Peter (ed. Nagel)
Anadeus (ed. Paule), Broedermans (ed. Barwaher)
Bärenreiter (ed. Baum)
Broedermans; International; Kalmus; Peters (ed. Boethme)
Hug, Kalmus
Broedermans; Musicana Rara (ed. Janetkys)
Musicana Rara (ed. Lasocki)

Ed. Musica; Kunzelmann; Southern (ed. Andraud)
International (ed. Rampal)
International
Billaudot; Southern
International (ed. Rampal)
Heuwelmeijer
Billaudot (ed. Rampal)
Eulenberg (ed. Steinbeck), Kneuslin
Eulenberg (ed. Steinbeck)
Simrock (ed. Koch)
Billaudot; Heuwelmeijer, International (ed. Wanenem)
Eulenberg (ed. Balassis)
Eulenberg (ed. Meurwein)
Kneuslin (ed. Hess)
Litoff (ed. Meurwein)
Kunzelmann (ed. Debuss)
Kneuslin (ed. Hess)
Simrock

Billaudot
NYPL (ed. Beck)
NYPL (ed. Beck)
Heuwelmeijer
Appendix 5
French Flute manufacturers of the Romantic Period and their instruments

Flutes by Tulou  
Source: http://www.williampetit.com/tulou2.jpg
### French Compositions of the Romantic Period

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publisher</th>
<th>Edition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ALTES, HENRI (1826-1895)</strong></td>
<td>L’Arlésienne, op. 3, 5º Solo de Concours, g. op. 24, 6º Solo de Concours, B, op. 25, La Vénitienne, op. 4</td>
<td>Billaudot</td>
<td>fl, pf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BERLIOZ, HECTOR (1803-1869)</strong></td>
<td>Trio of the Young Ishmaelites, op. 25 (from L’Enfance du Christ)</td>
<td>Billaudot</td>
<td>fl, hp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BIZET, GEORGES (1838-1875)</strong></td>
<td>Three Pieces from L’Arléenne</td>
<td>Billaudot</td>
<td>fl, pf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BORNE, FRANÇOIS (1840-1920)</strong></td>
<td>Carmen Fantaisie</td>
<td>Billaudot</td>
<td>fl, pf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAMINADE, CÉCILE (1835-1944)</strong></td>
<td>Air de ballet, op. 30 Concertino, D, op. 107</td>
<td>Billaudot</td>
<td>fl, pf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHOPIN, FREDERIC (1810-1849)</strong></td>
<td>Variations, E, on “Non più mesta” from Rossini’s La Cenerentola</td>
<td>Billaudot</td>
<td>fl, pf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DAMARE, EUGÈNE (1840-1919)</strong></td>
<td>L’Alouette Les Amoures d’un Rossignol Le Bouquet de roses, op. 408 Caprice, op. 174 La Gracovienne, op. 224 Le Merve blanc, op. 161 L’Oiseau et les Roses, op. 153 Tarantelle, op. 391 Le Tambourin, op. 212 La Tourterelle, op. 119</td>
<td>Billaudot</td>
<td>fl, pf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DELIBES, LEO (1836-1891) &amp; JULES MASSENET (1842-1912)</strong></td>
<td>3 Original Pieces for Sight-Reading Examinations at Paris Conservatoire</td>
<td>Oxford</td>
<td>fl, pf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DEMERSESSEMAN, JULES AUGUSTE (1833-1866)</strong></td>
<td>Air Varié et Polonaise, op. 8 Duct, A, op. 25, no. 1 Evening Echoes Fantaisie Brillante sur “La Déesse et le Berger” de Dugnain, E, op. 130 Fantaisie concertante, op. 16</td>
<td>Billaudot</td>
<td>fl, pf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DEMERSESSEMAN, JULES AUGUSTE (1833-1866)</strong></td>
<td>Fantaisies, op. 28: no. 1, Balladine; no. 2, Simplicité Fantaisie on a Chopin Melody, op. 29 Grand Air Varié: Le Trémosolo, op. 3</td>
<td>Billaudot</td>
<td>fl, pf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DEMERSESSEMAN, JULES AUGUSTE (1833-1866)</strong></td>
<td>Grande Fantaisie Musicale sur Oberon de Weber, op. 52 Hommage à Tulou, op. 43 Introduction and Variations on “The Carnival of Venice,” op. 7</td>
<td>Oxford</td>
<td>fl, pf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DEMERSESSEMAN, JULES AUGUSTE (1833-1866)</strong></td>
<td>6 Petites Pièces, op. 2: no. 1, Fantaisie; No. 2, Boléro, no. 6, Ballade Polonaise, op. 9, no. 1 Serenade Espagnole, op. 9, no. 3 Solo de Concert no. 1, d. op. 19 Solo de Concert no. 2, E, op. 20 Solo de Concert no. 3, e. op. 21 Solo de Concert no. 4, a, op. 80 Solo de Concert no. 5, C, op. 81 Solo de Concert no. 6, F, op. 82</td>
<td>Oxford</td>
<td>fl, pf</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sonata no. 1, D, op. 22
Sonata no. 2, A, op. 23
Sonata no. 3, c, op. 24
Souvenirs de Bayonne, op. 5
Sur l’Albania

DONJON, JOHANNES (1839-ca.1912)
Adagio Nobile
8 Etudes de Salon
Invocation
Offertoire, op. 12
Pastoral
Pipes Pastoral
Rossignol [Nightingale], op. 8
Spirale: scherzo-valse

DUVERNOY, VICTOR ALPHONSE (1842–1907)
Concertino, op. 45

DUROCH, LOUIS (1792–1873)
2 Airs Variés
Duets, op. 74, nos. 1-3 (C,G,A)
3 Fantaisies très faciles, op. 38
3 Trios, op. 33

EUGÈNE, PAUL AGRICOLE (1832–1903)
Air Napolitain, Fantaisie Avec Variations, op. 8
Berceuse, op. 6
Carnaval de Venise Variations, op. 14
Fantaisie sur La Traviata
Grand Air Varié, op. 5
Grand Duo Concertant, A, op. 51
Méditation, op. 49
Mélodie, op. 7
Petite Fantaisie Concertante, op. 4
Sur la Terrasse, op. 62

GODARD, BENJAMIN (1849–1895)
Suite de 3 Morceaux: Allegretto, Idylle, Valse, op. 116
No. 1, Allegretto

COUNOD, CHARLES (1818–1893)
Souvenir d’un Bal

MOLIQUE, WILHELM BERNARD (1802–1869)
Concertante [Duo Concertante], g

MOUSQUET, JULES (1867–1946)
Berceuse, op. 22
Danse Grecque, op. 14
Divertissement Grec, op. 23
Elogue, op. 29
La Flûte de Pan (Sonata), op. 15
PESSARD, ÉMILE (1843–1917)

Andalouse, op. 20

Boléro, op. 28, no. 2

4 Pieces, op. 75

SAINT-SAÉNS, CAMILLE (1835–1921)

Airs de ballet from Ascanio

Caprice sur des Airs Danois et Russes, op. 79

Le Cygne

Odelette, D, op. 162

Romance, D, op. 37

Tarentelle, a, op. 6

SOUSSMAN, HEINRICH (1791–1848)

Concerti no., op. 19

12 Easy Duets, op. 53

12 Easy Pieces, op. 47

Quartet, D, op. 27, no. 1

TAFFANEL, PAUL (1844–1908)

Andante Pastorale and Scherzettino

Fantasia on Freyschütz

TULOU, JEAN LOUIS (1781–1865)

Concerto no. 3, D, op. 10

3 Duos, op. 6

3 Duos concertants, op. 34

3 Duos Difficiles, op. 12

3 Duos Difficiles, op. 15

3 Duos Élémentaires, op. 102

3 Duos Faciles, op. 14 (D,e,A)

3 Duos Très Faciles, op. 103

3 Duos Très Faciles, op. 104

3 Grand Duos, op. 72

3e Grand Solo, D, op. 74

5e Grand Solo, op. 79

6e Grand Solo, A, op. 82

11e Grand Solo, op. 93

12e Grand Solo, b, op. 94

13e Grand Solo, a, op. 96

14e Grand Solo, op. 97

Souvenir anglais, op. 51

Trio, op. 65

WIDOR, CHARLES-MARIE (1844–1937)

Serenade, op. 10

Suite, op. 34 (Romance and Scherzo)

No. 1, Romance

No. 2, Scherzo

Suite florentine

Fischer (ed. Brookes), Kjos (ed. Buchtel); Leduc; Rubank (ed. Voxman); Southern (ed. Cavally)

Fischer; Southern

Leduc

Durand; Galax (ed. Barrère); Piper; Southern

Durand, International

Durand; Schirmer (ed. Barrère)

Durand; Zimmermann (ed. Richter)

Durand; Southern

Durand

Fischer; International; Kalmus

Southern

Eucatim (ed. Goldberg); International (ed. Tillmetz)

Ed. Musica; Fischer; International; Kalmus (ed. Doppler)

Southern (ed. Porter)

Enoch; International; Kalmus; G. Schirmer, Southern (ed. Cavally)

Southern (ed. Ephross)

International (ed. Rampal)

Lemoine

Zimmermann (ed. Grüntenthal)

Heuwekemeijer

Heuwekemeijer

International; Kalmus

Heuwekemeijer; Universal (ed. Braun)

Breitkopf; International; Kalmus, Lemoine

International; Kalmus, Lemoine

International (ed. Rampal)

Billaudot (ed. Rampal)

Billaudot (ed. Rampal); International (ed. Rampal)

Billaudot (ed. Heriché)

Billaudot (ed. Heriché)

Billaudot (ed. Rampal)

Billaudot (ed. Heriché)

Southern (ed. de Wetten-Smith)

Broekmans (ed. de Reede)

International (ed. Rampal)

Hamelle

Hamelle, Heugel, International (ed. Wumlller), Piper, Southern

Armstrong (ed. Bocoucholf)

Ed. Musica (ed. Maganini); Fischer

Hamelle

0, pf

0, pf

0, pf

0, pf red

2fl

2fl

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## Appendix 7

### French Flute Compositions of the Twentieth Century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Works</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ALAIN, JEHAN (1911-1940)</strong></td>
<td>Concerto, Sinfonie, Concerto pour flûte et orchestre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BONET, NARCIS (1933-)</strong></td>
<td>Aria, Etude, Sonate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BOULANGER, LILI (1893-1913)</strong></td>
<td>Nocturne, Trio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BOULEZ, PIERRE (1925-)</strong></td>
<td>Le Marteau sans Maître, Sonatine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BOZZA, EUGÈNE (1905-1991)</strong></td>
<td>Air de vieille, Air pastoral, L'Atmosphère, Berceuse et Berceuse et Sérénade, 5 Chansons sur les thèmes japonais, Concertino du camerata, Contrastes I, 2 Enquises, Dialogue, Fantasie Italienne, Image, op. 38, 2 Impressionnismes, 3 Impressionnismes, Intermèdes, Jour d’été à la montagne, 3 Mouvements, Phœbois, 3 Pièces, 4 Pièces faciles, Polychromie, Sièges en trio, Sous dans les montagnes, Sonata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CAPLET, ANDRÉ (1878-1925)</strong></td>
<td>Rêverie et Petite Valse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CASTÉRÈDE, JACQUES (1926-)</strong></td>
<td>Ciels, Filles en vacances, Sonate en forme de Suite</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: Entries marked with an asterisk (*) indicate works not specifically for the flute.*

*Sources: Leduc, Durand, Ricordi, Billaudot, Universal, Amphion, Leduc, International, Southern.*
DAMASE, JEAN-MICHEL (1928–)
Divertissements
Double Concerto
Nocturne
Quatuor de flûtes
Quintet, op. 2
Scherzo
Serenade, op. 36
Sonate
Sonate en concert
Suite pastorale
Trio
Trio
Variations on "Early One Morning"

DEBUSSY, CLAUDE (1862–1918)
Sonata
Syrinx
DENISOV, EDISON (1929–)
Concerto fl, pf, ob, perc
Duo
4 Pièces
Prélude et Air
Sonata
Sonata
Sonata
Sonata
DUBOIS, PIERRE MAX (1910–)
A Tempo Classico
Berceuse et Rondo Capriccioso
La Capricieuse
Classiquement Votre
Concerto
Incantation et Danse
Novelette
Petite Suite
Piccoleto
Pop Variations
9 Pièces Pasteles
Quatuor
Slowly and Swingy
Sonate

DUBOIS, THEODORE (1837–1924)
Terzettino
Vergiliens

DUKAS, PAUL (1865–1935)
La plainte, au loin, du Faune

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EMT

Broekmans (ed. Boorda); Durand
Broekmans (ed. Boorda); Leduc

Durand

Durand

Durand

Durand

Durand

Durand

Durand

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Belwin; Colfranc; Ricordi