

Paul Taffanel and the Construction of the French Flute School

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Abstract

Beginning with Paul Taffanel and the introduction of the silver Boehm system flute in the mid-nineteenth century, the French Flute School refers to the use of vibrato, emotional approach to musical line, technique, and tone of French flutists. After Taffanel won the *premier prix* at the Paris Conservatoire in 1860, his playing was quickly accepted as a model of what all flutists should emulate, and he has since been acknowledged by scholars and performers as the father of the French Flute School. This thesis explores the construction and definition of the French Flute School. Although it is a term frequently uttered by musicians, and its foundation in the playing of Taffanel widely accepted, the history has never been wholly documented. In chapter one, I investigate how the structure of the Conservatoire education, noteworthy flute professors and the technical advances on the instrument built the foundation for the French Flute School and contributed to its genesis and global distribution. Understanding the foundation of the modern French school builds the scaffolding for research into Taffanel's life and legacy. The second chapter investigates how Taffanel came to be constructed as the defining figurehead of the French Flute School by examining his education and career. Establishing who Taffanel was and what specific aspects of his life and career contributed to his attained level of admiration and influence creates an opening in which his legacy can be explored and understood. Not only did his personal career promote his "flute ideals," but his students spread the French Flute School across the globe. Chapter three addresses the specific aspects of the French Flute School's diffusion and the manner in which Taffanel's legacy was handed down.

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Introduction

Every young, aspiring flutist works diligently through the *17 Grands exercices journaliers de mécanique pour flûte* by Paul Taffanel and Phillippe Gaubert. This portion of the Taffanel-Gaubert *Méthode complète de flûte*, published in 1923, has been so widely disseminated that the French preface was eventually translated for students into English, German, Spanish and Chinese. Flutists around the globe continue to be influenced by this method book and by the French Flute School's approach to flute playing in general.¹ The French Flute School (sometimes called the modern French school) refers to the use of vibrato, emotional approach to musical line, technique, and tone of French flutists, beginning with Paul Taffanel and the introduction of the silver Boehm system flute in the mid-nineteenth century. After Taffanel won the *premier prix* at the Paris Conservatoire in 1860, his playing was quickly accepted as a model of what all flutists should emulate, and he has since been acknowledged by scholars and performers as the father of the French Flute School. Yet despite his vast influence, Taffanel and his career have been largely overlooked in contemporary scholarship. Addressing this gap will illuminate the legacy of this extraordinary musician while also defining the concept and influence of the French Flute School itself.

Background

Paul Taffanel's new flute sound of the 1860s drew upon the blueprints of the preceding Paris Conservatoire flute professors François Devienne, Jean-Louis Tulou, and Louis Dorus. These flute professors taught at the Conservatoire, regularly performed with the major Parisian

¹ Edward Blakeman, "Gaubert, Philippe," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed June 6, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu:2048/subscriber/article/grove/music/44129>.

ensembles, and published texts that guided players in the craft of making music, influencing all aspects of French flute playing. François Devienne (1759-1803), wrote an instruction manual to standardize flute playing in France, and his *Nouvelle méthode théorique et pratique pour la flûte* (1794) was immediately successful.² The subsequent year, Devienne became the first flute professor at the Conservatoire where his method book was utilized and helped to establish a precedent for teaching and writing method books.³ Following years later in Devienne's footsteps, Jean-Louis Tulou (1786-1865) held a long appointment (1829-1859) as professor at the Conservatoire, during which he also wrote a method book and made a large contribution to flute repertoire by composing many works featuring his instrument. Also an instrument builder, he favored a wooden flute model manufactured by his firm; with commercial interests in mind, he prevented the adoption of the new wooden Boehm system flute at the Conservatoire. Louis Dorus (1812-1896), who succeeded Tulou at the Conservatoire, was among several Parisian advocates of the early wooden and silver Boehm system flutes and had begun using the new style flute as early as 1837.⁴ When Dorus was appointed professor in 1860, the silver Boehm system flute was adopted by the Conservatoire and opened the door to a new age of flute playing.⁵ As one of Dorus's first graduates, Taffanel became the first student to win a *premier prix* using the Boehm system flute in 1860.

The flute evolved in the early nineteenth century from a conical, wooden instrument into a metal, cylindrical flute that utilized Boehm's new system of rings and allowed players to open

² Ardal Powell, *The Flute* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), 211.

³ Method books for each instrument were part of the Conservatoire's efforts to quantify and streamline instruction of each instrument.

⁴ Powell, *The Flute*, 171.

⁵ Tula Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France: The Lot and Godfroy Families 1650-1900* (London: Tony Bingham, 1993), 172.

and close a larger number of tone holes.⁶ Whereas the early instrument featured one tone hole or key for each finger spaced primarily in relation to finger position, Theobald Boehm's (1794-1881) flute featured tone holes spaced primarily for intonation, and he increased the size of each tone hole by the addition of rings. The rings were operated by interlinked parallel rod-axles that streamlined the look of the instrument, bolstered its strength, and allowed players to have access to a greater number of tone holes.⁷ Boehm's early designs in the 1820s featured a wooden instrument, and by the 1850s he was winning awards on a silver instrument.⁸ The flute quickly gained the support of three Parisian musicians, Paul Hippolyte Camus, Louis Dorus, and Victor Jean Baptiste Coche.⁹ These three men championed Boehm's ring-key flute and appeared before the Conservatoire commission in favor of the Conservatoire's adoption of this instrument, yet were unsuccessful in persuading the commission to convert, largely because of Tulou's personal interest in the older model.¹⁰ Following Tulou's retirement in 1859, the Conservatoire finally adopted the silver cylindrical Boehm system flute, naming Louis Lot as the official maker and supplier.¹¹ The newly adopted flute was made of metal, silver most often, and had a cylindrical rather than conical bore. The silver material and bore created a lighter tone and sowed the seeds for a new French sound on an instrument with increased projection and improved intonation. There were many other countries and players who did not adopt the silver flute and continued playing on a wooden flute, so the early acceptance of the silver flute in France played an important role in the French Flute School's emergence.

⁶ Giannini, *Great Flute Makers*, 139.

⁷ Powell, *The Flute*, 169.

⁸ Boris Schwarz, "Boehm, Theobald," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed September 5, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2lib.ku.edu:2048/subscriber/article/grove/music/03373/>; He won gold and silver medals at exhibitions in Leipzig (1850), London (1851) and Paris (1855).

⁹ Powell, *The Flute*, 170-171.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 213.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 177.

The French Flute School refers to a style of playing (tone quality or timbre, use of vibrato, and emotional approach to music line) that emerged in the later nineteenth century, particularly in the playing of Taffanel. The French were the leaders of the world in utilizing an instrument made out of metal, and the metal contributed to a sweeter, more crystalline tone. Many French compositions have fast, playful sections that are light, and the flute tone of the nineteenth century embodies this notion. While composers and performers in other countries, like Germany, preferred a strong and steady sound, the French preferred a lighter sound that was much easier to create on a metal instrument.¹² Taffanel's students, such as Philippe Gaubert and Marcel Moyse, carried the tradition of Taffanel's approach to playing and light, clear sound into future generations, solidifying the notion of the French Flute School. Although contemporary flutists must be generally well versed in a plethora of techniques, there are some techniques and ideals from the French Flute School most flutists utilize in their playing. A light, silvery tone is an ever-present product of the French Flute School and according to Nancy Toff, "an appropriate top voice to the light-textured French woodwind choir."¹³ The French Flute School placed an emphasis on tone and the emotional attention to phrasing and contemporary flutists continue this tradition by striving to allow tone to aid in creating and shaping a phrase.

Although he was not in the first generation of flutists to play the Boehm system flute, Taffanel was among the first to be taught on the new flute. Born in 1844, Taffanel was the son of a musician and instrument maker in Bordeaux.¹⁴ He began piano and flute lessons from his father at a young age, and in 1858, the family moved to Paris so the budding musician could study

¹² Powell, *The Flute*, 169.

¹³ Nancy Toff, *The Flute Book: A Complete Guide for Students and Performers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 104.

¹⁴ Edward Blakeman, *Taffanel: Genius of the Flute* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 5.

privately with Dorus.¹⁵ It is likely that Taffanel was introduced to the Boehm flute before he arrived in Paris and that he practiced on it from as early as age ten or eleven; sales records show that by 1855, Louis Lot had already sold several silver flutes to prominent French musicians, including the Taffanel family.¹⁶ A picture of a young Taffanel and his father in 1854 shows them holding Boehm system flutes, and once in Paris, he studied with the prominent Boehm system supporter Dorus.¹⁷ While Taffanel was most likely proficient on the old-style wooden flute, he was almost certainly playing and working with the Boehm system flute from early on in his lifetime.

Silver flute in hand, Taffanel had a successful career performing and conducting in Paris before becoming a professor at the Conservatoire in 1893. In 1864, he became an officially registered extra player in the orchestra of the Théâtre Impérial de l'Opéra (henceforth Opéra) and became the principal flutist in 1876.¹⁸ While at the Opéra, he played in the premieres of works such as Massenet's *Le roi de Lahore*, Gounod's *Polyeucte*, Saint-Saëns's *Henry VIII*, and Massenet's *Le cid*.¹⁹ Taffanel became the second flute in the Société des concerts du Conservatoire orchestra in November 1868 and principal in 1869. Concertos were extremely popular during the 1860s, and the Société des concerts performed concertos with the most

¹⁵ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 9.

¹⁶ Powell, *The Flute*, 215.

¹⁷ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 120.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 26.

¹⁹ Rodney Milnes, "Roi de Lahore, Le," *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, accessed November 29, 2013,

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu:2048/subscriber/article/grove/music/O003429>.; Steven Huebner, "Gounod, Charles-François," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed November 29, 2013,

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu:2048/subscriber/article/grove/music/40694>.; "Henry VIII," *The Oxford Dictionary of Music*, 2nd ed. rev., *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed November 29, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu:2048/subscriber/article/opr/t237/e4839>.

renowned virtuosos throughout the later part of the century.²⁰ The conservative Société des concerts frequently played symphonic works from an emerging canon of orchestral repertoire, and only occasionally programmed contemporary music.²¹ In December of 1878, Taffanel founded his Société de musique de chambre pour instruments à vent to breathe new life into the wind repertoire of past composers such as Mozart and Beethoven while also promoting new music for winds.²² Taffanel encouraged his colleagues to compose chamber music for this ensemble, and he even wrote a wind quintet himself.²³ Comprised of Taffanel, two oboists, two clarinetists, two horn players, two bassoonists, and a pianist, the ensemble performed an average of six concerts per season until 1893.²⁴

In 1893, Taffanel became the principal conductor at the Opéra and began his tenure as flute professor at the Conservatoire.²⁵ In this position, he continued to champion new flute repertoire and commissioned new *concours* pieces by composers such as Cécile Chaminade, Alphonse Duvernoy, Georges Enesco, Gabriel Fauré, Louis Ganne, Philippe Gaubert, and Albert Périlhou.²⁶ Many of these works were used several times as *concours* pieces and are still frequently studied by present-day flute students. Taffanel also composed a piece for the *concours* in 1907, *Andante pastoral et scherzettino*, and added five opera fantasies to the flute repertoire.²⁷ He began work on a method in 1908 that was left incomplete upon his death the same year. The

²⁰ Kern Holoman, *The Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, 1828-1967* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), 111.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 114.

²² Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 69.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 91.

²⁵ This was not Taffanel's first conducting experience as he was previously appointed as the third conductor at the Opéra in 1890 and conductor of the Société des concerts in 1892.

²⁶ Louis Moyse, ed., *Flute Music by French Composers: for Flute and Piano* (New York: G. Schirmer, Inc., 1967).

²⁷ Edward Blakeman, "Taffanel, Paul," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed June 4, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu:2048/subscriber/article/grove/music/27363>; Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 54.

method was eventually completed and published in 1923 by student and collaborator Philippe Gaubert.²⁸

Although Taffanel's early virtuosity and desirable tone established him as a flute icon during his lifetime, it was his students that carried the notion of the French Flute School around the globe. Taffanel's flute classes included students, such as Philippe Gaubert, Georges Barrère, Daniel Maquarre, Gaston Blanquart, Georges Laurent, and Marcel Moyse, who used their training to obtain high-profile positions across France and in the United States.²⁹ These flutists went on to play first flute in the Paris Opéra, Lamoureux, Boston Symphony, and Philadelphia Orchestras. Taffanel produced students who became flute professors at the Strasbourg, Lille, Bordeaux, Roubaix and New England Conservatoires. As the demand for accomplished flutists increased, Taffanel's students extended the influence of the Conservatoire to their growing number of pupils, leaving a lasting legacy of the French Flute School.

Research Questions and Methods

One major question addressed in this thesis revolves around the construction and definition of the French Flute School. Although it is a term frequently uttered by musicians, and its foundation in the playing of Taffanel widely accepted, the history has never been wholly documented. The structure of the Conservatoire education, noteworthy flute professors, and the technical advances on the instrument built the base for the French Flute School and contributed to its genesis and global distribution. Understanding the foundation of the modern French school builds the scaffolding for research into Taffanel's life and legacy.

²⁸ Blakeman, "Gaubert, Philippe."

²⁹ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 183.

My thesis also investigates how Taffanel came to be constructed as the defining figurehead of the French Flute School by examining his education and career. Individually, his activities and achievements seem to be similar to many other Parisian musicians and flutists, but the question remains as to why he also is viewed as the iconic father figure. Establishing who Taffanel was and what specific aspects of his life and career contributed to his attained level of admiration and influence creates an opening in which his legacy can be explored and to some extent explained.

After identifying the lasting contributions that Taffanel made to the flute, pedagogy and sound, I address the factors that have caused the ideals of the institution to endure. Not only did his personal career promote his “flute ideals,” but also his students carried the torch of the French Flute School across the globe. My thesis considers the specific aspects of this diffusion and the manner in which Taffanel’s legacy has been incorporated in modern flute playing.

State of Research

Taffanel is a prominent figure in flute pedagogy and the French Flute School; yet he is the focal point of surprisingly few studies. The voice of Edward Blakeman, a commissioning and programme editor at BBC Radio, dominates the current body of information specifically concerning Taffanel. Blakeman wrote the entry on Taffanel in the *Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, published the correspondence between Taffanel and Saint-Saëns, and documented Taffanel’s personal and professional life in a monograph.³⁰ This study functions as a departure point from which research into the French Flute School is possible. At the conclusion

³⁰ Blakeman, “Taffanel, Paul;” Edward Blakeman, “The Correspondence of Camille Saint-Saëns and Paul Taffanel, 1880-1906,” *Music and Letters* 63, no. 1/2 (January 1982): 44-58, accessed June 10, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/www2.lib.ku.edu:2048/stable/736040>; Blakeman, *Taffanel*.

of his life, Taffanel's obituary appeared in *The Musical Times* and in *La Revue musicale*.³¹

Factually these obituaries may be limited, but they provide insight into how Taffanel was viewed by his contemporaries.

Scholarship on other musicians assists in painting the picture of Taffanel's professional life in Paris. The young, up-and-coming Taffanel is not mentioned by François-Joseph Fétis in *Biographie universelle des musiciens* due to the fact that Taffanel had not become a significant enough music figure by its publication. This useful primary source does include entries for Devienne, Tulou, and Dorus, providing insight into the nineteenth-century perspective of these iconic flute figures.³² A collection of essays about Camille Saint-Saëns, edited by musicologist Jann Pasler, reveals Saint-Saëns's relationship with Taffanel and the music he wrote for the flute, including solo works, while significant chamber and orchestral flute parts are listed in James Harding's appendix in *Saint-Saëns and His Circle*.³³ While these sources contribute to the picture of Taffanel as a performer, Ann McCutchan's biography of Marcel Moyse, one of Taffanel's students, offers Moyse's perspective of Taffanel as a mentor.³⁴ Taffanel's time with Moyse at the Conservatoire was revered and frequently referenced by Moyse, who seemed to constantly draw upon his French lineage, throughout his career. McCutchan reveals the details of Moyse's life, which inherently laces together his education, life and career with the French Flute School, thus supplying a view of Taffanel's legacy from one of his most iconic pupils.

³¹ "Obituary: Paul Taffanel," *The Musical Times* 50, no. 791 (January 1, 1909): 30, accessed August 13, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org.www2.lib.ku.edu:2048/stable/907133>; B., "La carrière d'un artiste: Paul Taffanel," *La Revue Musicale* 8, no. 24 (15 December 1908): 656-659.

³² François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1861-65).

³³ See particularly the article by D. Kern Holoman, "Saint-Saëns at the Société des concerts du Conservatoire de Paris (1903-1904)," in *Camille Saint-Saëns and His World* ed. Jann Pasler, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), 125-132; James Harding, *Saint-Saëns and His Circle* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1965).

³⁴ Ann McCutchan, *Marcel Moyse: Voice of the Flute* (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1994).

Flute organologies and histories chronicle the technical advances of the flute throughout history and during Taffanel's lifetime. Paris was on the cutting edge of the change in construction and the resulting change in sound. The change of instrument coincided with Taffanel's emergence as a flutist, placing him at the forefront of the developing the new sound of the flute. Comprehensive histories and organologies of the flute are offered by Ardal Powell, a specialist in eighteenth and nineteenth-century flutes, and Nancy Toff, a flute historian. Powell outlines the history of the French Flute School, the Boehm flute, and the excitement about the flute in the nineteenth century in *The Flute*, revealing the extent of Taffanel's influence in each of these contexts.³⁵ In her handbook for students and flutists, Toff provides a shorter history of the instrument and sheds some light on the "Modern Era" of flute music in France in *The Flute Book*.³⁶ Toff addresses specific aspects of flute playing in chapters on tone, vibrato, articulation, technique, and style, outlining the influence and scope of the French flute school and Taffanel. Other sources detail the history of the Boehm style flute and the Lot and Godfroy families who were French manufacturers of flutes, thus exploring the newly-made changes in construction.³⁷

Additional sources focusing solely on nineteenth-century France and the Conservatoire provide further insight into the context of Taffanel's Paris.³⁸ Katharine Ellis's *Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France* analyzes the Parisian musical scene as it was represented in the widely-circulated music journal *Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris*.³⁹ Kern Holoman discusses a major institution intertwined with the Conservatoire and provides insight into the Société des

³⁵ Powell, *The Flute*, 186-207.

³⁶ Toff, *The Flute Book*.

³⁷ Robert Bigio, ed., *Readings in the History of the Flute: Monographs, Essays, Reviews, Letters and Advertisements from Nineteenth-Century London* (London: Tony Bingham, 2006); Christopher Welch, *History of the Boehm Flute* (New York: McGinnis & Marx, 1961); and Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France*.

³⁸ Hervé Lacombe, *The Keys to French Opera in the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Edward Schneider (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001); Steven Huebner, *French Opera at the Fin De Siècle: Wagnerism Nationalism, and Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

³⁹ Katharine Ellis, *Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France: La Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris, 1834-80* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

concerts du Conservatoire, an ensemble with which Taffanel performed and conducted.⁴⁰

Addressing various aspects of the Conservatoire, *Le Conservatoire de Paris: Des Menus-Plaisirs à la Cité de la Musique* constructs the atmosphere of the school before, during and after Taffanel's study and tenure.

Chapter Outline

Chapter 1 addresses the conception and history of the French Flute School with respect to the history of the Conservatoire and the development of the instrument in the nineteenth century. From the genesis of the Conservatoire to the entrance of Taffanel as a student, several significant professors and flutists established a Paris ready for a change in flute construction and sound. Taffanel's entrance into the Conservatoire as a student coincided with the precise moment that the technological advances of the flute were embraced by the institution and together, the changes were later seen as the establishment of the French Flute School. The revolutionary sound Taffanel utilized on the new silver Boehm flute was promoted by his career as a performer, composer, conductor and teacher and was referenced by subsequent generations of flutists as the essence of the flute playing art. These subsequent generations of flutists accepted jobs and orchestral positions around Europe and in the United States, where they transported the ideals of the French Flute School, thus spreading the sound pioneered by Taffanel to a global level.

Chapter 2 examines Taffanel's education and career, establishing who he was as a flute figure and his significance in the nineteenth century, exploring the relationship between Taffanel and Paris. Winning a *premier prix* in multiple areas demonstrates Taffanel's wide-range of

⁴⁰ Holoman, *The Société des Concerts du Conservatoire*.

interests during his education. He continued to be active in multiple facets of the Parisian music scene as an avid performer and later conductor. Taffanel championed chamber literature and advocated not only new music by his contemporaries but also early repertoire.⁴¹ This chapter identifies the numerous ensembles in which Taffanel participated and his various positions and roles within each of them. As professor, Taffanel instituted several changes in the flute studio with regards to repertoire and sound. Chapter 2 addresses the aspects of Taffanel's playing in regards to tone quality, playing style, and emotional sensibility and its reception was the baseline for the French Flute School.

Chapter 3 highlights how Taffanel's teachings spread throughout Europe and abroad, influencing many generations of flutists. Following his tradition, Philippe Gaubert, Georges Barrère, and Marcel Moyse highlighted their connection to Taffanel by drawing on the foundation he established and perpetuating the notion of the French Flute School. The French tone, defined as silvery, pure, sweet, and refined by Nancy Toff, is present in contemporary flute playing to the extent that modern players devote a large amount of time to achieving an "ideal" tone.⁴² Contemporary flexibility in timbre and tone color are also trademarks of the French style that evolved as a result of the transition to a silver flute in Taffanel's Paris.⁴³ Taffanel's legacy expands beyond the actual flute sound to works that have become a large staple of flute repertoire. This body includes works he composed, pieces he inspired, and those he reintroduced into the canon of flute repertoire, and the third chapter will identify several of these works and their significance in the canon. Looking at the broad picture of the repertoire associated with Taffanel will explore another avenue of the French Flute School.

⁴¹ Powell, *The Flute*, 216.

⁴² Toff, *The Flute Book*, 103.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 104.

Chapter 1: The Roots of the French Flute School

The roots of the French Flute School are deeply imbedded in the Conservatoire's history and in the technological developments made to the flute in the nineteenth century. The Paris Conservatoire is one of the top music institutions in the world and has dominated and influenced French music since its creation in 1795. Alongside the standardization of flute instruction and flute playing at the Conservatoire, the instrument used by most of the prominent Parisian musicians changed from the wooden instrument of the eighteenth century into the modern silver instrument we know today. Taffanel's construction as the father of the French Flute School was made possible in part by the events that led up to his mastery of the instrument and occurred prior to his appointment as flute professor at the Conservatoire. During the sixty-five years of the Conservatoire's existence prior to Taffanel's entrance as a student, five main flute professors held the prestigious position, each of whom contributed to the French Flute School's foundation. The flute professors and their years of service are identified in Table 1. At the same time, the flute radically changed with regards to construction and material in the nineteenth century, largely by Theobald Boehm's hand. An investigation into flute instruction at the Conservatoire and the instrument's history reveals their symbiotic relationship. Several of the Conservatoire's flute professors contributed to the success and failure of Boehm's various innovations, shaping the history of the instrument's development. These changes and the manner in which these modifications occurred primed Paris for a new sound that would become the French Flute School of playing.

In this chapter, an examination of the genesis of the Conservatoire, early flute instruction and the instrument around 1800 is conducted. Figures, like Bernard Sarrette, central to the

founding of the Conservatoire are explored along with the early flute professors at the Conservatoire, as well as the technical aspects of the flute in the early nineteenth century. Second, this chapter addresses Tulou's tenure at the Conservatoire and his influence on the flute's development. Finally, this chapter investigates the development of the silver Boehm flute and its early years of instruction.

Table 1. Flute Professors at the Conservatoire (1795-1893)

Flute Professor	Lifespan	Conservatoire
François Devienne	1759-1803	1795-1803
Antoine Hugot	1761-1803	1795-1803
Jacques Schneitzhoeffter	1754-1829	1795-1802*
Nicolas Duverger		1795-1802*
Johann-Georg Wunderlich	1755-1819	1795-1802* 1803-1819
Joseph Guillou	1787-1850	1819-1829
Jean-Louis Tulou	1786-1865	1829-1859
Louis Dorus	1812-1896	1860-1868
Henri Altès	1826-1899	1869-1893

* In 1802, Napoleon reduced the staff for economic reasons.⁴⁴

Source: Ardal Powell, *The Flute* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), 221.

⁴⁴ Gordon A. Anderson, et al, "Paris," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed February 9, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu:2048/subscriber/article/grove/music/40089pg6>.

Origins of the Conservatoire through Tulou (1789-1828)

To understand the French Flute School and the construction of Paul Taffanel as its founder, it is imperative to first conduct a brief examination of the Paris Conservatoire's origin and structure as an educational institution. Because the French Flute School originated in and around performers, pedagogues, and composers associated with the Conservatoire, the Conservatoire's history and traditions are inseparable from the birth of the French Flute School. The Conservatoire was initially established to produce French musicians of high quality. Its birth can be partially credited to a National Guard captain Bernard Sarrette (1765-1858). Born in Bordeaux, Sarrette moved to Paris to study, became caught up in the Revolution and joined the National Guard. He was appointed a captain in the National Guard of the capital in 1789.⁴⁵ The National Guard was a civic militia designed to maintain peace in the streets and was comprised of active citizens who were non-nobles.⁴⁶

As the captain of the National Guard, Sarrette formed a military band from the old Gardes Françaises to perform at various civic festivals, and in 1790, he convinced the city government of Paris to fund the band.⁴⁷ During the French Revolution (1789-1799), music was used as a means for influencing the public opinion. When the French Revolution shifted power from the church to the state, the government attempted to replace church music with songs of liberty and patriotism.⁴⁸ At civic festivals and parades, the population was required to sing

⁴⁵ J. B., "The Origin of the French Conservatoire," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 31, no. 569 (July 1, 1890): 393, accessed February 4, 2014, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3364508>.

⁴⁶ Jeremy D. Popkin, *A Short History of the French Revolution*, 4th ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education, Inc., 2006), 34; Peter McPhee, *The French Revolution 1789-1799* (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 2002), 66-67.

⁴⁷ François Devienne, *Nouvelle méthode théorique et pratique pour la flûte*, trans. and introduction by Jane Bowers (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1999), 4. The Gardes Françaises were an aristocratic infantry regiment under the *ancien régime* who maintained public order in Paris and shared responsibility of guarding the exterior of Palace of Versailles.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.

patriotic songs, many of which were written by composers who had been encouraged by the state to write them.

Other than Sarrette's band, there were few trained musicians to participate in large-scale public music-making in Paris. Sarrette observed the void and sought to find a solution. He suggested the transformation of the National Guard band into a "Military Music School that would supply players to the whole battle-line army."⁴⁹ Under the *ancien régime*, music education occurred privately or in *maîtrises*, or church choir schools, but by 1792, the *maîtrises* associated with churches disappeared as the new regime discouraged Christian worship.⁵⁰ There were conservatories in Naples and other Italian cities, but none in France. Sarrette's *École gratuite de musique de la garde nationale parisienne* was formed with government approval in June 1792.⁵¹ Members of the National Guard band provided the brass, wind, and percussion students with two solfège lessons and three instrument lessons per week. All of the approximately eighty students at the *École gratuite* were sons of the French citizens who were serving in the National Guard, and they ranged from ten to twenty in age.⁵² Part of the agreement for free tuition meant that the students could be summoned to serve the National Guard by performing at public events playing side-by-side with their teachers. This requirement supported the project's main initiative to train musicians for the army and contributed to the building of the French national identity through music during the Revolution. Wind music was often utilized since those instruments were better suited for outdoor use at the festivals and parades associated with the Revolution.⁵³

⁴⁹ Jean Mongrédien, *French Music from the Enlightenment to Romanticism 1789-1830*, trans. Sylvain Frémaux, ed. Reinhard G. Pauly (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1996), 14.

⁵⁰ J. B., "The Origin of the French Conservatoire," 393; Anderson, "Paris." Christian worshipped was discouraged as a result of the shifting power from the church to the state.

⁵¹ Anderson, et al, "Paris."

⁵² Devienne, *Nouvelle méthode*, 4-5.

⁵³ Mongrédien, *French Music from the Enlightenment to Romanticism*, 14.

As the French Revolution reshaped the government during the 1790s, the significance of music in public life and an increasing need for professional players led to the establishment of the Conservatoire national supérieur de musique. On November 1793, Sarrette brought his entire military ensemble to the National Convention to perform several patriotic hymns. Impressed by the performance, the delegates passed a motion that established the Institut national de musique, which replaced the École gratuite.⁵⁴ A few additional musicians, including three violinists and a cellist, were incorporated into the faculty, and string instrumental studies became part of the institution for the first time.⁵⁵ When a decree in 1793 created the Comité d'instruction publique, (Committee of Public Instruction) to reorder education in France, all of the national academies were consolidated in the Institut national des sciences et arts, and the Institut national de musique was renamed and restructured.⁵⁶ The Institut national de musique merged with the choral training and performance academy, the École royale de chant, on August 3, 1795 to become the Conservatoire national supérieur de musique.⁵⁷ This institution became a model for other national conservatories across Europe and is still open today, now called the Conservatoire national supérieur de musique et de danse de Paris.

The Conservatoire national supérieur de musique, henceforth referred to as Conservatoire, trained generations of French instrumentalists and singers, encouraged the publication of method books by professors, and established a free music library.⁵⁸ Since its genesis, the Conservatoire has lured “the country’s finest and assured a continual succession of

⁵⁴ Devienne, *Nouvelle méthode*, 5.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁵⁶ J. B., “The Origin of the French Conservatoire,” 394.

⁵⁷ Mongrédién, *French Music from the Enlightenment to Romanticism*, 17; “Paris Conservatoire de Musique,” *The Oxford Dictionary of Music*, 2nd ed. rev., *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed February 9, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu:2048/subscriber/article/opr/t237/e7659>; Anderson, “Paris.”

⁵⁸ Anderson, et al, “Paris.”

highly trained musicians.”⁵⁹ In the nineteenth century, the faculty encompassed disciplines such as voice, piano, strings, winds, brass, harmony, and composition and was comprised of the most prominent Parisian musicians of each generation.⁶⁰ In each discipline, students received instruction in a class setting rather than private lessons and acceptance into each class was based on competition. In addition, students studied counterpoint, harmony and fugue, solfege, and piano. Beginning in the autumn of 1800, five to twelve concerts were put on annually by an orchestra of about sixty members, and, just like the concerts given by the *École gratuite*, teachers and pupils initially performed side-by-side.⁶¹ As the Conservatoire produced a larger amount of students, the tradition of professors sitting in the orchestra with the students waned. Public *concours* (examinations) were given each year and judged by prominent musicians from the faculty and the Parisian musical community. Students performed a selected piece and sight-read to compete for the *premier* or *deuxième prix* or the *premier* or *deuxième accessit*.⁶² Winners appeared in an annual prizewinners concert, which was open to the public. After winning the coveted *premier prix*, students “graduated” from the Conservatoire and went on to begin their careers, sometimes returning to the Conservatoire as faculty.⁶³

The Conservatoire centralized French music education and asserted the supremacy of Paris as the musical center of the country.⁶⁴ During the Empire and the Restoration, the Conservatoire was one of the only organized music schools in Paris, and the lack of competition bolstered the Conservatoire’s influence and musical dominance.⁶⁵ The most renowned

⁵⁹ Anderson, et al, “Paris.”

⁶⁰ Mongrédien, *French Music from the Enlightenment to Romanticism*, 17. Over the course of its history, many of the professors were graduates themselves of the Conservatoire.

⁶¹ Anderson, et al. “Paris.”

⁶² Powell, *The Flute*, 221.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Mongrédien, *French Music from the Enlightenment to Romanticism*, 18.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 27.

performers in France were on the faculty at the Conservatoire, and these individuals articulated their personal musical ideas and music philosophies through their performances, compositions, and by writing method books and manuals. As early as the autumn of 1794, the Institut national de musique began to publish method books “for the study of music, singing, harmony, composition, and all the instruments.”⁶⁶ These method books dispensed the musical ideas, approaches, and techniques across all of France and established the corridor by which information traveled from the Conservatoire throughout France. The Conservatoire encouraged the faculty members to write an official *Method du Conservatoire* that would serve as a treatise for “technical and interpretative instruction for aspiring professionals.”⁶⁷

As an administrator and flute professor, François Devienne (1759-1803) played a prominent role in the early years of the Conservatoire. Devienne, a flutist and bassoonist, played in the Opéra orchestra and the Garde nationale band, taught at the *École gratuite de musique de la garde nationale parisienne* and was appointed as an administrator at the *École gratuite* in November 1793.⁶⁸ He published his *Nouvelle méthode théorique et pratique pour la flûte* in 1794 for the one-keyed flute with the initial wave of method books associated with the Institut national de musique, and it was successful with both amateurs and professionals alike.⁶⁹ When the Conservatoire took over the Institut a year later, Devienne was appointed as one of the nine administrators and as professor of flute for the first class alongside Antoine Hugot (1761-1803) and Jacques Schneitzhoeffter (1754-1829).⁷⁰ Nicolas Duverger and Johann-Georg Wunderlich

⁶⁶ Mongrédien, *French Music from the Enlightenment to Romanticism*, 21.

⁶⁷ Colin Lawson, *The Historical Performance of Music: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 27.

⁶⁸ Devienne, *Nouvelle méthode*, 1.

⁶⁹ Powell, *The Flute*, 211.

⁷⁰ Jacques Schneitzhoeffter also taught oboe at the Conservatoire.

(1755-1813) taught the second class with younger players that began a few months later.⁷¹

Although Devienne lived only forty-four years, he composed twelve operas as well as over 250 chamber pieces, including twelve flute sonatas, six bassoon sonatas, six oboe sonatas, and five bassoon concertos.⁷² As the middle class grew, so did the market for amateur instructional methods, etudes, and simple compositions and Devienne's output included works for both professionals and amateur flutists alike.⁷³

During Devienne's generation, flutes were typically made out of violet, grenadilla, maple, green, or black ebony wood with ferrules of ivory, brass, silver or gold. The number of keys varied from country to country and between instruments intended for amateur use in comparison with those that professionals played.⁷⁴ English flutes utilized a "C-foot" joint as early as the 1750s, and in 1778 Mozart composed his concerto in C major for flute and harp, K. 299 for Adrien-Louis Bonnières de Souastre, Comte de Guines, after the count had spent time in London and likely obtained an English flute.⁷⁵ The flute part that Mozart wrote utilized middle C.⁷⁶ By 1781, the Leipzig flute maker J. G. Tromlitz (1725-1805) sold a flute with a "C-foot" which also had keys for B-flat and G-sharp; by 1796, he had produced a flute with a tone hole for each semitone utilizing seven keys.⁷⁷ French flute makers initially resisted the new technology with regards to flutes and keys. Devienne played on a one-keyed instrument and criticized the used of the "C-foot" in the Preliminary Discourse of his *Nouvelle méthode théorique et pratique pour la flûte*:

⁷¹ Devienne, *Nouvelle méthode*, 5; Powell, *The Flute*, 211.

⁷² Devienne wrote ten concertos for flute. His colleague Hugot was also a composer, but Hugot's works are not as numerous or virtuosic in nature; Toff, *The Flute Book*, 225.

⁷³ Toff, *The Flute Book*, 220.

⁷⁴ Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France*, 43.

⁷⁵ Powell, *The Flute*, 117.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 117. Middle C is C₄ in pitch notation.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 119-120.

As for flute called ‘English,’ to which two keys, the first for low C-sharp and the other for low C-natural, have been added to the foot joint (which is twice as long as ordinary foot joints), I heartily disapprove of them. These two tones are foreign to the nature of this instrument; they are not and cannot be consistent, and they absolutely spoil the rest. I would even say that few people use them [and then] only because of their originality; my proof is that the celebrated masters never use them.⁷⁸

Instead, Devienne supported the use of keys like the G-sharp/A-flat and B-flat/A-sharp to “remedy the covered sounds” found in the low register.⁷⁹ His virtuosic playing and reputation in Paris prevented the acceptance of the four-key flute, even though Devienne did acknowledge the value of the additional keys.⁸⁰ His death in 1803 signaled the end of any significant opposition to the new instrument, and the four-keyed flute was officially adopted by the Conservatoire the year after Devienne’s death.⁸¹

In 1803, Johann-Georg Wunderlich became the sole flute professor when his colleagues died within a few weeks of each other; Devienne went insane and died two weeks before Hugot “went mad, stabbed himself, and jumped from a fourth-storey window while working on an official Conservatoire method to replace Devienne’s.”⁸² Hugot’s work on the first official Conservatoire flute method book was completed and published by Wunderlich in 1804 as *Méthode de flute du Conservatoire*.⁸³ The Hugot-Wunderlich method provided fingering and trill charts for the old one-key flute but focused mainly on fingering, exercises, and techniques for the four-keyed flute. This method highlighted the improved intonation of the four-key flute in the

⁷⁸ Devienne, *Nouvelle méthode*, 89. This quote is found in the introduction to the method that was translated by Jane Bowers.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France*, 78.

⁸¹ Powell, *The Flute*, 147; Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France*, 78.

⁸² Powell, *The Flute*, 212.

⁸³ Ibid., 212.

early part of the decade and provides evidence that Conservatoire musicians were acclimating to equal temperament.⁸⁴

Wunderlich taught at the Conservatoire until his retirement in 1819, and his pupils included Paul Hippolyte Camus (1796-1869), who later became an early advocate of the ring-key flute, and Jean-Louis Tulou (1786-1865), who became a flute professor at the Conservatoire.⁸⁵ Wunderlich's successor, Joseph Guillou (1787-1850), was appointed in 1819, and as a student of Devienne, Guillou became the first flute professor to have been educated in the Conservatoire system.⁸⁶ Since the most talented students were educated at the Conservatoire and then dominated the Parisian music scene, it was common that the professors themselves were also products of the institution. Like many of the other professors at the Conservatoire, Guillou played in the most prestigious Parisian ensembles, including the Opéra. In 1825, the standard pitch of the orchestra changed and the institution supplied its players with new flutes and piccolos from Clair Godfroy *aîné* (1774-1841).⁸⁷ Guillou was well acquainted with the Godfroy instruments, as he had ordered a six-keyed flute from Godfroy in 1821.⁸⁸ By the 1820s, the members of the Opéra flute section, like Guillou, performed on flutes that had four, five, or six keys, and several of the flutes were either supplied by or ordered from the flute maker Godfroy.⁸⁹

Along with the performances at the Opéra, Paris concertgoers heard the Conservatoire professors perform in the annual Conservatoire concerts. After twenty-four years, the annual concerts of the Conservatoire's professors and students suffered from financial difficulties

⁸⁴ Lauri Shulman, "Wunderlich, Jean-Georges," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed February 11, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu:2048/subscriber/article/grove/music/30618>; Powell, *The Flute*, 212.

⁸⁵ Shulman, "Wunderlich, Jean-Georges;" Powell, *The Flute*, 158.

⁸⁶ Powell, *The Flute*, 213.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 156.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 156; Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France*, 84.

⁸⁹ Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France*, 84.

beginning in 1815, and the series finally closed in 1824.⁹⁰ François-Antoine Habeneck (1781-1849) had conducted these concerts since 1806, two years after winning a *premier prix* in violin. In 1828, he became the inspector general of the Conservatoire.⁹¹ One month after he was appointed to this position, he conducted the first concert of a new series, the Société des concerts du Conservatoire.⁹² The Société des concerts du Conservatoire offered Sunday afternoon concerts that quickly became a staple in Parisian entertainment and lasted into the twentieth century.⁹³ Habeneck's initial orchestra consisted of about eighty-six instrumentalists and seventy-nine singers in the chorus.⁹⁴ In the early seasons, the Société des concerts performed works by Beethoven, Haydn, and Mozart along with new compositions by contemporary Parisian musicians.⁹⁵ Almost all of the influential nineteenth-century French instrumentalists had some affiliation with the organization, and when the Société des concerts du Conservatoire became the Orchestra de Paris in 1967, there had only been twelve first conductors and nine principal flutists.⁹⁶ This elite group of flutists was comprised of the most well-known and virtuosic flutists in Paris, many of whom were also held the principal flute position at the Opéra and taught at the Conservatoire. The names and dates of these elite performers are listed in Table 2. Two of these musicians also earned the title of conductor.

⁹⁰ Anderson, et al. "Paris."

⁹¹ Holoman, *The Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, 1828-1967*, 104. Habeneck was also the director of the Opéra from 1821 to 1846.

⁹² Holoman, *The Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, 1828-1967*, 3.

⁹³ The Société des concerts du Conservatoire became the Orchestre de Paris in 1967.

⁹⁴ Beethoven's "Eroica" Symphony, excerpts from Rossini operas, and several works by contemporary composers were performed on the first concert, which lasted around three hours.

⁹⁵ Hugh Macdonald, "Habeneck, François-Antoine," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed February 15, 2014.

⁹⁶ Holoman, *The Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, 1828-1967*, 6.

Table 2. Principal Flutists of the Société des concerts du Conservatoire

	Lifespan	<i>Sociétaire</i>	Principal
Jean-Louis Tulou	1786-1865	1828-1856	1828-1856
Louis Dorus	1813-1896	1839-1868	1856-1868
Paul Taffanel ^a	1844-1908	1867-1901	1869-1892
Adolphe Hennebains	1862-1914	1893-1913	1893-1913
Philippe Gaubert ^b	1879-1941	1901-1938	1913-1919
Marcel Moyse	1889-1984	1920-1938	1919-1938
Lucien Lavaillotte	1898-1968	1923-1960	1938-1958
Henri Lebon	1911-1976	1948-1964	1958-1964
Michel Debost ^c	b. 1934	1962-1967	1964-1967

^aConductor, 1892.

^bConductor, 1919.

^cPrincipal flutist of the Orchestre de Paris, 1967-1990.

Source: Data from Kern Holoman, *The Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, 1828-1967* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), 63.

In a period of transition, the flute as an instrument was still undergoing technical changes and just like the Opéra flutists, the early Société des concerts du Conservatoire flute section members each performed on different flutes that ranged from four to six keys.⁹⁷ With the establishment of the Société des concerts du Conservatoire, Paris welcomed the new generation of flutists led by the new ensemble's principal flutist, Jean-Louis Tulou.

⁹⁷ Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France*, 84.

Tulou at the Conservatoire and the Development of the Boehm Flute (1829-1859)

After a successful performance career, Jean-Louis Tulou (1786-1865) began his tenure as professor at the Conservatoire in 1829 at the age of forty-three. Like Guillou, Tulou was among the first flute students at the Conservatoire; he began his studies with Wunderlich in 1796 at the age of ten, winning the *premier prix* in 1801.⁹⁸ Tulou became principal in the Théâtre-Italien orchestra the following year in 1802 and played second to Wunderlich in the Opéra orchestra, assuming the principal position after Wunderlich's retirement.⁹⁹ Tulou was an extremely active Parisian musician, and he "epitomized the French ideal of flute playing, with his precise, brilliant technique and tonal perfection."¹⁰⁰ From the initial season until his death, Tulou was the Société des concerts du Conservatoire's principal flute and was actively involved with the budding organization.¹⁰¹ Tulou served on a committee in 1829 to reform the rules of the society and quickly grew to be a dear friend of its conductor, Habeneck.¹⁰²

Tulou was an avid composer and expanded the repertoire for the flute significantly. During his tenure at the Conservatoire, all of the flute *concours* pieces from 1832 to 1860 were his own compositions.¹⁰³ Often in the bravura style, his works included *symphonies concertantes*, concertos, duets, flute solos, fantasias, and airs with variations.¹⁰⁴ During Tulou's lifetime, his compositions were extremely popular, and while they briefly fell out of popularity for a short period some thirty years after his death, a resurgence of Tulou's music took place with

⁹⁸ Toff, *The Flute Book*, 250.

⁹⁹ Bate and Blakeman, "Tulou, Jean-Louis;" Powell, *The Flute*, 137. Théâtre-Italien orchestra was one of the best orchestras in Paris throughout the century and the Opéra was the most prestigious as the official Académie de musique or state-related program.

¹⁰⁰ Toff, *The Flute Book*, 250.

¹⁰¹ Holoman, *The Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, 1828-1967*, 11.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 159.

¹⁰³ Toff, *The Flute Book*, 253; Powell, *The Flute*, 214.

¹⁰⁴ Toff, *The Flute Book*, 226, 250; Philip Bate and Edward Blakeman, "Tulou, Jean-Louis," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed July 12, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu:2048/subscriber/article/grove/music/28572>.

the encouragement of Taffanel.¹⁰⁵ His often highly virtuosic compositions continue to be performed in the twenty-first century. For example, Tulou's *Grand Solo no. 13*, op. 96 is given the second highest difficulty rating of "I" on the National Flute Association's list of Selected Flute Repertoire.¹⁰⁶ Its appearance on the National Flute Association's 2004 list places it among the "best of the best teaching pieces for the flute" as determined by the National Flute Association in the United States.¹⁰⁷

In addition to his contributions to the flute repertoire, Tulou also made an effort to provide an updated flute tutorial. In 1845, Tulou's *Méthode du flûte* (1835) replaced the Hugot-Wunderlich method as the official Conservatoire text.¹⁰⁸ Several new editions with similar material of Tulou's method were published in the subsequent years, to account for the technical advances being made on the instrument. As new keys were added to the instrument, supplemental information pertaining to fingerings was included in the new editions. The exercises could be practiced on the various keyed flutes, so the excerpts did not vary significantly between editions. In his manual, Tulou provided information on how to produce tone and finger position, and how to articulate various note lengths as well as fingerings for super-sharpened leading notes and simplified fingerings for difficult passages.¹⁰⁹ There are fingerings given for a footjoint able to produce a B₃, and several duets are included for practice of the low range.

¹⁰⁵ Powell, *The Flute*, 196.

¹⁰⁶ The National Flute Association rates pieces from A to J, with "A" being the most accessible and increase in difficulty to level "J."

¹⁰⁷ "Selected Flute Repertoire: A Graded Guide for Teachers and Students," National Flute Association, last modified 2004, accessed March 17, 2014, <http://www.nfaonline.org/PDFS/Stage-and-Studio/SelectedFluteRepertoire.pdf>

¹⁰⁸ Powell, *The Flute*, 132.

¹⁰⁹ Jean-Louis Tulou, *Méthode de flûte, op. 100* (Mainz: Schott, 1852), 41-42, accessed February 12, 2014, [http://imslp.org/wiki/Méthode_de_flûte,_op.100_\(Tulou,_Jean-Louis\)](http://imslp.org/wiki/Méthode_de_flûte,_op.100_(Tulou,_Jean-Louis)).

Tulou's method was designed for students using instruments of his own design. In 1831, Tulou formed a flute manufacturing business with flute maker Jacques Nonon (1802-1867), and they began supplying instruments to the Conservatoire.¹¹⁰ Although by now Tulou and Nonon had already been working together for three years, the contract with the Conservatoire prompted their formal partnership.¹¹¹ Tulou made wooden flutes with Nonon that were deemed "ordinary" since they did not feature the modern key system used by other flute-makers such as Godfroy.¹¹² At the 1834 Paris Exhibition, Tulou and Nonon showed five-keyed flutes, while fellow French instrument maker Clair Godfroy *ainé* exhibited flutes with a "C-foot" and six to twelve keys.¹¹³ Both Tulou and Godfroy were awarded bronze medals, which established their status as the two most important flute makers in Paris.¹¹⁴

After Boehm invented the ring-key flute, Tulou's *flute perfectionnée*, or "perfected flute," of 1837 utilized rod-axles and needle springs like the 1832 Boehm flute but preserved the acoustical proportions of the ordinary French flute.¹¹⁵ A sketch of the *flute perfectionnée* was included in Tulou's *Méthode de flute*, Figure 1, with labels of each key and an accompanying trill-fingering chart.¹¹⁶ It is possible to see the trill key or *cadence* key in existence, and the rod-axles are clearly visible in the drawing. The figure does not show a key for B₃, or *Clef d'Si♯*, although Tulou discussed it in his description of the instrument. A silver medal was awarded to Tulou for his flutes at both the 1844 and 1849 Paris Exhibitions. By this point in history, flute makers were simply adding additional keys to create "new" models of the instrument but Tulou's

¹¹⁰ Powell, *The Flute*, 213.

¹¹¹ According to Giannini, their workshop was located at 27 rue des Martyrs, and both men began residing there in 1832. Tulou lived on the first floor and Nonon on the second.

¹¹² Holoman, *The Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, 1828-1967*, 118.

¹¹³ Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France*, 92.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 214.

¹¹⁵ Powell, *The Flute*, 159.

¹¹⁶ Tulou, *Méthode de flute, op. 100*, 63.

modifications were widely accepted largely in part because of his prestigious position at the Conservatoire. His 1851 flute model employed gold springs and had a footjoint that was similar to Boehm's 1832 model, and Tulou received an honorable mention at the London Universal Exhibition in 1851.¹¹⁷



Figure 1: Tulou's Improved Flute from *Méthode du flûte*

Source: Christopher Welch, *History of the Boehm Flute*, 2nd ed. (New York: McGinnis & Marx, 1961), 222.

Tulou's *flûte perfectionné* was created as a reaction to competition from a new flute from Germany. Theobald Boehm (1794-1881) was a German flutist, instrument maker and goldsmith who revolutionized the design and construction of the flute and is credited with inventing "the mechanisms which are the basis of the modern flute."¹¹⁸ At the early age of sixteen, Boehm built himself a four-keyed instrument to replace his one-key flute because he felt "a desire for better

¹¹⁷ Toff, *The Flute Book*, 253; Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France*, 219.

¹¹⁸ Schwarz, "Boehm, Theobald;" Toff, *The Flute Book*, 50.

instruments.”¹¹⁹ His goal was to develop better flutes in regards to purity of intonation, evenness of tone, facility of operation, secure speaking of the highest as well as the lowest notes, beautiful profile of the instrument, and thoroughly neat and robust workmanship.¹²⁰ Establishing his own flute factory in 1828, Boehm secured a patent for a conical-bore wooden flute the following year and launched into experimentation with longitudinal rod-axels to connect keys.¹²¹ While working to develop and improve the instrument, Boehm continued to tour as a virtuoso flutist, playing concerts across Western Europe and England.¹²² After visiting England in 1832 and receiving positive reviews by professional flutists, Boehm constructed his ring-keyed flute with toneholes placed in acoustically correct positions for improved intonation and clarity of tone.¹²³ Figure 2 compares his flute of 1829 to the new system of 1832.¹²⁴ The 1832 instrument featured rings surrounding the toneholes, allowing a finger to seal a larger tonehole, similar to a clarinet.¹²⁵ Figure 3 shows the system of keys and rings on the 1832 flute.¹²⁶ Boehm’s new instrument also utilized interlinked parallel rod-axles to operate the ring-keys.¹²⁷ This instrument eliminated the artificial fingerings in the chromatic scale, allowed all the keys to be open as their default position, and contained larger tone holes placed for accurate intonation.¹²⁸ An 1832 commission of the Académie des sciences in Paris was organized to fully examine the instrument, and

¹¹⁹ Theobald Boehm, *The Flute and Flute-Playing in Acoustical, Technical, and Artistic Aspects*, trans. Dayton C. Miller (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1964), 5-6.

¹²⁰ Powell, *The Flute*, 165.

¹²¹ Schwarz, “Boehm, Theobald;” Toff, *The Flute Book*, 50.

¹²² Toff, *The Flute Book*, 50.

¹²³ Boehm, *The Flute and Flute-Playing*, 8.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹²⁵ Powell, *The Flute*, 167.

¹²⁶ Toff, *The Flute Book*, 52.

¹²⁷ Powell, *The Flute*, 169.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 170.

members De Prony, Dulong, Savart, Paër and Auber gave it their full approval, recommending that it be adopted at the Conservatoire.¹²⁹

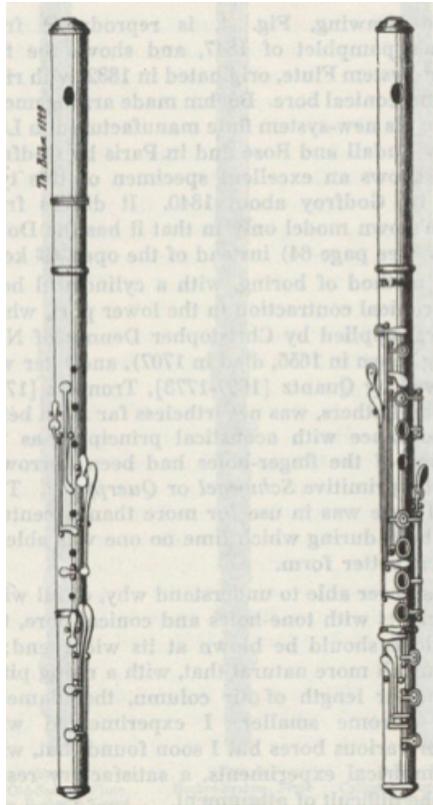


Figure 2: On the left is Boehm's 1829 old system flute and on the right is Boehm's 1832, new system flute.

Source: Theobald Boehm, *The Flute and Flute-Playing in Acoustical, Technical, and Artistic Aspects*, trans. Dayton C. Miller (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1964), 9.

¹²⁹ Richard Carte, "Sketch of the Successive Improvements Made in the Flute," in *Readings in the History of the Flute: Monographs, Essays, Reviews, Letters and Advertisements from Nineteenth-Century London*, ed. Robert Bigio (London: Tony Bingham, 2006), 217. Previously published as "Sketch of the Successive Improvements Made in the Flute" (London: Rudall, Rose, & co., 1851).

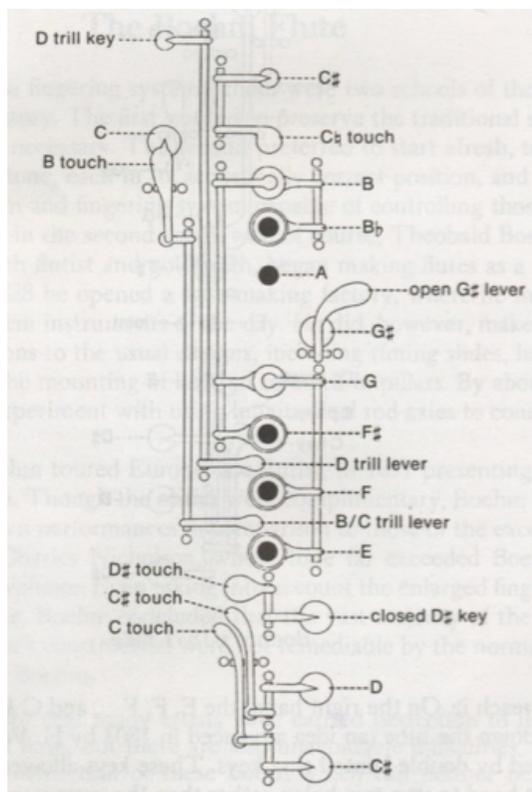


Figure 3: Boehm's 1832 flute mechanism

Source: Nancy Toff, *The Flute Book: A Complete Guide for Students and Performers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 52.

Paul Hippolyte Camus (1796-1869), Louis Dorus (1812-1896), and Victor Jean Baptiste Coche (1806-1881) were three of the first advocates of Boehm's 1832 flute.¹³⁰ All three of these flutists were well-known Parisian musicians of the period as well as graduates of the Conservatoire; Camus had studied with Wunderlich, Dorus with Guillou, and Coche with Tulou.¹³¹ Although Camus, Dorus, and Coche played slightly different versions of the same instrument (Dorus added a closed G-sharp key and Coche invented an alternate D-sharp key), they are credited with playing on a Boehm system flute, because their instruments featured its

¹³⁰ Schwarz, "Boehm, Theobald."

¹³¹ Although Coche was Tulou's assistant at the Conservatoire, and Tulou was the official supplier of flutes to the Conservatoire, Coche preferred the Boehm system flute.

characteristic rod-axle mechanism.¹³² There is a disagreement over which flutist was the first to adopt the Boehm flute in Paris, but it is most likely that Camus was first when he borrowed an 1832 flute from Boehm in 1837.¹³³ Boehm's flute was initially manufactured in Paris around 1837 by Vincent Hypolite Godfroy (1806-1868), Clair Godfroy *aîné*'s son, and Louis Lot (1807-1896) with the help of Dorus under the name of 'Clair Godfroy *aîné*' and was quickly followed by Auguste Buffet (1789-1864) who worked with Coche to develop the instrument.¹³⁴ Dorus played on the 1837 Godfroy flute with the Boehm system in the Opéra and in the Société des concerts du Conservatoire, where he would have been sitting next to Tulou as principal flutist in both ensembles.¹³⁵ Dorus received positive press reviews while performing on Godfroy's instrument, including his performance of Berlioz's dramatic symphony *Roméo et Juliette*. He continued to play the 1837 Godfroy flute for the next ten years, at which time he replaced it with Boehm's cylindrical flute.¹³⁶

During a visit to France in the spring of 1837, Boehm shared his ring-key flute with Félix Savart (1791-1841), an elected official of the Institut de France's Académie des sciences, who arranged for the instrument to be brought before the Académie des beaux-arts. Boehm was in attendance at the preliminary hearing but arranged for Camus to represent him in front of the

¹³² John Clinton, "A Treatise Upon the Mechanism and General Principles of the Flute," in *Readings in the History of the Flute: Monographs, Essays, Reviews, Letters and Advertisements from Nineteenth-Century London*, ed. Robert Bigio (London: Tony Bingham, 2006), 192. Previously published as "A Treatise Upon the Mechanism and General Principles of the Flute," (London: H. Potter, 1855).

¹³³ Powell, *The Flute*, 171.

¹³⁴ Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France*, 106; Anthony Béthune and William McBride, "Buffet, Louis-Auguste," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed February 16, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu:2048/subscriber/article/grove/music/04265>; Tula Giannini, "Lot," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed February 16, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu:2048/subscriber/article/grove/music/17016pg4>. Clair Godfroy *aîné* sold his business to his son Vincent Hypolite and Louis Lot in 1833 and they became the Société Godfroy fils et Lot.

¹³⁵ Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France*, 109; Holoman, *The Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, 1828-1967*, 63.

¹³⁶ Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France*, 112-113; Powell, *The Flute*, 158.

commission, leaving a flute for the Académie to approve with Camus.¹³⁷ Coche prevented Camus from presenting Boehm's 1832 flute to the Académie. Coche instead presented the Boehm flute he developed with Buffet to the committee on March 24, 1838.¹³⁸ The Académie de musique, of the Académie des beaux-arts applauded the flute presented by Coche, and in December of 1839, Coche proposed idea of a Boehm flute class at the Conservatoire.¹³⁹ There was a growing rift between Coche and Tulou. Tulou was the professor and current supplier of flutes to the Conservatoire on the verge of introducing his new *flute perfectionnée* while Tulou's teaching assistant Coche appeared to be interested in replacing Tulou and his instrument.¹⁴⁰

A Conservatoire panel was assembled to conduct an examination of the Boehm flute to ascertain whether it should be adopted by the Conservatoire or if an additional class was warranted. This panel included three flutists who served on the Académie de musique, which had recently praised the instrument, one of whom was the current President of the Committee and Director of the Conservatoire, Luigi Cherubini.¹⁴¹ The remainder of the committee was comprised of Conservatoire professors along with Habeneck, who was also a personal friend of Tulou.¹⁴² During the first panel meeting and examination, it was decided that Tulou as the current Conservatoire flute professor should be added to the committee.¹⁴³ In the second committee examination, Tulou presented his case against the Boehm flute, identifying passages that were more difficult to play on the Boehm flute and questioning the tone of the instrument in comparison to the flute that he was presently teaching at the Conservatoire.¹⁴⁴ He listed the

¹³⁷ Powell, *The Flute*, 171.

¹³⁸ Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France*, 109.

¹³⁹ Powell, *The Flute*, 174.

¹⁴⁰ Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France*, 113.

¹⁴¹ Powell, *The Flute*, 175.

¹⁴² Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France*, 114.

¹⁴³ Powell, *The Flute*, 175.

¹⁴⁴ Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France*, 115.

musicians that had attempted to adopt the Boehm flute but returned to the ordinary flute.¹⁴⁵ Tulou called the flute a pastoral instrument, saying it must sound “sweet, tender, expressive, passionate” and compared it to the human voice.¹⁴⁶ He also pointed out that the three musicians playing the Boehm flute in Parisian orchestras and presenting the instrument for the committee had different modifications or versions of the instrument.¹⁴⁷ The discrepancies between the three instruments meant that if the Conservatoire decided to adopt the Boehm flute, there would not be one standard instrument that it would be adopting.

The committee invited Coche, Dorus, and Camus to present their instruments and also invited two additional flutists, who had tried the Boehm flute and reverted back to their former instruments.¹⁴⁸ The two flutists who rejected the Boehm flute stated they preferred the clarity of tone on the ordinary wooden flute and complained of poor intonation and difficulty with the Boehm system mechanism.¹⁴⁹ Coche and Dorus spoke about their preference for the Boehm flute and gave demonstrations on their instruments.¹⁵⁰ Playing also on an older flute for a direct comparison, Dorus allowed the committee to hear the two instruments sequentially. The committee thought that the old flute sounded “more in tune and more agreeable.”¹⁵¹ Eventually the committee came to the conclusion on January 18, 1840 that the old flute was more than adequate, especially considering Tulou’s recent announcement of his new *flute perfectionnée*.¹⁵² Judging from the minutes of the committee meetings, the biggest objection to the Boehm flute was the inconsistency in the instruments demonstrated with regards to embouchure and

¹⁴⁵ Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France*, 126. Louis-Antoine Brunot and Ludovic Leplus were among these men who abandoned the new flute about having studied it.

¹⁴⁶ Powell, *The Flute*, 175.

¹⁴⁷ Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France*, 115.

¹⁴⁸ Powell, *The Flute*, 175.

¹⁴⁹ Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France*, 116.

¹⁵⁰ Powell, *The Flute*, 175.

¹⁵¹ Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France*, 118.

¹⁵² Powell, *The Flute*, 175.

mechanism, discrepancies eliminated in Tulou's new *flute perfectionnée*.¹⁵³ At the final examination the following year, Tulou prevented any of Coche's students from receiving diplomas. Tulou's actions caused Coche to forfeit his position as Tulou's assistant at the Conservatoire.¹⁵⁴ Directly opposing Tulou cost Coche his reputation as a musician and his position at the Conservatoire.

In 1839, Boehm officially closed his flute manufacturing business and sold the rights of his 1832 flute to Godfroy and Lot.¹⁵⁵ It was not until 1846 that Boehm began making further improvements to the instrument, working solely in the iron and steel industry during the interim.¹⁵⁶ Boehm writes that:

No essential improvement could be made without a total change in the system fingering, I resolved to adopt neither the large-holed ordinary flute, nor other mere mechanical changes, but rather to spend time and trouble upon the construction and practice of a totally new flute, in which equality of tone and pure intonation should be united with the means for executing every possible combination of notes by a new kind of key-mechanism.¹⁵⁷

That year, Boehm began a scientific study of acoustic principles with regards to the flute tutored by Professor Carl von Schafhäütl (1803-1890) of the University of Munich.¹⁵⁸ These studies influenced the flute Boehm developed in 1847 that was eventually adopted by the Conservatoire.

In comparison to the 1832 flute, Boehm's 1847 flute had several changes and improvements. Boehm design featured a cylindrical body and a parabolic headjoint with a

¹⁵³ Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France*, 118.

¹⁵⁴ Powell, *The Flute*, 175.

¹⁵⁵ Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France*, 118.

¹⁵⁶ Toff writes that Boehm was also the inventor of the modern smelting process. Theobald Boehm, "An Essay on the Construction of Flutes," in *Readings in the History of the Flute: Monographs, Essays, Reviews, Letters and Advertisements from Nineteenth-Century London*, ed. Robert Bigio (London: Tony Bingham, 2006), 286. Previously published as "An Essay on the Construction of Flutes," (Munich, Germany: W. S. Broadwood, 1847); Boehm, *The Flute and Flute-Playing*, 12.

¹⁵⁷ Boehm, "An Essay on the Construction of Flutes," 276.

¹⁵⁸ Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France*, 129.

movable cork to fit in the end of the flute to accommodate slight adjustments.¹⁵⁹ On July 27, 1847, during a trip to Paris, Boehm patented his ideas for a cylindrical flute bore and the parabolic headjoint.¹⁶⁰ He wrote in his 1851 pamphlet “there was very little to be improved in the conical shape employed towards the lower of the flute... I reversed the proportions by putting the cone in the upper part of the tube, and executing it in very different dimensions.”¹⁶¹ Figure 4 demonstrates the blueprints of Boehm’s parabolic headjoint. The important difference between older flutes and Boehm’s new design is the way the headjoint becomes slightly larger in diameter moving from the cork to the tuning slide. Experimentation with the embouchure hole led Boehm to the discovery that it should be as large as possible and shaped like a rectangle with rounded corners rather than an oval or circle.¹⁶² Boehm found that larger toneholes would cause the least amount of distortion to the tone waves, and this created a problem since the larger toneholes could not be sealed completely by the fingers.¹⁶³ He decided to utilize keys that would allow a flutist’s fingers to adequately cover and seal the toneholes.¹⁶⁴

Boehm also reconsidered the material of the instrument itself. For many years, flutes had been made out of hard wood, although experiments with other materials like ivory, crystal-glass, porcelain, rubber, papier-mâché, and even wax had been performed. Boehm was not the first to use silver, but his model, made of a nine-tenths silver alloy, was the first successful one to gain popularity.¹⁶⁵ He wrote, “the silver flute is preferable for playing in very large rooms because of its great ability for tone modulation, and for unsurpassed brilliancy and sonorousness of its

¹⁵⁹ Boehm, *The Flute and Flute-Playing*, 20.

¹⁶⁰ Powell, *The Flute*, 175.

¹⁶¹ Boehm, “An Essay on the Construction of Flutes,” 294.

¹⁶² Toff, *The Flute Book*, 55.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 55.

¹⁶⁴ Boehm, *The Flute and Flute-Playing*, 26.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 55.

tone.”¹⁶⁶ Where wooden flutes often cracked or split and sometime varied in bore, silver flutes faced none of the same difficulties. Silver flutes also did not need to be oiled or played frequently to sound with the same quality and Boehm reported that temperature changes affected them less than wood.¹⁶⁷

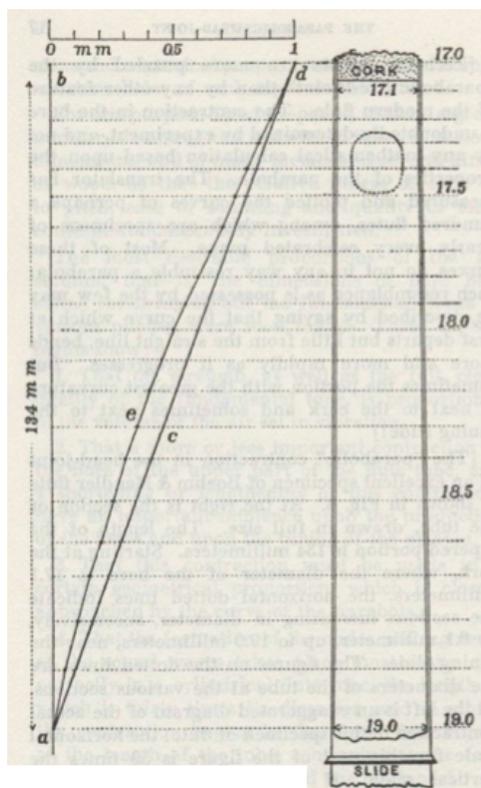


Figure 4: Boehm's Parabolic Headjoint

Source: Boehm, *The Flute and Flute-Playing*, 18.

Just two weeks after acquiring the French rights to his cylindrical flute, Boehm sold the exclusive rights of its manufacture in France to Godfroy and Lot.¹⁶⁸ He continued selling about ten flutes each year from his workshop in Munich, primarily to flutists in Germany, Poland and Russia, but a few flutes went to Italy, England, and America. During the 1850s, Boehm's

¹⁶⁶ Boehm, *The Flute and Flute-Playing*, 54.

¹⁶⁷ Boehm, "An Essay on the Construction of Flutes," 302.

¹⁶⁸ Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France*, 134.

cylindrical flute won several prestigious international awards including a silver medal in Leipzig in 1850, first prize and a gold medal at the Great Exhibition in England the following year, and a silver medal in Munich in 1854.¹⁶⁹

By the mid-nineteenth century, several prominent musicians were performing on Boehm's instruments, even though the Conservatoire had not yet adopted his cylindrical flute. It was a period of transition as far as the flutes that were being played in the major Parisian ensembles. By the late 1850s, Tulou had been the professor at the Conservatoire for almost thirty years, and the flute world, with new instruments and ambitious players, was primed for a changing of the guard.

The Conservatoire Adoption of the Boehm Flute through Altès (1860-1893)

The appointment of a new flute professor at the Conservatoire and the adoption of the Boehm flute made 1860 a pivotal year in flute history. Anticipating Tulou's impending retirement, Coche wrote to the director of the Conservatoire in 1857 and attempted to claim his right to the position. Coche's argument pivoted on his previous position as Tulou's teaching assistant and emphasized his experience with the Boehm flute.¹⁷⁰ In 1859, however, Louis Dorus was selected to be Tulou's successor upon his retirement after thirty years at the Conservatoire.¹⁷¹ A student of Guillou, Dorus was one of Paris's foremost musicians in the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁷² He held the most prominent flute positions, including principal at the Opéra from 1835 to 1866 and principal at Société des concerts du Conservatoire from 1856 to 1868. He was also a founding member of the Société de musique classique, a chamber ensemble that promoted both classical

¹⁶⁹ Powell, *The Flute*, 184.

¹⁷⁰ Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France*, 145.

¹⁷¹ Powell, *The Flute*, 221.

¹⁷² Henri Heugel, *Le Ménestrel* (June 14, 1896): 190, accessed February 24, 2014, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k56168433/f8.image>.

chamber music and contemporary works by French composers.¹⁷³ The silver Boehm flute was adopted at the Conservatoire after Tulou's retirement since Dorus was a long-time advocate of the instrument and Tulou's objections no longer had the same amount of influence on the committee's decisions.

When Dorus became professor, he infused new life into the flute studio with a different approach to the repertoire for the *concours* examinations and a technologically advanced instrument. Tulou selected his own compositions as final examination pieces for the majority of his tenure, but Dorus interspersed his own pieces with works by French flutist Henri Altès (1826-1899), Italian flutist and composer Giulio Briccialdi (1818-1881), German composer Peter Josef von Lindpaintner (1791-1856), and Tulou himself.¹⁷⁴ With the Conservatoire's adoption of the metal cylindrical instrument, Dorus became the first professor to teach the Boehm flute at the Conservatoire, and in his short eight-year tenure, he unquestionably secured its permanence as the instrument of choice among French flutists.¹⁷⁵

Like Tulou, Dorus used his status in Paris and later his Conservatoire position to influence the development of the instrument. While Dorus was among the first three Parisians to convert to the 1832 Boehm flute, he was the very first to adopt the 1847 metal cylindrical Boehm model.¹⁷⁶ Boehm appreciated Dorus's interest and early support of the instrument, and in 1848, Boehm dedicated a pamphlet about the cylinder flute to Dorus, praising his "wonderful talent" and thanking him for helping to popularize the 1832 instrument.¹⁷⁷ With French flutists in mind, Dorus had added the G-sharp key and transformed Boehm's 1832 invention into a flute marketable in Paris. Later, Dorus worked closely with Godfroy and Lot on their first Boehm

¹⁷³ Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France*, 139.

¹⁷⁴ Powell, *The Flute*, 214-15.

¹⁷⁵ Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France*, 143.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 139.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 138.

flute (1847), and they continued to consult with Dorus for the remainder of their business partnership. When Boehm sold the patent for his new flute to Godfroy and Lot in 1847, Dorus wisely convinced them to make both a silver flute and a wooden version.¹⁷⁸ Initially they sold a far greater number of wooden flutes but after 1860, the number of silver cylindrical flutes increased as the instrument's popularity soared.

With the conversion to the Boehm flute, the Conservatoire needed a new official supplier, and Louis Lot received this honor.¹⁷⁹ Lot had originally manufactured Boehm flutes with Godfroy, but the pair dissolved the business five years prior to the Conservatoire's adoption of the instrument. Each associate continued making flutes separately, both taking advantage of the patent they purchased together from Boehm in 1847.¹⁸⁰ Lot focused more of the production of the metal instruments, and Godfroy manufactured more wooden flutes that did not use the Boehm system.¹⁸¹ Figure 5 shows some of Godfroy's instruments manufactured between 1852 and 1888 while for comparison, Figure 6 reveals the instruments made by Lot's firm between 1855 and 1951.¹⁸² After the Conservatoire's adoption of the instrument, there were only a few changes made in the next several generations. The 1852 flute pictured in Figure 5, "e" is very similar to the one played by many flutists today. Although, ordinary flutes continued to be made and purchased, professionals in Paris were quickly converting to the silver cylindrical instrument. Also pictured in Figures 5 and 6 are wooden Boehm flutes and ordinary wooden flutes that were still ordered by flutists. By 1877, 70% of the firm's production and sales were metal flutes.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁸ Powell, *The Flute*, 184.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 215.

¹⁸⁰ Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France*, 149-154.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 155.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 167 & 193.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 192.

While metal flutes quickly became popular in Paris after the Conservatoire's adoption of the instrument, the instrument was not embraced immediately in every country. Many orchestral flute players in Germany continued to play on conical wooden flutes until the turn of the twentieth century.¹⁸⁴ By the 1870s, wooden Boehm flutes had been adopted by several prominent flutists, including Karl Joachim Anderson (1847-1909).¹⁸⁵ In 1881, the Leipzig Gewandhaus orchestra had an opening for principal flute but invited only flutists who did not play a Boehm flute.¹⁸⁶ Mahler appointed Ary van Leeuwen (1874-1953) as principal flutist of the Vienna Court opera in 1897, and he played a Boehm flute.¹⁸⁷ Ary van Leeuwen later became the principal of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, where he also played on a wooden Boehm flute. Boehm flutes were available in the United States as early as the 1850s and the principal flutists of the Boston Symphony, New York Philharmonic, and Metropolitan Opera played on wooden instruments in the 1880s.¹⁸⁸ In 1887, a Paris Conservatoire graduate, Charles Molé (1857-1905) brought a silver Louis Lot flute to the Boston Symphony for the first time.¹⁸⁹ Although German and French Boehm flutes were played side by side in American orchestras, it wasn't until after World War I that silver flutes gained dominance in use by both amateurs and professionals.

¹⁸⁴ Powell, *The Flute*, 190. Powell also noted that Wagner instructed Moritz Fürstenau, as a condition of his succeeding to the post of first flute, to abandon the Boehm flute and return to his traditional instrument.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 195. Anderson was a colleague of Taffanel's and wrote the etudes books still in used by advanced flutists today.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 198.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 199.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 193.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 202.



Figure 5: Flutes by Clair Godfroy aîné firm: a-c. Conical Boehm flute (1855-1868); d. an ordinary flute (c. 1888); e. a cylinder silver flute (c. 1852)

Source: Tula Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France: The Lot and Godfroy Families 1650-1900* (London: Tony Bingham, 1993), 167.



Figure 6: Flutes and piccolo by Louis Lot (1855-1951)

Source: Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France*, 193.

After Dorus retired, Henri Altès took his place and taught at the Conservatoire for over twenty years, enjoying a long tenure like his teacher, Tulou.¹⁹⁰ Altès brought a new approach to teaching by requiring his students to study music theory and flute technique simultaneously.¹⁹¹ The two aspects of musicianship were married in his *Célèbre méthode complète de flûte* (1880),

¹⁹⁰ Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France*, 143; Toff, *The Flute Book*, 252.

¹⁹¹ Toff, *The Flute Book*, 252.

which was the first official Boehm flute method from the Conservatoire.¹⁹² The *Célèbre méthode complète de flûte* was still widely used at the end of the twentieth century and is the oldest Boehm method still in use.¹⁹³ The method provided a description of the metronome, charts for alternate fingerings, and etudes for technique practice.¹⁹⁴

The establishment of the Conservatoire and the nineteenth century developments to the flute are the foundation of Taffanel's construction as the founder of the French Flute School. While Dorus taught at the Conservatoire in 1860 when the institution adopted the silver Boehm flute, Taffanel was at the forefront of defining the tone on the instrument. The professors from Devienne through Altès blazed the trail of Conservatoire flute instruction upon which Taffanel would follow.

¹⁹² Powell, *The Flute*, 216. Published in 1880 and 1906 and it was published in a revised format in 1956.

¹⁹³ Toff, *The Flute Book*, 252; Jeremy Montagu, et al., "Flute," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed September 18, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu:2048/subscriber/article/grove/music/40569>.

¹⁹⁴ Toff, *The Flute Book*, 252.

Chapter 2: The Life and Career of Paul Taffanel (1844-1908)

Although the construction of Taffanel as the founder of the French Flute School is rooted in the Conservatoire's establishment and the acceptance of the silver Boehm flute, his career and teaching at the Conservatoire solidified his position. Active in many Parisian ensembles as both a flutist and conductor, Taffanel had a lengthy career before becoming the professor at the Conservatoire. He was an advocate of contemporary music and by promoting and programming contemporary pieces and commissioning new works as a flutist, he increased the repertoire for the flute and chamber music. As the conductor of both the Opéra and the Société des concerts du Conservatoire, Taffanel was in an influential position and promoted contemporary music for large ensembles. After he was appointed to the Conservatoire faculty in 1894, he made changes to the structure of the flute class, encouraged new repertoire, and taught his students his personal approach to his tone and timbre that later became the identifying aspects of the French Flute School.

Born in Bordeaux on September 16, 1844, Claude-Paul Taffanel was the middle child of Jules and Anne Taffanel.¹⁹⁵ Claude-Paul, or Paul, had an older sister, Jeanne Fanelly, who died at the age of thirteen, and a younger brother, Henri Jérôme, who became estranged from the family in adulthood.¹⁹⁶ The family home was close to the Grand théâtre in Bordeaux where instrument maker and technician Jules Taffanel played bassoon and trumpet.¹⁹⁷ He was a highly sought-after teacher, and during the 1840s, Jules Taffanel was the conductor of the Bordeaux Garde nationale.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁵ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 5.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

At the age of seven, Paul Taffanel began studying music, taking flute, violin, and piano lessons from his father.¹⁹⁹ Showing natural ability on the flute, the violin lessons were soon dropped, but the young musician continued his piano instruction with Joseph Schad, a composer and former professor of the Geneva Conservatoire.²⁰⁰ Before settling in Bordeaux, Schad toured Germany and Switzerland and worked as an organist and music director at Morges in the Canton de Vaud.²⁰¹ Schad likely contributed a great deal to the musical foundation that Jules Taffanel had been cultivating in his son. The early piano skills that young Taffanel acquired from Schad almost certainly contributed to his composing and conducting later in life.

By 1858, Jules Taffanel had moved the family to Paris so that the budding musician could study in Paris with well-renowned flutist Louis Dorus.²⁰² Dorus agreed to teach Paul Taffanel based on a recommendation from Paul Guercy, who was a highly-respected amateur flutist living in Bordeaux.²⁰³ Guercy was a friend and colleague of Dorus, and both had studied with Joseph Guillou at the Paris Conservatoire.²⁰⁴ When the Taffanel family relocated to Paris upon the suggestion of Guercy, Guercy wrote a recommendation letter to his friend Dorus on behalf of Paul Taffanel.²⁰⁵ Paul Taffanel was welcomed with open arms by Dorus and began studying with him regularly in March 1858.²⁰⁶

Just as Taffanel's career began to develop, his mother passed away in January 1868.²⁰⁷ Taffanel moved several additional times with his younger brother and father as he continued to

¹⁹⁹ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 6.

²⁰⁰ William Foster Apthorp, ed., *Cyclopedia of Music and Musicians*, vol. 3, s.v. "Schad, Joseph," (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1888), 312.

²⁰¹ Apthorp, "Schad, Joseph," 312.

²⁰² Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 9.

²⁰³ Hugues Imbert, *Médailleurs Contemporains* (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1902; repr., Charleston, SC: Nabu Press, 2010), 392.

²⁰⁴ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 7.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 9.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 13.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 33.

build his career by playing at the Opéra and Société des concerts du Conservatoire.²⁰⁸ A colleague from both the Opéra and Société des concerts du Conservatoire, cellist Charles Lebouc (1822-1893) invited Taffanel to join him at a performance at Lebouc's end-of-the-year concert for his students at a private girls' school in 1873.²⁰⁹ Taffanel was accompanied by one of César Franck's (1822-1890) piano students, Geneviève Deslignières (1852-1940).²¹⁰ One year later, Taffanel married Geneviève at Saint-Philippe du Roule with several well-known musicians in attendance.²¹¹ The report in *Le Ménestrel* noted that Messieurs Mohr, Cras, Rose, Garcin and Prumier sang various pieces while Camille Saint-Saëns (1835-1921) and Franck served as organists.²¹² After the nuptials, the newlyweds moved into an apartment close to the location at that time of the Opéra.²¹³

The Taffanel family grew with the birth of a son, Jules-Lucien-Jacques, on May 20, 1875 and a daughter, Juliette, on May 25, 1879.²¹⁴ The expanding family purchased land in 1876 at 8 Avenue Gourgaud, and Geneviève's brother Marcel designed a house in which the family dwelled for the remainder of Taffanel's lifetime.²¹⁵ This moved them away from the center of Paris and afforded the family more space and a quieter setting in which to bring up the children. In the autumn of 1880, Taffanel purchased a second plot of land in Hyères, the south of France, to build a vacation home.²¹⁶ He also procured space for a family grave that same year in Père

²⁰⁸ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 36.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 50. Lebouc was the cellist for whom Saint-Saëns wrote "The Swan."

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 50-51.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 51.

²¹² J. L. Heugel, *Le Ménestrel* (August 9, 1874): 288, accessed February 23, 2014, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k56166227/f8.image>. Franck was the organist and choir director at Saint-Philippe du Roule during that period. At the ceremony, two as-yet-unpublished pieces were performed, an *Offertoire* by Lebouc and *Panis Andelicus* by Franck.

²¹³ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 51.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 52.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 61.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 97.

Lachaise Cemetery. When Juliette passed away in March 1881 at just twenty-two months, she was the first in the family to be buried there.²¹⁷

When Taffanel's youngest child, Marie-Camille was born on June 17, 1882, Taffanel's close friend Saint-Saëns agreed to be her godfather.²¹⁸ From personal correspondence, it is apparent that Marie-Camille had a close relationship with her godfather and he regularly wrote to her and sent her gifts during his travels around Europe.²¹⁹ Marie-Camille sent Saint-Saëns poetry to critique and wrote to him about her music lessons, as both she and Jacques studied piano as children with their mother, Geneviève.²²⁰ Taffanel also sent letters and postcards to his daughter frequently while he was out of town working.²²¹

Jacques occasionally accompanied his father on trips. For example, when Taffanel attended the Bayreuth Festival in August 1892 to study Wagner's opera productions, his son went along.²²² They saw Wagner's *Tannhäuser*, *Die Meistersinger*, *Tristan und Isolde*, and *Parsifal* at Bayreuth and traveled to Switzerland, Germany and Italy, where they heard Verdi's *Otello* at the Teatro Carlo Felice in Genoa.²²³ The following year, Taffanel visited Munich to again study the German productions of Wagner's operas, and Jacques again accompanied his father.²²⁴ According to Taffanel scholar Edward Blakeman, Taffanel kept notes, tickets, programs, maps and menus from these trips.²²⁵

²¹⁷ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 76.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 99.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 122.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, 137. In 1889, Taffanel wrote to Marie-Camille from the Exposition universelle saying he met Thomas Edison.

²²² *Ibid.*, 148-49.

²²³ *Ibid.*

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, 153.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*

In January 1900, Taffanel contracted influenza and was absent for two months from the Société des concerts du Conservatoire.²²⁶ After another absence in February 1901, Taffanel announced his retirement for the end of the season. During retirement, Taffanel occasionally appeared with the Société des concerts du Conservatoire as a guest conductor. Taffanel also wrote a conducting treatise, *L'Art de diriger*, along with several entries for Albert Lavignac's (1846-1916) *Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du Conservatoire* (1913).²²⁷ Taffanel fell ill in June 1908 and several months later passed away on November 21.²²⁸ The funeral was at Saint-François de Sales, and he was buried in the family plot at Père Lachaise Cemetery.²²⁹

Neither one of Taffanel's children went on to become musicians by trade. Jacques studied at the École normale supérieure and the École polytechnique and had a successful career as a mining engineer, researcher, and foreign mine safety advisor.²³⁰ Marie-Camille attended Sorbonne and married a historian, Charles Samaran, in 1912.²³¹ Samaran became the director of the Archives de France and a member of the Institut de France.²³² Two of Marie-Camille's three daughters became professional musicians, Annette was a violinist and Charlotte was a pianist, and after attending the Conservatoire as a cellist, Jeanne became a music librarian at the institution.²³³

Since childhood, Taffanel's life revolved around music and he managed to juggle a personal life and professional life. Although many of his personal life choices seemed to be tied to his career, like the proximity of his first home to the Opéra and his travels to Bayreuth to study

²²⁶ Holoman, *The Société des concerts du Conservatoire, 1828-1967*, 310.

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 204; Holoman, *The Société des concerts du Conservatoire, 1828-1967*, 334.

²²⁹ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 205.

²³⁰ Ibid., 52.

²³¹ Sorbonne, currently known as Paris Sorbonne University, dates back to the thirteenth century and was one of the first universities in the world.

²³² Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 102.

²³³ Ibid., 102-103.

Wagnerian operas, Taffanel allocated time for his family. His frequent letters to Marie-Camille and Geneviève as well as his inclusion of Jacques on several of his travels serve as evidence of his devotion to his family.

Taffanel the Musician

Before Taffanel's generation, flutists in Paris who played on Boehm system flutes had converted to the newer instrument from its wooden predecessor. Since he began studying on the Boehm system flute at a very young age, Taffanel was at the forefront of the new generation. Because his prominence in the Parisian musical world coincided with the acceptance of the silver cylindrical Boehm flute at the Conservatoire, he played a significant role in its history. The symbiotic relationship between Taffanel's emergence as a flutist and the Boehm flute largely contributed to the construction of Taffanel as the founder of the French Flute School. His career also contributed to this construction. Taffanel was a member of several prominent Parisian ensembles including the Opéra, Société des concerts du Conservatoire along with several chamber ensembles. His influence was through his virtuosity as a flutist as well as his position as a conductor. All of these facets of his career combine and help to construct Taffanel as the French Flute School founder.

Figure 7: Paul and Jules Taffanel (c. 1854)



Source: Edward Blakeman, *Taffanel: Genius of the Flute* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 118.

Although an early photo of Paul Taffanel and his father, figure 7, shows the pair holding Boehm system flutes, it is unclear exactly which instrument young Taffanel initially began his lessons on.²³⁴ A receipt for keys and other accessories for an eight-keyed flute purchased by

²³⁴ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, Figure 2.

Jules Taffanel in 1850 can neither confirm nor deny the purpose for the parts but it does allow for the possibility that he made his son's first instrument.²³⁵ Regardless of the construction of the first flute, the photograph that was taken around 1854 places the 1847 cylindrical Boehm flute in Paul Taffanel's hands. His teacher Louis Dorus was an early advocate of the Boehm system flute, both the 1832 and 1847 models, and more than likely this was the instrument on which he instructed Taffanel beginning in 1858. The photograph of Paul and Jules Taffanel taken in the 1850s with Boehm flutes supports this assumption and serves as evidence that Paul Taffanel was among the first generation of flutists to study on a Boehm system flute during his formative years.

When Dorus was appointed professor at the Paris Conservatoire in January 1860, he arranged for Taffanel to join the class.²³⁶ The flute classes were taught to the entire studio simultaneously and were held for two hours on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday.²³⁷ The flute class had just converted to the Boehm system flute that year, and only five students were permitted to compete in the *concours* of 1860.²³⁸ Playing Tulou's Fifth Concerto, op. 37, Taffanel, even though he had been enrolled at the Conservatoire for only a few months, was awarded the *premier prix* with votes from eight of the nine jury members.²³⁹ As a student learning and playing on the Boehm system flute during his formative years, it is not unexpected

²³⁵ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 7. Blakeman seems convinced that the receipts found among J. Taffanel's papers indicate the probability that he constructed the first flute P. Taffanel studied on.

²³⁶ Holoman, *The Société des concerts du Conservatoire, 1828-1967*, 297; Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 15.

²³⁷ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 17.

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ Ibid., 18.

that within months of the Conservatoire accepting the new flute, a new student like Taffanel, who had prior instruction on the Boehm system flute, would excel.²⁴⁰

Taffanel remained at the Conservatoire, earning diplomas in harmony (1862) and fugue (1865) while continuing flute lessons with Dorus.²⁴¹ In the autumn of 1860, Taffanel entered the harmony class of Henri Reber (1807-1880) where he was a classmate of Jules Massenet (1842-1912).²⁴² Just months before Taffanel was awarded his *premier prix* for harmony, Reber was appointed professor of composition.²⁴³ Reber taught counterpoint and fugue to Massenet and Taffanel, and Massenet won a *premier prix* in 1863, two years before Taffanel.²⁴⁴

Taffanel's first professional appearance was in the orchestra of the Société des jeunes artistes du Conservatoire impérial de musique on February 3, 1861, under the baton of founder Jules Padeloup (1819-1887).²⁴⁵ In 1852, Padeloup formed this symphonic society in an effort to promote the work of young composers, and the ensemble premiered several works by composers such as Charles Gounod (1818-1893), Saint-Saëns, Schumann, and Wagner over the

²⁴⁰ In 1860, Louis Lot became the official supplier of flutes to the Conservatoire and with flute number 439, Paul Taffanel was among the forty-one flutists to purchase a silver cylinder flute that year. The following year, Dorus purchased a silver flute, number 600, from Lot on November 22, 1861 that eventually became property of Taffanel.

²⁴¹ Powell, *The Flute*, 215. Since his initial move to Paris, Taffanel maintained a close relationship with his teacher until he passed away on June 9, 1896. The Taffanel family even spent several holidays with Dorus on the Normandy coast, and Taffanel continued to consult him throughout his lifetime.

²⁴² Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 19; Frédéric Robert, "Reber, Henri," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed February 22, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu:2048/subscriber/article/grove/music/230006>; Hugh Macdonald, et al., "Massenet, Jules," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed February 22, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu:2048/subscriber/article/grove/music/51469>; B., "La carrière d'un artiste: Paul Taffanel," *La Revue Musicale* 8, no. 24 (December 15, 1908): 656.

²⁴³ Robert, "Reber, Henri." The class for composition at the Conservatoire is sometimes also referred to counterpoint and fugue.

²⁴⁴ Macdonald, "Massenet, Jules."

²⁴⁵ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 21; Elisabeth Bernard, "Padeloup, Jules Etienne," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed February 22, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu:2048/subscriber/article/grove/music/21000>.

course of its nine-year existence.²⁴⁶ Throughout this period, Taffanel was the second flutist and Louis-Antoine Brunot (1820-1885) served as principal.²⁴⁷ Beginning in May 1862, Taffanel also played second to Brunot in the Opéra-comique orchestra.²⁴⁸

While continuing his studies at the Conservatoire, Taffanel began appearing as a soloist in chamber concerts.²⁴⁹ In 1861, Taffanel performed Trio, op. 45 for flute, cello, and piano by Louise Farrenc (1804-1875) with cellist Alfred Marx and pianist Marie Mongin. The *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* of March 31 applauded the pianist Mongin and complimented the opening trio for causing “great pleasure.”²⁵⁰ Dorus appeared with Taffanel one month later and performed, according to the *Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris*, a duo by Karl and Franz Doppler.²⁵¹ The teacher and student performed together again in March 1863 with singer Pauline Viardot (1821-1910).

On May 1, 1864 Taffanel was officially registered as an extra player at the prestigious Paris Opéra in the section that included Dorus, Altès, and Ludovic Leplus (1807-1874).²⁵² With this appointment, Taffanel followed in the footsteps of other Conservatoire graduates who played in this ensemble. Beginning with the first Conservatoire flute professor François Devienne (who played bassoon and flute in the Opéra orchestra at the turn of the century), a connection existed

²⁴⁶ Elisabeth Bernard, “Padeloup, Jules Etienne,” *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed February 22, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu:2048/subscriber/article/grove/music/21000>.

²⁴⁷ Henri Heugel, *Le Ménestrel* (November 8, 1885): 392, accessed March 3, 2014, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5616817m/f8.image>. In 1840, Brunot had been involved with the Conservatoire’s initial inquiry into the Boehm flute and in 1860, Brunot was also one of the jury members that voted to award Taffanel the *premier prix*.

²⁴⁸ Heugel, *Le Ménestrel* (November 8, 1885).

²⁴⁹ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 22.

²⁵⁰ Adolphe Botte, *Revue et musicale* (March 31, 1861): 98, accessed September 3, 2013, <https://archive.org/details/revueetgazettemu1861pari>.

²⁵¹ Paul Smith, *Revue et musicale* (April 13, 1862): 121, accessed September 3, 2013, <https://acrchive.org/details/revueetgazettemu1862pari>.

²⁵² Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 26-7; Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France*, 146.

between the two institutions.²⁵³ Taffanel fit into the long line of Conservatoire graduates, including Guillou, Tulou, Dorus, and Altès, who played principal flute at the Opéra.

As an extra player at the Opéra, Taffanel filled in for any of the full-time players in the event of an absence and supplemented the section upon occasion. The full-time players were required to perform at premieres and the first several performances of an opera, but additional performances usually included just two players. The section played on rotation to share the work, and although there was a principal, second, and third flutist, it was common that the entire section would rotate through and perform all the parts.²⁵⁴ Taffanel filled in for Dorus when he took a leave of absence for three months during 1864.²⁵⁵ In 1866, the section changed slightly with the retirement of both Dorus and Leplus; Altès became principal, Taffanel was appointed second flute, and Johannes Donjon (1839-1912) became third flute.²⁵⁶ Donjon, a former student of Tulou, had won the *premier prix* in 1856 and played with Taffanel in the Opéra-comique orchestra.²⁵⁷ In 1871, Taffanel replaced Altès as principal flute solo.²⁵⁸ Donjon became second flute and Edouard Lafleurance (1836-1897) was chosen to play third.²⁵⁹ A student of Tulou, Lafleurance was from Bordeaux like Taffanel and had won the *premier prix* in 1854, a few years prior to Taffanel.²⁶⁰

By the 1880s, Taffanel was ready to retire from playing the numerous performances. He wrote to Emmanuel Vaucorbeil, the director of the Opéra, and they attempted to negotiate an agreement that pleased both Taffanel and the Opéra organization. After several letters, Taffanel

²⁵³ Devienne, *Nouvelle méthode*, 1. This was not unique to the flute class as Jacques Schneitzhoeffler played oboe in the Opéra and taught both flute and oboe at the Conservatoire. François-Rene Gebauer (1773-1845) was a bassoonist who held both positions as well.

²⁵⁴ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 26.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 27.

²⁵⁶ Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France*, 176.

²⁵⁷ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 27.

²⁵⁸ B., "La carrière d'un artiste: Paul Taffanel," 656.

²⁵⁹ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 59.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 34.

was granted a six-month leave of absence in July 1880 but then continued to play principal at the Opéra until Hennebains could replace him in 1892.²⁶¹ Ten years after requesting retirement, Taffanel was appointed third conductor of the Opéra orchestra in 1890.²⁶² *Le Ménestrel* reported that Taffanel was the first appointed conductor of a major Parisian ensemble who did not come from the string section.²⁶³ Initially he continued to maintain the principal flute position in the ensemble in addition to his new appointment. During Taffanel's tenure as third conductor, Donjon retired, and the Opéra flute section changed.²⁶⁴ Edouard Lafleurance remained third flute, Adolphe Hennebains (1862-1914) became second, and Léopold Lafleurance (1865-1951) became fourth. Hennebains was a student of Altès who received the *premier prix* in 1880.²⁶⁵ Léopold Lafleurance, the nephew of Edouard, was studying flute with Taffanel and playing with the Société des concerts du Conservatoire when he officially accepted the position at the Opéra.²⁶⁶

In April 1891, Taffanel applied for the first conductor position at the Opéra and eventually received the appointment in 1893.²⁶⁷ During that period, Edouard Colonne (1838-1910) and Charles Lamoureux (1834-1899), the other two Opéra conductors, led important premieres of Wagner's operas in Paris.²⁶⁸ Colonne led the premiere of *Die Walküre* in May 1893,

²⁶¹ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 97.

²⁶² B., "La carrière d'un artiste: Paul Taffanel," 656; Holoman, *The Société des concerts du Conservatoire, 1828-1967*, 298.

²⁶³ Henri Heugel, *Le Ménestrel* (January 5, 1890): 7, accessed February 27, 2014.
<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5613943h/f14.image>.

²⁶⁴ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 140.

²⁶⁵ Hennebains would later become the professor at the Conservatoire after Taffanel's death in 1908.

²⁶⁶ Montagu, "Flute."

²⁶⁷ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 147; Blakeman, "Taffanel, Paul."

²⁶⁸ Holoman, *The Société des concerts du Conservatoire, 1828-1967*, 297; Elisabeth Bernard, "Colonne, Edouard," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed February 28, 2014;
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu:2048/subscriber/article/grove/music/06149>; Elisabeth Bernard, "Lamoureux, Charles," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed February 28, 2013,
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu:2048/subscriber/article/grove/music/15916>.

and Lamoureux conducted the *Lohengrin* premiere in September 1891. As third conductor, Taffanel assisted Lamoureux with eighteen rehearsals for *Lohengrin*.²⁶⁹ After an infamous performance of *Tannhäuser* at the Opéra in 1861, it was not until after several partial performances of *Lohengrin* that Lamoureux mounted the full production at the Opéra.²⁷⁰ To learn more about Wagner's opera productions, Taffanel took a trip to the Bayreuth Festival in August 1892 and traveled to Munich in 1893. He returned to Paris from both trips with sketches of various production aspects including the orchestra layout.²⁷¹ Taffanel used these sketches when he conducted new Wagner productions at the Opéra.

When Hennebains was named principal flute in 1892, Taffanel was relieved of his playing responsibilities and assumed the first conductor position the following year.²⁷² From Taffanel's appointment in 1893 through his retirement in 1906, he was primary conductor of new productions as well as operas by Wagner.²⁷³ As shown in Table 3, Taffanel conducted the Paris premieres of Verdi's *Otello* and Wagner's *Die Meistersinger*, *Siegfried*, and *Tristan und Isolde*.

While Lamoureux largely receives the historical credit for bringing Wagner to the Parisian stage, Taffanel also contributed to the French acceptance of Wagner's operas. By the time Taffanel became principal conductor in 1893, successful productions of *Lohengrin* had occurred in Rouen, Lyon, and Toulouse, and the Commission théâtrale of the Beaux-Arts ministry had addressed the Opéra's stagnant repertoire.²⁷⁴ These factors paved the way for Wagner's acceptance in Paris. Like Lamoureux, he was a central figure in the debate about

²⁶⁹ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 147.

²⁷⁰ Huebner, *French Opera at the Fin de Siècle: Wagnerism, Nationalism, and Style*, 11-19.

²⁷¹ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 149.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, 148.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 160; B., "La carrière d'un artiste: Paul Taffanel," 658.

²⁷⁴ Huebner, *French Opera at the Fin de Siècle: Wagnerism Nationalism, and Style*, 19.

Wagner and German music in Paris but by the time Taffanel was principal conductor, Wagner was becoming more accepted in Paris.²⁷⁵

Table 3. Premieres and New Productions conducted by Taffanel

Date	Composer	Work	Description
March 16, 1894	Massenet	<i>Thaïs</i>	Premiere
October 12, 1894	Verdi	<i>Otello</i>	Premiere
February 5, 1895	Holmès	<i>La Montagne noire</i>	Premiere
May 13, 1895	Wagner	<i>Tannhäuser</i>	New Production
December 18, 1895	Guiraud/Saint Saëns	<i>Frédégonde</i>	Premiere
February 3, 1896	Donizetti	<i>La Favorite</i>	Revival
April 24, 1896	Duvernoy	<i>Hellé</i>	Premiere
February 19, 1897	Bruneau	<i>Messidor</i>	Premiere
June 7, 1897	Meyerbeer	<i>Les Huguenots</i>	Revival
November 5, 1897	Wagner	<i>Die Meistersinger</i>	Premiere
May 9, 1898	Meyerbeer	<i>Le Prophète</i>	Revival
June 8, 1898	Rousseau	<i>La Cloche du Rhin</i>	Premiere
December 23, 1898	Vidal	<i>La Burgonde</i>	Premiere
April 16, 1899	Chabrier	<i>Briséis (Act 1)</i>	Premiere
September 20, 1899	Reyer	<i>Salammbô</i>	Revival
November 15, 1899	Berlioz	<i>La Prise de Troie</i>	Premiere
February 15, 1901	Lerous	<i>Astarté</i>	Premiere
October 23, 1901	Saint-Saëns	<i>Ls Barbares</i>	Premiere
December 31, 1901	Wagner	<i>Siegfried</i>	Premiere
March 6, 1903	Reyer	<i>La Statue</i>	Premiere
May 18, 1903	Saint-Saëns	<i>Henry VIII</i>	Revival
April 17, 1904	Erlanger	<i>Le Fils de l'étoile</i>	Premiere
May 31, 1904	Verdi	<i>Il Trovatore</i>	New Production
December 11, 1904	Wagner	<i>Tristan und Isolde</i>	Premiere
April 12, 1905	Gluck	<i>Armide</i>	New Production
October 27, 1905	Weber	<i>Der Freischütz</i>	New Production

Source: Data from Edward Blakeman, *Taffanel: Genius of the Flute* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 164-165.

As an established musician in Paris, it was also customary to play in the Société des concerts du Conservatoire as either a professor or graduate of the institution. Just a few years

²⁷⁵ Huebner, *French Opera at the Fin de Siècle: Wagnerism Nationalism, and Style*, 19-21.

after winning the *premier prix*, Taffanel began playing with the Société des concerts du Conservatoire in 1864 at age twenty as an *aspirant*.²⁷⁶ *Aspirants en cas* were apprentices, included Conservatoire graduates who would be called in as substitutes or provide coverage in an emergency. Prior to becoming a full member, or *sociétaire*, most musicians spent time in the role of *aspirant*.²⁷⁷ By 1867, Taffanel had become a *sociétaire* and was appointed first piccolo, playing third flute to principal Dorus and second flute Altès.²⁷⁸ Altès had played second flute since becoming a *sociétaire* in 1845 and served briefly as the principal flute for a year following Dorus's retirement.²⁷⁹ In 1869, Taffanel became principal flutist and appeared regularly as a "favored soloist" with the ensemble.²⁸⁰ He began serving the ensemble in another capacity in 1856 when he became the association's secretary.²⁸¹ As the main correspondent for the organization, the secretary acted as a liaison between the Société des concerts du Conservatoire and the Conservatoire, signed letters on behalf of the organization, collected and counted ballots for any elections, and obtained committee member signatures after approval of each meeting's minutes.²⁸² The secretary was the head administrator of daily activities and functioned in the same capacity as a present day orchestral general manager.²⁸³ With an overall tenure from 1875 to 1891, Kern Holoman places Taffanel in the top five "most prominent" secretaries in the organization's history. Taffanel played a major role in shaping the organization over the course of his lengthy tenure as secretary. He clarified and modified statutes that resolved some previous financial inconsistencies with Caisse de Prévoyance, or contingency fund, and debated the

²⁷⁶ Holoman, *The Société des concerts du Conservatoire, 1828-1967*, 298.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 62.

²⁷⁸ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 28.

²⁷⁹ Holoman, *The Société des concerts du Conservatoire, 1828-1967*, 62.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 279.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 40.

²⁸² *Ibid.*

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, 38.

retirement age.²⁸⁴ When Taffanel's tenure as conductor began, he maintained his ability to guide the organization and had the experience of serving the organization previously as secretary. His service as secretary coupled with his tenure as conductor, gave Taffanel an extended period of time to influence the organization.²⁸⁵

After serving the Société des concerts du Conservatoire as a secretary for sixteen years, Taffanel assumed another role with the organization: he stepped onto the podium as conductor in 1892.²⁸⁶ This title and position put Taffanel on the short list of the twelve elite musicians in the entire history of the Société des concerts du Conservatoire who were appointed first conductor.²⁸⁷ As a conductor, Taffanel was “admired for the way sobriety of gesture seemed to convey the most minute details of intention.”²⁸⁸ Prior to his appointment as first conductor, Taffanel had experience on the podium as second conductor, like other Société des concerts du Conservatoire conductors such as E. M. E. Deldevez (1817-1897), Jules Garcin (1830-1896), and later, Philippe Gaubert (1879-1941).²⁸⁹ Although Taffanel and Gaubert were flutists, most of the second conductors were from the violin section or held the position of concertmaster, as was the tradition at the Opéra and in other music ensembles.²⁹⁰

On May 27, 1892, Jules Garcin announced his retirement, prompted by ill health.²⁹¹ At this juncture, Taffanel had already been a conductor at the Opéra, and he had devoted a significant numbers of years to the Société des concerts du Conservatoire as *sociétaire* and secretary. The voting for conductor went through four rounds as Taffanel was unable to secure a

²⁸⁴ Holoman, *The Société des concerts du Conservatoire, 1828-1967*, 299.

²⁸⁵ Each secretary served a term of two years and could be reelected but not two sequential terms. Many of the secretaries rotated to another office and then would return to secretary.

²⁸⁶ Holoman, *The Société des concerts du Conservatoire, 1828-1967*, 63.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 6.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 297.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 65.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 210.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 295.

two-thirds majority, but he maintained a comfortable lead each round. In the final run-off vote, Taffanel defeated his contender with a vote of 49 to 36.²⁹² His first concert took place on Sunday, November 27, 1892. After three decades with the ensemble, Taffanel brought his “reputation for perfect musicianship and limitless energy,” with him to the podium.²⁹³ Taffanel expanded the Société des concerts du Conservatoire’s repertoire to include and favor contemporary music while also cultivating interest in historical works.²⁹⁴

Just a few years after his appointment as principal conductor in 1892, Taffanel began suffering from health issues, but he did not miss any concerts and maintained his responsibilities during the first several years of his appointment.²⁹⁵ Sick with influenza, Taffanel was absent for two months in the beginning of 1900 and again the following February. That spring, Taffanel announced his retirement, and the committee began searching for his replacement in June 1901.²⁹⁶ A popular conductor, according to Holoman, Taffanel had served the Société des concerts du Conservatoire in this capacity for nine seasons.²⁹⁷ Under his direction, the ensemble flourished in the “last period of sustained political and economic tranquility” of the Société des concerts du Conservatoire.²⁹⁸ After Taffanel’s death, André Messager (1853-1929) became the first conductor who had not attended the Conservatoire, and the organization’s connection with the Conservatoire began to be less and less significant as he steered the organization towards the international spotlight.²⁹⁹

²⁹² Holoman, *The Société des concerts du Conservatoire, 1828-1967*, 296.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, 298.

²⁹⁴ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 150; Blakeman, “Taffanel, Paul.”

²⁹⁵ Holoman, *The Société des concerts du Conservatoire, 1828-1967*, 302.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 310.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 310.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 235.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 328-331.

Along with these two major Parisian ensembles, Taffanel was an active participant in chamber music. In 1871, he was one of the founding members of the Société nationale de musique along with Saint-Saëns, Franck, Gounod, Massenet, Edouard Lalo (1823-1892), and Gabriel Fauré (1845-1924).³⁰⁰ Active from 1871 to 1939, the specialized music society was founded to introduce new French music and serve as a vehicle to promote a “more serious French musical style.”³⁰¹ The organization only performed French compositions during its first decade of existence and promoted music by composers including; Charles Auguste de Bériot (1802-1870), Jean Émile Bernard (1843-1902), Ernest Chausson (1855-1899), Louis-Joseph Diémer (1843-1919), Auguste Durand (1830-1909), Clémence de Grancval (1828-1907), Vincent d’Indy (1851-1931), Charles Lefebvre (1843-1917), and Charles-Marie Widor (1844-1937).³⁰²

By 1872, Taffanel was also taking part in the Société classique, which gave approximately six concerts annually between January and April and promoted works by composers like Beethoven and Mendelssohn.³⁰³ The Société classique was comprised of a woodwind quintet and string quartet, and it included clarinetist Arthur Grisez and bassoonist Jean Espaignet who had previously performed with Taffanel in Padeloup’s Société des jeunes artistes du Conservatoire impérial de musique. Like Taffanel, Saint-Saëns and Lalo were members of the Société nationale de musique as well as the Société classique.

On January 26, 1879, *Le Ménestrel* mentioned the first concert that was going to be given by the Société de musique de chambre pour instruments à vent (henceforth referred to as

³⁰⁰ Blakeman, “Taffanel, Paul,” Michael Strasser, “The Société Nationale and Its Adversaries: The Musical Politics of *L’Invasion germanique* in the 1870s,” *19th-Century Music* 24, no. 3 (2001): 226, doi:10.1525/nem.2001.24.3.225.

³⁰¹ Michael Strasser, “The Société Nationale and Its Adversaries: The Musical Politics of *L’Invasion germanique* in the 1870s,” *19th-Century Music* 24, no. 3 (2001): 236, doi:10.1525/nem.2001.24.3.225.

³⁰² Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 40-41. These composers all wrote works for the flute.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*, 43.

SMCIV) and identified the purpose of the organization as presenting wind instrumental music.³⁰⁴ Although it was not a formally stated intent, the SMCIV was founded a decade after the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871) and promoted French nationalism through its French members, tours, and music. The 1879 *Le Ménestrel* article identifies Taffanel, Gillet, Turban, Dupont, Espaignet and Villaufret among the founders of the group and points out that they were all members of the Société des concerts du Conservatoire as well. Taffanel created the SMCIV with oboists Georges Gillet (1854-1920), Auguste Sautet, clarinetists Charles Turban (1845-1905) and Arthur Grisez, horn players Henri Dupont and Jean Garigue, and bassoonists Jean Espaignet, and François Villaufret and pianist Louis Diémer (1843-1919).³⁰⁵ All of these French musicians were winners of a Conservatoire *premier prix*, with the exception of Sautet, and all were in the top echelon of the Parisian music scene as Opéra or Opéra-comique orchestral players.³⁰⁶ Grisez and Espaignet played with Taffanel in Société des jeunes artistes du Conservatoire impérial de musique and the Société classique. Later in their careers, Gillet and Turban became Conservatoire professors.³⁰⁷

During the fifteen years of its existence, the SMCIV held an important place in the French musical scene; concerts in Paris were popular events, and the ensemble traveled through France as well.³⁰⁸ The first Parisian concert was so well attended that all subsequent concerts were moved to a larger venue, the adjacent Salle Pleyel.³⁰⁹ Each concert during the first season of the SMCIV adhered to the same program: opening with an ensemble work by an established

³⁰⁴ J.L. Heugel, *Le Ménestrel* (January 26, 1879): 72, accessed February 24, 2014, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k56152852/f8.image>.

³⁰⁵ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 69.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 69.

³⁰⁷ Geoffrey Burgess, "Gillet, Georges," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed March 3, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.oxford.lib.ku.edu:2048/subscriber/article/grove/music/45247>.

³⁰⁸ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 67.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 70. The Salle Pleyel was the same venue in which Chopin and Liszt had played.

composer, followed by a solo piece and a contemporary foreign ensemble work, and closing with a new ensemble work by a French composer.³¹⁰

The ensemble toured within France and to other countries, and several popular musicians made appearances in concerts. In 1886, the SMCIV traveled to Nancy and Mulhouse, France and Lausanne and Geneva, Switzerland during the seventh season.³¹¹ An invitation to Taffanel's birthplace brought the ensemble to Bordeaux just before the beginning of the 1891 season.³¹² The second major tour of the SMCIV lasted from October to November 1891 with concerts in Basel, Mulhouse, Berne, Neuchâtel, Lausanne, Strasbourg, and Frankfurt.³¹³ Visiting violinist Joseph Joachim (1831-1907) performed with the society at a concert in 1887, and so did Pablo de Sarasate (1844-1908) in 1892.³¹⁴ Tchaikovsky even attended a SMCIV concert in March 1888 while he was visiting Paris.³¹⁵

When the SMCIV began the fifteenth season in 1893, Taffanel had been already appointed as conductor of the Société des concerts du Conservatoire.³¹⁶ Unbeknownst to the members, on May 4, 1893 the SMCIV gave their last concert.³¹⁷ When Taffanel accepted the position conducting the Opéra orchestra and resigned from the SMCIV, the members of the society decided to disperse rather than continue without the director of fifteen years.³¹⁸ The SMCIV contributed greatly to the popularity of chamber music and resulted in a vast expansion of the repertoire.

³¹⁰ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 70.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*, 81.

³¹² *Ibid.*, 87.

³¹³ *Ibid.*, 88.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 83 and 89.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 84.

³¹⁶ Holoman, *The Société des concerts du Conservatoire, 1828-1967*, 296.

³¹⁷ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 91.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 68; Edward Blakeman, "Taffanel, Paul," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed June 4, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu:2048/subscriber/article/grove/music/27363>.

New and Old Repertoire

Throughout his career, Taffanel influenced the Parisian music scene as a flutist, conductor, and teacher. As such, he had the opportunity to contribute to the emerging canon of performance repertoire in France. Paul Taffanel was an advocate of contemporary music as well as a historic music enthusiast and took action in his performances to ensure that neither end of the repertoire spectrum was neglected. As a result, he helped expand the repertoire. A large body of works was inspired through the various organizations Taffanel participated as either a member or founder. He also wrote several works, making additions to both flute and chamber wind repertoire. The examination of the repertoire associated with each of these ensembles, will contribute to an understanding of the scope of Taffanel's legacy.

The Société nationale de musique promoted serious French music that helped shape the development of a canon of French music on the level of the German masters.³¹⁹ The Franco-Prussian war spurred a rejection of German repertoire, and Taffanel united with composers such as Fauré, Massenet, and Saint-Saëns to encourage the development of a French style and concert repertoire.³²⁰ The Société nationale hoped that French music would not imitate music from other nations but instead would develop and feature uniquely French characteristics.³²¹ Although the Société nationale was founded shortly after the Franco-Prussian War, it was not based on hatred of German music, but instead it focused on the generation of a French canon. The organization was active for almost seventy years and in addition to contributing important works to the canon of French chamber music, the efforts of Taffanel, Saint-Saëns, and Société nationale de musique

³¹⁹ Strasser, "The Société Nationale and Its Adversaries," 238.

³²⁰ Powell, *The Flute*, 216.

³²¹ Strasser, "The Société Nationale and Its Adversaries," 238.

eventually brought about “one of the richest, if not the most prolific, outpourings of music ever composed for the flute.”³²²

Striving to follow his own advice, Saint-Saëns was among the composers who premiered music at the Société nationale de musique concerts. On April 6, 1872, Taffanel performed Saint-Saëns’s *Romance* for flute and piano, accompanied by the composer.³²³ Taffanel and Saint-Saëns performed the piece together again on Société nationale de musique concerts in 1872 and 1873. Originally written for flute and orchestra in 1871, the composer likely played a reduction as the Société nationale did not hire an orchestra.³²⁴ Saint-Saëns published the work in 1874 and dedicated it to Amedée de Vroye, who was another flute player with the Société nationale de musique.³²⁵

Although other flutists, such as De Vroye, occasionally performed at Société nationale de musique concerts, Taffanel appeared the most frequently.³²⁶ Between 1871 and 1891, Taffanel premiered several contemporary works with the organization including Auguste Durand’s (1830-1909) *Romance*, op. 7 and Charles Lefebvre’s (1843-1917) *Deux Pièces*, op. 72, which were both pieces for flute and piano that were dedicated to Taffanel.³²⁷ Three additional works by Jean Émile Bernard (1843-1902), Clémence de Grancval (1828-1907), and Louis-Joseph Diémer (1843-1919) were also dedicated to and premiered by Taffanel at Société nationale de musique concerts. They are shown in Table 4. In addition to the works he premiered, Taffanel also played

³²² Powell, *The Flute*, 217.

³²³ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 40.

³²⁴ James Harding, *Saint-Saëns and His Circle* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1965), 238.

³²⁵ Ibid.

³²⁶ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 41.

³²⁷ Ibid., 40-41.

compositions by Charles-Marie Widor (1844-1937), Ernest Chausson (1855-1899), Charles Auguste de Bériot (1802-1870), and Vincent d'Indy (1851-1931).³²⁸

Table 4. Works Premiered by Taffanel at the Société nationale de musique Concerts (1871-1891)

Composer	Work	Performers	Performance Date
Camille Saint-Saëns (1835-1921)	<i>Romance</i> , op. 37 (for flute and piano)	Taffanel, Saint-Saëns	April 4, 1872
Louis Diémer (1843-1919)	* <i>Sérénade</i> (for voice, flute, and piano)	Valdec, Taffanel, Diémer	March, 16, 1885
Émile Bernard (1843-1902)	* <i>Romance</i> , op. 33 (for flute and orchestra or piano)	Taffanel, Bernard Conducting	April 18, 1885
Grieg arr. Blanc	<i>Three Lieder</i> (for two flutes, alto flute, harp and string quartet)	Taffanel, Lefebvre, Lafleurance, Laudou, Rémy Quartet	March 5, 1887
Jacques Durand (1865-1928)	* <i>Romance</i> , op. 7 (for flute and piano)	Taffanel, Diémer	April 14, 1888
Charles Lefebvre (1843-1917)	* <i>Deux Pièces</i> , op. 72 (for flute and piano)	Taffanel, Lefebvre	February 1, 1890
Paul Fournier	<i>Allegro</i> (for flute and piano)	Taffanel, Diémer	April 4, 1891
Clémence de Grandval (1830-1907)	* <i>Valse mélancolique</i> (for flute and harp)	Taffanel, Hasselmans	April 4, 1891

* Denotes works dedicated to Taffanel

Source: Edward Blakeman, *Taffanel: Genius of the Flute* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 40-41.

While the Société nationale de musique promoted new French music and a national style, the Société classique stood at the other end of the spectrum, encouraging the revival of classic chamber works and composition of contemporary works for both winds and strings by composers of various nationalities. Founded in 1872, the Société classique sometimes presented works for more than just two or three players, but the organization generally focused on larger

³²⁸ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 40-41.

chamber works, such as quartets, quintets, and octets for winds or strings. *Le Ménestrel* predicted that the society would fill the existing void in Parisian chamber music by introducing unknown repertoire and reviving works that had previously been forgotten.³²⁹ The group performed works by Bach, Beethoven, Berlioz, Handel, Haydn, Hummel, Mendelssohn, Mozart, Schumann, and Weber between 1872 and 1875. Most notably, three performances in 1873-74 of Mozart's wind Serenades, K. 361, K. 388, and K. 375 were noted as French premieres by *Le Ménestrel*.³³⁰ This organization promoted and stimulated composition of chamber music and contributed to the repertoire of chamber music by revitalizing some of the pieces that had been previously neglected.

Along with the classic chamber repertoire, the Société classique also performed a large number of works by contemporary composers and encouraged the composition of new pieces for chamber winds and strings.³³¹ These works often called for at least four to five players and the performance of the contemporary works contributed to the renewed interest in the performance of chamber music by players and audiences. As identified in Table 5, contemporary composers such as Gouvy, Lalo, and Massenet had works premiered by the Société classique.

³²⁹ J. L. Heugel, ed., *Le Ménestrel* (January 21, 1872): 64, accessed March 3, 2014, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5617382s/f8.image>.

³³⁰ J. L. Heugel, ed., *Le Ménestrel* (January 26, 1873): 72, accessed March 4, 2014, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k57948732/f8.image>. *Serenade in B flat*, K. 361, "Gran Partita" was performed on January 28, 1873, *Serenade in C minor*, K. 388 on March 3, 1874 and *Serenade in E flat*, K. 375 on April 13, 1875.

³³¹ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 43.

Table 5. Works Performed at the Société classique (1872-75)

Composer	Work(s)	Performance Date
Alexis de Castillon (1838-1873)	Piano Quintet, op. 1 Allegretto for wind quintet and string quintet	March 26, 1872 *March 25, 1873 February 17, 1874
Félicien David (1810-1876) Louis Théodore Gouvy (1819-1898)	Adagio for string quintet String Quintet no. 1, op. 55 String Quartet no. 3, op. 56, Larghetto String Quartet no. 5, op. 68, Andante and Variations	April 8, 1873 February 11, 1873 *March 3, 1874 March 31, 1875
Franz Schubert (1808-1878)	String Quartet no. 4, D. 46, Andante and Variations Octet for 2 violins, viola, cello, double bass, clarinet, horn, and bassoon, D. 803 Quintet for piano and strings, D. 667 "Trout"	January 30, 1872 March 26, 1872 March 31, 1874 March 17, 1874
Edouard Lalo (1823-1892)	Piano Trio no. 2, D. 929 <i>Intermezzo</i> for wind quintet and string quintet <i>Andantino et intermezzo</i> for wind quintet and string quintet <i>Andantino</i> for wind quintet and string quintet	March 2, 1875 *March 26, 1872 *March 11, 1873 April 13, 1875 February 17, 1874
Jules Massenet (1842-1912)	Introduction and Variations for wind quintet and string quintet	March 26, 1872 April 8, 1873 February 2, 1875

* Denotes premiere performance

Source: Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 231-235.

The Société classique established the scaffolding for Taffanel's SMCIV, and the new organization, founded in 1879, continued to encourage chamber music in the same manner as the Société classique. The SMCIV's aim to specifically cultivate wind chamber music was not a new notion, just one that had been neglected. Harkening back to the early and mid-nineteenth century, Taffanel took cues from former Conservatoire flute professors. Joseph Guillou, the professor at

the Conservatoire from 1819 to 1829, participated in a woodwind quintet that disbanded the year after his retirement.³³² A generation later, Louis Dorus was active in the Société de musique classique from 1847 to 1849.³³³ Following in the footsteps of both Guillou and Dorus, Taffanel strove to renew the attention given to wind chamber music through SMCIV.³³⁴

Taffanel's chamber wind society performed several of the same works as the Société classique, including Beethoven's Octet op. 103, Septet op. 20, Serenade for flute, violin, and viola, op. 25 and Trio for two oboes and English horn op. 87 as well as Mozart's wind "Serenades."³³⁵ The SMCIV performed the three works by Lalo originally premiered by the Société classique along with works by Handel, Hummel, Léon Kreutzer (1817-68), Anton Rubinstein (1829-94), Schubert, Schumann, Ludwig Spohr (1784-1859) and Carl Maria von Weber (1786-1826).³³⁶ Premieres of new works occurred regularly at concerts, and several works, including Gounod's *Petite symphonie* (1885), were even dedicated to Taffanel. These works are listed in Table 6.³³⁷ The SMCIV not only encouraged wind chamber music, but it also promoted compositions for the improved flute of the mid-nineteenth century and other wind instruments by interspersing solo pieces with the chamber works.³³⁸ The works in Table 6 cover an impressive range of instrumentation, from solo pieces to large chamber works for ten musicians.

³³² Powell, *The Flute*, 216.

³³³ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 42. See chapter one for more details about Société de musique classique and Dorus.

³³⁴ Powell, *The Flute*, 216-17.

³³⁵ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 234-35.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, 234-35. Lalo's works are identified in Table 5.

³³⁷ Blakeman, "Taffanel, Paul."

³³⁸ Toff, *The Flute Book*, 258. There was a significant research done during this time into musical timbre and discussed in the treatises of Kastner and Berlioz. The influx of research stimulated wind instrument development and advances were made on many instruments.

Table 6. Works dedicated to Taffanel performed by SMCIV

Composer	Work	Date
Adrien Barthe (1828-98)	<i>Aubade</i> for wind quintet	February 6, 1879 February 19, 1885
Charles de Bériot (1802-70)	Sonata for flute and piano	*April 1, 1886
René de Boisdeffre (1838-1906)	<i>Pièces</i> for flute and piano (<i>Prélude, Air de ballet, Orientale, and Finale</i>)	*April 16, 1885
Jacques Durand (1865-1928)	<i>Romance</i> for flute and piano, op. 7	*March 29, 1888 April 23, 1891
Benjamin Godard (1849-95)	<i>Trois pieces</i> for flute and piano (<i>Prélude, Idylle, and Valse</i>)	March 6, 1890
Charles Gounod (1818-93)	<i>Petite symphonie</i> for flute, oboe, 2 clarinets, 2 horns, and 2 bassoons	*April 30, 1885 March 4, 1886 March 17, 1887 March 1, 1888 March 6, 1890 March 3, 1892
Clémence de Grandval (1830-1907)	<i>Valse mélancolique</i> for flute and harp	April 18, 1890
Emil Hartmann (1836-98)	Serenade for flute, oboe, 2 clarinets, 2 horns, 2 bassoons, cello and double bass, op. 43	*March 26, 1891
Edouard Lalo (1823-92)	<i>Aubade</i> for wind quintet and string quintet (<i>Allegretto and Andantino</i>)	*May 8, 1984 April 26, 1888 May 2, 1889
Silvio Lazzari (1857-1944)	Octet for flute, oboe, clarinet, English Horn, 2 horns, and 2 bassoons, op. 20	*February 16, 1893
Charles Lefebvre (1843-1917)	Suite for wind quintet (<i>Canon, Scherzo, and Final</i>)	March 4, 1886 April 9, 1891
Georges Pfeiffer (1835-1908)	<i>Pastorale</i> for wind quintet	April 15, 1880 March 16, 1882 March 27, 1884
Charles-Marie Widor (1844-1937)	Suite for flute and piano, op. 34	* April 10, 1884 March 5, 1885 April 30, 1891

* Denotes premiere performance

Source: Data from Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 228-248.

Before Taffanel founded the SMCIV, he had entered a composition competition with a quintet. The contest was hosted by the Société des compositeurs de musique, and his wind quintet received a gold medal among fourteen submissions.³³⁹ Taffanel dedicated the piece to Henri Reber, his former harmony and composition professor at the Conservatoire.³⁴⁰ It is surprising that Taffanel only programmed his quintet on one concert during the fifteen seasons he directed the SMCIV since he was such an advocate of contemporary music.³⁴¹ The concert on April 13, 1882 was the only evening that Taffanel's award-winning work was heard at one of his society's concerts.

When Taffanel's career led him down the path of conducting, he continued to promote both historical and contemporary works in the Société des concerts du Conservatoire as he had done the various chamber societies in which he participated. Taffanel's influence was vast as he mounted the podium just "as the popularity of live symphonic concerts, in Paris and beyond to the world at large, reached a level it never surpassed."³⁴² Although musicians in the Société des concerts du Conservatoire had deemed him "tradition's guardian," Taffanel programmed a varied repertoire that included Beethoven, Brahms, Berlioz, and Liszt in his first few years.³⁴³ It was under Taffanel's baton that Paris was introduced to Brahms's Symphony no. 1 in c minor, *Schicksalslied*, op. 54, and *Ein deutsches Requiem*, op. 45.³⁴⁴

Supporting both German and French composers, Taffanel's programming heavily favored contemporary music and resulted in an expansion of the repertoire.³⁴⁵ Holoman indicates that Taffanel's programming for Société des concerts du Conservatoire concerts "had begun its

³³⁹ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 59.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 19.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 77.

³⁴² Holoman, *The Société des concerts du Conservatoire, 1828-1967*, 298.

³⁴³ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁵ Blakeman, "Taffanel, Paul."

gradual but unstoppable mutation toward what would soon be identified as the New French School.”³⁴⁶ As the conductor of the Société des concerts du Conservatoire, Taffanel had the authority to promote contemporary works, and several of these works have since become cornerstones of the canon.

One of the contemporary composers that Taffanel promoted as conductor of the Société des concerts du Conservatoire was Saint-Saëns. Throughout Taffanel’s time as a conductor and active musician in Paris, he developed a strong personal relationship with Saint-Saëns. By 1890, over twenty years had passed since Taffanel and Saint-Saëns had first founded the Société nationale de musique and advocated a unique French style. Not only were they friends in their private lives and professional comrades, Taffanel conducted thirty-one performances of Saint-Saëns’s works during his nine seasons at the Société des concerts du Conservatoire.³⁴⁷ Taffanel’s programming of multiple works by Saint-Saëns promoted both contemporary music and the compositions of his friend and colleague.

As a musician, Taffanel participated in a wide variety of ensembles and societies playing on a silver Boehm flute. He was not only a flutist but a composer and conductor as well. Promoting contemporary French compositions as well as pieces by Mozart, Beethoven, and Bach, Taffanel expanded the repertoire for flute and chamber music. For over thirty years, Taffanel was a critical part of Parisian music and his experience contributed to reputation and his eventual construction as the founder of the French Flute School.

³⁴⁶ Holoman, *The Société des concerts du Conservatoire, 1828-1967*, 267.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 304.

Taffanel's Tenure at the Conservatoire (1894-1908)

After a thirty-year career performing with and conducting the leading Parisian ensembles, Taffanel was appointed professor at the Conservatoire in 1894.³⁴⁸ He had already been serving on the jury panel for almost twenty years, participating in the preliminary examinations for the *concours* and the jury examination board for the ensemble class. In 1892, he was selected to serve on the board that reviewed the Conservatoire's administration and teaching practices.³⁴⁹ Several years later, he took over the flute professor position. The flute class fluctuated in number from ten to fourteen students and contained both aspiring professional flutists and military musicians.³⁵⁰ Louis Lot remained the official supplier of flutes to the Conservatoire, and Taffanel recommended that students switch to a Lot flute if they played another instrument.³⁵¹

Tone and vibrato were two major facets of Taffanel's teaching, and as a flutist who came of age during the transition to a silver flute, his tone and timbre were regarded as the epitome of the ideal flute sound. Taffanel believed that it was with "the tone that a player conveys the music to the listener."³⁵² He asserted that the "purity of line, charm, deep feeling and heartfelt sincerity" created the "greatest heights of style."³⁵³ Although recording technology was available to capture Taffanel's tone, he never made any recordings. Many of his comments to students during their examinations were preoccupied with tone, and he stressed that the "soul" of the tone was breath and all other areas of technique were subservient to tone.³⁵⁴ With regards to vibrato, Taffanel was opposed to a mechanical or premeditated sound and aimed for a natural, intuitive vibrato.³⁵⁵

³⁴⁸ Powell, *The Flute*, 216; Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 47.

³⁴⁹ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 47.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 182. During this time the Conservatoire continued to function as an institution to train military musicians.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 185.

³⁵² Toff, *The Flute Book*, 111.

³⁵³ *Ibid.*, 111.

³⁵⁴ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 215.

³⁵⁵ Toff, *The Flute Book*, 111.

Upon his appointment, Taffanel made some significant changes to flute instruction at the Conservatoire.³⁵⁶ Restructuring the traditional masterclass format, Taffanel adjusted the structure to give students individual attention.³⁵⁷ The students continued to participate in masterclasses three times a week for two-hour classes, but he differentiated instruction by customizing each individual student's repertoire so the students could work at their own individual pace.³⁵⁸ Taffanel selected a specific test piece for every one of his students and assessed their progress twice a year in an internal examination. The top students were permitted to compete in the *concours*.³⁵⁹ Restructuring the class in this manner provided for a more personalized education for each student. Taffanel's changes to the flute class made it more analogous to the manner in which collegiate flute students are presently educated.

Replacing the Altès *Méthode*, Taffanel's *Méthode complète de flute* (1923) provided technical practice and development of technique through the repetition of various scalar exercises.³⁶⁰ Taffanel designed exercises that covered the full range of the flute in every scale and every arpeggio.³⁶¹ The repetitive fingering patterns and vast ranges of the scales in every possible key, was intended to lead to technical mastery of flute.³⁶² Moyse wrote that Taffanel required slow practice of the *Exercises journaliers* section, numbers one through five daily to strive for even legato and homogeneity of sound.³⁶³ Aiming to provide structure for development of tone and technique, *Méthode complète* approached the flute as a "singing voice."³⁶⁴

³⁵⁶ Toff, *The Flute Book*, 253.

³⁵⁷ Powell, *The Flute*, 216.

³⁵⁸ Toff, *The Flute Book*, 253.

³⁵⁹ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 182-83.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 185.

³⁶¹ Paul Taffanel and Phillipe Gaubert, *Méthode complète de flûte* (Paris: Éditions Musicales Alphonse Leduc, 1958).

³⁶² Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 130; Toff, *The Flute Book*, 146.

³⁶³ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 185.

³⁶⁴ Blakeman, "Taffanel, Paul."

In addition to the changes that Taffanel made within the masterclass, he varied the pieces selected for study and examination. Taffanel repurposed early nineteenth-century virtuoso repertoire from *concours* examination pieces into technical and lyrical studies.³⁶⁵ These pieces often included lyrical passages, which Taffanel employed to teach the aspects of flute playing that became associated with the French Flute School such as expression, phrasing, musicality, and tone.³⁶⁶ Once students displayed basic mastery of the technical and lyrical challenges in this repertoire, he permitted his students to advance to playing what he felt was more difficult literature that included Bach, Handel, Mozart, and Saint-Saëns.³⁶⁷

Taffanel supplemented the early nineteenth-century repertoire utilized by his predecessors with new compositions by contemporary French composers.³⁶⁸ Earlier in the century, professors such as Tulou had written new pieces for examinations; later professors, like Altès, alternated between Tulou's compositions and his own.³⁶⁹ Taffanel commissioned new works for the annual examination and stimulated composers to write for the instrument. Several years after his appointment, Taffanel convinced the Conservatoire to formalize the process of commissioning new works to expand the repertoire of instruments with limited solo repertoire, and, beginning in 1897, the repertoire of all wind instruments began to expand as a result.³⁷⁰ The guidelines that Taffanel established for the commissioned flute *concours* pieces specified that they need to have passages in which to evaluate “phrasing, expression, tone control, and virtuosity” and were to be around five to six minutes in length with piano accompaniment.³⁷¹ These pieces highlighted the aspects of French flute playing that were taught by Taffanel and

³⁶⁵ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 185.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 186.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁸ Powell, *The Flute*, 216.

³⁶⁹ Toff, *The Flute Book*, 253; Powell, *The Flute*, 214.

³⁷⁰ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 187.

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*

associated with the French Flute School. These pieces all consist of a lyrical opening section with a technical second section, and some of the pieces have additional sections that including additional lyrical passages. In 1898, Fauré was asked to compose the competition piece and produced his *Fantaisie*, op. 79. Cécile Chaminade (1857-1944) wrote *Concertino*, op. 107 in 1902 for the *concours*, and after completion of the piece, she requested to perform it herself with Taffanel.³⁷² Because Chaminade's piece was originally too lengthy, it was shortened for use as the *concours* piece in 1902. Other composers such as Joachim Anderson (1847-1909), Louis Ganne (1862-1923), and Albert Perilhou (1846-1936) contributed compositions for the *concours* during Taffanel's tenure.

While encouraging the performance of new repertoire, Taffanel also drew attention to music from the eighteenth century as valuable literature for teaching and performance.³⁷³ He revived a number of eighteenth-century works, such as the Mozart concertos, which had been abandoned and replaced by nineteenth-century works including Tulou's concertos.³⁷⁴ Playing this repertoire himself while touring and in Paris, he established a model for his students and found an audience for these works. At the 1889 Exposition Universelle in Paris, Taffanel had performed a historic concert on his Boehm flute but altered his tone to sound more like a period-appropriate traverso or recorder.³⁷⁵ Taffanel's student Louis Fleury (1878-1926) made some of the first editions of baroque music in Paris and supplied his own expression marks.³⁷⁶ With Taffanel's encouragement of early repertoire, he influenced its popularity with flutists in Paris.³⁷⁷

³⁷² Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 190.

³⁷³ Powell, *The Flute*, 150.

³⁷⁴ Toff, *The Flute Book*, 253.

³⁷⁵ Powell, *The Flute*, 248-49.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 250.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

Taffanel's teaching at the Conservatoire gained recognition from Conservatoire and government officials in the last fifteen years of his life. As the Conservatoire celebrated its centennial year, Taffanel was awarded with the *Palmes académiques* in 1895 and was promoted to an *Officier de l'instruction publique* in 1902. As his health deteriorated, Hennebains filled in and eventually was named professor after Taffanel.³⁷⁸

While at the Conservatoire, Taffanel taught many students who would go on to carry his ideals of flute play to subsequent generations of flutists. The *Méthode complète* encapsulated his approach to teaching technique and it has become a staple of flute pedagogy. It was Taffanel's teaching coupled with his long performing career that established him as an important flute figure and served as the basis for him being constructed as the father of the French Flute School.

³⁷⁸ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 191.

Chapter 3: Taffanel's Legacy

By the first World War, Taffanel's position as the father of the French Flute School had been established by the legacy of his own career, teaching, and *Méthode complète de flûte* in conjunction with the efforts of his students to preserve his teachings.³⁷⁹ The *17 Grand exercices journaliers de mécanisme pour flûte* section of Taffanel's *Méthode complète de flûte* (1923) is owned by almost every aspiring flutist today and remains a staple of flute technical studies almost one hundred years after its original publication. Taffanel's students carried on the tradition of the French Flute School as they held principal flute positions in the Opéra, Lamoureux, Boston Symphony, and Philadelphia Orchestras and also became professors at the Strasbourg, Lille, Bordeaux, Roubaix and New England Conservatoires.³⁸⁰ As music education became more widespread, the number of graduates at the Conservatoire rose. During the forty-year combined tenure of Dorus and Altès (1860-1893), only thirty-five students received the *premier prix*.³⁸¹ The number of graduates continued to increase, and in the forty-year period after Taffanel's tenure, (c. 1909 to 1950), there were one hundred eighty-eight graduates.³⁸² As Taffanel's students obtained major flute positions in Paris and around the world, the French Flute School and the characteristics of French flute playing were spread further than ever before and had a lasting effect in the twentieth century.

Although there were minute changes to the flute, the silver Boehm flute remained the popular choice among Parisian flutists but wooden flutes were popular in other countries such as Germany.³⁸³ The "delicate performance and control of tone color," along with the distinct sound

³⁷⁹ Powell, *The Flute*, 22.

³⁸⁰ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 183.

³⁸¹ Powell, *The Flute*, 222.

³⁸² *Ibid.*

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, 190.

of the French Flute School, popularized the metal flute throughout Europe and the United States and shaped performance practice and pedagogy in the twentieth century.³⁸⁴ The instrument's mechanisms had been standardized long enough that a school of technique for the instrument was solidified. Among these Conservatoire graduates using the silver Boehm flute, there were three that stood out as performers and helped to bolster the French Flute School's existence; Philippe Gaubert (1879-1941), Georges Barrère (1876-1944), and Marcel Moyse (1889-1984).

Pedagogue and Publications

Although Taffanel taught in some of the same ways as his predecessors at the Conservatoire, there were several unique aspects of his teaching. Taffanel restructured the Conservatoire masterclasses, focused strongly on technique and tone, and customized the pieces selected for each student while expanding flute repertoire. First, reorganizing the masterclasses allowed for greater flexibility and provided more individual instruction, affording Taffanel the freedom to concentrate on the aspect of playing that the student needed to develop. His changes to the education structure of the Conservatoire flute class permitted Taffanel to cater to the needs of his pupils. Most flute classes at American universities and the Conservatoire continue this tradition and the professor or the student selects repertoire to study on an individual basis.

Second, Taffanel directed his teaching specifically toward the improvement of tone and technique. While other professors at the Conservatoire also sought to help their students develop tone, Taffanel played on a silver flute, and the material permitted a wider variety of tone color, compared to wooden flutes. Like Devienne, Tulou, and other flute professor predecessors at the Conservatoire, Taffanel began compiling material for a flute method in the later part of his life.

³⁸⁴ Philip Bate, *The Flute: A Study of its History, Development and Construction*, 2nd ed. (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1979), 239-40.

His *Méthode complète de flûte*, finished and published in 1923 by Gaubert after Taffanel's death, offers a glimpse of his pedagogical priorities, which in turn illuminate the foundation of the French Flute School sound.³⁸⁵ The *Méthode complète* provides comprehensive daily exercises with various articulations encompassing every scale and arpeggio while focusing on development of tone along with technique.³⁸⁶ It also includes sections dedicated to the fundamentals, ornaments, tonguing, daily exercises, virtuosity, style, and orchestral excerpts. Although Moyse claims to have offered assistance to the compilation of Taffanel's work, the "Editor's Preface," penned by Gaubert, does not acknowledge his efforts. Gaubert instead mentions that Taffanel's "two favorite students" finished his work and identifies Louis Fleury as his aid. Barrère felt the *Méthode complète* diverged from some of Taffanel's actual teaching, but flute historian Ardal Powell suggests this discrepancy is evidence of the differing perspectives of Taffanel's students.³⁸⁷

In the first section of *Méthode complète*, Taffanel discussed tone and intonation, which he called "qualities of the utmost importance."³⁸⁸ The exercises in the first section deal with registral change and are accompanied by several pages of directions, elaborating on the four aspects believed by Taffanel and Gaubert to control tone: first, by the lips being neither too thick nor too thin; second, evenly spaced teeth; third, a flexible lower jaw; and fourth, a slightly concave upper part of the chin.³⁸⁹ Within each subsequent section of the method, Taffanel reminds the reader to consider his or her tone at all times. To encourage this behavior, he advocated incorporating tone development into each of the technical exercises. For example,

³⁸⁵ Powell, *The Flute*, 221.

³⁸⁶ Taffanel, *Méthode complète de flûte*.

³⁸⁷ Powell, *The Flute*, 222.

³⁸⁸ Paul Taffanel and Philippe Gaubert, *17 Grand exercices journaliers de Mécanisme pour flûte* (Paris: Éditions Musicales Alphonse Leduc, 1958), v.

³⁸⁹ Taffanel, *Méthode complète de flûte*, 7.

when Taffanel writes about articulation, he calls for the player to maintain the clarity of sound, referring to the tone.³⁹⁰ Likewise, when Taffanel writes about “respiration” or breathing, he requires that “all the student’s energies must go towards acquiring a clear broad tone.”³⁹¹ This reiteration of tone throughout Taffanel’s *Méthode complète* is consistent with the central place of tone among the identifying features of the French Flute School.

One specific technique that Taffanel employed to aid in the way a student would approach tone was what he referred to as “skeleton practice.”³⁹² Taffanel would have a student identify the most important notes within a passage and then encouraged the student to play only these notes as the skeleton or frame of the passage. Once the phrase was supported by the skeleton, Taffanel asked the student to reintroduce the originally omitted notes while mindfully changing the tone color as necessary.³⁹³ This exercise seems to be applicable to both tone studies and phrasing exercises. According to Blakeman, Moyse also used this technique in his teaching. As tone and interpretation are “symbiotic,” the ability to change and alter the tone color grants flutists a wider palette to paint the phrase while allowing for a wider range of interpretation possibilities.³⁹⁴ In Moyse’s *The Flute and Its Problems: Tone Development Through Interpretation for the Flute*, there are vocal melodies by Mozart, Puccini, and J.S. Bach in which Moyse encourages the development of musical line and phrasing.

Another element of Taffanel’s philosophy of tone is not mentioned in the *Méthode complète*, but was instead put forth by his student Moyse. Moyse credited Taffanel with the discovery that the French language scaffolds the framework for the proper position of a flutist’s

³⁹⁰ Taffanel, *Méthode complète de flûte*, 15.

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 54.

³⁹² Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 188.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁴ Toff, *The Flute Book*, 95.

mouth and tongue.³⁹⁵ Specifically Moyses identified “eu” a sound that non-native French speaker might pronounce as “oo” and boldly claimed that he was able to identify a student from the north of France and one from the south by the difference in tone.³⁹⁶ While it is now impossible to know whether or not Moyses was capable of correctly identifying the birthplace of a native French speaker by his or her flute tone, his ideas on the subject can shed some light on how he approached tone with his students who were not native French speakers. This may have been a hurdle for some of Moyses’s American students. Tongue position does affect the tone and the amount of space created within the oral cavity can vary tonal resonance. Moyses discussed these variables in his writing about the flute as a component of his inherited pedagogy, yet these ideas are absent from Taffanel and Gauberts’s *Méthode complète*.

Vibrato is another aspect of the core tone defining the French Flute School, yet there are discrepancies between Taffanel’s and his student’s opinions on the subject. Although vibrato and tone are taught and developed separately in modern performance practice, vibrato was taught initially as an aspect of tone in the early twentieth century. Taffanel is commonly viewed as a figure that originated or at least increased vibrato usage.³⁹⁷ Taffanel and Gaubert’s *Méthode complète*, however, asserts that there should be no vibrato or “any form of quiver” and that the technique is only “used by inferior instrumentalists and musicians.”³⁹⁸ Nevertheless, accounts of Taffanel’s playing as well as that of his students suggest otherwise, and consequently their comments on vibrato conflict. For example, recordings of Gaubert’s playing contain a “shallow, fairly rapid vibrato,” and Moyses vibrates audibly in his recordings as well.³⁹⁹ In a 1948 article,

³⁹⁵ McCutchan, *Marcel Moyses*, 47.

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 47.

³⁹⁷ Toff, *The Flute Book*, 111.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 111.

³⁹⁹ *Ibid.*; *Mozart Makes You Smarter*, Marcel Moyses & Marlboro Festival Wind Ensemble, recorded in 1975 at Marlboro Recording Society, Sony BMG Music Entertainment, 1992, compact disc; *Bach: Brandenburg concertos*

John Wummer (1899-1977) claimed that Taffanel and his students Gaubert and Barrère all had naturally “breathed tone” but not a forced vibrato.⁴⁰⁰ (It is important to point out that American flutist John Wummer was nine years old when Taffanel passed away, and most likely his idea of Taffanel’s playing was largely, if not solely, based on the stories passed down to him by his teacher Barrère.⁴⁰¹) Thinking it was a natural and instinctive technique, Barrère believed that vibrato was just assimilated rather than studied.⁴⁰² Moyses tried to emulate a vocalist’s vibrato or a string player’s vibrato, and even claimed that he invented the technique during a recording session.⁴⁰³

Toff categorizes the approach to vibrato into three schools of thought.⁴⁰⁴ Taffanel, Gaubert, and Barrère fit into the first school of thought that maintains vibrato occurs naturally with tone production and should not be the product of any specific effort or technique. Moyses belongs in a second category, as he believes that because vibrato can be controlled, it must be taught. In his 1973 method book *The Flute and Its Problems: Tone Development Through Interpretation for the Flute*, Moyses identifies several aspects of tone on wind instruments are similar to the voice with regards to timbral variety in relation to register, vibration by either the vocal folds, reeds or lips, and the fact that in both vocalists and instrumentals, the same column of air emits vibrato.⁴⁰⁵ Relating flute tone to singing, Moyses encouraged a warm, singing tone from which vibrato naturally occurs and provides vocal melodies from works such as operas and

& *Orchestral Suites*, Adolf Busch, Busch Chamber Players and Marcel Moyses, EMI Records Ltd., digitally remastered 1991, compact disc; *Philippe Gaubert*, Philippe Gaubert, Malibran Music, digitally remastered 2008, compact disc.

⁴⁰⁰ Toff, *The Flute Book*, 107.

⁴⁰¹ John Wummer held several prestigious flute positions including the principal of the Detroit Symphony, NBC Symphony, and New York Philharmonic Orchestras as well as teaching at Mannes College in New York and at the Manhattan School of Music.

⁴⁰² Toff, *The Flute Book*, 102.

⁴⁰³ Ibid., 107 and 223.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid., 107.

⁴⁰⁵ Marcel Moyses, *The Flute and Its Problems: Tone Development Through Interpretation for the Flute* (Tokyo: Muramatsu Incorporated, 1973), 5.

cantatas to study both tone in vibrato and shaping.⁴⁰⁶ The third school of vibrato maintains that while for some flutists vibrato occurs naturally, it has to be taught to others, and that even players who have a natural vibrato can learn to improve and control it. Barrère's student William Kincaid (1895-1967) would be an example of a flutist in the third school of thought.

While Moyses claimed to be a part of the French Flute School tradition and drew from his personal experiences with Taffanel to establish his position as a pedagogue, it is interesting that his perspective on vibrato would be so different. On several instances, Moyses stated that he tried to imitate Taffanel and Gaubert, trying to "catch every detail" of their playing.⁴⁰⁷ If he was simply trying to imitate his teachers, it seems unlikely that he would end up on the opposite side of the vibrato spectrum, especially considering that Taffanel's other two most prominent students seemed to fit more easily into the school of thought with their teacher. Because Taffanel did not make any recordings during his lifetime, it is impossible to compare the vibrato of all the parties involved. With the recordings available, it is evident that all of Taffanel's student played with vibrato and it would be reasonable to conclude Taffanel did as well. Regardless of whether or not Taffanel played with vibrato or encouraged its use, the argument over vibrato continues to the present day.

Once a good foundation for tone is established in the first section of Taffanel's method, he turns his attention to increasing the student's technical abilities. Taffanel devised a combination of passages based on scales and arpeggios. In the *17 Grands exercices journaliers de mécanique*, each exercise appears with directions to practice it in every key and with eight to ten different articulations.⁴⁰⁸ The exercises are designed to "contain all the difficulties of the

⁴⁰⁶ Toff, *The Flute Book*, 107.

⁴⁰⁷ McCutchan, *Marcel Moyses*, 73.

⁴⁰⁸ Taffanel, *17 Grand exercices journaliers de mécanique pour flûte*.

instrument,” and Taffanel and Gaubert recommend that these be done daily with a metronome.⁴⁰⁹

Nancy Toff lists Taffanel and Gaubert’s *exercices journaliers* as one of the best technical studies along with Moyses’s *Exercices journaliers* (Daily Exercises) and Barrère’s *The Flutists’ Formulae*.⁴¹⁰ Not surprisingly, Moyses and Barrère as advocates of the French Flute School have books dedicated to technique development that resemble the one written by their teacher, Taffanel.

While exercises and etudes were designed to aid in a student’s development of technique, tone and vibrato, repertoire was where they put into practice the principles of Taffanel’s teaching. Taffanel’s approach to repertoire continued to influence generations of flutists, and his Conservatoire class bridged the gap between the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries with regards to repertoire as he incorporated a wide variety of composers such as Bach, Gaubert, Mozart, and Saint-Saëns.⁴¹¹ While some of the early nineteenth-century flute virtuosic repertoire has fallen out of popularity, many of the works that Taffanel commissioned in the late nineteenth century are regularly studied and performed. In 1967, Schirmer published a collection of these *concours* pieces edited by Louis Moyses.⁴¹² The competition pieces included in *Flute Music by French Composers* are Fauré’s *Fantasie*, op. 79 (composed for the July 28, 1898 *concours*), Duvernoy’s *Concertino*, op. 45 (July 27, 1899), Ganne’s *Andante et scherzo* (July 26, 1901, July 27, 1905), Chaminade’s *Concertino*, op. 107 (July 26, 1902), Périllhou’s *Ballade* (July 27, 1903), Enesco’s *Cantabile et presto* (July 28, 1904), Gaubert’s *Nocturne et allegro scherzando* (July 27, 1906), and Taffanel’s *Andante pastoral et scherzettino* (July 11, 1907). *Flute Music by French Composers* is commonly referred to by flutists as the “French Book,” and almost every flutist

⁴⁰⁹ Taffanel, *17 Grand exercices journaliers de mécanisme pour flûte*, iii.

⁴¹⁰ Toff, *The Flute Book*, 131.

⁴¹¹ McCutchan, *Marcel Moyses*, 61.

⁴¹² Moyses, *Flute Music by French Composers*.

will, at some point, study or perform a large number of these pieces. Since they were all written to be an assessment of musicianship, the pieces are composed in a similar fashion. Many of the pieces contain a lyrical opening and a faster, technically challenging second section.

While *Flute Music by French Composers* has preserved some of the works Taffanel added to the repertoire, the pieces that he rediscovered also continue to be significant pieces, regularly studied and performed. The two Mozart flute concertos had not been heard in Paris for fifty years when Taffanel began performing and teaching them.⁴¹³ Similarly, Taffanel championed the Bach sonatas, and these are continually studied and performed presently as well. In the *Méthode complète*, the sections on ornamentation specifically reference the Mozart and Bach works, and in the back of the method, there are cadenzas for the both of the Mozart concertos.⁴¹⁴ While there has since been developments in the area of musicology that influence the scholarship on these works, Taffanel and Gaubert's inclusion of ornamentation and optional cadenzas promoted the works.⁴¹⁵ By referencing and including the Mozart and Bach flute pieces, Taffanel and Gaubert acknowledged the benefit to studying these works and have undoubtedly contributed to the present day popularity.

Taffanel increased flute repertoire on both ends of the spectrum as he cultivated the composition of new flute works, as evident in *Flute Music by French Composers*, and also revived works by Bach and Mozart. Additionally, there are many works that were added to canon of flute literature as a result of Taffanel through the various pieces that were dedicated to him. Regardless of Taffanel's own direct influence upon the composition of these works, they are a facet of his legacy and demonstrate his vast influence on flute repertoire. A few of the

⁴¹³ Toff, *The Flute Book*, 253.

⁴¹⁴ Taffanel, *Méthode complète de flûte*, 169-193.

⁴¹⁵ Toff, *The Flute Book*, 253.

works dedicated to Taffanel were noted in Chapter 2, but the list includes many more titles and these pieces sit at the center of standard flute repertoire. There are a large number of flute and piano pieces, over twenty-five, and seven works for flute and orchestra.⁴¹⁶ There are three woodwind quintets and three trios dedicated to Taffanel, along with several additional chamber works were dedicated to Taffanel and were performed by SMCIV.⁴¹⁷ These works are listed in Table 6.

Gaubert, Barrère and Moyse

The first two of Taffanel's students to win the *premier prix* were Philippe Gaubert (1879-1941) in 1894 and Georges Barrère (1876-1944) in 1895. Ten years later, Marcel Moyse (1889-1984) graduated in 1905. Together, these three students carried on Taffanel's teachings, perpetuating the technique, sound, and ideals of the French Flute School. It was through Barrère and Moyse that the French Flute School was popularized in the United States, and Gaubert succeeded Taffanel as both flutist and conductor in Paris and assisted him with the method book that would become a staple of flute technical studies.

Philippe Gaubert was extremely close to the Taffanel family and grew up the son of the Taffanel's housekeeper.⁴¹⁸ After four years of study with Taffanel, the final one as an official Conservatoire student, Gaubert won the *premier prix*.⁴¹⁹ Gaubert graduated, like Taffanel after just one year at the Conservatoire, and that marked the beginning of a career that would mirror Taffanel's.⁴²⁰ After graduating in flute, Gaubert remained part of the Conservatoire class, taking extra coachings with Taffanel while working on counterpoint and composition with Xavier

⁴¹⁶ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 228.

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 229-30.

⁴¹⁸ McCutchan, *Marcel Moyse*, 72.

⁴¹⁹ Powell, *The Flute*, 221.

⁴²⁰ McCutchan, *Marcel Moyse*, 72.

Leroux (1863-1919), Georges Caussade (1873-1936), and Chalres Lenepveu (1840-1910).⁴²¹

Gaubert was awarded a *premier prix* for fugue in 1905 and took second prize in the 1905 Prix de Rome.⁴²² Gaubert also took conducting lessons with Taffanel at the Conservatoire and acquired Taffanel's perspective on "rehearsal technique, discretion of public gesture, a wide repertoire anchored by Beethoven and extending into the best of the contemporary literature."⁴²³

By 1897, Gaubert was playing at the Opéra and became a *sociétaire* at the Société des concerts du Conservatoire in 1901.⁴²⁴ From these prominent positions, Gaubert moved into the second conductor position at the Société des concerts du Conservatoire in 1904 and became principal flute in 1913 when Adolphe Hennebains vacated the position.⁴²⁵ On May 30, 1919, Gaubert was elected the principal conductor of the Société des concerts du Conservatoire, following Taffanel's footsteps once more.⁴²⁶ The following year, Gaubert was named the principal conductor at the Opéra. His lasting reputation in Paris was based on his conducting as he assumed these positions after only several years as principal flute.⁴²⁷ As a conductor, Gaubert championed works by contemporary French composers and programmed works by Widor, Chausson, Duparc, Caplet, Schmitt, Honegger, Hahn, and Milhaud, but he also frequently included Beethoven, Wagner, Stravinsky, Prokofiev, Richard Strauss, and Liszt.⁴²⁸ Gaubert and Ravel had a strong artistic relationship, and Gaubert frequently programmed his work.⁴²⁹

Although there were many parallels between Taffanel and Gaubert's careers, one significant difference was in the area of recording. Even though the technology was available,

⁴²¹ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 191; Holoman, *The Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, 1828-1967*, 388.

⁴²² Holoman, *The Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, 1828-1967*, 388.

⁴²³ *Ibid.*, 390.

⁴²⁴ *Ibid.*, 388-89.

⁴²⁵ *Ibid.*, 389.

⁴²⁶ *Ibid.*, 378.

⁴²⁷ McCutchan, *Marcel Moyse*, 72.

⁴²⁸ Holoman, *The Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, 1828-1967*, 391.

⁴²⁹ McCutchan, *Marcel Moyse*, 73; Powell, *The Flute*, 221. Gaubert premiered Ravel's *Introduction et allegro* in 1907.

Taffanel never recorded his playing, while Gaubert recorded albums in London as early as 1904.⁴³⁰ Both flutists were composers, but Gaubert wrote a greater number of works than Taffanel and in a wider range of genres. Gaubert's works were programmed at the Société des concerts du Conservatoire over two dozen times while Taffanel's were not since he did not write any large orchestral works.⁴³¹ Gaubert's works included orchestral works, operas, vocal sets, and solo flute pieces. Taffanel commissioned a piece from Gaubert for the flute *concours* in 1906, published the same year as *Nocturne et allegro scherzando*.⁴³² Gaubert was invited to come and play his composition for the class before the students began studying *Nocturne et allegro scherzando* in lieu of Taffanel's customary initial performance.

When Léopold Lafleurance retired from the Conservatoire in 1919, Gaubert was appointed professor of flute in October, finally occupying his former teacher's coveted position.⁴³³ Toff suggested that Gaubert "initiated a new era, the most golden [in which] the flute shed its birdlike reputation and again became an instrument worthy of serious attention."⁴³⁴ Gaubert's students included Famous flutists such as Fernand Caratgé (1902-1991), Gaston Crunelle (1898-1990), René LeRoy (1898-1985), Georges Laurent, and Marcel and Louis Moysse (1912-2007). He continued to impart throughout his tenure Taffanel's philosophies on flute playing.

When Taffanel succeed Altès as the professor at the Conservatoire, Georges Barrère was among the students who were already in the class.⁴³⁵ His career, which closely resembled those of Taffanel and Gaubert at the start, led him to the United States and he was responsible for

⁴³⁰ Powell, *The Flute*, 225.

⁴³¹ Holoman, *The Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, 1828-1967*, 390.

⁴³² Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 180.

⁴³³ Powell, *The Flute*, 221.

⁴³⁴ Toff, *The Flute Book*, 253.

⁴³⁵ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 180.

taking the French Flute School to America. At the end of Taffanel's first year as professor, Gaubert won the *premier prix* and Barrère was awarded a *first accessit*, with Taffanel's notes indicating that Barrère was "making progress in tone quality and finger technique."⁴³⁶ Although not yet a graduate of the Conservatoire, Barrère was performing regularly with several Parisian ensembles, one of which was the Société nationale de musique of which Taffanel had been a member.⁴³⁷ On December 22, 1894, Barrère premiered Debussy's *Prelude à l'après-midi d'un faune* with the Société nationale de musique.⁴³⁸ The following year in 1895, Barrère was awarded the *premier prix* from the Conservatoire, but like Gaubert, Barrère remained in the class after his graduation.⁴³⁹ He continued to work on solo repertoire and chamber music with Taffanel while studying harmony and composition with Raoul Pugno (1852-1914) and Xavier Leroux.⁴⁴⁰

After graduating from the Conservatoire, Barrère continued to make his way into the Parisian and European music scene. Similar to Taffanel's SMCIV, Barrère organized with Taffanel's help a younger ensemble called the Société moderne d'instruments à vent with fellow Conservatoire graduates.⁴⁴¹ The Société moderne d'instruments à vent promoted works by women composers, such as Hedwige Chrétien (1859-1944), and Barrère commissioned more than sixty new works by both men and woman composers for the society.⁴⁴² These works included Reinecke's Trio, op. 188, for piano, oboe and horn, and Albert Seitz's (1872-1937) Sextet for winds and piano.⁴⁴³ Barrère was also a member of the Concerts de l'Opéra, that promoted the young French repertoire school. At the premiere of *A la Villa Médicis* by Henri

⁴³⁶ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 250.

⁴³⁷ Toff, *Monarch of the Flute: The Life of Georges Barrère* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 18.

⁴³⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁴⁴⁰ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 193.

⁴⁴¹ Toff, *Monarch of the Flute*, 25.

⁴⁴² Toff, *Monarch of the Flute*, 26; Powell, *The Flute*, 228.

⁴⁴³ Toff, *Monarch of the Flute*, 30.

Büsser (1872-1973), Gaubert and Barrère were featured soloists.⁴⁴⁴ In 1896, Barrère was invited to become the principal flutist in the orchestra of the Swiss National Exposition in Geneva.⁴⁴⁵ He also played with the Société des concerts du Conservatoire, Opéra and Taffanel's SMCIV.

Conductor Walter Damrosch (1862-1950) went to Paris in 1905 to recruit musicians for the New York Symphony and successfully convinced Barrère to move to New York, where he stayed for the rest of his career.⁴⁴⁶ Taffanel helped him secure a leave of absence from the Opéra, and Barrère became the principal of the New York Symphony.⁴⁴⁷ The next year, Barrère signed a contract to teach flute at the Institute of Musical Art in New York which merged with the Juilliard Graduate School in 1926. At both the Institute of Musical Art and later Juilliard, Barrère established a Paris Conservatoire teaching structure, utilizing the teaching style and repertoire of Taffanel.⁴⁴⁸ Through his various appointments, Barrère transported the French Flute School to the United States and fostered American flute students in the French Flute School style, such as William Kincaid.

Modern American flutists trace their lineage to Taffanel and the French Flute School through Barrère and his work, which helped to standardize flute playing in the United States.⁴⁴⁹ Through recommendation of specific brands and styles of instruments and the solo repertoire for the instrument, Barrère helped to homogenize American flutists and their sound.⁴⁵⁰ William Kincaid, one of Barrère's most well-known students, was in the first generation of American-

⁴⁴⁴ Toff, *Monarch of the Flute*, 28.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁶ Powell, *The Flute*, 228.

⁴⁴⁷ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 193.

⁴⁴⁸ Powell, *The Flute*, 229.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid., 103.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., 229.

born orchestra principals and also perpetuated and promoted the notion of the French Flute School.⁴⁵¹

While teaching in New York, Barrère founded the woodwind ensemble program and continued to promote chamber music as both he and Taffanel had done in Paris.⁴⁵² Barrère organized the New York Symphony Wind Instruments Club, the Barrère Ensemble of Woodwind Instruments (1910), and a professional trio.⁴⁵³ With the encouragement of Saint-Saëns, Barrère also launched the first New York Symphony Quintet.⁴⁵⁴ These chamber ensembles were the first of their kind in New York City and were in the same tradition of chamber music that had existed in France for decades. Following in Taffanel's footsteps, he continued the tradition of cultivating wind chamber music and championed the concept in the United States.

Like his fellow Conservatoire classmate Gaubert, Barrère made some early recordings. His recording career began in 1903 in Paris, before he relocated, and continued until 1941.⁴⁵⁵ For the Columbia Phonograph Company, he recorded several major flute works including the *Allegretto* from the Widor Suite, *Simple aveu* by Francis Thomé (1850-1909), *Dance of the Blessed Spirits* from *Orfeo* by Christoph Gluck (1714-87), and the *Minuet* from Georges Bizet's (1837-75) *L'Arlesienne Suite No. 2* in 1915.⁴⁵⁶ As pillars of standard flute repertoire today, Barrère's recordings helped establish these as important flute pieces. Between 1918 and 1935, Barrère recorded several chamber works for Columbia and made recordings of Rameau, Debussy

⁴⁵¹ Toff, *The Flute Book*, 102.

⁴⁵² Powell, *The Flute*, 229.

⁴⁵³ *Ibid.*, 228.

⁴⁵⁴ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 94.

⁴⁵⁵ Powell, *The Flute*, 224.

⁴⁵⁶ Toff, *Monarch of the Flute*, 125.

transcriptions, and three Bach sonatas with harpsichordist Yella Pessel (1906-91) in 1937.⁴⁵⁷ Ardal Powell suggests that this might have been the first recording of the Bach sonatas with harpsichord in lieu of piano.⁴⁵⁸ As the Bach sonatas are frequently performed with harpsichord today, Barrère's recordings could have encouraged this practice. In the 1940s, Barrère recorded with Colin McPhee (1900-64) *Music from Bali* for Schirmer Records, which was based on the research that McPhee had conducted in the 1930s.⁴⁵⁹ Barrère's recordings served as an exemplar for aspiring American flute players. His French Flute School sound was heard on the recordings and influenced a generation of young flutists.

In the same way that Taffanel maintained a career long relationship with flute maker Louis Lot, Barrère had relationship with Boston flute maker George Haynes (1866-1947). Shortly after his relocation to the United States, Barrère began his professional relationship with Haynes. In 1915, Haynes built an alto flute for the Metropolitan Opera, and, two years later, he created another one for Barrère to play in the New York Symphony.⁴⁶⁰ According to the Wm. S. Haynes Company website, Barrère helped Haynes to develop an American version of the French silver Boehm system flute with open holes. He became first an artistic advisor and then the artistic supervisor in 1922.⁴⁶¹ Barrère commissioned the first American platinum flute from the Haynes Company in July 1935.⁴⁶² It was on this flute that Barrère premiered Edgar Varèse's (1883-1965) *Density 21.5*, written for the debut of the new instrument, on February 16, 1936.⁴⁶³ Even when playing standard repertoire, Barrère continued to play on the platinum flute, and he

⁴⁵⁷ Powell, *The Flute*, 232.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁹ Toff, *Monarch of the Flute*, 308.

⁴⁶⁰ Powell, *The Flute*, 204.

⁴⁶¹ "A Short Historical Timeline," Wm. S. Haynes Company, accessed March 10, 2014, <http://wmshaynes.com/company.history/#timeline>.

⁴⁶² Powell, *The Flute*, 239.

⁴⁶³ Ibid., 240. Varèse's piece incorporated extended techniques and was the first to call for audible key noises.

converted several of his students, including William Kincaid, to the instrument as well.⁴⁶⁴ The platinum flute also featured a B footjoint, because by 1930, it was standard on most flutes and the preference of nearly all professionals.⁴⁶⁵ During the 1930s, Haynes, with Barrère acting as artistic supervisor, made and sold both silver and platinum flutes, and buyers could choose either a C footjoint or B footjoint.

While Gaubert and Barrère were some of Taffanel's first students at the Conservatoire, Marcel Moyse followed a decade later. Like Barrère, Moyse taught the French Flute School style to American students, and he wrote a substantial amount about Taffanel's teaching. Moyse was a student of Hennebains, Taffanel, and Gaubert who graduated from the Conservatoire in 1905.⁴⁶⁶ Beginning in 1904, Moyse studied with Hennebains, who was Taffanel's assistant at the Conservatoire, and after only a few months studying with Hennebains, Moyse was accepted into the Conservatoire.⁴⁶⁷ Although only his student for a brief amount of time, Moyse wrote and spoke often of his period studying with Taffanel. He continued to take lessons with Gaubert after he received the *premier prix*.⁴⁶⁸ Moyse nevertheless identified with the tradition of the French Flute School and wished to bequeath the ideals of Taffanel to the next generation through his teaching and playing.⁴⁶⁹

Before officially joining the class, Moyse had had the opportunity to observe Taffanel teaching flute at the Conservatoire, which helped him comprehend the standard required for admittance.⁴⁷⁰ While most flutists often studied with one major flute pedagogue, Moyse's

⁴⁶⁴ Toff, *The Flute Book*, 102.

⁴⁶⁵ Toff, *The Flute Book*, 22-24; Powell, *The Flute*, 239.

⁴⁶⁶ Powell, *The Flute*, 223.

⁴⁶⁷ McCutchan, *Marcel Moyse*, 46 and 56.

⁴⁶⁸ Powell, *The Flute*, 221.

⁴⁶⁹ Trevor Wye, *Marcel Moyse: An Extraordinary Man*, ed. Angeleita Floyd (Cedar Falls, IA: Winzer Press, 1993), 107; Powell, *The Flute*, 210.

⁴⁷⁰ McCutchan, *Marcel Moyse*, 56.

opportunity to successively study with three of them gave him a unique experience. Comparing his teachers to great cathedrals, Moyses likened Hennebains to the Cathedral of Rouen, compared Gaubert to the Cathedral of Reims and its Gothic design and placed Taffanel squarely in the middle as the Cathedral of Notre Dame.⁴⁷¹ This grandiose comparison demonstrates the way Moyses regarded his teachers, and his placement of Taffanel in the center implies that he credited Taffanel's teaching as the most influential. Working diligently, Moyses observed Taffanel carefully and attempted to closely follow his example.⁴⁷²

While Gaubert became Taffanel's successor in Paris and Barrère was well known in the United States, Moyses had successful careers on both continents. By the 1920s, Moyses had inherited Gaubert's flute position at the Société des concerts du Conservatoire and also played in the Opéra Comique orchestra.⁴⁷³ In 1932, Moyses succeeded Gaubert at the Conservatoire after assisting him for the previous ten years and also filled the professor of flute position at the Geneva Conservatoire from 1933 to 1949.⁴⁷⁴ Holding both appointments required Moyses to travel frequently between the two cities. During his Parisian career, Moyses premiered Ravel's *Daphnis et Chloé* (1912) as well as Stravinsky's *Petrushka* (1911) and *Rite of Spring* (1913).⁴⁷⁵ Like Gaubert and Barrère, Moyses made numerous recordings in Paris and London as a soloist and ensemble member.⁴⁷⁶

In 1938, Moyses received his first invitation to perform at the Tanglewood Festival in Massachusetts, and nine years later, he immigrated permanently to the United States, settling in

⁴⁷¹ McCutchan, *Marcel Moyses*, 76.

⁴⁷² Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 94.

⁴⁷³ Wye, *Marcel Moyses*, 4.

⁴⁷⁴ Powell, *The Flute*, 223; Wye, *Marcel Moyses*, 5.

⁴⁷⁵ Powell, *The Flute*, 223.

⁴⁷⁶ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 131-32.

Brattleboro, Vermont.⁴⁷⁷ From 1949 to 1957, Moyse taught at Marlboro College and maintained private studios in New York, Boston, Montreal, and Hartford, Connecticut.⁴⁷⁸ Moyse gave at least one lesson to almost all the major North American flute players during this period, and “Taffanel’s mantle of great teacher undoubtedly fell on the shoulders of Marcel Moyse.”⁴⁷⁹ With Barrère, Moyse brought the French Flute School to the United States and influenced many American flutists. His American students included Paula Robison (b. 1941), who taught at Julliard and is currently teaching at New England Conservatory, and Carol Wincenc (b. 1949), who teaches at Julliard and Stony Brook University. Both flutists are recipients of the National Flute Association Lifetime Achievement Award and famous figures of American flute playing.⁴⁸⁰

Taffanel’s legacy and the tradition of the French Flute School were passed down through his numerous students including Gaubert, Barrère, and Moyse. Taffanel’s students continued the tradition in France but also brought the French Flute School to the United States and influenced a generation of American flutists. Their efforts in combination with the popularity of the *17 Grand exercices journaliers de mécanisme pour flûte* section of Taffanel’s *Méthode complète de flûte* as a teaching aid have promoted and spread the French Flute School and Taffanel’s position as its founder.

⁴⁷⁷ Wye, *Marcel Moyse*, 5; Toff, *The Flute Book*, 102; Powell, *The Flute*, 243.

⁴⁷⁸ Powell, *The Flute*, 243.

⁴⁷⁹ Blakeman, *Taffanel*, 184.

⁴⁸⁰ “Achievement Awards,” National Flute Association, accessed March 17, 2014, <http://www.nfaonline.org/The-Organization/Achievement-Awards.asp>.

Conclusion

Paul Taffanel and the French Flute School have widely influenced modern flute players. Before Taffanel, the structure of the Conservatoire, the traditions of the flute professors and the gradual development of the flute had progressed in such a manner that the flute world was primed for a change just as Taffanel bloomed into a virtuoso.

As a Parisian musician, Taffanel played in numerous chamber societies along with the most prestigious ensembles. He followed in the footsteps of the previous flute professors from the Conservatoire with regards to where he played and performed. Through his various performances and societies in which he was a member, Taffanel was an advocate for French composers, contemporary works, and chamber music, while also promoting music by Bach, Mozart, and Beethoven. He was extremely active with the Société des concerts du Conservatoire and held various positions in the organization's administration. Later in life, Taffanel became a conductor with the major Parisian ensembles and a professor at the Conservatoire. He remained a powerful and influential voice in Paris throughout his life.

Among Taffanel's numerous students, were Philippe Gaubert, Georges Barrère, and Marcel Moyse, and their successful careers serve as evidence of Taffanel's teachings and guidance. Gaubert carried on the Taffanel legacy in France paving the way for contemporary artists such as Michel Debost and Emmanuel Pahud. With a career in the United States, Barrère largely influenced chamber music in New York and taught the two American virtuosi flute players, John Wummer and William Kincaid. Moyse taught numerous students in France and the United States and wrote several method books that have been in use since. Taffanel's legacy includes his *Méthode complète de flûte* that was finished by Gaubert along with the abundant works he commissioned, inspired, and was the dedicatee.

Considering the partial void in scholarship surrounding the French Flute School and its founder, Taffanel, this research serves in part to synthesize the information available about Taffanel. This research reveals some of the connections between the Conservatoire politics and the development of the flute and the ties between Taffanel and French Nationalism. Several flute professors, like Dorus, advocated the technical advancements made to the flute during their lifetimes, while others like Devienne and Tulou did not. Regardless, the Conservatoire and the politics of the flute professors influenced the development of the instrument. The politics of the French government can be seen in an examination of Taffanel's career. Living during the Franco-Prussian War and as a Parisian musician afterwards, French nationalism had an influence on Taffanel's career. He was a founding member of the Société nationale de musique that promoted French composers and the aided in the development of the French style. As the conductor of the Opéra, Taffanel led some of the first productions of Wagner operas and played a role in the debate about Wagner and German music in Paris.

This work identifies some of the difficulties that arise in defining the French Flute School and tracing its influence in modern playing. Taffanel's tone is regarded as the ideal sound of the French Flute School, yet there are no recordings of his playing. Several of his students recorded, yet their interpretation of Taffanel's teaching varies between them. Some of his students, like Moysé, connect themselves to the ideal of the French Flute School yet a clear connection between Taffanel and modern performance practice is not evident.

While this work has observed Taffanel's legacy and addressed several of the lasting ideals of the French Flute School, it has only scratched the surface of the variants among the figures themselves. Additional research into the students of Gaubert, Barrère, and Moysé could provide a deeper understanding of variations found within their teachings. Barrère and Moysé

brought the French Flute School to the United States, and my thesis dealt specifically with Taffanel's legacy in America. My research could provide a departure point for a study on how the French Flute School changed, altered, or has been melded with American flute playing.

Taffanel has transcended time and remains an ever present authority on flute playing in the *17 Grands exercices journaliers de mécanisme pour flûte* by Paul Taffanel and Phillippe Gaubert that is a part of every modern flutists collection of methods. Practiced daily by both flutists who are just developing and professionals, these exercises are a reminder of the man who is the figurehead of the French Flute School.

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