
JEAN-LOUIS TULOU'S MÉTHODE DE FLûTE IN CONTEXT

Sources in French Romantic Performing Practice

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ABSTRACT

When seen through the lens of the modern flute, the music of Jean-Louis Tulou (1786-1865) and the school of nineteenth-century French flautists before Paul Taffanel may seem trivial at first glance, but Tulou's music may be enlivened by reviving its performing practice. In this project, I examine Tulou's music using antique instruments and the recommendations in his *Méthode de flûte*. I explore performing practice issues related to Tulou's music through instrumental and vocal sources related to improvisation and ornamentation, contemporary reviews, and related secondary sources. I suggest that Tulou and his colleagues may have improvised preludes, cadenzas, ornamented reprises, and potentially variations.

RÉSUMÉ

Du point de vue de la flûte moderne, la musique de Jean-Louis Tulou (1786-1865) et de l'école de flûtistes français du XIXe siècle précédant celle de Paul Taffanel peut sembler anodine. Or la musique de Tulou est animée par la recreation de ses pratiques. Dans ce projet, j'étudie la musique de Tulou avec des instruments anciens en suivant les recommandations de sa *Méthode de flûte*. J'examine les problèmes de pratique liés à cette musique au moyen de sources instrumentales et vocales liées à l'improvisation et à l'ornementation, de revues contemporaines et de sources secondaires. Je suggère que Tulou et ses collègues ont peut-être improvisé des préludes, des points d'orgue, de la broderie, et potentiellement des variations.

INTRODUCTION

The motivation for this study came from my curiosity about the Romantic flute repertoire and historical instruments. The Romantic repertoire, particularly French music, has a reputation in the flute community as overly technical, trivial or even trashy. I often become curious when people describe music as written in bad taste; this suggests to me that there is a lost performance tradition.

At present, there is relatively little serious attention paid by period specialists or modern flute players to French Classical and Romantic flute music. For example, flute historian Nancy Toff writes:

the solo and chamber literature took a precipitous decline in both quality and quantity. The nineteenth century was, for the flute, not a golden age but an ornithological age, as the flute was reduced to a chirping vehicle for virtuosic display and programmatic symbolism.¹

Ann McCutchan writes: “On the whole, the nineteenth century produced little flute music of superior quality, due partly to the primitive mechanics and sonic character of the wooden flute.”² Several complaints link the changes in technology with notions of musical progress.

As a period-instrument specialist, I find the nineteenth century fascinating from an organological perspective because of the numerous experiments flute makers made during this era. There is a lot of variety in the types of instruments people were playing during this period. As the technology changed and the status of the musician also changed, flute players started to perform much more difficult music than in previous years.

I chose to focus on French music in part because there have been many studies of the English and German repertoire by period specialists. My interest was also piqued by the comparatively long persistence of simple-system instruments in France. The Boehm flute was not even permitted at the Paris Conservatoire

¹ Nancy Toff. *The Flute Book: A Complete Guide for Students and Performers*, 3^d ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 235.

² Ann McCutchan, *Marcel Moyse: Voice of the Flute*, (Portland: Amadeus Press, 1994), 61.

until 1860 whereas it became popular in other regions in Europe during the 1840s. There Jean-Louis Tulou is largely to thank for this.

While he is generally known today for his *Méthode de flûte* and pedagogical pieces, Jean-Louis Tulou (1786-1865) was a pivotal artistic figure in nineteenth century France. His artistry on his instrument, his involvement in the flute-making trade, and his role as a pedagogue at the Paris Conservatoire where he taught from 1829 until 1856 paint the picture of a fascinating pillar of the Parisian musical community. Tulou was principal flautist at the Opéra from 1815-1822 and 1826-1856. He had close collaborations with several singers – most notably with Laure Cinti-Damoreau, who was known for her facility with embellishment. Tulou's compositions for the flute include concertos, chamber music with flute, and numerous virtuosic fantasies and operatic transcriptions; they are, without exception, very well-written for the simple-system instruments which he made and defended at the trials at the Conservatoire.

Vocal and instrumental practices were very closely connected during Tulou's era. Most general music histories credit vocalists as the inspiration for instrumental ornamentation during this period in France, but there may have been more collaborative exchange between vocalists and instrumentalists. Virtuosic elements in Tulou's music suggest a close connection to the Italian vocal school but also the persistence of improvisation techniques which were traditional in the eighteenth century, which Tulou updated with contemporary musical vocabulary. It is likely that French flautists improvised *préludes*, *cadenzas*, *broderie* and *roulades*, and potentially variations well into the first half of the nineteenth century.

There are a few dissertations and articles on Tulou and the French Romantic flautists before Paul Taffanel's French Flute School. However, few have examined his music in much detail. I am particularly indebted to Michelle Tellier's biographical study, which is an entertaining and informative work, Tula Giannini's study of French flute makers, René Pierre's article on Tulou's collaboration with Jacques Nonon, and Ardal Powell's general study, *The Flute*.

In this document, I aim to focus on performing practice issues related to Tulou's music from the perspective of period instruments. In Chapter I, I explore the changes in the instrument which happened during Tulou's career and his own choices as a flute-maker. Chapter 2 concerns the development of flute technique and pedagogy at the Conservatoire and how Tulou's *Méthode de flûte* incorporates techniques

described in *ancien régime* flute methods and the first Conservatoire flute methods. In Chapter 3, I examine Tulou's working relationship with the soprano Laure Cinti-Damoreau and contemporary vocal methods on improvisation. I contextualize examples from Tulou's music and contemporary instrumental sources on improvisation in Chapter 4.

1. TULOU'S FLûTE PERFECTIONNÉE IN CONTEXT

Most previous studies approach Romantic-era flute repertoire from the perspective of the modern flute.

While the Boehm flute is a beautiful instrument, it has little to do with much of the music which was written in France during the first half of the nineteenth century. Period instruments can give us a unique perspective into the sound ideal most relevant to the music written by Jean-Louis Tulou and other French Romantic flautists.

Jean-Louis Tulou is largely responsible for the relatively long persistence of simple-system instruments in France after the introduction of the Boehm flute to the French market. In addition to his career as virtuoso flautist and professor at the Paris Conservatoire (1829-1856), Tulou was interested in the development of the flute and became actively involved in the flute-making trade. The result of his collaboration with master flute-maker Jacques Nonon was marketed as the *flûte perfectionnée* (fig. 1.1).

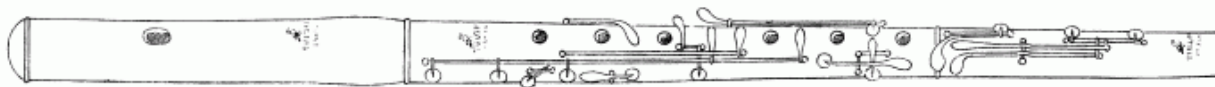


FIGURE 1.1 ILLUSTRATION OF TULOU'S FLûTE PERFECTIONNÉE FROM HIS MÉTHODE DE FLûTE (1851), 63.

The name *flûte perfectionnée* may raise a number of questions.

- What were Tulou's points of comparison for improvement?
- What desires were embedded in Tulou's choices in flute construction?
- How does the construction of this instrument reflect Tulou's style of playing?

A survey of the types of flutes which Tulou would have known during his career may help explain the construction of the instruments he made with Nonon. As one of the first flute students at the Paris Conservatoire, Tulou was exposed to a variety of different instruments and playing styles. During his early career Tulou collaborated with several Parisian flute makers; he had made his own experiments with flute making by the 1830s. Tulou's tours in England in the 1820s allowed him to experience an entirely different style of playing and instrument-making, that gave him a point of comparison for the subtleties of French

style and craft. Finally, Theobald Boehm's 1832 patent inspired Tulou's firm support of the simple-system instruments that were traditional in France.

FIRST POINTS OF COMPARISON

It is curious that Tulou begins his *Méthode de flûte* by introducing the fingerings for the one-keyed flute (fig. 1.2). By the time of his method's first publication in 1835, the one-keyed flute had long been supplanted by instruments with multiple keys in the hands of professional players, though the one-keyed flute remained popular with some amateur players in France until late in the century. Several of the first illustrations in his treatise show one-keyed flutes. Illustrations of flutes with multiple keys, commonly referred to today as keyed flutes, appear later in his method. It may be possible that he encouraged his students to begin with one-keyed flutes rather than keyed flutes which had considerably more complex mechanisms.

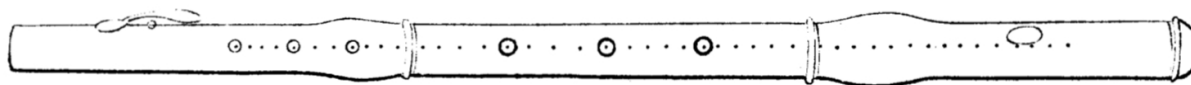


FIGURE 1.2 ILLUSTRATION OF A ONE-KEYED FLUTE FROM TULOUE'S MÉTHODE DE FLÛTE (1851), 5.

This progression may have reflected Tulou's own experience as a beginner. It is likely that Tulou played a one-keyed flute when he began his studies at the end of the eighteenth century. Before beginning his studies at the Paris Conservatoire, Tulou's first flute teacher was Jacques Schneitzhoeffter, a close colleague of Tulou's father, Louis Prosper Tulou, and François Devienne.³ Schneitzhoeffter taught both flute and oboe during the earliest years at the Conservatoire. His close professional association with Devienne may suggest that Schneitzhoeffter was a partisan of the one-keyed flute.

One-keyed instruments were more common and less expensive than keyed flutes at the end of the eighteenth century. The death of Louis Prosper Tulou in 1799 left Tulou and his mother, Marie Françoise Tulou, in a difficult financial position. It is unlikely that she was able to afford the most fashionable keyed

³ Adolphe Ledhuy and Henri Bertini, *Encyclopédie pittoresque de la musique: Tome 1* (Paris: H. Delloye, 1835), 200.

instruments for Tulou on the modest pension she received from the Opéra.⁴ One might infer that Tulou began on the keyed flute when he studied in Johann Georg Wunderlich's class at the Conservatoire, since Wunderlich was known as a supporter of the keyed flute. Due to his family's financial circumstances, it is conceivable that Tulou started with a one-keyed flute and changed to a keyed flute when he won his premier prix in the Conservatoire's Concours in 1801. The prize he received for winning was a flute⁵

During his formative years, Tulou probably gained experience with a variety of different instruments including the then old-fashioned one-keyed flute. It is unclear exactly which type of instrument Tulou played during his years at the Conservatoire. Nevertheless, French flutes from the end of the eighteenth century share a number of common characteristics.

During the eighteenth century, most flutes in France were made with a conical bore with six holes and a single key. Notes outside the natural scale of D major are produced with forked fingerings, which involve opening a hole and closing one or two holes below it. Notes produced with forked fingerings sound muted compared with the notes inside the natural scale of D major which sound open and louder. The single key allows the flautist to play D#/Eb and stabilises a number of forked fingerings.

Most French flautists tended to prefer one-keyed instruments until the beginning of the nineteenth century, while English and German flautists began to play keyed flutes in the mid-eighteenth century. In her history of French flute makers, Tula Giannini observes that "the basic design of the [one-keyed] flutes hardly changed" during master flute-maker Thomas Lot's career, a period spanning from 1734-1789. French one-keyed instruments from the end of the eighteenth century are generally made in four pieces with *corps de rechange* for pitch adjustments. Instruments by Jacques and Christophe Delusse, Jean-Jacques Tortochot, Martin and Gilles Lot, Prudent Thieriot, Michel Amlingue, and Dominique Porthaux among others all feature a similar slender silhouette with a small oval embouchure hole and small tone

⁴ Michelle Tellier, "Jean-Louis Tulou: Flûtiste, professeur, facteur, compositeur (1786-1865)" (PhD diss., Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique de Paris, 1981), 31-32.

⁵ Constant Pierre, *Le Conservatoire nationale de musique et de declamation: documents historiques et administratifs* (Paris: Impr. nationale, 1900), 515.

⁶ Tula Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France: The Lot and Godfroy Families 1650-1900* (London: Tony Bingham, 1993), 36.

holes, a large rounded spoon key, and, often, a rounded cap.⁷ Many of these instruments were made of boxwood, ebony or rosewood with ivory or horn ferrules.

There were many different flute workshops in Paris during this period and a lot exchange between workshops as many of the journeymen were from the same families, lived in the same neighbourhoods, and trained and worked together. Hence, many of these instruments play in a very similar way. French flutes from the turn of the nineteenth century tend to have a sweet but penetrating sound with an easy high range. They are delicate and agile instruments, whereas English and German instruments from this period are generally louder, more direct, and somewhat more resistant.

Another common characteristic of eighteenth-century French instruments relates to their tuning. The chromatic notes on these instruments often are very high when using contemporary fingering charts. Ardal Powell observes that “in France tutors by Devienne and by Hugot and Wunderlich made no mention of these special fingerings.”⁸ Though these authors do not explicitly discuss expressive intonation, the fingering charts in both methods contain recommendations for high sevenths; it is not immediately apparent until you play them. Tulou would later describe these expressive fingerings with the term *notes sensibles*.

The first flute methods used at the Paris Conservatoire, François Devienne’s *Nouvelle Méthode* (c. 1794) and Antoine Hugot and Johann Georg Wunderlich’s *Méthode de flûte* (1804), accommodate the plurality of instruments which different players used at this time, providing fingering charts for both one-keyed flutes and keyed flutes. Devienne preferred one-keyed flutes, while Hugot and Wunderlich advocated for four-keyed flutes with added keys for B \flat , G \sharp , and F (fig. 1.3). Hugot and Wunderlich include fingering charts for both one-keyed and four keyed instruments in their *Méthode de flûte*.

⁷ At the time of his death, Devienne owed money to Dominique Porthaux’s workshop for several instruments.

Tula Giannini and William Waterhouse, "Porthaux, Dominique," in *Grove Music Online*, accessed 10 Mar 2019,

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000040433>.

⁸ Ardal Powell, *The Flute* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 132.



FIGURE 1.3 ILLUSTRATION OF A FOUR-KEYED FLUTE FROM THE FINGERING CHART IN HUGOT AND WUNDERLICH'S *MÉTHODE DE FLÛTE* (1804).

The added keys reduce the need to use forked fingerings which can be awkward in tonalities with many accidentals. Devienne agreed that the keys were useful in slow movements and sustained notes in the first octave, but he recommended the one-keyed flute for his students because he felt that the keys complicated the flute's mechanism.⁹ Hugot and Wunderlich felt that the added keys were very useful in improving intonation, equalizing the timbre throughout the instrument, strengthening certain notes, facilitating trills and making the low range more forceful.¹⁰

Generally, the compass of eighteenth-century instruments from France does not descend below D, while there are many surviving English and German flutes from the same period that have foot joints with added keys extending the flute's compass to low C# or C. Devienne disapproved of these keys, arguing that the notes produced by these added keys did not have the same consistency as the rest of the instrument and that famous players did not use flutes with these keys.¹¹ Hugot and Wunderlich also preferred flutes that did not descend below D. Flute music from this period written by French players does not typically use these

⁹ "Il ne s'en suit cependant pas de là que je veuille blamer les petites Clefs que des recherches justes on fait ajouter à la Flûte ordinaire pour remedier aux sons bouchés qui se trouvent dans le bas, telles que le Sol diéze ou La bemol et le Si bemol ou La diéze elles sont d'une grande nécessité dans les morceaux lents et surtout quand les Notes ci dessus désignées, sont soutenues, quoique je ne m'en serve point je les approuve, mais dans ce cas là seulement, car pour les traits, elles deviennent inutiles et ne servent qu'à ajouter à la difficulté."

François Devienne, *Nouvelle méthode théorique et pratique pour la flûte* (Paris: Naderman, n.d. [1794]), 1.

¹⁰ "L'usage des trois dernières clefs que nous adoptons a été trop légèrement repoussé par quelques personnes qui ont objecté que ces additions compliquaient le mécanisme de l'instrument, nous insistons sur leur emploi parce que nous les considérons comme un perfectionnement très utile; les avantages que l'on en retire dans la justesse, l'égalité et la force de plusieurs sons, la facilité qu'elles donnent pour faire les trilles et enfin la vigueur que l'on obtient dans quelques sons graves dédomagent suffisamment du léger travail de mécanisme que ces clefs nécessitent."

Antoine Hugot and Jean-Georges Wunderlich, *Méthode de flûte du Conservatoire* (Paris: Imprimerie du Conservatoire, n.d. [1804]), 3.

¹¹ "quant aux Flûtes dites à l'Anglaise ou l'on a ajouté à la patte (longue du double des pattes ordinaires) deux clefs dont l'une pour l'Ut diéze et l'autre pour l'Ut naturel en bas, je la désapprouve hautement, ces deux tons hors de la nature de cette Instrument, n'ont et ne peuvent avoir de consistance et unissent absolument au reste je pourrais même dire que peu de personne ne s'en servent qu'à cause de leur Originalité; ma preuve est que les Maitres connus n'en font point d'usage."

Devienne, *Nouvelle méthode théorique et pratique pour la flûte*, 1.

notes. Some flute music published in France written by foreign composers including Christian Karl Hartmann and the Stamitz brothers makes use of the keys that extended the range of the instrument.

In the *Méthode de flûte*, Wunderlich claimed to have played a flute with multiple keys for fifteen years before the method was published.¹² An article in the *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* writes that:

Wunderlich, maître de Tulou et de tous les flutists célèbres en France dans la première moitié de notre siècle, mort il y a peu d'années, à l'âge de quatre-vingt-douze ans, a été le premier à se servir chez nous de la flûte à plus d'une clef.¹³

It is possible that the Conservatoire's adoption of the four-keyed flute can be credited to Wunderlich, who completed the *Méthode de flûte* from a series of sketches after Antoine Hugot's untimely death in 1803. It is conceivable that Wunderlich brought a keyed flute along with him from Germany when he first came to Paris to study with Félix Rault as early as 1775.

It is remarkable that the Conservatoire's first official flute method chose to break with the long playing tradition of the one-keyed flute in France and advocate for the comparatively modern four-keyed flute. The Conservatoire's military origins may help explain this choice. Bernard Sarrette founded a free school of music which eventually became the Paris Conservatoire by gathering musicians directly from the *Garde Nationale*. The first goals of Sarrette's institute were to train musicians to play in military wind bands at massive republican festivals and in the theater orchestras, and the comparatively more powerful keyed flute may have fared better than the delicate, subtle one-keyed flute at these outdoor events. Much of the military wind band music from this period is written in tonalities with several flats in order to accommodate other woodwinds like clarinets and bassoons that would have played more comfortably in these tonalities. A keyed flute would have been a very appropriate choice for an outdoor performance of Gossec's patriotic hymn, *Le chant du 14 juillet* (example 1.1), which was written in E-flat major.

¹² Hugot and Wunderlich, *Méthode de flûte du Conservatoire*, 2.

¹³ *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* 22e année: no. 42, October 21, 1855, 326.



EXAMPLE 1.1 FLUTE PART FROM GOSSEC'S *LE CHANT DU 14 JUILLET*. HYMNE PAR M. -J. CHÉNIER (PARIS: MAGASIN DE MUSIQUE À L'USAGE DES FÊTES NATIONALES, RUE DES FOSSÉS MONTMARTRE, 1796).

The one-keyed flute was an extremely popular amateur instrument for aristocratic gentlemen at the end of the eighteenth century. By choosing to promote the keyed flute, the official Conservatoire committee may have wanted to distance itself from associations with the aristocracy. Devienne's close affiliation with the French court and with many aristocrats may have made his flute method promoting the old-fashioned one-keyed flute less appealing to the Conservatoire republican committee.

An article from *La France musicale* from 1855 about Tulou's career and his flutes at the *Exposition universelle* mentions that Tulou played a flute by Winnen frères early during his career.¹⁴ There are many surviving flutes by Winnen frères in museums and private collections. The Philharmonie museum in Paris has a fine example from the Winnen workshop, a five-keyed flute by Jean Winnen, and the Musée de La Villette has an excellent four-keyed flute by Jean Winnen. These flutes share the slender silhouette of French eighteenth-century one-keyed instruments, particularly those of Delusse. The same article from *La France musicale* explains that:

Au fabricant Delusse succédèrent les frères Winnen, également établis à Paris. Le premier se servait d'une perce très-large qui donnait de la puissance aux notes graves, mais qui empêchait les notes élevées de sortir avec facilité; le second avait fait l'acquisition des perces de Delusse, et obtenait quelquefois, grâce à cette circonstance, d'assez bons résultats.¹⁵

¹⁴ *La France musicale* 19e Année no. 46, November 18, 1855, 361.

¹⁵ *La France musicale* 19e Année no. 46, November 18, 1855, 361.

The narrow, sharply tapered bore and small holes of Parisian instruments contributed much to the delicacy of the late eighteenth-century French style of flute playing which valued beautiful tone and agility rather than violinistic power that Tulou sought to match and surpass.

TULOU'S NEW STYLE AND TOURS IN ENGLAND

Despite the delicacy of French instruments, Adolphe Ledhuy and Henri Bertini report that Tulou was inspired to rival violinists and singers rather than flautists in his composition and style of playing:

La musique de flûte était alors inférieure à celle des autres instruments: on ne jouait point des solos qui fussent au-dessus de médiocre. Après les Baillot, Kreutzer, les Viotti, un flûtiste avait mauvais grâce à venir réclamer la bienveillance du public. Cette considération donna une nouvelle direction au travail du jeune Tulou; il se mit à étudier les oeuvres de Fiorello, de Kreutzer, de Viotti, et jusqu'aux concerts de Romberg. Il se meubla la tête de bonnes choses et abandonna pour jamais la vieille musique de flûte.¹⁶

Among Tulou's earliest publications are transcriptions of Pierre Rode's Variations op. 10 as well as Mayseder's Variations op. 25 and Variations brillantes op. 40. It is likely that Tulou sought a more powerful playing style through imitating violinists.

Tulou visited England in 1821, 1824, 1826, 1829, and 1832. While his playing was much admired, the English critics preferred the more powerful style of their native celebrities. In 1821, a critic reported on a concert by "Tulou, a flute player and the idol of Paris... His success however, has not been so great in this country. Compared with Nicholson, his tone is thin, and his execution neat and delicate rather than commanding."¹⁷ Another reaction in 1823 explains further:

The reputation which Tulou had obtained in his own country was rather injurious to his success in this. The expectation which it raised in a public already accustomed to the brilliancy and clear articulation of Drouët, and the masculine power and expression of Nicholson, was not easily satisfied, and Tulou, although a very elegant and finished performer, was treated with an indifference which his talents by no means deserved.¹⁸

¹⁶ Adolphe Ledhuy and Henri Bertini, *Encyclopédie pittoresque de la musique: Tome 1* (Paris: H. Delloye, 1835), 201.

¹⁷ *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* vol. III, (London: Baldwin, Cradock and Joy, 1821), 391.

¹⁸ *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* vol. V, (London: Baldwin, Cradock and Joy, 1823), 85.

Charles Nicholson was London's leading player in the 1820s and 1830s. Philip Bate and Christina Bashford write: "Esteemed for his technical brilliance and the nobility of his *adagio* playing, Nicholson was probably the most controversial flautist of his time. His very powerful and somewhat hard tone was not universally admired, though it was regarded as a model in England."¹⁹ Nicholson's ideal tone, as he described it in his 1836 *A School for the Flute*, was "to be as reedy as possible, as much like that of the hautboy as you can get, it, but embodying the round mellowness of the clarionet."²⁰ Despite Tulou's experimentation with timbre in the 1820s, which may have been inspired by his trips to England, it is unlikely that he would have approached the power of Nicholson's tone.

A large part of the difference in sound and technique between Nicholson and Tulou may be linked to the instruments which they played. Bate and Bashford attribute Nicholson's powerful tone to his instrument. "His great physical strength enabled him to exploit to the full a flute with unusually large finger-holes and embouchure."²¹ It is likely that Tulou would have brought a French instrument along with him on these tours to England, probably the flute by Winnen frères, though Tulou did mention that he had played flutes by the English flute maker, Tebaldo Monzani.²²

During the 1820s, Tulou made a number of experiments with timbre and dynamics, perhaps inspired by the powerful English style of playing. After Tulou had visited England twice, a reviewer from 1825 was surprised by the varied timbres of Tulou's style of playing:

M. Tulou denature le principal avantage de son instrument. La flûte a une origine pastorale, et elle ne doit jamais la méconnoître... Elle imite, avec beaucoup d'art sans doute, les sons entrecoupés du cor, les accens graves du basson, que sais-je? Les intonations-éclatantes de la clarinette²³

¹⁹ Philip Bate and Christina Bashford, "Nicholson, Charles," in *Grove Music Online*, accessed 10 Mar. 2019,

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000019873>

²⁰ Charles Nicholson, *A School for the Flute*, (New York: Firth & Hall, n.d.), 2-3.

²¹ Philip Bate and Christina Bashford, "Nicholson, Charles," in *Grove Music Online*, accessed 10 Mar. 2019,

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000019873>

²² Ardal Powell, *The Flute*, 136.

²³ Journal des débats politiques et littéraires, August 31, 1825, 4.

On the first page of his *Nouvelle Méthode*, Devienne specifically cautions against playing with a forceful tone in the low register and producing “sons de Hautbois.”²⁴

Tulou’s experiments with the powerful style seem to have been limited to this period of his career directly after his visits to England. Later reviews praise Tulou for the unparalleled beauty of his sound, the agility of his playing, and his subtle control of dynamics. Comparing Nicholson with Tulou in 1830, Fétis writes “La partie de flûte, qui est confiée à Nicholson, ne laisse rien à désirer sous le rapport de la pureté d’exécution; il y a plus de poésie dans le jeu de Tulou.”²⁵ Tulou eventually found vocal imitation more relevant for the flute than violinistic power. Fétis wrote in 1834 “La flûte, sous les doigts de Tulou, a souvent des inflexions dignes de rivaliser avec la voix humaine, et cela donne à son jeu une qualité d’expression qui n’a été égalée par aucun flûtiste.”²⁶ The vocal aesthetic would inspire his later experiments in flute-making.

TULOU, FACTEUR DES FLÛTES

Flute makers made many experiments with the mechanism of the flute during the nineteenth century, and virtuosos were often closely associated with different manufacturers. By 1830, Tulou’s celebrity prompted several different flute makers to claim that they were Tulou’s sole supplier of instruments including Clair Godfroy l’aîné, Pierre Godfroy jeune, and M. Belissent.²⁷ Despite these alliances with popular flute makers, Tulou was interested in making his own improvements to the instrument and started his own workshop to supplement his income at the Conservatoire and the Opéra.

Constant Pierre reports that Tulou had his own flute workshop since 1818.²⁸ René Pierre finds this unlikely. It would be surprising if Tulou, who had no training or significant connections to the network of flute makers, was able to create his own workshop easily. René Pierre notes an announcement in the *annuaire Bottin* from 1820 which advertises “Belissent, facteur de flûtes de l’École Royale de Musique et

²⁴ François Devienne, *Nouvelle Méthode*, 1.

²⁵ François-Joseph Fétis, *Curiosités historiques de la musique* (Paris: Janet et Cotelle, 1830), 193.

²⁶ François-Joseph Fétis, *La musique mise à la portée de tout le monde* (Paris: Paulin, 1834), 211.

²⁷ René Pierre. “Jacques Nonon, facteur de flûtes et de hautbois, dans l’ombre du grand Tulou.” *Larigot* 58 (October 2016): 26.

²⁸ Constant Pierre, *Les facteurs d’instruments de musique* (Paris: E Sagot, 1893), 297.

de M. Tulou première flûte de l'opéra.”²⁹ It is likely that, at this time, Tulou advised Belissent on improving his flutes rather than making flutes himself. An article from *La France musicale* suggests that Tulou had a similar collaboration with the Godfroy workshop later on which inspired him to start his own workshop.³⁰

Tula Giannini traces Tulou's career as a flute manufacturer to “a form he submitted in 1828 for the Paris Exhibition of 1829 which indicated that he had six workshop employees and four out-workers. Instrument prices ranged from 60 to 500 francs, and his gross yearly income was about 45,000 francs.”³¹ The first article which mentions Tulou making flutes was published in the *Revue musicale* on March 19, 1831. In this article advertising Tulou's new flutes, the author identifies several qualities of simple-system instruments that Tulou hoped to improve including the flute's intonation, the complicated system of fingerings and key mechanism, the equality of tone in both the low and high register, and the flute's volume.³² In order to improve the flute's intonation, Tulou proposed discontinuing the use of tuning slides and *corps de rechange* in favour of a system of silver rings to change the pitch of the instrument up to a semitone while conserving the proportions of the instruments. As advertised, Tulou strove to find a simple and elegant key mechanism which was less noisy and lighter than those of his competitors.

The year 1831 was significant for Tulou as a flute maker. He began to supply instruments to the Conservatoire in this year and formed a 22-year partnership with master flute maker, Jacques Nonon. Their many extant instruments are beautifully made simple-system instruments with very fine keywork, ranging from four to twelve keys. Tulou and Nonon's most famous model was the *flûte perfectionnée*, introduced at the Conservatoire in the early 1840s. Tulou and Nonon's successful partnership ended abruptly in 1853. Tula Giannini suggests that this break may have occurred because Nonon wanted to make Boehm flutes,

²⁹ René Pierre. “Jacques Nonon, facteur de flûtes et de hautbois,” 26.

³⁰ “Un peu plus tard, ayant découvert un ouvrier intelligent, nommé Godefroy, il lui donna sa flûte pour modèle, essaya ses instruments, et lui prodigua les plus sages conseils. Tous deux parvinrent à corriger les défauts de justesse qu'on rencontrait trop souvent sur les flûtes de cette époque. Il suffisait à Tulou de patronner un facteur pour lui assurer une clientèle. La maison Godefroy aîné acquit bientôt une grande vogue; mais à mesure qu'elle multipliait ses produits et leur trouvait de nouveaux débouchés, on se montrait moins disposé à faire des essais. C'est alors que Tulou conçut l'idée de monter lui-même un atelier.”

La France musicale 19e Année no. 46, November 18, 1855, 361-362.

³¹ Tula Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France*, 130.

³² *Revue musicale* 5e Année no. 7, March 19, 1831, 56.

which Tulou opposed violently.³³ A discussion of Boehm's patents and contemporary reactions to his invention can explain how Tulou and Nonon's *flûte perfectionnée* was shaped by the rise of Boehm flutes in France.

THE NEED FOR PERFECTION : TULOU'S DEFENCE OF THE SIMPLE -SYSTEM FLUTE AGAINST THE BOEHM FLUTE

Theobald Boehm, the Bavarian goldsmith, flautist, and composer, invented revolutionary new mechanisms for the flute, one of which became the basis for the modern flute. The main principle on which Boehm's patents are constructed is equality of volume, timbre and pitch across all notes of the flute. Theobald Boehm's 1832 patent was a conical-bored ring-key flute (fig. 1.4), which made major changes to the instrument's acoustics and mechanism. Ardal Powell situates the 1832 patent: "Boehm's flute located toneholes of the largest practical size in their ideal acoustical positions, many of which lay beyond the reach of the fingers, employing an open-key system operated by interlinked parallel rod-axles to close holes too large for the unaided finger."³⁴ Boehm presented the 1832 patent to the French Academy of Sciences in May 1837, and soon afterward, a few prominent French players including Louis Dorus, Paul Hippolyte Camus, and Victor Coche embraced Boehm's ring-key flute.

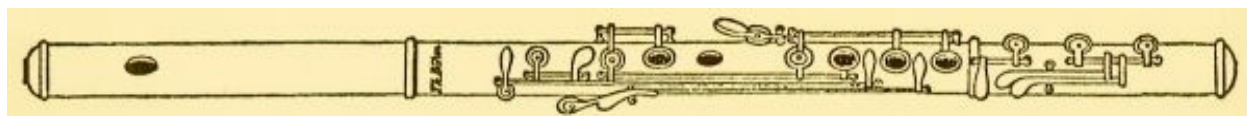


FIGURE 1.4 ILLUSTRATION OF BOEHM'S 1832 PATENT FROM *ÜBER DEN FLÖTENBAU UND DIE NEUESTEN VERBESSERUNGEN DESSELBEN* (1847)

The Boehm 1847 patent, on which the modern flute is based, changed nearly all aspects of the flute's construction. The conical bore, close-standing keys, and six open holes of the simple-system flute were replaced with a cylindrical bore, large holes, and a complicated mechanism of open-standing keys. Boehm's 1847 model is made of silver rather than the customary combination of wood, ivory or horn, and silver. At the time of its invention, Boehm's silver flute would have been nearly unrecognizable to most flautists.

³³ Tula Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France*, 130.

³⁴ Ardal Powell, *The Flute*, 157-58.

While Tulou primarily concerned himself with the 1832 patent in his war against Boehm's instruments, it is likely that he would have protested even more strongly against Boehm's silver flutes than he did against Boehm's 1832 patent flute.

Though there were some early supporters of Boehm's flutes, the leading players in Europe including Tulou and Anton Bernhard Fürstenau were not convinced that Boehm's 1832 patent was an improvement. Fürstenau praised the timbral variety of the simple-system flute: "Our flutes at present have certainly reached a high level of perfection and the very covered tones that are shunned on Mr Boehm's flute give our present one uncommon charm and opportunity for expression and the rousing of different emotions..."³⁵

The first ring-key Boehm-system instruments in France were made by Godfroy and Lot around 1836. Tula Giannini observes that the early French ring-key flute made by Godfroy:

differed from Boehm's in that its dimensions were modified to produce a sound that was a compromise between that of Boehm's instrument and that of Godfroy's ordinary flute of the 1830s. He did this by giving the bore a steeper angle of decline and reducing the size of the embouchure, the tone holes, and the thickness of the body on average by a millimeter. In addition, he eliminated Boehm's crutch and rectangular creviced embouchure, replaced the open G# key with the Dorus G#, and further refined the keywork. The overall effect was a Boehm flute which retained some characteristic features of the ordinary French flute.³⁶

The illustrations in Louis Dorus' treatise *L'Étude de la nouvelle flûte* (c.1840) resemble the early French Boehm instruments made by Godfroy, Lot and Buffet. (Fig. 1.5).

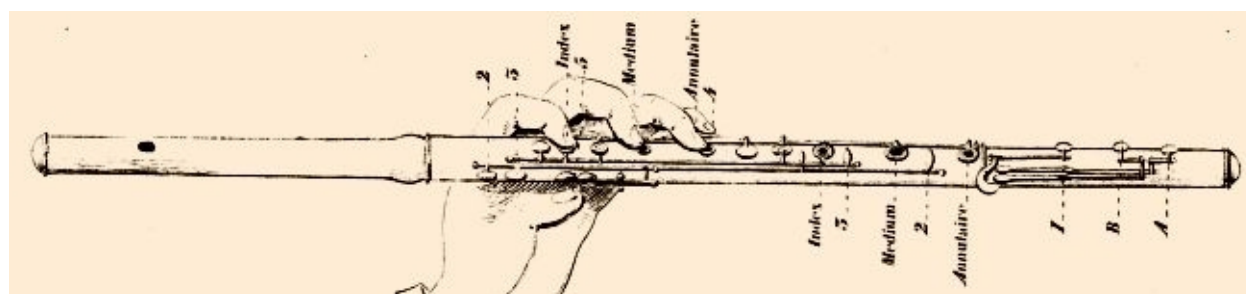


FIGURE 1.5 ILLUSTRATION OF A FRENCH BOEHM FLUTE FROM LOUIS DORUS' *L'ÉTUDE DE LA NOUVELLE FLÛTE* (PARIS C. 1840)

³⁵ Ardal Powell, *The Flute*, 158.

³⁶ Tula Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France*, 110.

Tulou's teaching assistant, Victor Coche, initiated a coup in the Conservatoire in 1839 by attempting to establish a special class on the Boehm flute which he proposed to lead himself. Coche found himself in direct conflict with Tulou, who strongly supported the traditional simple-system instrument. Tula Giannini suggests that Tulou's interests in the flute-making trade may explain Tulou's vehement attitude towards Boehm's 1832 patent, as Tulou "was about to introduce a new flute of his own invention" at the time of Victor Coche's request to the Conservatoire's official teaching committee.³⁷

The committee at the Conservatoire decided to resolve this conflict through a series of four meetings of a special committee which included Luigi Cherubini, Henri Montan Berton, Jacques-François-Fromental Halévy, Victor Dourlen, Louis-François Dauprat, Auguste-Gustave Vogt, Aimé Le Borne, David Banderali, and François Antoine Habeneck. Detailed accounts of these sessions were published in *La France musicale*. Six flautists presented their opinions on the merits of various mechanisms and performed at these meetings. Victor Coche, Louis Dorus, and Paul Hippolyte Camus supported the Boehm flute. Louis-Joseph Coninx and Robert Frisch came forward as flautists who had tried Boehm's invention and rejected it in favour of the traditional simple-system instrument. Jean-Louis Tulou naturally argued in favour of the simple-system flute.

During these meetings, each of these players played technically challenging orchestral excerpts, cadenzas, and trills on both styles of instrument. Coche deliberately chose passages which he thought would cause Tulou playing a simple-system instrument to seem inadequate, but Tulou demonstrated an exemplary command of technique in each of the excerpts which Coche proposed. Tula Giannini observes that "Ironically, Dorus provided the best case for the ordinary flute. After his presentation, in which the committee heard the same music played on the ordinary and Boehm flute, they concluded that the old flute not only had a more agreeable sound but was more in tune."³⁸

³⁷ Tula Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France*, 113.

³⁸ Tula Giannini, *Great Flute makers of France*, 128.

Tulou begins his method with criticism of the inventions of Gordon and Boehm which reveal his aesthetics.³⁹ Tulou felt that Gordon ruined the sound of the instrument by relying too much on harmonics, whereas Boehm's invention neglected the sound of the flute and complicated the flute's fingering system.⁴⁰ The opinions he expressed on the flute's true character were summarized soon after these sessions in *La France musicale*:

que l'on devrait convenir d'abord que la flûte est un instrument pastoral, avec lequel on doit plutôt chercher à plaire qu'à étonner; qui ne doit exprimer que des sentimens doux, tendres, expressifs, passionnées, et non ceux par lesquels on voudrait peindre la colère ou la tempête. Il faut donc avant tout une belle qualité de son, ou, pour mieux dire, une belle voix, une voix qui se rapproche le plus possible de la voix humaine, qui soit égale dans tous les registres, qui unisse parfaitement les sons, et que ces sons n'appartiennent qu'à un seul instrument.⁴¹

Tulou also argued that each of the professionals who played the Boehm flute in public concerts in France had made significant modifications to the instrument, and for this reason, the relative merits of Boehm's instrument were not ready for serious appraisal.⁴²

After hearing the four sessions, the committee concluded that the simple-system instrument was superior to Boehm's invention. They tabled the discussion until Tulou was ready to present his improved flute, the *flûte perfectionnée*. After the trials at the Conservatoire, Tulou ensured the survival of the simple-system flute by supplying instruments to his students at the Conservatoire. This enterprise was quite

³⁹ Captain James Carel Gerhard Gordon, a former student of Tulou's, designed a flute with a similar open-key system in collaboration with Auguste Buffet jeune. Often, Gordon's invention was conflated with Boehm's during this period, perhaps because of a pamphlet Victor Coche published in 1838 titled *Examen critique de la flûte ordinaire comparée à la flûte Boehm présentée à MM. les membres de l'Institut*.

⁴⁰ "Le premier essai fut tenté par un de mes élèves nommé Gordon, capitaine aux gardes Suisses en France. J'eus le regret de ne pouvoir donner à cet amateur zélé l'approbation qu'il espérait. Sa flûte péchait, selon moi par le principe sur lequel elle était établie. En effet Gordon avait pris pour base les sons harmoniques, ce qu'il faut éviter sur les instruments percés de trous, si on veut conserver la qualité de son qui leur est propre. La flûte demande une voix moelleuse dans le piano vibrante et sonore dans le forte. Celle de Gordon au contraire avait un son maigre, sans rondeur, qui se rapprochait beaucoup trop de celui du hautbois."

"C'est sur cette première donnée que la flûte Boehm a été conçue. L'auteur de ce nouvel instrument, homme d'une grande intelligence, a cherché quel était le meilleur parti à tirer du système de son devancier. Il l'a perfectionné, mais, bien qu'il soit arrivé à d'heureuses modifications, il a négligé deux points essentiels, savoir la conservation du son et la simplicité du doigté ordinaire."

Jean-Louis Tulou, *Méthode de Flûte*, 1.

⁴¹ *La France musicale*, January 5, 1840, 44.

⁴² Tula Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France*, 116.

lucrative for him. As the mechanism of the *flûte perfectionnée* changed, Tulou published new editions of his *Méthode de flûte* which reflected these changes. Tulou's instruments were used at the Conservatoire until 1860 when Louis Dorus was named flute professor. Louis Lot's instruments replaced Tulou's as the official Conservatoire instrument at this time. By the beginning of the twentieth century, Tulou's name became nearly synonymous with the simple-system flute. His instruments were marketed by Couesnon until at least the beginning of the twentieth century.⁴³

TULOU AND NONON'S FLÛTE PERFECTIONNÉE

Tulou and Nonon's invention is an elegant simple-system instrument which incorporates a few design features of Boehm's 1832 patent. The *flute perfectionnée* which was "devised during the 1840s, used rod-axles and needle springs like those of the Boehm mechanism, but retained the acoustical proportions, and thus the character, of the ordinary French flute."⁴⁴ The mechanism of the *flûte perfectionnée* (fig. 1.6) is similar to that of many French flutes of the period but includes a few additional trill keys of Nonon's invention and a vent key for use in slow movements which raised F# which is ordinarily too low. The elegance of their keywork is remarkable, and the sound of their instruments is very sweet, agile, and direct. Their flutes are among the finest simple-system instruments made during this period and received numerous medals at *Expositions universelles* in France.

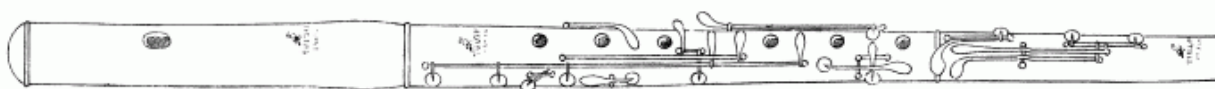


FIGURE 1.6 ILLUSTRATION OF TULOU'S FLÛTE PERFECTIONNÉE FROM HIS *MÉTHODE DE FLÛTE* (1851), 63.

Tulou devotes about 50 pages in his *Méthode de flûte* to discussing various fingerings specific to the mechanism of his instruments. He begins by introducing the simple fingerings which were the same as those of the baroque flute and the fingerings which use the added keys. He spends twenty pages discussing

⁴³ Tula Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France*, 212.

⁴⁴ Ardal Powell, *The Flute*, 159.

compound fingerings (*les doigtés composés*); these are notes for which the simple fingering needs to be modified to correct the intonation on keyed instruments or to offer as an alternative for the purposes of expressive intonation (*notes sensibles*). Tulou's simplified fingerings (*les doigtés simplifiés*) are alternate fingerings used mostly in fast passagework. Though it might appear complicated at first glance, Tulou's fingering system is very simple, when approached from the perspective of the one-keyed flute. In the chapter which follows, I will examine the ways in which Tulou's pedagogy, like his instruments, builds upon the long history of flute playing in France.

2. CHANGES IN FLUTE PEDAGOGY (1780-1845) AND TULOU'S PEDAGOGY AT THE CONSERVATOIRE

The first professors of Paris Conservatoire are often credited with the development of instrumental virtuosity at the end of the eighteenth-century. The Conservatoire was a significant institution for Tulou throughout his career, as student (1796-1801), *répétiteur* for Johann Georg Wunderlich's class (c.1799-c.1801), and professor (1829-1856). In this chapter I aim to contextualize the contribution of the Conservatoire's first flute professors to flute technique as an extension of *ancien régime* pedagogy. The exercises found in Jean-Louis Tulou's *Méthode de flûte* (1835) and his *Grands Solos* may be situated between the caprice of eighteenth-century methods and the militaristic precision of the Conservatoire's first officially sanctioned flute method, Hugot and Wunderlich's *Méthode de flûte du Conservatoire* (1804).

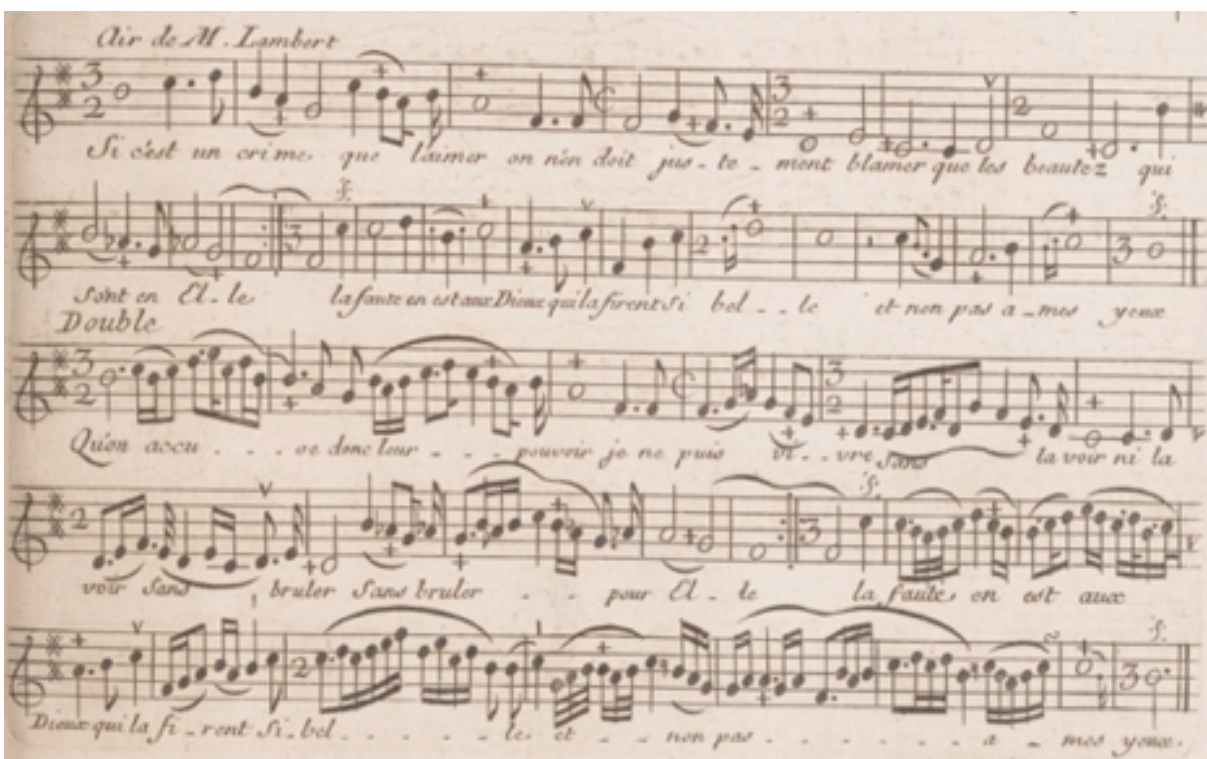
ANCIEN RÉGIME FLUTE PEDAGOGY

When considering the contribution of the Conservatoire's first flute professors to the formation of flute technique, it may be instructive to compare the first flute methods used at the institution with those of their predecessors. Since the French court had dominated musical patronage during the high baroque, the earliest French pedagogy for the transverse flute was largely an exclusive oral tradition cultivated by the dynasties of professional wind players employed at court: the Hotteterre family, the Piesche family, and the Philidor family among others. Jacques-Martin Hotteterre (1674-1763) published some of the first methods specifically written for the baroque flute in France, *Principes de la flûte traversière* (Paris, 1707) and *L'art de préluder* (Paris, 1719), presumably for the benefit of his wealthy patrons like the Duc d'Orleans, an avid amateur flute player. By mid-century the flute was heard less exclusively at private gatherings at court and became popular as an amateur instrument for middle-class gentlemen. A plethora of flute methods were published for both professional players and amateurs at this time. While many late eighteenth-century French flute methods were addressed to the amateur audience, like Mahaut's *Nouvelle Méthode pour apprendre en peu de temps a jouer de la Flûte Traversiere* (1759) and Mussard's *Nouveaux principes pour apprendre a jouer de la flûte traversière* (1778), several methods including Charles De Lusse's *L'Art de la*

flûte traversière (c. 1760) and Amand Vanderhagen's *Nouvelle Méthode de Flûte* (1798) were written for advanced players.

Most French Classical-era methods included a brief written text followed by a variety of different pedagogical pieces. In contrast, contemporary German methods like Quantz's *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (1752) and Tromlitz's *Ausführlicher und gründlicher Unterricht die Flöte zu spielen* (1791) tend to have much more detailed texts with fewer musical examples. In the French methods, the musical example sections typically include some subset of the following pedagogical pieces: ornamented airs, variation sets, études or caprices, and pedagogical duets or progressive sonatas.

The ornamented air was one of the most important didactic tools for *ancien régime* flute players. Its origin can be traced back to a collection published by Jacques-Martin Hotteterre 'le Romain.' Around 1715, Hotteterre published a collection of songs by Lambert, Lully, de Bousset, and Boësset arranged for the flute, many with extremely ornate *doubles*. Hotteterre's *Airs et Brunettes à deux et trois dessus pour les Flutes Traversieres* was collected by a Monsieur +++, presumably a gentleman who preferred not to mention his name on account of his aristocratic status. These pieces teach phrasing, the proper use of essential graces, and extempore ornamentation through example by using melodies which would have been familiar to students. In Hotteterre's collection, the words are often underlaid, so the pupil could easily grasp the phrasing from the underlay of strong and weak syllables if the melody was not familiar. A fascinating example of Hotteterre's extreme ornamentation is his setting of Antoine Boësset's (1587-1643) air, *Si c'est un crime que l'aymer* (ex. 2.1). Hotteterre adapts the seventeenth-century air, here misattributed to Michel Lambert, to its eighteenth-century context adding barlines, contemporary essential graces, and a wildly ornamented double on the fourth strophe of the air.

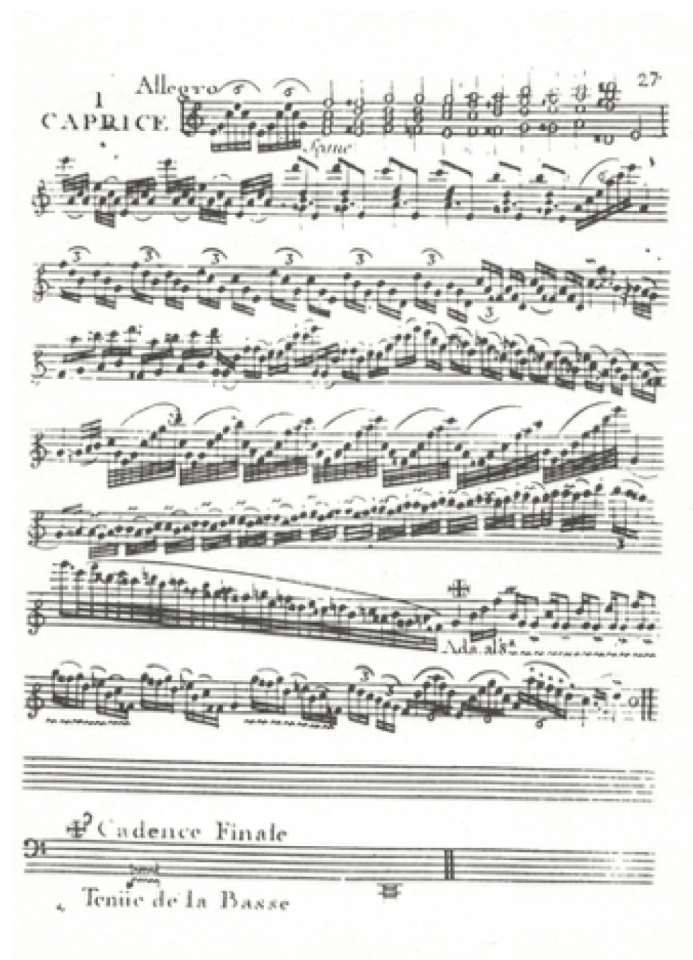


EXAMPLE 2.1 SI C'EST UN CRIME QUE L'AYMER FROM HOTTETERRE'S AIRS ET BRUNETTES

With few exceptions, most late eighteenth-century French flute methods include some variant of Hotteterre's *airs et brunettes*, in many cases including vocal airs arranged for two flutes. There were also many independent collections of *airs et brunettes* published for the domestic audience including Rippert's *Brunettes en duo pour les violons, flûtes, hautbois et pardessus de viole* (c. 1722), Montéclair's *Brunettes anciennes et modernes appropriées à la flûte* (c. 1725) and Blavet's three *Recueils de pièces, petits airs, menuets & c.* (1744). By the end of the century, collections of *airs et brunettes* became *petits airs*, *airs connus*, and *airs variés*, as composers were increasingly inspired by orchestral and operatic music and popular songs rather than *airs de cour*. Pedagogical variation sets likely grew out of this earlier tradition of airs with ornamented *doubles*.

Caprices served as some of the earliest technical exercises for flute in the *ancien régime* methods. The last section of De Lusse's *L'Art de la flûte traversière* contains twelve virtuosic caprices each of which include *cadences finales* which could serve as brief cadenzas. Jane M. Bowers describes these caprices as marking "the beginning of the true flute étude in France... [and] the earliest independent cadenzas in French

flute literature.”⁴⁵ De Lusse’s caprices are very technically challenging, particularly for the one-keyed flute, because of his use of brilliant arpeggio passages, harmonics, tremolo, extreme ranges of the instrument, chromaticism, octave passages, and distinctive articulation effects (ex. 2.2). Display and didactic elements are equally important in De Lusse’s caprices, but his caprices show a sensitivity for melody despite their difficulty. The free forms and figuration patterns give his caprices an improvisatory feel.



EXAMPLE 2.2 CAPRICE I FROM DE LUSSE’S *L’ART DE LA FLÛTE*

⁴⁵ Jane M. Bowers, “Lusse, (?Charles) De,” *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed 12 January, 2019, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000017206>.

Later flute caprices published in France served as technical exercises rather than improvisation models. These were often accompanied by basse, violin or a second flute, as in the case of the six caprices at the end of M. Péraut's *Méthode pour la flûte* (c. 1800). Rather than an improvisatory cadenza integrating brilliant effects, Péraut's caprices are less artful than De Lusse's caprices; Péraut's caprices make a bricolage of technically challenging and repetitive figuration which seems to be more didactic in aim. Foreign composers also published caprices of various types in France. Christian Karl Hartmann's *Caprice pour la flutte traversiere* is a relentless catalogue of various virtuosic effects.⁴⁶ Stamitz's and Vanderhagen's *Caprices en forme d'étude*, significantly less technically demanding than Hartmann's and Péraut's caprices, are tuneful pieces advertised as technical studies which hang together well as solo pieces.

Duets were another important pedagogical tool for developing flautists. By the mid-eighteenth century, two distinct sorts of duets emerged in France – concertante and pedagogical. Concertante duets usually involve more or less equal parts whereas pedagogical duets typically feature a more complex first flute part for the pupil with a simple second flute part for the teacher or *répétiteur*. In many French methods, the authors include sonatas for two flutes; others are accompanied by violin or *basse*. Often the sonatas at the end of these methods are arranged as progressive sonatas in ascending order of difficulty. In his 1794 method, Devienne includes six sonatas in ascending technical difficulty with improvisatory *préludes* before each sonata movement. Many of these *ancien régime* pedagogical materials were adapted by the earliest professors of the Paris Conservatoire.

DEVIENCE'S NOUVELLE MÉTHODE AND HUGOT & WUNDERLICH'S MÉTHODE DE FLÛTE

Bernard Sarrette's initial goal in founding the Conservatoire was to train musicians for performances of marches and hymns at massive public ceremonies and republican festivals. Sarrette also envisioned that the Conservatoire's musicians would serve the state indirectly by working in public theatres, restoring or strengthening France's reputation as a leading artistic centre. Many of the first flute professors at the

⁴⁶ Hartmann's *Caprice* is among the earliest pieces published in France for keyed flute. It descends to a low C#, and typically, French flutes from this period only have a D foot-joint.

Conservatoire including Devienne, Hugot and Schneitzhoffer, also soloists in the finest theater orchestras, were hired directly from Sarrette's *Garde Nationale* band. The earliest flute treatises used at the Conservatoire combine militaristic technical precision with familiar *ancien régime* techniques.

The two most important flute methods from the earliest years of the Conservatoire were François Devienne's *Nouvelle méthode théorique et pratique pour la flûte* (c. 1794) and Antoine Hugot and Johann Georg Wunderlich's *Méthode de flûte* (1804). The philosophies reflected in these treatises could hardly be more different. François Devienne, a staunch supporter of the eighteenth-century one-keyed flute, uses many of the types of pieces seen in *ancien régime* flute methods: *airs connus*, *préludes*, and progressive sonatas. Perhaps because of Devienne's conservative attitudes and the idiosyncratic manner in which he introduces material, the Conservatoire commissioned a new flute method which adhered to the developing standardized pedagogical principles which emphasize reverence to the composer's intentions and obedience to conductors.

Hugot and Wunderlich's treatise presents fingering charts for both one-keyed flutes and four-keyed flutes, and it is the first treatise published in France to address the difficulties of keyed flutes. The sound ideals of these two types of instruments are very different. The one-keyed flute may be characterized by the variety of timbres produced by the differing arrangement of simple and forked fingerings, whereas keyed flutes emphasize tonal homogeneity through the full range of the instrument with dedicated keys for notes produced with forked fingerings on one-keyed flutes. While keyed flutes had been relatively popular in Germany and England since the middle of the eighteenth century, French Classical-era flute players preferred one-keyed instruments with a few exceptions.⁴⁷ Kailan Rubinoff suggests that "the Conservatoire's de facto endorsement of [the keyed flute] furthered its acceptance in France and abroad."⁴⁸

The highly structured manner in which Hugot and Wunderlich introduce the added keys on the flute is very different from the less orderly way that Devienne's method and *ancien régime* treatises tended

⁴⁷ Foreign-born virtuosi including Christian Karl Hartmann and Johann Georg Wunderlich were among the earliest adopters of keyed flutes in France. It is possible that they imported keyed instruments from Germany.

⁴⁸ Kailan R. Rubinoff, "Toward a Revolutionary Model of Music Pedagogy," *The Journal of Musicology* 34, no. 4 (October 1, 2017): 492.

to introduce material. Rubinoff compares the language used in the Hugot and Wunderlich's method with that used in contemporary military manuals. She suggests that the Conservatoire's "organizational structure and pedagogical practices were modeled on the military, whose regimens, regulations and "empirical and calculated methods" instituted discipline by "controlling or correcting the operations of the body."⁴⁹ For example when learning how to use the added keys, the pupil is presented with three exercises of twelve studies each, each progressively more difficult (ex. 2.3). The first exercise is amelodic, repetitive and purely technical, while the following exercises are somewhat more melodic, slightly more varied and more technically integrated.



EXAMPLE 2.3 EXERCICES POUR LA PETITE CLEF DU FA FROM HUGOT AND WUNDERLICH'S MÉTHODE DE FLÛTE

While Hugot and Wunderlich's method of introducing the added keys is a very effective way of mastering the technical challenge for students familiar with one-keyed flutes, this way of learning is much drier than playing familiar popular airs designed to address specific difficulties.

⁴⁹ Kailan R. Rubinoff, "Toward a Revolutionary Model of Music Pedagogy," 477.

Hugot and Wunderlich's *Méthode de flûte* dispenses with ornamented airs and préludes present in Devienne's and other *ancien régime* flute methods. Hugot and Wunderlich limit discussion of improvisation to a basic discussion of essential graces, directing the curious student to the *Méthode de chant du Conservatoire* and Ozi's *Méthode de basson du Conservatoire*. Unlike Devienne's sonatas and *petits airs*, none of the progressive sonatas or études accompanying Hugot and Wunderlich's method include small-note notation, fermatas or other ad libitum indications. Most of the early Conservatoire methods encourage increased reverence to the composer's indications in the score and obedience to conductors, perhaps because of the Conservatoire's goal to produce compliant ensemble players for military bands and theater orchestras.

Another important aspect of the Conservatoire's early flute instruction is the reliance on accompanied practice. Tulou's first unofficial teaching position at the Conservatoire was as a *répétiteur* assisting Wunderlich's class. This was a non-remunerative post honoring a class's best student or ex-student, who gained pedagogical experience rehearsing duets with other students.⁵⁰ The closing section of both Devienne's *Nouvelle Méthode* and Hugot and Wunderlich's *Méthode de flûte* includes progressive sonatas with a simple accompaniment for flute or *basse* which illuminates the underlying implied harmony and stabilizes the rhythm for the student. It is likely that Tulou would have rehearsed these pieces with students as *répétiteur* to Wunderlich's class. This practice continued throughout the nineteenth century at the Conservatoire. Many books of accompanied études were issued by professors at the Conservatoire, including many duet collections by Tulou and Berbiguier's famous 18 études arranged for two flutes by Altès.

While Tulou was a student in Wunderlich's class, it is very likely that he would have worked closely with Devienne's treatise as this was the unofficial method used by the Conservatoire until 1804. Hugot and Wunderlich's treatise was not published until 1804, well after Tulou won his *premier prix* in 1801. Perhaps because of his exposure to Devienne's treatise and his work in Wunderlich's class, Tulou's *Méthode de flûte*

⁵⁰ Michelle Tellier, "Jean Louis Tulou: Flûtiste, Professeur, Facteur, Compositeur (1786-1865)" (PhD diss., Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique de Paris, 1981), 34.

(1835) shares many different aspects of the styles of playing described in Devienne's *Nouvelle méthode* and Hugot and Wunderlich's *Méthode de flûte*.

TULOU'S MÉTHODE DE FLÛTE , ÉTUDES , AND GRANDS SOLOS

Tulou's *Méthode de flûte* was first published in 1835 (chez l'auteur), but the Conservatoire replaced Hugot and Wunderlich's method with a slightly later edition of Tulou's treatise as the official flute method in 1845.⁵¹ Tulou's *Méthode de flûte* went through numerous printings and was quickly translated into several languages. The main differences between the later editions concern the mechanism of the keyed flutes which Tulou recommends. Tulou used his *Méthode de flûte* to promote his flute-making enterprise with Jacques Nonon and their *flûte perfectionnée*. The exercises within his treatise remain unchanged and are comfortably playable on flutes with all the different mechanisms which he recommends.

Tulou's *Méthode de flûte* unites the militaristic precision championed by Hugot and Wunderlich with the virtuoso panache of Devienne required by the Italian operatic style in vogue during the early nineteenth century in France. The format of Tulou's treatise is quite different than his predecessors. Tulou integrates a variety of different types of études throughout his method accompanied with detailed descriptions which aim to help the student conquer specific technical difficulties, rather than providing a more extensive section of studies at the end of the method without explanation. For example, when introducing new fingerings, he begins with one or two simple, repetitive technical exercises similar to Hugot and Wunderlich's mechanical exercises. However, Tulou's are often set for flute duo and would have been played with a *répétiteur*. These simple technical exercises are followed by a few simple melodies also in duo formation. Finally, Tulou introduces one or two more advanced studies which put the new fingering into context. This presentation format persists throughout his treatise.

At the end of his method, Tulou presents a series of progressive études which combine the various technical and musical challenges previously described in his treatise. These include eight variation sets on

⁵¹ Dorothy Glick, "Paul Taffanel and the Construction of the French Flute School" (PhD diss., University of Kansas), 26.

familiar themes, two expression studies, and a handful of extended études which focus on specific technical challenges. Hugot and Wunderlich did not use familiar airs as pedagogical pieces, possibly in order to distance themselves from the *ancien régime* tradition of ornamented *airs et brunettes*. It is possible that Tulou appreciated this type of étude from Devienne's treatise or other eighteenth century treatises. Tulou argues that using familiar themes as material for études makes them more accessible for students:

Les études, qui n'ont pas de mélodie manquent généralement d'intérêt, aussi ai-je eu l'idée de me servir, pour études, de thèmes choisis dans les ouvrages des auteurs les plus renommés... Par ce moyen les élèves éprouveront un certain plaisir à travailler et leurs progrès n'en seront que plus rapides.⁵²

Like Hugot and Wunderlich's treatise, Tulou's *Méthode de flûte* does not contain an explicit discussion of improvisation beyond a description of how to execute essential graces, but many of his études contain improvisatory elements including written-out cadenzas and undecorated fermatas. While Hugot and Wunderlich do not include ad libitum elements in their études or préludes, Devienne includes several written-out cadenzas and préludes before each movement of his progressive sonatas and a handful of études in additional keys.

Tulou's eighth étude is a variation set based on Rosina's cavatina "Una voce poco fa" from Rossini's *Il barbiere di Siviglia*. Tulou's arrangement begins with a straightforward reduction of Rossini's cavatina (ex.2.4), but the setting quickly diverges, embellishing already by the tenth measure in the part of the phrase corresponding to "lo giurai", suggesting a surprising piano dynamic on "la vincerò" (m. 11) and alternate fiorature on "Sì, Lindoro mio sarà" (m. 13). Tulou closes the statement of the theme with an original cadenza (mm. 14-15) followed by an orchestral punctuation (m. 16). Tulou's alterations are not only decorative, but also dramatic. The piano on "la vincerò" (m. 11) suggests a quiet determination not indicated in Rossini's score, as Rosina vows to win the heart of Lindoro, the disguised Count Almaviva.

⁵² Jean-Louis Tulou, *Méthode de flûte* (Mainz: Schott, c.1852), 15.

98

Andante sostenuto.

ROSSINI.

8^e

ÉTUDE.

EXAMPLE 2.4 ÉTUDE 8 FROM TULOU'S MÉTHODE DE FLÛTE

Tulou follows the exposition of the theme with three variations written in different characters. Tulou's first variation (ex. 2.5) transforms the Andante sostenuto of the theme to an Allegro moderato while maintaining the sustained profile of the theme in the livelier tempo by filling in the textual spaces with legato *fiorature*.

1^{re} Var: All.^{to} moderato.

EXAMPLE 2.5 ÉTUDE 8 FROM TULOU'S MÉTHODE DE FLÛTE

Tulou closes the variation with increasingly emphatic florid embellishment and a cadenza which expands on the contour of the theme's cadenza and changes its character. Here, Tulou accentuates the *rinforzando* appoggiatura from b⁷ to a⁷ by preceding it with a gentle piano ascent to the b-flat⁷ which suggests a tender turn to the minor mode; often, Tulou's upward motion in scales is accompanied with a crescendo. Tulou completes the cadenza with a fluid decoration of the dominant before ending with a 3-2 appoggiatura. The second variation is a light-hearted technical study in a patter idiom with many repeated notes and short slurs.

Tulou's third variation (ex. 2.6) explores a new timbral area of the instrument. The theme originally set in an open key of D major is now transposed to B-flat major, which sounds very tender on simple system instruments because of the arrangement of forked fingerings and notes which require the added keys.

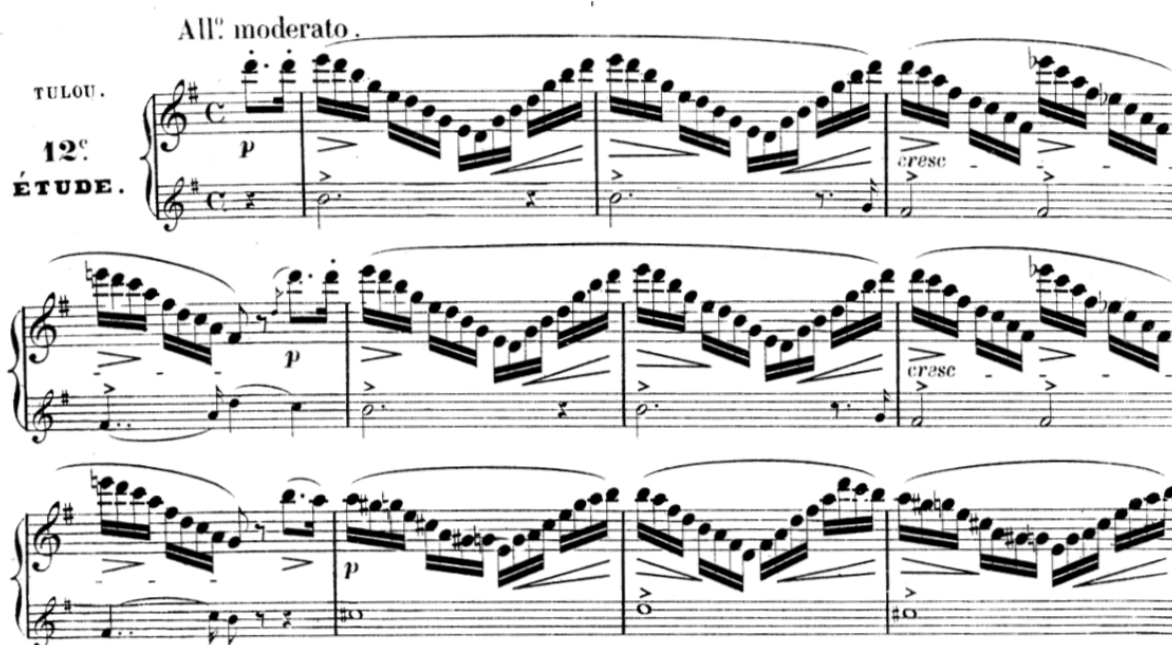
ADAGIO .

EXAMPLE 2.6 ÉTUDE 8 FROM TULOU'S MÉTHODE DE FLÛTE

Tulou explores a new style of figuration in this variation, enhancing the cantabile character of the adagio melody with elegant *leggiero* extensions. Throughout the étude, the contour of the original melody is always easily heard, but the decoration changes. His variation études are not extremely technically difficult, but they invite a keen awareness of the style of the time through examples of ornamentation.

Tulou also includes more straightforward technical études in his *Méthode* which task the student with different challenges including descending slurs, staccato articulation, arpeggios, louré articulation, trills, double tonguing, and finger equality. On the whole, Tulou's études are melodic and pleasurable to play and perfectly crafted for the simple system instruments he preferred. His arpeggio étude no. 12 (ex. 2.7) is a coloristic study which exploits the unequal timbres of the keyed flute. On the instruments of the

time, each tonality had a very specific timbre due to the arrangement of forked fingerings and notes produced with the added keys.



EXAMPLE 2.7 ÉTUDE 12 FROM TULOU'S MÉTHODE DE FLÛTE

TULOU'S GRANDS SOLOS

After mastering the études in Conservatoire's flute method, the final test for a Conservatoire student hoping to graduate with a *premier prix* was the *Grand Solo* which was performed at the annual public Concours. While it is yet unknown exactly what Tulou played as a student when he won his *deuxième prix* and *premier prix* at the Conservatoire's Concours, it is likely that he played a concerto or adaptation of a concerto written by one of the Conservatoire's professors, Devienne, Hugot or Wunderlich. The first pieces published as *Grands Solos* were drawn directly from popular concertos by the professors of the Conservatoire. For example, Hugot's first *Grand Solo* (*Six Grands Solos et Rondos ou Etudes Pour la Flûte*) is a faithful

quotation of his first Concerto in G major (1782) including both the solo and tutti sections, adapted successfully as a solo flute piece (ex. 2.8).⁵³



EXAMPLE 2.8 HUGOT GRAND SOLO I FROM *SIX GRANDS SOLOS ET RONDOS OU ETUDES POUR LA FLûTE*

During Tulou's tenure at the Conservatoire (1829-1856), he published fifteen *Grands Solos* specifically written for the Concours; several of his operatic fantasies and concertos were also used at the Concours in addition to these pieces. Though Tulou published many other pieces during his career, he is largely known now for these pedagogical pieces; his 3e Grand Solo Op. 74 and 13e Grand Solo Op. 96 are among the most popular today. Tulou's Concours pieces were used well into the 1890s when Taffanel began to commission new works for the annual competition.

Tulou's *Grands Solos* compress three-movement concerto form into a one movement piece. The choice not to use contemporary concertos was probably practical for the abilities of developing students and the attention spans of the Concours jury and public. In contrast with the eighteenth-century concertos

⁵³ There are printed editions of Devienne's concertos reduced to a trio format and Wunderlich's concertos reduced for solo flute for pedagogical purposes. It is unclear whether the soloist would have been expected to play in orchestral tutti sections during this era. The reduction format helped the student to train for a public performance of the concerto, preparing the solo sections while cultivating awareness of the tutti sections.

by Devienne, Hugot and Wunderlich which were probably used as the first Concours pieces, concertos in Tulou's era had become much more substantial pieces of very advanced difficulty lasting thirty or forty minutes. Tulou's *Grands Solos* are conceived on a much smaller scale than his concertos; the difficult passagework he includes is compressed into a much shorter span and on the whole is somewhat simpler than the writing in his concertos.

A few of Tulou's *Grand Solos* include variations, but most are written in a form which reduces concerto form to one continuous movement. With the exception of Tulou's 8e and 10e *Grands Solos* which begin with slow sections, most of his *Grand Solos* include a central Adagio section, often written in a distantly related tonality, framed by quicker sections with ritornelli. For example, his 9e *Grand Solo*, Op. 91 includes an Adagio section in the harsh tonality of F# major, contrasting the mellow E-flat major of the Allegro sections, and his 3e *Grand Solo* in D minor includes an Adagio section in Db-major (ex. 2.9).



EXAMPLE 2.9 TULOU GRAND SOLO 3

The tonal contrast allowed the student to demonstrate their mastery of the keyed flute. Each tonality on these flutes has its own particular technical demands because of the instrument's mechanism, and Tulou's use of remote tonalities requires an advanced timbral fluency from his students far beyond the easy keys of D major, G major, and E minor. Many of Tulou's solos end with a quick section with a coda in a faster tempo than the original indication of the quick sections, often accompanied with an *animato* or *leggero* indication. Generally if Tulou begins the solo in a minor key, he ends it in its relative major, as in

the case of his 3e, 5e and 10e *Grands Solos*. For example, he begins the quick section of his 10e *Grand Solo* in E minor (ex. 2.10) and ends it with a coda section of more advanced difficulty, *poco più animato*, which extends a statement of the head motive of the Allegro section now in the relative major (ex. 2.11).



EXAMPLE 2.10 TULOU GRAND SOLO 10



EXAMPLE 2.11 TULOU GRAND SOLO 10

The types of technical challenges in these pieces, including octaves, staccato passages, quick trills, scales, arpeggios, and tonal contrast, are not significantly different from those seen in the études in his method; however, the expressive demands in the *Grands Solos* are broader than those in his études. Tulou's dynamic contrasts are extreme, and he demonstrates stylish embellishment practices with numerous cadenzas and elegantly ornamented reprises. The student could learn how and where to embellish according to the principles demonstrated in these pieces. Tulou's 11e *Grand Solo* includes several remarkably florid cadenzas with different musical functions. The first cadenza (ex. 2.12) which closes the opening Allegro section is a surprising feint. Instead of cadencing to the dominant in the measure before the cadenza, Tulou extends the tension of the secondary dominant and begins the secondary theme which follows in the dominant.



EXAMPLE 2.12 TULOU GRAND SOLO 11

A subsequent cadenza effects a modulation to B-flat major after a tutti section (ex. 2.13)



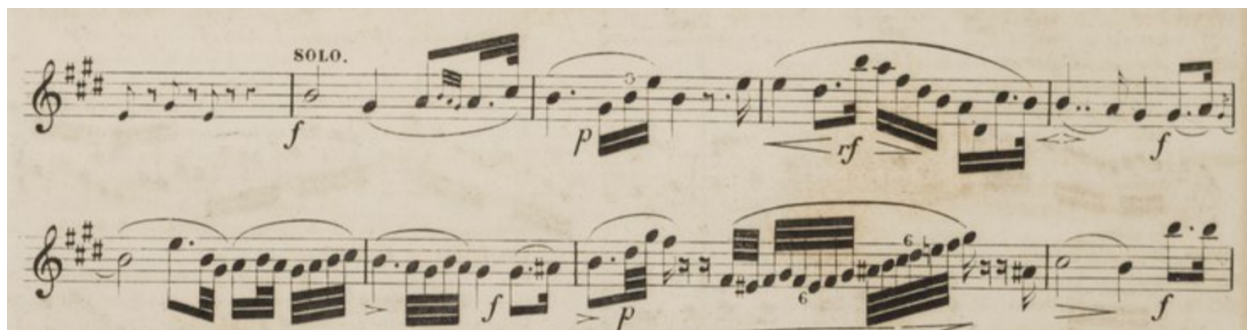
EXAMPLE 2.13 TULOU GRAND SOLO 11

Another cadenza in the Andante sostenuto section (ex. 2.14) decorates a perfect authentic cadence. Tulou's use of meticulously notated ornamental flourishes beside the small note notation of the cadenza in this Romance is curious. The small note notation may indicate tempo rubato or potentially an invitation for an improvised cadenza.



EXAMPLE 2.14 TULOU GRAND SOLO 11

Tulou's *Adagio* sections in the *Grands Solos* also include many varied reprises of themes. The 10e *Grand Solo* begins with an ornately decorated melody (ex. 2.15).



EXAMPLE 2.15 TULOU GRAND SOLO 10

This melody returns at the end of the opening section with more ornate decoration and a similar dynamic shape (ex. 2.16). As in Tulou's variation études, the simple melody is always perceptible despite the addition of increasingly emphatic flourishes.



EXAMPLE 2.16 TULOU GRAND SOLO 10

Tulou's *Méthode de flûte* unites the best aspects of Hugot and Wunderlich's militaristic flute method and *ancien régime* flute methods which relied heavily on vocal imitation. Though Tulou does not include an explicit discussion of improvisation in his method, his variation and expression études and Concours pieces reveal decorative practices through example. Like the eighteenth-century tradition of ornamented airs, the types of embellishment which Tulou uses are drawn from vocal examples, in his case

from the Italian bel canto singers heard at the Opéra and other Parisian theaters. In the next chapter, I will examine connections between vocal and instrumental practices related to improvisation.

3. CHANGING THE SCORE: VOCAL ORNAMENTATION

An understanding of nineteenth-century vocal conventions pertaining to improvisation is essential for understanding figuration and improvisational flexibility in instrumental genres. Instrumental treatises frequently make comparisons to singers when discussing tone and expression. Tulou idealized the sound of the human voice when describing the ideal sound of the flute in his *Méthode*: “Qu’est-ce qu’un beau son sur la flûte? C’est le son qui se rapproche le plus de la voix humaine... la plénitude, la sonorité et le moelleux de la voix.”⁵⁴ Instrumentalists were also inspired by singers on issues of style and ornamentation. Some histories describe nineteenth-century improvisation as primarily belonging to pianists, violinists and vocalists, but looking at Tulou’s music and the music of his flautist colleagues, it is inconceivable that they did not improvise, though the official Conservatoire methods did not include explicit discussions of improvisation.

Many general music histories including those by Burkholder, Taruskin, Grout, Kimbell, and Celletti describe the nineteenth-century as a general period of decline for vocal embellishment beginning with Rossini’s use of more prescriptive notation with some opera singers. However, recent scholarship suggests a more fluid relationship between the composer’s intentions and the contribution of singers. These secondary sources include Will Crutchfield’s work on early recordings of Verdi; Austin Caswell’s exploration of Laure Cinti-Damoreau’s *Méthode de chant* and improvisation notebooks; Damien Colas’s chapter on Rossini’s ornamentation; Cindy Lee Kim’s dissertation on sources in nineteenth century ornamentation; and others. There are many reviews of singers improvising florid ornamentation in the French press during the first half of the nineteenth century. Numerous pedagogical sources on ornamentation also survive. In this chapter, I situate nineteenth-century French vocal sources on florid embellishment in the context of Tulou’s close working relationships with singers and explore how singers’ ornamentation was received by critics in a climate of mounting compositional authority.

THE BRODERIE DEBATE: CRITICAL REACTIONS TO ORNAMENTATION

For some critics, notably Berlioz, the practice of florid ornamentation was a threat to the integrity of a composition. Katharine Ellis suggests that Berlioz’s preferences for expressions of the monumental and

⁵⁴ Jean-Louis Tulou, *Méthode de flûte*, 2.

sublime through elegantly simple, unadorned melodies “over the exquisite, the decorative and the touching” may have been motivated by contemporary notions of gender.⁵⁵ The art of florid embellishment grew out of the eighteenth-century tradition led by the castrati.⁵⁶ Many of the artists which Berlioz criticized harshly for excessive ornamentation were castrati or female.

Katharine Ellis observes how Berlioz’s reactions to women improvisers, including Laure Cinti-Damoreau, Maria Nau, Giulia Grisi, and Maria Malibran, were much harsher than his critiques of Paganini, Chopin, and Liszt. In a review of a performance of *Don Giovanni*, Berlioz wrote: “Mme Damoreau-Zerline chante comme la flûte de Tulou; malheureusement elle a toujours envie de jouer le concerto, les broderies lui échappent pour ainsi dire à son insu.”⁵⁷ While instrumentalists are often compared with singers, it is striking that Berlioz inverts this analogy. Berlioz seems to praise Cinti-Damoreau for the technical perfection of her execution, as it approaches the art of the celebrated flautist, Tulou, but he deemed her ornamentation excessive for its context in Mozart’s opera. He accuses Cinti-Damoreau of unwittingly using arbitrary embellishments.

More sympathetic commentary on florid embellishment coexisted alongside Berlioz’s criticism. Chopin, who was known as an improviser, had a more favourable reaction to Cinti-Damoreau’s embellishments when comparing her with Tulou. He wrote: “Elle chante on ne peut mieux. Je préfère son chant à celui de la Malibran. La Malibran étonne, Cinti charme et elle exécute les gammes chromatiques mieux que le célèbre Tulou sur la flûte.”⁵⁸

Marie-Henri Beyle, who wrote under the pen name Stendhal, described the castrato Giovanni Velluti’s performances as revelatory and credited the singer with unveiling the true nature of a composer’s work by transmitting a perfect understanding of the emotional nuances of the text through eloquent

⁵⁵ Katharine Ellis, ‘Berlioz, the Sublime, and the *Broderie* Problem’ in *Hector Berlioz. Miscellaneous Studies*, ed. Fulvia Morabito and Michela Niccolai (*Ad Parnassum* Monographs, 1) (Bologna, Ut Orpheus Edizioni, 2005), 29.

⁵⁶ See John Potter, “The Tenor-Castrato Connection, 1760-1860,” *Early Music* 35, no. 1 (2007): 97-110. <http://www.jstor.org.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/stable/4137273>.

⁵⁷ Hector Berlioz, H. Robert Cohen, and Yves Gérard, *Critique musicale d’Hector Berlioz* (Paris: Buchet/Chastel, 1996), 196.

⁵⁸ Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger, *Chopin vu par ses élèves* (Paris: La Baconnière, 1979), 161.

ornamentation. Cindy Lee Kim identifies an elegant analogy about Velluti's powers of expression through ornamentation in Stendhal's *Vie de Rossini*:⁵⁹

Une femme jolie, et surtout remarquable par une taille superbe, qui se promène à la terrasse des Feuillants, enveloppée dans sa fourrure, par un beau soleil du mois de décembre, est un objet fort agréable aux yeux; mais si un instant après cette femme entre dans un joli salon garni de fleurs, et où des bouches de chaleur artistement ménagés font régner une température douce et égale, elle quitte sa fourrure et paraît dans toute la fraîcheur brillante d'une toilette de printemps. Faites venir d'Italie la romance de l'*Isolina*, entendez-la chanter par une jolie voix de ténor, vous verrez apparaître la jeune femme de la terrasse des Feuillants, mais vous ne pourrez guère juger que de l'élégance des mouvements et des formes; la fraîcheur et le fini des contours seront invisibles pour vous. Que ce soit au contraire la délicieuse voix de Velluti qui chante sa romance favorite, vos yeux sont dessillés, et bientôt ravis à la vue des contours délicats dont le charme voluptueux viendra les séduire.⁶⁰

While critics of florid embellishment like Berlioz describe ornamentation in terms of its capacity to obscure a melody, Stendhal reverses this metaphor. He depicts Velluti's performance of Morlacchi's romance as revelatory, comparing it to a shapely young woman throwing off a fur mantle to unveil a fashionable spring toilette in the dead of winter. The true shape of the piece is only unveiled through Velluti's embellishment; a less stylistically aware performance can be alluring and suggestive, but the lack of appropriate ornamentation obscures the essence of the piece.

It bears mentioning that both Berlioz's and Stendhal's reactions to singers' embellishments suggest that singers in early nineteenth-century France considered the musical text to be much more flexible than many performers today would. Some critics like Berlioz dismissed decorative *fiorature* as effeminate and decadent due to significant anxiety about the integrity of the musical text, venerating the composer's intentions. Others felt that a singer's eloquent ornamentation was essential for clarifying and enhancing the composer's intentions transmitted in the score. Unfortunately, it's impossible to understand these critiques fully, as none of these performances were recorded. Some transcriptions of singers' ornaments were published, though they may have been simplified for domestic use.

⁵⁹ Cindy Lee Kim, "Changing Meanings of Ornamentation in Nineteenth-Century Italian Opera," (PhD diss., Eastman School of Music, 2011), 78-79.

⁶⁰ Marie-Henri Beyle, *Vie de Rossini par M. de Stendhal* (Paris: Auguste Boulland, 1824), 334.

CINTI-DAMOREAU AND TULOU TOGETHER

Tulou came to be known in the French press with the moniker, le Rossignol, because of his exemplary performance in Louis-Sébastien Lebrun's comic opera, *Le rossignol* (1816). An unnamed critic in 1828 wrote: "la musique du *Rossignol* est écoutée avec plaisir malgré sa nullité absolue; grâces en soient rendues d'abord à la flûte de M. Tulou, et puis à la voix de Mlle Cinti."⁶¹ Nevertheless, Lebrun's opera was evidently very entertaining and was performed 227 times at the Opéra between 1816 and 1852⁶²

While the soprano Louise-Marie-Augustine Albert sang Philis' role at the work's first performance, Laure Cinti-Damoreau performed this role for many years. Cinti-Damoreau made her début at the Opéra in 1825 as Philis. The most famous number in *Le Rossignol* is Philis' aria, 'Toi qui nous plait,' a bravura duet with obligato flute. Cinti-Damoreau and Tulou performed this aria on many occasions together in the context of Lebrun's opera and also in concert settings.

Cinti-Damoreau was one of Rossini's favourite sopranos in France and sang leading roles at the French premières of *Moïse*, *Le siège de Corinthe*, *le comte Ory*, and *Guillaume Tell*. She was also integral to the first performances of Auber's *La muette de Portici* and Meyerbeer's *Robert le diable* at the Opéra. Tulou published many variations and transcriptions of operas in which they both participated. Cinti-Damoreau was known for the purity of her tone and intonation, and particularly for her "stylish and varied" ornamentation.⁶³

Tellier cites a reminiscence from the *Notice nécrologique* published in *L'Art musical* from 1865 which praises Cinti-Damoreau and Tulou's collaboration in Lebrun's opera:

On se rappelle combien il contribua au succès du *Rossignol*, de Lebrun, et quelle lutte adorable Mme Damoreau soutenait avec lui. Les abonnés de l'Opéra ne manquaient pas une seule de ces représentations, où la cantatrice et le virtuose rivalisaient de verve, de talent souple et gracieux, de ressources imprévues et d'imperturbable assurance.

⁶¹ Le Figaro: journal littéraire, May 30, 1828, 1.

⁶² Michelle Tellier, "Jean Louis Tulou : flûtiste, professeur, facteur, compositeur (1786-1865)," (PhD diss., Conservatoire National Supérieur de Paris, 1981), 163.

⁶³ Philip H. Robinson, "Cinti-Damoreau [née Montalant], Laure." Grove Music Online. Accessed 19 Mar. 2019.

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-5000009959>.

Quels traits prodigieux! Quelles fines arabesques! C'était à qui broderait le mieux sur ce pâle canevas, et l'on ne savait qui le plus applaudir de la chanteuse incomparable ou du flûtiste sans rival. C'est que Tulou était un excellent chanteur...⁶⁴

The unnamed author emphasizes the role of their ornamentation in the reception of the work. Lebrun's piece as written may have been mediocre, but their improvisatory competition made it an appealing spectacle.

Cinti-Damoreau taught at the Conservatoire from 1833 until 1856 and published a *Méthode de chant* in 1849 for her classes. Her singing method is largely a collection of vocalises and examples of specific ornamentation suggestions for some of the most famous arias from the bel canto and Grand Opera repertoire. Cinti-Damoreau only provides short introductory remarks briefly explaining her technical exercises, but she provides more specific instruction during her discussion of *points d'orgues*:

Il faut généralement après avoir attaqué la note sur laquelle est placé le point d'orgue adoucir l'accentuation de cette note elle même de façon à donner plus de charme et de légèreté à la première partie du point d'orgue. La voix ainsi ménagée, en commençant le trait, arrive alors facilement à le terminer avec plus de force.⁶⁵

She generally recommends ending final cadenzas grandly with a *rallentando* unless the cadenza ends a piece which demands brilliance.⁶⁶

Cinti-Damoreau intended the embellishments in her treatise to be a starting place for the student, rather than to be executed exactly as she wrote them. She recommended that the student undertake serious study of ornamentation in order not to mutate the intentions of the composer with tasteless *fiorature*.

Les points d'orgue, traits et rentrées consacrés à embellir un morceau doivent avant tout porter le cachet du morceau auquel ils sont destinés, c'est-à-dire en avoir le caractère et le mouvement. Dans ce but on devra dans la même morceau, en passant de l'Andante à l'Allegro par exemple, avoir le soin de changer le genre des traits consacrés à chacun de ces mouvements. Enfin il faut s'attacher à ne point dénaturer la pensée du compositeur par des fioritures de mauvais goût. Dans les points d'orgue, traits et rentrées qui suivent, adoptés par moi aux principaux airs du répertoire, on trouve

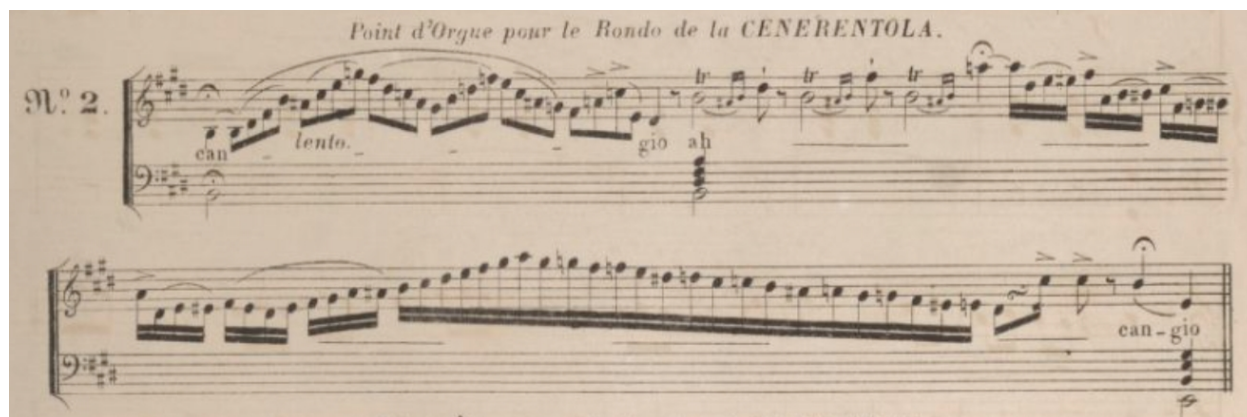
⁶⁴ Tellier, "Jean-Louis Tulou," 167.

⁶⁵ Cinti-Damoreau, *Méthode de chant composée pour ses classes du Conservatoire* (Paris: au Ménéstrel, 1849), 44.

⁶⁶ Cinti-Damoreau, *Méthode de chant*, 46

"Les Points d'orgue ou Fioritures finales doivent se terminer largement et en ralentissant. On doit cependant en excepter les Points d'orgue qui finissent certains morceaux qui exigent de l'élan et du brillant."

le sujet d'une étude sérieuse sur les fioritures. Il sera surtout essentiel de suivre toutes les indications de nuance.⁶⁷



EXAMPLE 3.1 CADENZA FROM CINTI-DAMOREAU'S MÉTHODE DE CHANT

After these brief recommendations she gives many specific examples of embellishments from the literature (ex. 3.1) and ends her treatise with a double cadenza co-written with flautist, Jean-Louis Tulou from Lebrun's comic opera, *Le Rossignol*, in which the soprano and flute compete (ex. 3.2).

⁶⁷ Cinti-Damoreau, *Méthode de chant*, 96.

LE ROSSIGNOL.
avec Accompagnement de Flûte par M^r TULOU.

90.50

Chantons en - sem - ble ah

pp *pp* *p* *f* *pp* *p* *f* *pp* *p* *dolce.* *dolce.* *léger.* *f* *p* *f* *f*

EXAMPLE 3.2 DUO-CADENZA FROM CINTI-DAMOREAU'S MÉTHODE DE CHANT



EXAMPLE 3.3 CADENZA IN PRINTED EDITION OF LEBRUN'S LE ROSSIGNOL (M. 1-11)

The cadenza in Cinti-Damoreau's method (ex. 3.2) is much more complex than the version in the printed edition of Lebrun's opera (ex. 3.3). Lebrun's cadenza begins with an elaboration of a tonic pedal (m. 2-5) and a decorated ascending scale (m. 6-8) during which the flute and soprano remain in sixths; the cadenza ends with a brief dialogue between soprano and flute before a *cadence finale* (m. 9-11). The figuration in Cinti-Damoreau and Tulou's cadenza is less predictable than Lebrun's printed cadenza. Cinti-Damoreau and Tulou use more surprising dynamic effects and harmonic sequences. The flute alternates between supporting the soprano and echoing her. It is striking how closely the flute follows Philis's line. Tulou later published a collection of arias from *Le Rossignol* arranged for two flutes which he advertised as containing the cadenzas performed at the *Académie Royale*. It would be interesting to compare the cadenzas from Tulou's collection with those in the printed edition of Lebrun's opera and Cinti-Damoreau's method.

Tulou and Cinti-Damoreau were also famous for their concert performances of the aria "*La fauvette avec ses petits*" from Grétry's *Zémire et Azor*. A reviewer in 1833 complaining about exaggerated acting style in the theater compared a group of actors to "madame Damoreau et à Tulou écrasant l'air de la Fauvette du pauvre Grétry de plusieurs milliers de traits et de fioritures!"⁶⁸ While I know of no exact transcription of one of their performances, it is likely that they added quite a bit. We can imagine their embellishment style from Tulou's transcription of *la Fauvette* (ex. 3.4). The transcription begins faithfully, but Tulou introduces some modest embellishments already by the sixth measure. Tulou includes numerous cadenzas and *rentrées* in this transcription sometimes at surprising moments. Generally, the flute embodies the soprano and the pianist takes on the flautist's role in these cadenzas (ex. 3.5). While the writing here is more instrumental than vocal, the dialogue between the flute and the piano may be evocative of the types of embellishments which one may have heard in a performance of this aria by Tulou and Cinti-Damoreau.

⁶⁸ M. Ernest Legouvé, *Le Voleur*, April 20, 1833, 342.

LA FAUVETTE.

FLUTE. *Solo.*

PIANO.

The musical score is for a piece titled "LA FAUVETTE." It is arranged for Flute and Piano. The Flute part is marked "Solo." and "f". The Piano part is marked "ff" and "f". The score is in 3/4 time and consists of 16 measures. The Flute part is marked "Solo." and "f". The Piano part is marked "ff" and "f". The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

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EXAMPLE 3.4 TULOU TRANSCRIPTION OF GRETRY'S AIR DE LA FAUVETTE



EXAMPLE 3.5 A CADENZA FROM TULOU'S FAUVETTE TRANSCRIPTION

Cinti-Damoreau left the Opéra in 1836, but Tulou remained in the orchestra until his retirement in 1856. Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor* was first performed at the Opéra on February 20, 1846, and it is likely that Tulou would have played in this performance with the soprano Fanny Tacchinardi-Persiani in the titular role. According to Naomi Matsumoto, Lucia's famous mad scene began to be performed with a flute-cadenza at the end of the 'Ardon gl'incensi' section, bridging the *cantabile* and *tempo di mezzo* in the mid-nineteenth century. She observes that the cadenza in the composer's autograph (ex. 3.6), which does

not feature obbligato flute, is “little more than a short ornament to be sung in one breath on the dominant chord, and is hardly likely to have exploited the vocal armoury of the original singer to the full.”⁶⁹

EXAMPLE 3.6 CADENZA FROM DONIZETTI'S LUCIA DI LAMMERMOOR

It is not known who first decided to perform this cadenza with obbligato flute, but some suggest that it was either Teresa Brambilla or Mathilde Marchesi. While it is not clear where this practice originated, Matsumoto finds it likely that “the first flute-cadenza for Lucia must have preceded Marchesi’s version by at least two decades.”⁷⁰ She suggests that Christina Nilsson, Ilma de Murska, Emma Albani, and Adelina Patti probably did not improvise their own duo-cadenzas but composed them in advance, arguing that “the duet aspect of the cadenza meant that there could no longer be a spontaneous display of vocal acrobatics, due to the need to work with flute.”⁷¹ Performing duo cadenzas certainly requires coordination, but the form does not preclude improvisation. It would be interesting to investigate further whether Persiani, who was

⁶⁹ Naomi Matsumoto, “Manacled Freedom: 19th-Century Vocal Improvisation and the Flute-Accompanied Cadenza in Donizetti’s *Lucia di Lammermoor*” in *Beyond Notes: Improvisation in Western Music of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. Rudolf Rasch (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 297.

⁷⁰ Naomi Matsumoto, “Manacled Freedom,” 299.

⁷¹ Naomi Matsumoto, “Manacled Freedom,” 300.

known for her witty embellishments, may have performed a duo cadenza in her performances of *Lucia di Lammermoor* at the Opéra with Tulou or his colleague Louis Dorus.

VARIATIONS BY SINGERS AND INSTRUMENTALISTS IN THE CONCERT AND SALON

In addition to his career at the Opéra, Tulou also worked closely with singers on the concert stage and in the salon. Concert programmes in the early nineteenth century were very long and extremely varied with instrumental selections interspersed among arias. For an example of a typical concert programme, we can look at the first half of Tulou's benefit concert from 25 April 1824 at the *Académie Royale de Musique*; this was followed by a performance of Sedaine's three-act opéra-ballet, *Aline, reine de Golconde*.

1. Symphonie d'Haydn
2. Air italien de Mozart, chanté par Mlle Demeri
3. Fantaisie pour la flûte, composée et exécuté par M. Tulou
4. Air d'*Elisabetta*, musique de Rossini, chanté par Mlle. Cinti
5. Improvisation suivie d'un Thème, variés et exécutés par le jeune Listz [sic]
6. Duo de l'*Armide*, de M. Rossini, chanté par M. Bordogni et Mlle Cinti
7. Air du *Grénadier*, varié pour la flûte, et exécuté par M. Tulou⁷²

This remarkable collection of performers assembled by Tulou probably presented some variations which were previously composed and some which were spontaneously presented, as the improvisation by the thirteen-year-old prodigy Franz Liszt.

In concert settings, singers may have ornamented much more extravagantly than at the opera because they did not have to focus as much on the dramatic aspect since the arias were removed from the original context. Cindy Lee Kim documents "programs with vocalists performing 'variations'" in concert settings similar to Tulou's benefit.⁷³ She suggests that singing variations on arias was different than the ordinary practice of embellishment, as the focus would have been on the singer's individual improvisatory talents. Exercises like Luigi Lablache's vocalise 14, *Essai sur l'art de varier* (ex. 3.7) or his section *De l'art d'orner la mélodie* (ex. 3.8) from his *Méthode complète de chant* (1840), or Alexis de Garaudé's exercise which presents fifty versions of the same measure would have been helpful when learning this skill.⁷⁴

⁷² Le diable boiteux: journal des spectacles, des mœurs et de la littérature. 2^e année, no. 116, April 25, 1824, 1.

⁷³ Kim, "Changing Meanings of Ornamentation," 199.

⁷⁴ Alexis de Garaudé, *Méthode complète de chant, oeuvre 40* (Paris: Vaillant, 1826), 267-268.

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ESSAI SUR L'ART DE VARIER

VOCALISE 14:

THEME *Andante.* *Suivez.*

Var: 1. *Con espressione.* *Suivez.*

Var: 2. *Grazioso.* *Suivez.*

Var: 3. *Poco agitato.* *Suivez.*

Var: 4. *Allegro.* *Suivez.*

Var: 5. *Largo.* *Suivez.*

Var: 6. *Allegro.* *Suivez.*

PIANO.

C. C. 556

EXAMPLE 3.7 VOCALISE 14 FROM LUIGI LABLACHE'S MÉTHODE DE CHANT



EXAMPLE 3.8 DE L'ART D'ORNER LA MÉLODIE FROM LUIGI LABLACHE'S MÉTHODE DE CHANT

In Lablache's examples, he presents a simple melody followed by six or eight differently ornamented versions of the same melody. In his section on the art of ornamenting a melody (ex. 3.8), Lablache presents a few short phrases and gives examples on the most appropriate ornaments in eight different characters: light, tender, impassioned, brilliant, elegant, gracious, painful, and choleric.

The close association of singers and instrumentalists created a friendly element of competition and inspiration in the concert setting. Sometimes, the same aria would have been varied multiple times in the same evening by different performers, both vocal and instrumental, generally to the delight of the audience. It is likely that instrumentalists would have picked up many types of embellishment from singers.

Singers were in turn inspired by instrumentalists' improvisational virtuosity. Pierre Rode's popular Variations in G major, Opus 10 were adapted for many different instruments including in an arrangement for flute published by Jean-Louis Tulou, but these variations were also famously performed by Angelica Catalani set to words and published in several versions as "Rode's celebrated air... with Madame Catalani's variations", "Variazione di bravura per soprano di P. Rode", and "Il dolce canto". The violinist Charles de Bériot often performed Tartini's Devil's Trill Sonata with a cadenza sung by his wife Maria Malibran in concert settings.

Tulou was no stranger to the salon circuit, and he encountered many of the same personalities in these private settings. In the *Revue musicale*, Fétis wrote about a vocal-instrumental collaboration called the *Cercle musicale* which was founded in order to present private and public concerts, to improve the status of salon music and to write orchestral music for the *Société des concerts du Conservatoire*. The

founders of this organization included pianist Bertini, harpist Labarre, violinists Lafont, Alard, and Cuvillon, the cellist Franchomme, flautist Tulou, oboist Brod, hornist Gallay, and vocalists Bordogni and Geraldini. Henri Herz, Chopin and Liszt also later participated in the *Cercle musicale*, and many of the finest opera singers were invited to their *séances*. It would be interesting to explore whether any specific accounts of their *séances* survive in order to determine how they worked, but it was likely that this collection of virtuosi cultivated an inspiring atmosphere of improvisation.

The *Cercle musicale* members published many collaboratively written virtuosic variations on the most popular contemporary opera arias, as well as transcriptions of Schubert's lieder which enjoyed a vogue at the time due to the efforts of tenor Adolphe Nourrit. Tulou and Labarre published a set of three nocturnes on Schubert's lieder, many of which were famously sung by Nourrit in French translations. These transcriptions are more subtly ornamented than many of Tulou's operatic transcriptions. David Tunley suggests French singers approached Schubert's lieder in a similar way to how they sang romances, focusing more on declamation and dynamic nuance with light, tasteful ornamentation.⁷⁵

Today, the art of florid ornamentation seems nearly extinct when comparing most modern recordings of operas by Rossini, Bellini, Auber, and Meyerbeer with scores. There are many types of textual evidence for the practice of florid ornamentation comprising treatises written by singers, press, manuscript copies of arias copied by singers, singers' notebooks, different versions of composer's sketches written for different singers, and published scores of arias with the embellishments by famous singers. In addition, Will Crutchfield's close study of phonograph recordings shows that vocal ornamentation persisted well into the early twentieth century.⁷⁶ Critical reactions to vocal ornamentation by Stendhal and Berlioz may help contextualize the contemporary hesitation to ornamentation on the part of vocalists, which in turn informs the approach of many instrumentalists today.

Instrumentalists and vocalists inspired each other at the opera, concert stage, and in salon settings. Tulou likely had an intimate understanding of vocal improvisation techniques due to his close connection with some of the finest opera singers of the time and his colleagues at the Conservatoire. A study of singing

⁷⁵ David Tunley, *Salons Singers and Songs: A Background to Romantic French Song 1830-1870* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2017), 97.

⁷⁶ See Will Crutchfield, "Vocal Ornamentation in Verdi: The Phonographic Evidence" *19th-Century Music* 7, no. 1 (1983): 3-54. doi:10.2307/746545.

methods from the period may enrich the historical performer interested in florid improvisation and variations and inform the performer on how flexible the work concept was during this period. In the next chapter, we will return to instrumental methods and Tulou's works to complete the picture.

4. BEYOND TULOU'S MÉTHODE : SOURCES ON MELODIC IMPROVISATION AND TULOU'S MUSIC

The first official Conservatoire flute methods, Hugot and Wunderlich's *Méthode de Flûte* and Tulou's *Méthode de flûte*, do not write explicitly about improvisation beyond a basic description of the essential graces. However, Tulou's études and *Grands Solos* contain many *ad libitum* elements, which suggest the persistence of improvisation based on vocal models similar to the eighteenth-century tradition of ornamented *airs et brunettes*. The close connections between improvising singers and instrumentalists on the concert stage and in the salon created an inspiring, collaborative atmosphere.

Besides the reviews of Cinti-Damoreau and Tulou improvising together, there are a few reviews which mention Tulou's embellishments. A review from 1823 comparing Tulou with his rival Louis Drouët mentions that "M. Tulou a peut-être plus de goût, un choix plus judicieux dans ses agréments. Fétis however wrote in the *Revue musicale* that "Tulou est le premier que se soit avisé qu'un chant simple, exécuté sans autres ornemens que les inflexions de son, était un moyen puissant d'effet."⁷⁸ This quotation has led some to conclude that Tulou did not improvise, but a long anecdote related in an article in *La France musicale* suggests otherwise.

This article about Tulou's flutes at the 1855 *Exposition universelle* includes a lengthy anecdote about Tulou's early days in the orchestra at the Opéra that was probably related to the author by Tulou himself. The article describes Félix Rault's captivating embellishments during the famous flute solo from the *Ballet des Ombres heureuses* during the second act of the Gluck's *Orphée et Euridice* (1774). When Tulou joined the Opéra orchestra, the second flute player was the same flautist who had accompanied Félix Rault.⁷⁹ He offered to teach Tulou the embellishments which Rault had found so successful in this solo. The author (probably Tulou) relates:

Or, il est bon de savoir que Tulou arrivait avec un style nouveau et des idées musicales diamétralement opposées aux traditions de son prédécesseur. Il accepta néanmoins les conseils de

⁷⁷ Le Diable boiteux : journal des spectacles, des moeurs et de la littérature, December 27, 1823, 2.

⁷⁸ François-Joseph Fétis, *Revue musicale*, (Paris: s.n., 1829), 178.

⁷⁹ It is likely that the unnamed second flute player related in his anecdote was Tulou's teacher, Johann Georg Wunderlich, who was admitted into the Opéra orchestra in this position in 1787.

François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens*, 2^d ed. (Paris: Didot Frères, 1875), 496.

son vieux camarade, retint ses observations et lui promit de jouer le solo point en point comme il avait bien voulu le lui enseigner. Effectivement, à la première répétition de l'ouvrage, Tulou annonce à ses camarades qu'il va faire tous ses efforts pour conserver autant que possible, dans ce passage important, les intentions et les fioritures de Rault. Il commence... Mais voyez l'aventure, il n'a pas plus tôt achevé, que l'orchestre tout entier part d'un immense éclat de rire. Cependant l'imitation avait été parfait, hélas ! trop parfaite même. Bref, l'exécutant dut recommencer le morceau, mais cette fois il le joua à sa manière et si bien, qu'il reçut, avec les applaudissements de ses camarades, le compliment suivant de son second : «Je crois, dit-il, qu'il est encore mieux comme cela.»⁸⁰

While anecdotal, it is remarkable that this article written in 1855 suggests both that one was expected to ornament and that it was important to improvise one's own ornaments rather than simply executing traditional ornaments. Tulou's new *manière* which the anecdote describes likely refers to an Italianate style of ornamentation rather than an unornamented style which relied only on dynamic inflections. It is curious that the author mentions that Tulou had attempted to preserve Rault's original intentions in addition to his ornaments, rather than the composer's intentions.

Historians have focused on the improvisation practices of pianists, singers, and violinists. It is likely that nineteenth-century flute players also improvised their own préludes, cadenzas, melodic embellishments (*broderie* and *roulades*), and, potentially, variations. In this chapter, I discuss sources written by Tulou's colleagues outside the Conservatoire which explicitly describe melodic improvisation and compare these methods with printed music and manuscript sources by Tulou which suggest improvisatory practices.

PRÉLUDES AND INTRODUCTIONS

The tradition of preluding on the flute can be traced back to the eighteenth century and seems to have persisted well into the nineteenth century in France and England. One of the most comprehensive eighteenth-century sources on preluding is Jacques-Martin Hotteterre's manual, *L'Art de preluder sur la flûte traversière* (1719), which teaches how to improvise introductory préludes on simple harmonic skeletons, as well as how to improvise modulating préludes. Hotteterre distinguished between written préludes, often the first movement in a suite, and improvised *préludes de caprice*, which served to introduce

⁸⁰ *La France musicale*: 19e année no. 46, January 7, 1855, 361.

an instrumental piece or cantata.⁸¹ After Hotteterre's treatise, there were numerous préludes printed in methods throughout the century including those by Jean-Pierre Freillon-Poncein, Michel Corrette, Toussaint Bordet, and Charles De Lusse.

Hugot and Wunderlich did not include préludes in their official Conservatoire method published in 1804, but François Devienne included préludes in his *Nouvelle méthode*. Outside the Conservatoire, Amand Vanderhagen, Mathieu Péraut, and V. Michel included préludes in their methods that were all published around 1800. Devienne includes a prélude before each movement of the progressive sonatas at the end of his *Nouvelle méthode* (1794), which Tulou is very likely to have used during his time as a student at the Conservatoire. Mathieu Péraut also includes a prélude before each movement of his sonatas.

Wunderlich later included twenty-four préludes in his *Principes Élémentaires et Gradués pour la flûte* that he published around 1812. These pieces are mostly arpeggio elaborations which encourage the student to become familiar with idiomatic patterns on the flute and common modulations in all practicable keys. Wunderlich's préludes are all based on a simple harmonic skeleton and may have been useful for improvisation practice. Though Hugot and Wunderlich's method omits instruction on improvisation, Tulou may have been exposed to these types of préludes in Wunderlich's class.

Tulou's close colleague Baillot includes an extended section about improvising melodic préludes in the revised edition of his violin method, *L'Art de violon* (c.1835) in which he defines the contemporary context of the prelude:

Le prélude est un trait de chant qui passe par les cordes principales du ton pour l'annoncer, pour commander le silence, vérifier si l'instrument est d'accord, et préparer l'oreille à ce qu'on va lui faire entendre.⁸²

Baillot terms improvised préludes which serve to introduce a movement or piece, *préludes de fantaisie* or *improvisations*.⁸³

⁸¹ Jacques-Martin Hotteterre, *L'Art de preluder sur la flûte traversière* (Paris: l'auteur, Foucault, 1719), 1.

⁸² Pierre Baillot, *L'Art du violon: nouvelle méthode* (Paris: L'imprimerie du Conservatoire, 1835), 183.

⁸³ Pierre Baillot, *L'Art du violon: nouvelle méthode*, 183.

As a basis for improvisation, Baillot includes many examples of *préludes* for his students which are mostly written on very simple harmonic skeletons. The structure of education at the Conservatoire required years of training in solfège and music theory before any student was permitted to undertake training on an instrument. Students would have certainly had a basic understanding of harmony necessary for improvising melodic preludes. The reliance on accompanied instruction at the Conservatoire and in Tulou's *Méthode de flûte* may also have helped solidify the students' harmonic fluency.

Karen A. Peters suggests that the practice of preluding may have been discontinued by the middle of the nineteenth century; she observes that Tulou did not include examples of *préludes* in his method which she describes as "conservative."⁸⁴ It is unclear exactly how long the practice of introductory *préludes* persisted, but there are accounts of flute players performing *préludes* well into the first half of the century throughout Europe. W.N. James praises the virtuoso Louis Drouët during his visits to England in the 1820s for playing "no disagreeable preludes."⁸⁵ Tulou's colleague Berbiguier published a collection of *30 Préludes ou points-d'orgue pour flûte seule* in the 1830s. *L'art de préluder op. 149*, a collection of *préludes* and cadenzas by Giuseppe Gariboldi which he dedicated to Doppler, was published in Paris in 1882. Berbiguier's and Gariboldi's are extended solos for advanced players which suggest artistic rather than didactic aims. The tradition of preluding seems to have persisted well into the nineteenth century in France in some form, but flautists may have played written *préludes* rather than improvising.

It is possible that the introduction to variation sets may have evolved from the tradition of improvising *préludes*. In 1823, a reviewer praised Tulou for an improvisatory or improvised introduction:

M. Tulou prélude sur sa flûte enchanteresse aux variations qu'il a composées sur l'air chéri de Romagnési "Faut l'oublier" (bravos unanimes pour ce prélude brillant, où la difficulté a l'art de paraître facile.) M. Tulou continue, et chaque fois qu'il dit avec son instrument divin: "Faut l'oublier" une salve d'applaudissemens témoigne qu'on n'a pu l'oublier encore.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Karen. A. Peters, "The Improvised Melodic Prelude in the Eighteenth Century: Evidence from Woodwind, String and Vocal Tutors 1700-c.1800" (PhD diss., University of California Santa Cruz, 1992), 122.

⁸⁵ Ardal Powell, *The Flute* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2002), 136.

⁸⁶ *Le Miroir des spectacles, des lettres, des mœurs et des arts*, 19 June 1823, 5.

Though it is ambiguous to what degree these variations were composed in advance, it may be significant that the reviewer described Tulou as preluding, as this term is often used to mean improvising. An edition of Tulou's *Faut l'Oublier Fantaisie pour la Flûte*, op. 36 was printed in the late 1820s by Pleyel. It includes an introduction which is significantly longer and more brilliant than many of the other introductions to Tulou's variation sets (ex. 4.1).

(Gravé par RICHOMME fils.) Tulou, op. 36.

EXAMPLE 4.1 INTRODUCTION TO TULOU'S *FAUT L'OUBLIER FANTAISIE*, OP. 36

The simplicity of the accompaniment, which employs many pedal points and repeated harmonic formulae, suggests that the introduction may have been begun as an improvisation at the flute. Many of Tulou's favourite brilliant passages are included in this introduction. There are several passages which are repeated exactly in close succession; one can imagine at these points that the performer may not have played exactly the same runs each time. The introduction concludes with a brief cadenza.

While the printed edition of Tulou's *Faut l'oublier Fantaisie* op. 36 is a fully composed work, its free form suggests the practice of improvised preludes. A manuscript source is also suggestive of the practice of improvised préludes. A prélude (ex. 4.2) dated 3 April, 1844 and signed by Tulou survives in a manuscript owned by Eugène Spitalieri de Cessole, comte de Cessole (1805–1876). According to Robert Adelson who is working on a facsimile edition of this album, the manuscript was probably collected in Paris by the comte de Cessole for use in his salon. This piece is the only work by a wind player which the comte de Cessole, an avid amateur violinist, collected in his album. He may have wanted to inspire a flautist he invited to his salon in Nice with the latest Parisian style from the famous virtuoso Tulou.



EXAMPLE 4.2 JEAN-LOUIS TULOU (1786-1865), « PRÉLUDE POUR LA FLÛTE » (1844). UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPT, FROM THE ALBUM OF MUSICAL AUTOGRAPHS COLLECTED BY EUGÈNE, COUNT OF CESSOLE (1805-1876) IN NICE. PRIVATE COLLECTION.

Tulou's *prélude* is based on a simple harmonic skeleton, similar to some of the *préludes* in Devienne's *Nouvelle méthode*. Tulou's *prélude* establishes the tonic, moves to the dominant and returns to the tonic by way of a brief sequence and passagework. It ends with a flourish that is a near quotation of one at the end of the slow movement of Tulou's fourth concerto (ex. 4.3).



EXAMPLE 4.3 FLOURISH FROM TULOU'S QUATRIÈME CONCERTO

Tulou's handwriting in this autograph and his signature is somewhat less tidy than in some of his other manuscripts and letters. The *prélude* seems to have been written down quickly. While it is unclear whether Tulou's *prélude* was a written-out improvisation, a spontaneous combination of some of Tulou's favourite passages, or a previously conceived composition which he copied, his *prélude* has a certain spontaneity suggestive of an improvisation.

AD LIBITUM, A PIACERE, À VOLONTÉ : IMPROVISATION OR RHYTHMIC FLEXIBILITY ?

Tulou uses many different types of fermatas in his printed works. Some are straightforward final cadenzas or connections (*Eingänge* or *rentrées*) written out in small-note notation. In other situations, he writes undecorated fermatas or grand pauses over rests; these fermatas sometimes appear in grammatically surprising places. Tulou designates other passages *ad libitum*, *a piacere*, *à volonté*, *expressivo*, *recitativo* or other related terms. These terms may be indications for embellishment or rhythmic flexibility. In the following section, we will examine a handful of examples from Tulou's works which include fermatas or some of these indications.

While Tulou provides numerous examples of fermatas in his *études* and *Grands Solos*, he does not explain how to execute these in his *Méthode de flûte*. Wunderlich includes many *ad libitum* passages in the

études in his *Principes élémentaires*, but no description on how to execute them. Victor Bretonnière in his *Méthode complète, théorique et pratique pour la flûte* (1840), an early method for the Boehm flute which summarizes Devienne's and Tulou's methods among others, describes fermatas as "un signe qui indique qu'il faut s'arrêter plus ou moins long-temps, pendant ce repos la partie récitante à le loisir de faire différents passages à sa volonté; dans d'autres cas le point d'orgue est un repos general."⁸⁷

Castil-Blaze distinguishes between fermatas (*points d'arrêt*) and cadenzas (*points d'orgue*). He describes a fermata as a moment of rest before the conductor or soloist resumes the thread of the musical discourse.⁸⁸ He defines a cadenza as a:

passage brillant que fait la partie principale, dans un solo réel ou accompagné. Le point d'orgue se place sur un repos, ou vers la fin d'un morceau de musique. Les airs de bravoure de l'Ecole Italienne se terminaient autrefois par un point d'orgue ou cadenza; cet usage s'est perdu peu à peu. On n'en place même plus à la conclusion du premier allégro des concertos et des symphonies concertantes; ce repos refroidissait les écoutans, et le point d'orgue, quoique difficile et bien rendu, n'excitait pas autant l'admiration et l'enthousiasme que le simple trille, succédant sans interruption à un trait rapide et véhément.⁸⁹

Tulou includes very few cadenzas in the printed editions of his five concertos and does not include any extensive cadenzas in the first movements of his concertos. He typically integrates brilliant passagework into the movement without a pause in the orchestral accompaniment. Tulou includes a few flourishes in small-note notation in his slow movements. In the third-movement of his *Troisième Concerto* (ex. 4.4), he includes a sudden shift to Adagio with fermatas before concluding the concerto with triumphant quick passagework.

⁸⁷ Victor Bretonnière, *Méthode complète, théorique et pratique pour la flûte, raisonnée d'après nos meilleurs auteurs, Devienne, Drouet, Tulou, Boehm, Berbiguier suivie de 18 grandes études et de 12 airs variés op. 20* (Paris: N. Legouix, 1840), 6.

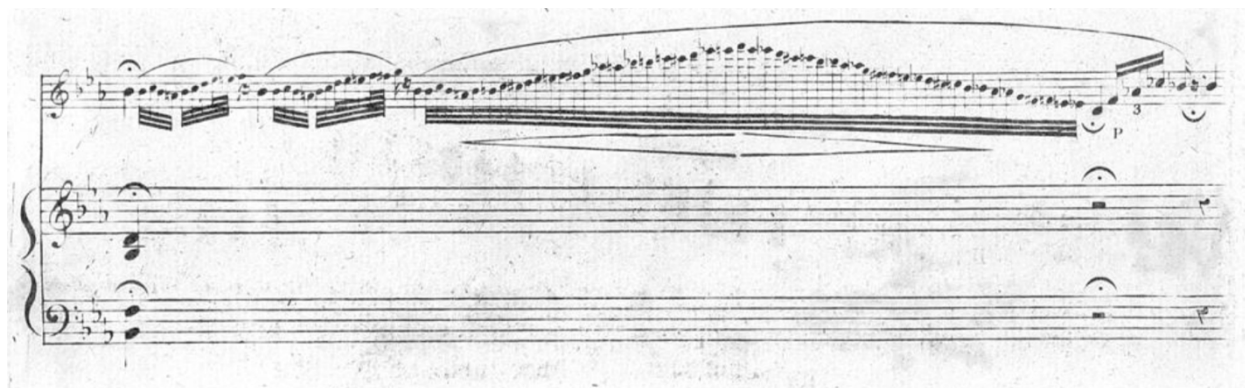
⁸⁸ Castil-Blaze, *Dictionnaire de musique moderne*, Tome 1 (Paris: Magasin de musique de la lyre moderne, 1821), 39.

⁸⁹ Castil-Blaze, *Dictionnaire de musique moderne*, Tome 2 (Paris: Magasin de musique de la lyre moderne, 1821), 154.

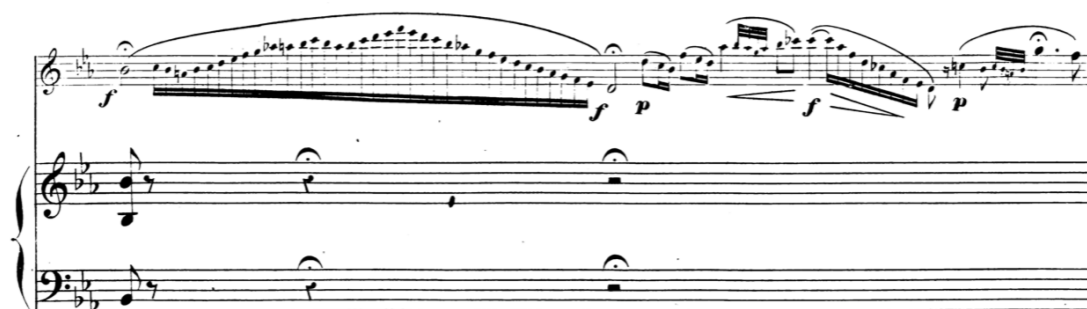


EXAMPLE 4.4 TULOU TROISIÈME CONCERTO

Tulou's transcriptions, variations, fantaisies, and *Grands Solos*, however, contain numerous fermatas; some are written out embellishments in small-note notation, while others are left undecorated. Compared with some of the cadenzas by Tulou's contemporaries like Nicholson, Drouët, and Berbiguier, Tulou's cadenzas tend to be short and elegant and can usually be executed in one breath. Tulou's *L'Angelus Fantaisie pour la flûte* op. 46 (ex. 4.5) and his *Fantaisie sur Marco Spada* op. 101 (ex. 4.6) contain some of his most florid printed cadenzas.



EXAMPLE 4.5 CADENZA FROM TULOU'S L'ANGELUS FANTAISIE POUR LA FLÛTE, OP. 46



EXAMPLE 4.6 CADENZA FROM TULOU'S FANTAISIE SUR MARCO SPADA, OP. 101

We may compare these with the extended cadenza (ex. 4.7) which begins Demersseman's *Hommage a son maître Tulou: Fantaisie originale*, op. 43.

2

HOMMAGE A SON MAÎTRE TULOU.

FANTAISIE ORIGINALE

POUR LA FLûTE.

Par DEMERSSEMAN. Oeuv 43.

Allegro maestoso.

FLûTE.

cres: - - -

fz

sostenuto.

rall: - - -

EXAMPLE 4.7 CADENZA FROM DEMERSSEMAN'S FANTAISIE ORIGINALE, OP. 43

Demersseman's homage to Tulou may reflect his own interpretation of Tulou's teaching. It may also suggest that the cadenzas which we see in Tulou's printed scores are far less flamboyant than what he may have played in public. When considering Tulou's printed cadenzas, it may be important to consider that some of these editions may have been simplified for pedagogical or domestic use, particularly in the scores published for the English market.

It is unfortunate that Tulou did not include more instruction on improvisation in his Conservatoire method and did not publish collections of preludes or cadenzas like some of his colleague. The numerous examples of cadenzas from his music give us some idea of his style. The cadenzas in Cinti-Damoreau's *Méthode de chant* and her notebooks often have a similar shape to Tulou's. They may be instructive for instrumental performers as well as vocalists, as Tulou had a very close working relationship with her.

Often, moments of suspension, fermatas or sections in which the accompaniment pauses, in Tulou's music are accompanied by the terms *ad libitum*, *a volonté*, *a piacere* or *expressivo* and often followed by an *a tempo* indication. Tulou's *Fantasia* op. 29 on François-Hippolyte Barthélémon's ballad, *Durandarte et Belerma*, includes a *rentrée* (ex. 4.8) indicated *ad libitum* which connects to a theme and variation section in F major. The *ad libitum* indication may be a suggestion to take a moderate tempo in the connection in order to prepare the listener for a new section, which is unrelated to the severe character of the opening material, or it may be a suggestion for improvisation. In contrast, the flourish in the previous line must be executed strictly in tempo in order to maintain the tension which closes the opening section.



EXAMPLE 4.8 CADENZA FROM TULOU'S FANTAISIE OP. 29

Tulou also uses an *ad libitum* indication in his *Fantasia brillante Voilà le Plaisir, mes Dames, voilà le Plaisir* op. 30, published for the English market. This indication (ex. 4.9) accompanies a statement of the theme repeated twice before a brief coda marked *a tempo*.



EXAMPLE 4.9 AD LIBITUM INDICATION IN TULOU'S FANTASIA BRILLIANTE VOILÀ LE PLAISIR, MESDAMES, VOILÀ LE PLAISIR OP. 30

We may compare Tulou's use of the *ad libitum* indication with his use of the term *expressivo*, which is also often followed by an *a tempo* marking. In the boléro section which closes his *Fantaisie* op. 29, Tulou designates a strophe of the boléro melody *expressivo* (ex. 4.10) and follows this with an *a tempo* marking.



EXAMPLE 4.10 EXPRESSIVO AND A TEMPO INDICATIONS IN TULOU'S FANTASIE OP. 29

Tulou also uses the *expressivo* marking in his *Fantaisie sur Le Lac des fées*, op. 80 in the opening recitativo section after a flourish in small-note notation (ex. 4.11). It precedes an Adagio section which is also quite free from the accompaniment.

EXAMPLE 4.11 EXPRESSIVO MARKING IN TULOU'S FANTASIE SUR LE LAC DES FEES, OP. 80

In Tulou's transcription of Grétry's *la Fauvette*, an *expressivo* marking in the piano part (ex. 4.12) is preceded with a *rallentando* in both parts.



EXAMPLE 4.12 TULOU'S LA FAUVETTE: GRAND SOLO POUR FLÛTE

I suggest that Tulou's *ad libitum* markings refer to rhythmic flexibility, and they may also be an invitation for original embellishment in some cases. The *expressivo* marking seems to be an indication for a temporarily slower tempo and perhaps a more declamatory style of execution. The secondary themes in Tulou's *Grand Solos* and *Concertos* are often marked *expressivo*, which suggests a slower tempo. While Momigny and Castil-Blaze describe *ad libitum* in terms of tempo rubato, Castil-Blaze suggests that *ad libitum* may also describe a practice similar to vocal *puntature*, simplifying virtuosic written cadenzas or omitting them entirely.⁹⁰

BRODERIE AND ROULADES

Broderie refers to ornamentation, either embellished repetitions of a melody or fully embroidered melodies. There are many examples of this practice in instrumental methods from this period. A particularly interesting example from the flute literature is the ornamented Adagio by Michel from his *Nouvelle*

⁹⁰ "Ad libitum, à volonté. Ces mots placés sous un trait, laissent à l'exécutant la liberté de l'abandonner s'il le trouve trop difficile. On rencontre souvent ad libitum sous des points d'orgues très-complicés, des roulades rapides, des gammes chromatiques; le musicien peu exercé passe les points d'orgue sous silence et substitue aux roulades et aux volubilités les grosses notes que l'on a eu soin d'écrire au-dessous pour l'aider à simplifier le passage scabreux."

Castil-Blaze, *Dictionnaire de musique moderne*: Tome 1 (Paris: magasin de musique de la Lyre moderne, 1825), 19.

Méthode de flûte published around 1804 (ex. 4.13). Michel's version of the aria, "Aimable objet de mon délire," from Boeïldieu's *Zoraïme et Zulnar* (1798) includes two levels of embellishment: the *broderie légère* and the *Grande broderie*.⁹¹

The *broderie légère* generally retains the notes of the original melody on strong beats which allows the original melody to remain audible throughout even as the ornamentation becomes increasingly dense. This style of ornamentation may have been drawn from vocal models. The *broderie légère* is similar to the types of ornamentation seen in Lablache's vocalises. Michel's *Grande broderie* departs much further from the original melody. While the *Grande broderie* mostly retains the original stress of Boeïldieu's aria text, the florid ornamentation is far more instrumental compared with the vocally inspired *broderie légère* including rapid scales and arpeggios of various types, trill figures, octave passages, and other types of figuration idiomatic for the flute. Michel fluctuates between measured passages and meticulously beamed scale figures which often do not subdivide easily. The steady *basso* throughout the movement suggests the type of tempo rubato in which the accompaniment remains steady while the melodic line drags or rushes, but in some moments a unified ensemble tempo rubato might be more practical. The individual notes of the florid scale passages may not be distinguishable at a steady tempo at which the rest of the movement sounds convincing; the movement may sound incoherent if the tempo is too slow because the florid ornamentation may overtake the phrases. Michel did not provide any instructions about rhythmic flexibility in his method.

⁹¹ The exact identity of the author V. Michel is not immediately apparent. There were a few musicians known as *le célèbre Michel*. Albert R. Rice suggests that the author of this flute method is not the clarinetist Michel Yost (1754-1786) but perhaps, it was written by the flautist François-Louis Michel who Fétis writes about in the *Biographie universelle*. Albert R. Rice, "Yost, Michel," in *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root, accessed 3 Mar. 2019, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000042946>. François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Didot Frères, 1864), 134.

38

AIR DE BOYELDIEU.

And^{no} poco adagio.

CHANT.

Broderie légère.

FLÛTE.

Grande broderie.

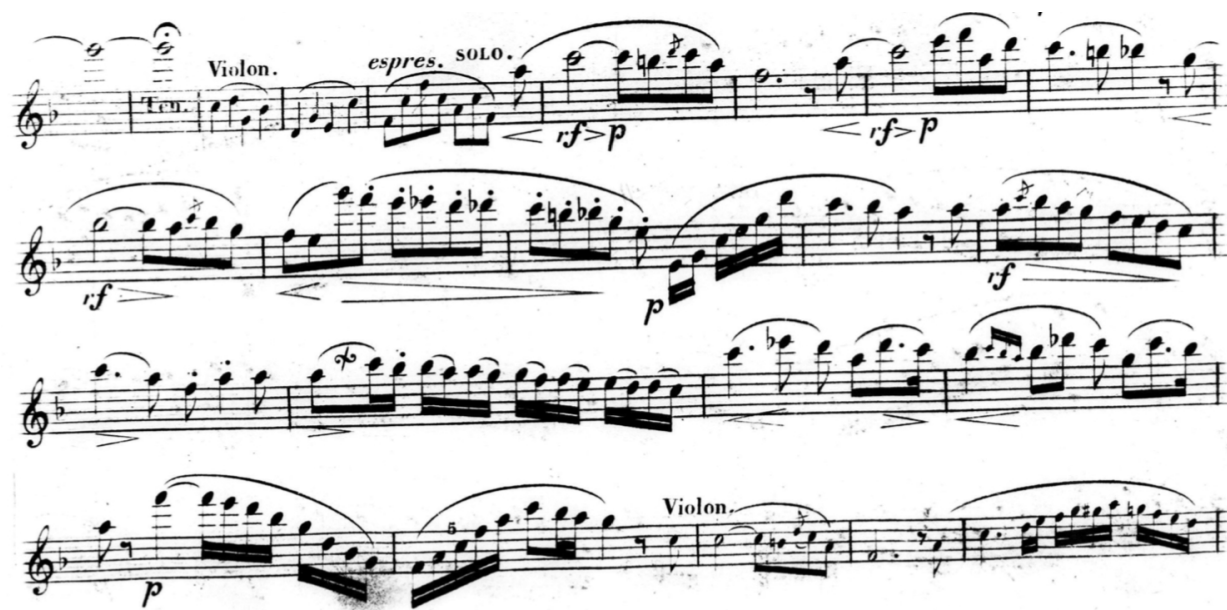
BASSE.

~ 6

EXAMPLE 4.13 ORNAMENTED AIR FROM MICHEL'S NOUVELLE MÉTHODE DE FLÛTE

While it is unclear whether Tulou knew this particular example from Michel's method, his printed scores suggest that he was familiar with similar ornamentation techniques. The *Adagio* sections in Tulou's *Grands Solos* and *Fantaisies* often include embellished repetitions of simple melodies which recall vocal

models. In Tulou's *10e Grand Solo*, he repeats the opening melody with delicate decoration when it returns; in many of his *Grands Solos*, the slow section is so brief that the opening melody does not return. The secondary theme areas in Tulou's *Grands Solos*, often marked *expressivo* or *amabile*, frequently include embellished repetitions. For example, the secondary theme (ex. 4.14) in Tulou's *3e Grand Solo* returns in a slightly more ornate form (ex. 4.15) later in the piece indicated *Largement*.



EXAMPLE 4.14 SECONDARY THEME FROM TULOUE'S 3E GRAND SOLO



EXAMPLE 4.15 RETURN OF SECOND THEME IN TULOUE'S 3E GRAND SOLO

In contrast to the variety of written ornaments in his slow movements and secondary theme areas, Tulou often writes exact repetitions of passagework in his quick movements (ex. 4.16). It is possible that these melodies may have been varied using roulade patterns similar to those in Lablache's and other singers' vocalises. Flautists may also have repeated these phrases with varied articulation patterns which are explored at length in Tulou's *Méthode de flûte*, Hugot and Wunderlich's *Méthode de flûte* and Devienne's *Nouvelle méthode*.

EXAMPLE 4.16 GRAND SOLO NO. 9 OP. 91

VARIATION

Variations are an extremely important form for nineteenth century instrumentalists, and it is likely that this form also originated from improvisation. While Tulou published many composed variations, Tulou's *Les folies d'Espagne en variation* found in a presentation manuscript in the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* may be more closely connected with the eighteenth-century tradition of improvised variations. The *follia* is a famous tune or harmonic schema on which many eighteenth-century musicians improvised or published variations.

Tulou mainly focuses on one simple pattern during each of these variations. The third variation (ex. 4.17) uses one of Tulou's favourite passages seen in many of his *Grands Solos* and *Fantaisies*: legato arpeggios with embedded trills designated without articulation. The slur over the full variation indicates

that this variation should be executed in a single breath, which suggests either a very quick tempo or formidable breath control.



EXAMPLE 4.17 THIRD VARIATION FROM TULOU'S LES FOLIES D'ESPAGNE EN VARIATION

Several of Tulou's fourteen variations do not contain figuration significantly different from that seen in many eighteenth-century *follias* like *Faronell's Ground* in John Walsh's *The Division Flute*, Bellinzani's *Sonata XII*, or Jean-Pierre Guignon's *Les Folies d'Espagne* in op. 9. However, a few of Tulou's variations depart more substantially from figuration commonly used in the eighteenth century. His eighth variation uses an octave figure linked to an arpeggio in an uncommon articulation pattern for eighteenth-century flautists (ex. 4.18).



EXAMPLE 4.18 EIGHTH VARIATION FROM TULOU'S LES FOLIES D'ESPAGNE EN VARIATION

The final variation which closes the set (ex. 4.19) requires a rhythmic precision rarely seen in eighteenth-century variations, combining quintuplet and sextuplet arpeggios.



EXAMPLE 4.19 FOURTEENTH VARIATION FROM TULOU'S LES FOLIES D'ESPAGNE EN VARIATION

It is quite remarkable to see a variation set on this classic theme updated with the musical vocabulary of the 1850s.

CONCLUSIONS

Despite the dominant narrative of absolute music in which the performer is responsible for executing only the composer's intentions, improvisation was alive and well in, at least, the first half of the nineteenth century in France – at the Opéra, concert stages and salons – and not only for pianists and singers. Based on my examination of many sources, I suggest a different model for the music of this era in which the intentions of the composer are *revealed* through the inspired embellishment of a skilled performer, similarly to Stendhal's analogy of the fashionable woman tossing off a fur coat.

Tulou's pedagogical materials, particularly his *études* and *Grands Solos*, are vehicles for improvisation practice and for instruction in style. They are not dry, repetitive technical exercises like those of Hugot and Wunderlich. Tulou's printed music and manuscripts suggest that the practices of improvised preludes, cadenzas, broderie and variations continued well into the first half of the nineteenth century. An understanding of contemporary vocal conventions and instrumental improvisation techniques may inform more inspiring performances of this music.

There are numerous directions for future study. There are likely more manuscripts in private collections and libraries which may contain valuable information about improvisation practices. A comparison of the styles of Tulou's colleagues Berbiguier, Drouët, and Camus among others might be instructive. It could be also interesting to find more documents about the activities of Bertini's *Cercle musicale* and to explore the collaboratively written pieces which came out of this musical society. The study of instrumental operatic fantasies and transcriptions may give us more information about contemporary vocal practices. Tulou published numerous transcriptions of operas which he played in with Cinti-Damoreau; one might compare Tulou's embellishments in these transcriptions closely with those in Cinti-Damoreau's improvisation notebooks at Indiana University's Lilly Library.

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DOCTORAL RECITAL PROGRAMMES

Michel Blavet	Sonata in D major, oeuvre III no. 6
François Devienne	Sonata in D minor, cinquième livre no. 4
Antoine Hugot	Sonata in E minor, op. 8 no. 4
Jean-Louis Tulou	Fantaisie, op. 27

With Mark Edwards, harpsichord, and Gili Loftus, fortepiano

11 May, 2016
Tanna Schulich Hall at McGill University

François Devienne	Concerto 8 in G major
Jean-Louis Tulou	Grand Solo 10 in E major, op. 92
Theobald Boehm	Andante in B major, op. 33
Gabriel Fauré	Fantaisie, op. 79
Philippe Gaubert	Nocturne et Allegro scherzando
Claude Debussy	Syrinx

With Katelyn Clark, fortepiano and piano
Marie-Nadeau Tremblay and Élise Paradis, baroque violins
Isabelle Douailly-Backman, baroque viola
Kiersten Fage, baroque cello
Karim Nasr and Floris van Vugt, baroque oboe

23 May, 2017
Tanna Schulich Hall at McGill University

Jean-Louis Tulou	La Hongroise: Fantaisie avec Variations op. 21
V. Michel	Air de Boieldieu - Broderie légère - Grand broderie
Antoine Reicha	Duo concertant pour flûte et piano, op. 103
Jean-Louis Tulou	Les Folies d'Espagne en variation
Henri Herz & Jean-Louis Tulou	Grand duo concertant sur Niobé, op. 110
Jean-Louis Tulou	Grand Solo no. 5, op. 79

With Katelyn Clark, fortepiano

14 October, 2018
Salle Bourgie at the Montreal Musée des beaux arts