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Music for a new era: Selected works dedicated to flutist Louis Fleury (1878-1926)

Lydia Carroll

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Music for a New Era:

Selected Works Dedicated to Flutist Louis Fleury (1878-1926)

Lydia R. Carroll

A Doctor of Musical Arts document submitted to the Graduate Faculty of

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ABSTRACT

Louis Fleury (1878-1926) was a skilled flutist, respected writer and critic, prolific music editor, and new music enthusiast in France at the turn of the twentieth century. Unfortunately, Fleury’s legacy has been overshadowed by figures such as his teacher Paul Taffanel (1844-1908), as well as his contemporaries, including renowned flutists Philippe Gaubert (1879-1941), Marcel Moyse (1889-1984), and Georges Barrère (1876-1944). Fleury studied with Taffanel at the Paris Conservatoire from 1895-1900. Today Taffanel is regarded as having established the modern French Flute School, which is a tradition of flute playing and pedagogy. The legacy of the French Flute School of the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries impacted modern flute playing with its emphasis on beautiful sound, effortless technique, and mature musical interpretation. Many of Taffanel’s predecessors emphasized technique over artistry, especially in their repertoire selections. Taffanel and his prominent students, such as Louis Fleury, highly influenced the repertoire for the flute in the twentieth century through numerous commissions of works, as well as through a revival of forgotten works of the baroque and classical periods.

Louis Fleury served as the dedicatee for many new flute works; these works extended the boundaries of the previous era in the flute’s range and expression, as well as helped to elevate the place of the flute as a solo instrument in the modern era. Selected flute works dedicated to Louis Fleury between 1913 and 1923 display the expressive and technical capabilities of the flute through the use of extra-musical references, novel harmonic language, and rhythmic complexity. This document will begin with the influence of Paul Taffanel and the French Flute School on Louis Fleury’s place as
INTRODUCTION

The introduction of varied musical styles plus the widespread adoption of the modern flute in the twentieth century brought a wealth of change for the flute repertoire. Flutists required an instrument that could relay the subtle tone colors of Claude Debussy’s *Prélude à l’après-midi d’un faune* while also being able to master the brilliant runs in Stravinsky’s *Firebird*. German flutist Theobald Boehm (1794-1881) had invented the modern, cylindrical-bore flute in 1847; Boehm created an improved instrument that was based on acoustic relationships, as well as a modified fingering system. Before Boehm’s improvements, the flute’s tone holes were placed according to ergonomic requirements rather than acoustic measurements, often sacrificing excellent tone and intonation. With this Boehm-system flute came the opportunity for faster technique, improved intonation, and more varied tone colors. However, at first Boehm’s flute was not readily accepted in Germany, or even across Europe. A French flutist, Louis Dorus (1812-1896), was one of the early supporters of the instrument. As the flute professor at the *Paris Conservatoire* from 1860-1868, Dorus required his students to perform on the Boehm flute as well.¹ Dorus began a new tradition of flute playing at the *Conservatoire* by adopting this modern flute, as well as by exploring flute repertoire that reached beyond the romantic style. One of Dorus’ students, Paul Taffanel (1844-1908), continued this tradition even further through commissioning new works for the flute, as well as performing works from the baroque and classical periods. Dorus and Taffanel, both prominent figures at the *Paris Conservatoire* during the romantic era, were harbingers of the developments in flute performance to come in the modern era.

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One of Paul Taffanel’s students, Louis Fleury (1878-1926), especially contributed to the new repertoire for the flute in the modern era through his legacy as a dedicatee. Fleury was a skilled flutist, respected writer and critic, prolific music editor, and new music enthusiast in France during the turn of the twentieth century. Unfortunately, Fleury’s legacy has been overshadowed by figures such as his teacher, Paul Taffanel, as well as his contemporaries, such as renowned flutists Philippe Gaubert (1879-1941), Georges Barrère (1876-1944), and Marcel Moyse (1889-1984). Fleury studied with Taffanel as a pupil in his flute class at the Paris Conservatoire from 1895-1900. Today Taffanel is regarded as having established the modern French Flute School, which is a tradition of flute playing and pedagogy. The legacy of the French Flute School of the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries impacted modern flute playing with its emphasis on beautiful sound, effortless technique, and mature musical interpretation. Many of Taffanel’s predecessors emphasized technique over artistry, especially in their repertoire selections. Taffanel and his prominent students, such as Louis Fleury, highly influenced the repertoire for the flute in the twentieth century through numerous commissions of works, as well as through a revival of forgotten works. Louis Fleury served as the dedicatee for many new flute works; these works extended the boundaries of the previous era in the flute’s range and expression, as well as helped to elevate the place of the flute as a solo instrument in the modern era. Selected flute works dedicated to Louis Fleury between 1913 and 1923 display the expressive and technical capabilities of the flute through the use of extra-musical references, novel harmonic language, and rhythmic complexity.
The foremost work dedicated to Fleury is Claude Debussy’s “La Flute de Pan,” or *Syrinx* (1913). This flute solo was originally intended as background music for the play *Psyché*. Today, it is one of the most important flute solos in the entire repertoire. The piece gives the flutist opportunity to display various tone colors, as well as the chance to portray the character of Pan, a mythological goat-man who pursued nymphs in nature. Fleury praised Debussy’s solo for its ability to “rea[ch] piquant melancholy by the very simplest means.”

In addition to Debussy’s *Syrinx*, other notable works dedicated to Fleury between the years 1913 and 1923 include *The Extatic Shepherd* (1922) by Cyril Scott, *Deux Pièces pour Flûte et Piano, I. Danse pour une déesse* (1913) by Reynaldo Hahn, *Suite in Three Movements, Op. 64* (1921) by Cyril Bradley Rootham, *Jeux: Sonatine pour flûte et piano* (1923) by Jacques Ibert, and *Sonate pour deux flûtes, Op. 75* (1922) by Charles Koechlin. For each of these pieces, this document will highlight influences of extra-musical ideas, such as pastoral or dance forms, and how they allow the flutist to play more expressively. In addition, innovative aspects of the harmony as well as rhythmic devices will be presented.

In order to fully appreciate the impact of these pieces, one must consider the historical context and figures of the French Flute School before Fleury. Paul Taffanel especially contributed to Louis Fleury’s legacy through his role as father of the modern

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3 This document is not meant as a comprehensive study of all flute works dedicated to Fleury. Works have been selected for their musical content and application to this document’s topic. Other flute works dedicated to Fleury that are not included in the scope of this document include *Sonate pour flûte et piano en do dièse mineur*, Op. 64 (1904) by Mélanie Bonis, *Scotch Pastoral* (1914) by Cyril Scott, *Sonatine pour flûte et piano*, Op. 76 (1922) by Darius Milhaud, *Joueurs de flûte, III. Krishna*, Op. 27 (1925) by Albert Roussel, and *Sonatine pour flûte et piano* (1926) by Alexandre Tansman.
French Flute School. This document will provide a biographical sketch of Taffanel and his impact on the French Flute School and flute repertoire before considering Fleury’s career as flutist and dedicatee, and it will conclude with succinct musical analysis and review of the selected pieces dedicated to Fleury.
PAUL TAFFANEL AND THE FRENCH FLUTE SCHOOL

Louis Fleury highly respected his teacher Paul Taffanel in many regards, but especially for his abilities on the flute. Fleury recounted Taffanel’s mastery in his article, *Souvenirs d’un flûtiste:*

His virtuosity was phenomenal. He made his fingers do, quite literally, whatever he wanted. When I knew him, he had just given up the flute for the conductor’s baton and he no longer practised [sic]; but his playing had solid foundations. I still remember the dazzle of his lightning scales, launched at full speed and slowing down or stopping at will, and I can still hear a certain Schubert Variations, played with an evenness and simplicity that were the height of artistry. Add to that, exquisite tone, warm and rich, and an allure that I just cannot describe.  

Taffanel certainly had “solid foundations” for his flute playing. Born in Bordeaux in 1844, Taffanel grew up in a musical family. His father was a gifted musician and instrument maker, and Taffanel’s early music studies under him included studying the violin, piano, and the flute. He played on an 1847 Boehm-system wooden flute, and his father decided that with his progress he should study with someone else, namely Louis Dorus. In 1858, Taffanel began studying with Dorus in Paris, and in 1860 Dorus became the flute professor of the *Paris Conservatoire.* Taffanel thrived under Dorus’ teaching.

When Taffanel enrolled to study with Dorus at the *Paris Conservatoire,* the flute class typically had twelve students who were evaluated every February and June. Exceptional students had the opportunity to compete in July in the *concours* – a public performance of two pieces that was adjudicated by a panel from the *Conservatoire.*

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students were evaluated at an objective level of excellence; those who were chosen to win the premier prix were seen as competent musicians and artists ready to leave the Conservatoire. Taffanel won the premier prix in the 1860 concours at the age of fifteen. This was remarkable not only because of his young age, but also because Taffanel had just bought a flute made by renowned flutemaker Louis Lot in February of the same year, just a few short months prior to the concours performance. This new flute, though a quality instrument, would have likely required significant adjustment and modification in his playing in his preparation for the concours.

Upon his graduation from the Paris Conservatoire, Taffanel began his varied career as an orchestral flutist, chamber musician, and flute soloist, later also becoming a composer, conductor, and teacher. He performed with several orchestras, including the Société de jeunes artistes (Society for Young Artists), the Opéra-comique (Comic Opera), the Paris Opéra, and the Société des concerts (a symphony orchestra associated with the Paris Conservatoire). Taffanel also took advantage of many solo opportunities during this time, with much success. In 1870 the Revue et gazette musicale hailed him as “the foremost flutist of our time.” Some of the most important of Taffanel’s performances were of Mozart concerti, works which had fallen into relative obscurity. Taffanel performed Mozart’s Concerto in G, K. 313, in Paris with the Société des

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6 Blakeman, Taffanel: Genius of the Flute, 16-17.

7 Ibid., 18.

8 The Louis Lot flute was a silver, handmade instrument. Each handmade instrument has unique characteristics to which a flutist would have to adjust in his or her playing.

symphonistes in 1882, and again in Leipzig with the Gewandhaus Orchestra in 1890 with Carl Reinecke conducting.\textsuperscript{10}

In the midst of his orchestral and solo performances, Taffanel started a new chamber ensemble in 1879, the \textit{Société de musique de chambre pour instruments à vent}, or the Woodwind Chamber Music Society. The ensemble consisted of a traditional wind octet (paired oboes, clarinets, bassoons, and horns) with the addition of the piano and flute.\textsuperscript{11} Taffanel hoped to encourage composers to write new music for this ensemble, and he aimed to use their concerts to highlight solo and ensemble music from the classical past. However, Taffanel was quite selective with what repertoire the ensemble performed.

Blakeman notes:

What Taffanel rigidly excluded was anything associated with the vapid musical world of the salons, in particular, virtuoso solo pieces and vocal items. The concerts were made up entirely of serious instrumental music in a judicious blend of small and large ensembles, and of old and new compositions. Even his own solo and small flute ensemble items were chosen to reflect the best of the old and a small selection of new works recently discovered or dedicated to him: for example, J.S. Bach’s Sonatas, Schubert’s Introduction and Variations, Reinecke’s \textit{Undine} Sonata, and Widor’s Suite.\textsuperscript{12}

Taffanel’s favor for “serious instrumental music” would characterize him as a chamber musician and soloist, as well as a composer.

Among a variety of genres, Taffanel composed several fantasies and variations on themes from operas. These included the \textit{Grande Fantaisie sur “Mignon”} and the \textit{Fantaisie sur Der Freischütz}, which have become standards of the flute repertoire. It was

\textsuperscript{10} The Mozart performance in Germany was particularly striking for the audience, as they were accustomed to the wooden “German flute” versus the Boehm silver flute. See Blakeman, \textit{Taffanel: Genius of the Flute}, 107 and 143-144.

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid., 69.

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid., 75.
common for flutists to compose their own music, and the theme-and-variations form was predominant. Taffanel selected opera themes to use in his compositions in order to portray their psychological impact – or the “emotional world” of the opera characters, as Blakeman terms it – not just to showcase technique.\(^\text{13}\) According to Blakeman, “Where the average flutist was intent only on producing a vehicle to display his virtuosity, casually overlaying someone else’s original themes with acrobatic variations, Taffanel delved deep into the music of the original. He composed from the inside out.”\(^\text{14}\) Taffanel was concerned with writing music that had meaning and depth. Blakeman continues, “What Taffanel demonstrated, particularly in his first two fantasias, was that with a good formal structure, with a true partnership between the two instruments rather than just chord vamping on the piano, and with the musical application of virtuosity, something valid could still be said.”\(^\text{15}\) Taffanel truly took the genre of the opera fantasie to a deeper musical level.

As a teacher, Taffanel was highly committed to helping flutists become well-rounded musicians who played with a beautiful sound. Even before Taffanel was hired as the flute professor at the Paris Conservatoire, he was making an impact on those students with his comments as an adjudicator for the woodwind concours. According to Blakeman, Taffanel evaluated the woodwind candidates in four areas: “Son (tone quality and intonation), mecanisme (finger technique), style (musical interpretation), and vue (posture and general impression).”\(^\text{16}\) These areas would continue to be prominent focal

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\(^{13}\) Blakeman, *Taffanel: Genius of the Flute*, 55.

\(^{14}\) Ibid., 54.

\(^{15}\) Ibid., 57.

\(^{16}\) Ibid., 47.
points throughout Taffanel’s teaching career, in contrast to his predecessor at the
Conservatoire, Henri Altès (1826-1895). After Louis Dorus retired, Altès held the flute
professor position from 1869 until 1893. Apparently, Taffanel was always “waiting in
line” after Altès – whether for playing positions with orchestras, or with the Paris
Conservatoire teaching position. Unfortunately, the two had a rather strained
relationship. Altès wrote an extensive method for the flute and was known in France as
a flute soloist and teacher. However, he emphasized technique over expression;
Blakeman describes him as part of the “old virtuoso tradition” of the romantic era.
One primary way that Taffanel’s teaching at the Conservatoire contrasted with Altès’
was in selection of flute repertoire. Taffanel incorporated flute repertoire by composers other
than romantic virtuosos, in contrast to Altès. Louis Fleury describes the contrast in
pedagogy rather convincingly in his June 1925 article, “Souvenirs d’un flûtiste:”

It is no disrespect to the memory of [Taffanel’s] predecessor, Altès, a good
musician perhaps, but a second-rate artiste, to assert Taffanel’s immense
superiority and note the change that his arrival brought. Incredible as it may seem,
the Bach Sonatas, Mozart Concertos, and in general all that makes up the riches
and adornment of the flute’s repertoire had never figured in Altès’s teaching. The
good man had written a three-part method in which he encased his students, like
wearing sandwich boards.

Taffanel’s own remarks in an 1895 letter to Joachim Andersen are equally convincing:

“My predecessor, very narrow in his views and completely of the old school, knew and

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17 Blakeman, Taffanel: Genius of the Flute, 26.
18 Ibid.
taught only a very limited number of old-fashioned works which had no musical value whatsoever.\textsuperscript{20} Clearly, Taffanel was changing the paradigm.

Taffanel was appointed the flute professor at the Conservatoire in 1893 and began to include quite a variety of repertoire in the set pieces for his flute class examinations. As Fleury recounted, sonatas by Johann Sebastian Bach and the Mozart concerti appeared, as well as pieces by Andersen, Saint-Saëns, Godard, and Handel.\textsuperscript{21} Taffanel still assigned romantic showpieces; however, he regarded them as useful as an educational exercise, rather than showy recital repertoire. Blakeman notes that in Taffanel’s teaching, “Once the instrument had been mastered, then the student could proceed to better music.”\textsuperscript{22} As a supporter of new music, Taffanel helped the flute repertoire grow considerably by commissioning new works for the flute morceau de concours examination pieces, or the compulsory competition pieces. These pieces included Chaminade’s Concertino, Fauré’s Fantaisie, and Ganne’s Andante et Scherzo, all works that are still often performed by flutists today.\textsuperscript{23}

Several of Taffanel’s well-known students besides Louis Fleury include Phillipe Gaubert (1879-1941), Georges Barrère (1876-1944), and Marcel Moyse (1889-1984). These flutists became renowned teachers and developed studies on tone and technique that are considered foundational to flute playing. Paul Taffanel and Philippe Gaubert worked together to write the Méthode Complète de Flûte (The Complete Flute Method), a

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{20} Letter from Taffanel to Joachim Andersen, May 5, 1895, quoted in Edward Blakeman, \textit{Taffanel: Genius of the Flute}, 98.
\item \textsuperscript{21} Blakeman, \textit{Taffanel: Genius of the Flute}, 249-267.
\item \textsuperscript{22} Ibid., 185.
\item \textsuperscript{23} Ibid., 188-189.
\end{itemize}
comprehensive flute method book. Taffanel had started the project before he died, leaving Gaubert to complete his teacher’s work. In addition to extensive exercises, etudes, and excerpts, the *Méthode* includes the technique exercises, *17 Grands Exercises Journaliers de Mécanisme* (17 Big Daily Exercises), a staple in flute technique exercises.

Georges Barrère studied with Taffanel and eventually settled in New York, where he was a prominent orchestral player and teacher. Barrère is best known for founding the woodwind chamber ensemble *Société moderne des instruments à vent*, or the Modern Society of Wind Instruments, and for premiering Edgard Varèse’s masterpiece for solo flute, *Density 21.5*. Barrère’s woodwind society began in 1896 in a similar model of Taffanel’s ensemble, *Société de musique de chambre pour instruments à vent* (the Woodwind Chamber Music Society). Barrère’s “modern” society highlighted new woodwind chamber music. Taffanel was fully supportive of Barrère’s venture, as he explained in a letter to him in 1895:

> As a sort of ‘grandfather,’ or, if you wish, uncle of wind instrument societies, I am happy when I see one such as yours persevere on the straight and narrow, with no other aim than that of seeking perfection in performance; and dreaming only of cultivating the blossoming of new works to enrich a limited repertoire.  

Another of Taffanel’s students, Marcel Moyse, was a legendary teacher and performer who wrote tone and technical studies that are essential to the flute repertoire. Many consider Moyse to be the successor to Taffanel, as Blakeman describes:

> Taffanel’s mantle of great teacher undoubtedly fell on the shoulders of Marcel Moyse…Moyse, following Taffanel most closely, managed to combine inspiration and method, although the technical lengths to which he went in his many books of studies and exercises might well have been viewed as excessive by Taffanel. After Gaubert, Moyse was the most celebrated player in Paris.  

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Of Taffanel’s most successful students, Gaubert, Barrère, and Moyse have been most highly recognized for their accomplishments. However, Louis Fleury deserves greater recognition for his significant contributions to flute performance, especially because of his role as music dedicatee. Taffanel initiated interest in new music for the flute through his legacy as composer and teacher. Under Taffanel, the French Flute School began to explore new styles. Fleury championed new music for the flute beyond Taffanel’s influence, and the music dedicated to Fleury would fully embrace modernism.
LOUIS FLEURY

Louis Fleury was a skilled flutist, in addition to being an avid writer, scholar, conductor, and music editor. Born in Lyon in 1878, Fleury recounted how he came to play the flute at twelve years old:

My first lesson in music was given me by a schoolmaster in the little country village where I passed my youth. The poor fellow knew nothing of music and when my mother asked him to teach me he hesitated, but he thought it best not to refuse the chance of making a little extra money, so he taught me to sing the Marseillaise, the only tune he knew, and that by heart... Later, when I was twelve years of age, a piccolo was bought for me and I had for an instructor a barber. I made rapid progress and thereupon a Boehm-system flute was purchased for me, then an amateur flutist, a pharmacist, directed my footsteps towards the serious art of flute-playing.26

Though Fleury’s early musical career “was particularly modest,” as he describes it, he made great progress.27 Fleury auditioned for Paul Taffanel’s class at the Conservatoire in 1894. He was not selected this first time, but the audition with Taffanel made quite an impression on Fleury:

[Taffanel] circled around me with the agility of a squirrel, standing on tiptoe to examine my embouchure, the formation of my hands, the position of my fingers. He tapped me on the shoulder with the most encouraging smile and wished me much success. He had laid siege. After a pitiful audition I was completely quashed and did not become his student until the following year.28

A year later in 1895, Taffanel did admit Fleury and wrote that Fleury had “quite good aptitude” and was a “quite good student.”29 Still, Fleury did not compete in the concours that particular year. The following year, Taffanel noted that Fleury was

27 Ibid.
29 Blakeman, Taffanel: Genius of the Flute, 252.
“sensitive by nature, but restricted by being so impressionable,” yet that he had a “good feeling for music.” Fleury competed in the concours, winning first accessit, or the first certificate of merit. Unfortunately, when Fleury competed again the next year, he did not win any awards. It was not until the following year, 1899, that he was awarded second prize. That year Taffanel complimented Fleury’s performance: “Beginning to overcome his extreme nervousness. Very interesting student. Good tone.” Finally, in July 1900, Fleury was awarded the first prize in the concours with his performance of Demersseman’s Solo de Concert No. 6, Op. 82, and Widor’s Morceau de lecture à vue. Taffanel’s notes on Fleury’s progress ring true with the outcome of Fleury’s graduation that year: “Very marked progress. Refined and musical by nature. Has virtually conquered his nervousness. Excellent student.”

As a chamber musician and a flute soloist, Fleury eagerly supported both new and old music. Fleury performed Schoenberg’s “Pierrot Lunaire” with an ensemble Schoenberg himself conducted. Fleury was also a member and eventually the director of the woodwind chamber ensemble the Société moderne d’instruments à vent (the Modern Society of Wind Instruments) after founder Georges Barrère left France for the United States in 1905. This ensemble frequently commissioned and performed new music specifically for wind instruments. In addition, Fleury founded a musical society dedicated

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30 Blakeman, Taffanel: Genius of the Flute, 252-253.
31 Ibid., 255.
32 Ibid., 256.
to performing early music, the Société des Concerts d’Autrefois, or the Society of Early Music Concerts.  

Fleury was passionate about elevating the flute as an expressive solo instrument. Instead of continuing to perform romantic showpieces in order to simply display sheer virtuosity, as was popular in the previous era, he often travelled around the world playing new flute repertoire on his solo recitals. In recounting the flutists of the romantic era, Fleury berated:

The flute players who flourished from the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards, seem to have been the victims of exaggerated ambition. They strove to make of their delicate instrument a rival to the violin, and they naturally overtaxed its resources. The Frenchmen Drouet, Tulou, Berbiguier, and Demersseman, the Englishman Nicholson, and all their foreign colleagues, wrote and played nothing but brilliant, pompous, and even ‘heroic’ music!...Showers of notes and interminable pedal points alternate with ambitious and majestic phrases which attempt in vain to reach the sublime.  

For perspective on Fleury’s comments, consider this portion of Demersseman’s Solo de Concert No. 6, Op. 82, shown below in Figure 1.1. (Ironically, this is one of the pieces that Fleury performed when he won first prize in the concours!) “Showers of notes” are certainly present in the flute part, while the piano motors along with bland, repetitive chords.

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Fleury’s teacher Taffanel had used romantic showpieces such as this Demersseman work in his teaching at the Conservatoire, but frowned upon the idea of programming that music for public concerts. Therefore, Fleury learned quite a few showpieces that he later railed against in his writings.\textsuperscript{37}


\textsuperscript{37} Blakeman, \textit{Taffanel: Genius of the Flute}, 251-257.
Still, Fleury and Taffanel were not opposed to each other in this matter of flute repertoire selections. Before his death Taffanel had begun a large project – writing the article “La Flûte” in Albert Lavignac’s *Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du conservatoire* (the Encyclopedia of Music and Dictionary of the Conservatoire). Taffanel had asked Fleury to work with him on editing the article, and after Taffanel passed away, Fleury completed and edited the document at the request of Albert Lavignac and Mrs. Taffanel. The article is a comprehensive history of the flute and flutists, as well as a summary of Taffanel’s concept of the art of flute playing. A section of the article is devoted to “style” of flute playing, and here Fleury comments again on the state of flute repertoire after the romantic era. It is interesting to note his thoughts about Taffanel in this context:

The artistic decadence of the flute began at the beginning of the 19th [sic] century when the virtuosi of that period wanted to develop a pompous style, great flights of fancy and brilliance. This school, which began with Tulou and ended with Demersseman furnished us with an incalculable number of grand concerti and brilliant soli. Since the taste for fantasies with variations and pots-pourris on opera themes was grafted into it, the art of the flute was only a pretext for trifling “turlytutus” and for exercises of bad taste. A fortunate reaction has resulted in the last third of the century under the influence of artists, among whom Paul Taffanel occupied the first place. . . . This renunciation coincided with a return of interest in the music of the 18th [sic] century when the flute was used with more tact and discretion. . . . It seems to us that with a solid technique and a rich and varied sonority, the exact observance of the desires of composers leads to the


40 “Turlytutus” is a colloquial French word for nonsense.
ideal interpretation which puts the instrument at the service of the music and not the music at the service of the virtuoso.\textsuperscript{41}

Taffanel \textit{did} compose fantasies on operatic themes, and Fleury described Taffanel’s fantaisies as bearing “little importance” to Taffanel in this same article.\textsuperscript{42} Fleury recognized Taffanel as a reactionary artist to the previous school of flutists who composed what Fleury termed “exercises of bad taste.”

The repertoire list that Fleury includes in the encyclopedia article includes pieces that Taffanel dug out of relative obscurity at the time, including the Mozart concerti, J.S. Bach’s Suite in B minor, BWV 1067, and a sonata by Handel (now all considered standard repertoire by today’s standards). New works are also represented on the list, with several that were dedicated to Fleury.\textsuperscript{43} Fleury continued a trend that was started by his teacher Taffanel – that of appreciating music for the flute from long ago and also championing new music that was expressive and musically excellent.

One can infer much about Fleury’s own playing style and preferences from the pieces that were dedicated to him. In these works, there is a progression in musical style from romanticism to modernism through the use of extra-musical references, novel harmonic language, and rhythmic complexity. These works demand more than sheer virtuosity from the flutist – they invite a wider range of expression and imagination.

\textsuperscript{41} Louis Fleury, quoted in John Ranck, “The Flute,” by Paul Taffanel and Louis Fleury, 163.

\textsuperscript{42} Ibid., 173.

\textsuperscript{43} Ranck, “The Flute,” 165-170.
CLAUDE DEBUSSY’S SYRINX

“[La Flûte de Pan is] a real jewel of restrained emotion, of sadness, of plastic beauty, of discreet tenderness and poetry.”

Without the work of Louis Fleury, it is quite possible that the beautiful flute solo La Flûte de Pan would have been lost in obscurity. La Flûte de Pan, more commonly known as Syrinx, was composed in 1913 by Claude Debussy, a French Impressionist composer. Debussy dedicated the solo to Fleury, who also performed the première. In La Flûte de Pan, Pan refers to the Greek mythological god of the shepherds who was part man and part goat. Pan fell in love with the nymph Syrinx, who did not return his affection and attempted to hide from him by transforming into a bundle of reeds. Pan cut the reeds in order to fashion a panpipe flute and in the process mistakenly murdered his love. In this story, Syrinx refers both to the beautiful nymph whom Pan pursues, as well as the panpipe flute that he constructs out of the reeds. Marcel Moyse described the story of Pan and Syrinx in this way: “The reeds which [Pan] bound with wax he made unequal, because their love had been unequal. And so, she who was once a beautiful maiden is now a musical pipe.”

This flute solo was originally intended as incidental music for the play Psyché by Gabriel Mourey. Mourey commissioned Debussy to compose music for the entire play, which recounted the story of Psyché and Cupid. It is amusing to know that Debussy was apprehensive at best about Mourey’s play: he told Mourey, “Have you thought what

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44 Gabriel Mourey, quoted in Robert Orledge, Debussy and the Theatre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 256.


46 Marcel Moyse’s personal notebook, quoted in Claude Debussy, Syrinx or La Flûte de Pan, ed. Trevor Wye (London: Novello, 1994), 4.
genius would be needed to rejuvenate this tired old myth, already so exploited that it seems that the feathers of the wings of love are all withered away?" Apparently, Debussy came around to support Mourey’s aspirations for the play, since he ultimately did compose this piquant solo.

Fleury performed the première of La Flûte de Pan at a performance of Mourey’s play in 1913. Debussy specified that the solo should be played offstage, signifying what flutist and scholar Kyle Dzapo describes as Pan “hidden inside his cave.” Fleury continued the tradition when he performed the solo on his recitals, performing it behind a screen. Fleury was the only flutist who owned a copy of the music until 1927, when the piece was finally published. There is some mystery as to which manuscript was used by publisher Jobert in 1927; it is generally accepted that the original manuscript in Debussy’s hand has been lost. In 1991 a manuscript of La Flûte de Pan was discovered in Brussels that bears differences particularly in breath marks from the Jobert edition. It is possible that Fleury copied the Brussels manuscript and used it as his performance copy for the première in 1913. Flutist Trevor Wye affirms that the 1927 publication by Jobert

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was edited by Marcel Moyse, which would account for discrepancies in breath marks from the Brussels manuscript. The solo’s title was modified from *La Flûte de Pan* to *Syrinx* by Jobert at the time of publishing, perhaps to distinguish the flute solo from a vocal movement, “La Flûte de Pan,” from Debussy’s *Chansons de Bilitis*.

Debussy’s solo depicts “the last melody that Pan plays before his death” in Mourey’s play. Flutist Laura Estrid Ewell has aptly described the relationship between the text, drama, and music in this solo. She highlights Fleury’s role in premiering *Syrinx* both in its original context as incidental music in Mourey’s play, and in its context as a solo work.

Until the recent discovery of a probable source manuscript in Brussels, the melodramatic context of this music was unclear. This newly discovered context, along with Fleury’s popularization of the composition as a solo, creates two different types of performance settings. The title *La Flûte de Pan (Syrinx)*, given in the Autographus Musicus and Novello edition, acknowledges simultaneously both aspects of the composition’s presentation to audiences, first as a melodrama and later as a solo for flute. However, although more historically accurate, the duality of this title fails to highlight the unique contribution made by Fleury in bringing the piece to a wider audience. The use of *Syrinx* for the solo work and *La Flûte de Pan* for melodrama performances clarifies the unique evolution of Debussy’s work as incidental music and later as a celebrated solo for flute.

Again, Fleury is the one to thank for the present place of this flute solo in the flute repertoire.

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56 Ewell, “A Symbolist Melodrama,” 76.
In its dramatic setting, Fleury would have performed this work in Act Three of Mourey’s play. The Brussels manuscript indicates that spoken lines introduced the solo as well as were narrated concurrently during Fleury’s performance; he would have played the first eight measures, paused for brief dialogue from characters, and played the rest of the solo while two characters spoke. As the scene opens, two nymphs are conversing in the moonlight at the lake near Pan’s cave:

*PSYCHE*, Act III, Scene One.

*L’Oréade: Mais voici que Pan de sa flûte recommence a jouer*

Listen to Pan beginning to play his flute again.

[Cue for the flutist to play the first eight measures; pause]

*La Naiade: Prodigé! Il semble que la Nuit ait dénoué Sa ceinture et qu’en écartant ses voiles Elle ait laissé, pour se jouer, Sur la terre tomber toutes les étoiles...*

*Crois-tu que l’amant d’Eurydice Faisait vibrer de plus touchants Et plus sublimes chants Les cordes d’airain de sa lyre Non, n’est-ce pas?*

[Marvel!] It’s as if night had unbuckled its belt and let the stars fall onto the silent earth, twinkling melodiously. Surely Eurydice’s lover couldn’t have made such sublime and moving sounds on his lyre?

*L’Oréade: Tais-toi, contiens ta joie, écoute.*

Keep silent, contain your joy, listen.

[Cue to continue the flute solo to the end: the nymphs continue to speak].

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The Brussels manuscript, even with its mysterious authorship, nevertheless clarifies the original context of *La Flûte de Pan* in Mourey’s play as Fleury would have performed it.

Pan’s flute playing represented in this solo is beautiful but mournful. Pan cries because he is facing his mortality. Debussy personifies Pan’s sighs and crying through the use of chromatic half steps, as shown in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1. Debussy, *Syrinx*, use of half steps, mm. 1-2.\(^{59}\)

\[\text{Figure 2.1. Debussy, *Syrinx*, use of half steps, mm. 1-2.}\]

Though Debussy assigns a key signature of five flats, he rarely stays within a key signature at all. He explores modern scales in this piece, including pentatonic and whole tone scales. A pentatonic scale, containing five notes taken from the major scale, provides brief moments of respite from the chromaticism representing Pan’s crying, as shown in Figure 2.2.

\[^{59}\text{Claude Debussy, *Syrinx or La Flûte de Pan*, ed. Trevor Wye (London: Novello, 1994).}\]
A whole tone scale, a scale built on consecutive whole steps, appears in the final three measures of the piece before Pan lays down his flute forever (Figure 2.3). This scale creates an open, mystical effect, since it is not grounded in a tonic in the same way as the major scale is, for example.

Figure 2.3. Debussy, *Syrinx*, use of whole tone scale, mm. 31-35.\(^{61}\)

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\(^{60}\) Debussy, *Syrinx or La Flûte de Pan*, ed. Trevor Wye.

\(^{61}\) Ibid.
Debussy also experiments with rhythmic ambiguity. Though he still uses barlines to demarcate measures, the rhythms are irregular. Additionally, Debussy inserts rests rather suddenly. Consider the following section from the piece, Figure 2.4.

Figure 2.4. Debussy *Syrinx*, mm. 3-8.\(^{62}\)

Debussy’s frequent use of ties, alternation between sixteenths and triplets, and use of rubato creates a floating sensation without regular meter. Debussy’s rhythmic ambiguity helps to personify the scene of the nymphs dancing in the moonlight. The flutist almost plays a written-out improvisation, though the piece still requires careful subdivision.

Debussy’s *Syrinx* presented a substantial step forward towards modernism in the solo flute repertoire because of its exploration of modern harmonic and rhythmic devices. Furthermore, the work was a landmark in the solo flute genre itself: flutist Anders Ljungar-Chapelon posits that “[b]efore 1913 high standard music for solo flute had not been composed for 150 years, not since Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach’s *Solo Sonata in a-“

\(^{62}\) Debussy, *Syrinx or La Flûte de Pan*, ed. Trevor Wye.
Perhaps this pivotal work would have been forgotten entirely with Gabriel Mourey’s play if it were not for Louis Fleury. It is Fleury who both premiered the piece as incidental music, and who promoted the work as a solo flute piece by performing it regularly on his solo recitals.
CYRIL SCOTT'S THE EXTATIC SHEPHERD

Fleury often travelled outside of France on his solo recital tours, including many tours in London. On one such tour in 1919, Fleury performed solo pieces on a recital in Steinway Hall alongside English composer and pianist Cyril Scott (1879-1970).\textsuperscript{64} Scott wrote several pieces for the flute, and dedicated at least two to Fleury. About Scott, Fleury wrote:

The subtle and refined art of Mr. Cyril Scott seems to be especially adapted to the flute...If the audacity of his harmony bewilders the hearer who is not accustomed to modern music, the simplicity of his melodic line, the richness of his rhythmic inventions, and his perfect understanding of the technique of the flute, must nevertheless delight music lovers.\textsuperscript{65}

Fleury stated his affirmations about Cyril Scott in 1920, two years before Scott dedicated The Extatic Shepherd to him. At this time, Scott had already composed and dedicated a piece for flute and piano to Fleury called the Scotch Pastoral, and Fleury said optimistically that he “hope[d] that more may be expected of this composer.”\textsuperscript{66}

Scott was viewed as an innovator; composer Edward Elgar looked to him as a leader of English composers exploring modern harmonies.\textsuperscript{67} Scott was a fellow composition student and friend of Percy Grainger and was a contemporary of Claude


\textsuperscript{66} Ibid.

Debussy. Though he was English, Scott’s early musical style is distinctly influenced by the French Impressionists.

The term “extatic” Scott used in the title *The Extatic Shepherd* refers to the Latin word, *extasis*, from which the word *ecstasy* is derived. *Extasis* bears ties to a religious theosophical movement that sought to find revelation outside of oneself. According to author Kurt Leland, the title of this flute piece, *The Extatic Shepherd*, refers to the theosophists’ hoped-for “World Teacher.” In this interpretation, the “shepherd” refers to a leader. In religions such as Christianity, the title “shepherd” refers to a leader that oversees his people with tenderness and protection, like a shepherd would with sheep in the wilderness. Cyril Scott most likely referred to a shepherd in this context as a leader of an eastern religious movement.

However, it is possible to interpret the title, *The Extatic Shepherd*, from a general pastoral perspective. Scott’s tempo marking is intriguing. He uses a traditional Italian term, *Con moto*, followed by an unusual word, *liquidamente*. This Italian term literally means “liquid,” which could imply a state of wandering and exploring.

It is quite possible that Scott was inspired by hearing Fleury perform Debussy’s evocative flute piece, *Syrinx*. Perhaps Fleury performed *Syrinx* at the London recital that featured both Fleury and Scott as soloists in 1919. The fact that *The Extatic Shepherd* is a work for solo flute invites comparison with Debussy’s solo. Scott gives clear

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69 Ibid.


71 “London Concerts,” 128.
instructions in the score that are even more convincing in this comparison: he specifies that the piece is “to be played in the [back]-room of the stage with the door ajar.” In addition, Scott’s piece is also highly chromatic and similar rhythmically to Debussy’s work. One can imagine a shepherd boy wandering and playing his pipe out on the fields when listening to Scott’s piece.

Harmonically, *The Extatic Shepherd* is adventurous. Unlike Debussy, Scott does not specify a key signature; he experiments with chromaticism from the start. There are instances of a pentatonic scale (see bracketed measure of Figure 3.1), but Scott does generally wander from recognizable scales. Leland labels this style by Scott as “pan-modality” and identifies this harmonic freedom as a way that Scott varies timbral color in the piece.73

Figure 3.1. Scott, *The Extatic Shepherd*, opening and example of pentatonic scale, mm. 1-9.74

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74 Scott, *The Extatic Shepherd*. 
Scott also includes what Leland describes as “synthetic modes,” or scales that Scott has created (see Figure 3.2).\footnote{75 Leland, “The Chamber Music,” 195.}

Figure 3.2. Scott, *The Extatic Shepherd*, example of “synthetic mode,” mm. 54-64.\footnote{76 Scott, *The Extatic Shepherd*.}

With all of the modal and chromatic ambiguity, the piece nevertheless refers to a tonal center (see the tonal center, B natural, in Figure 3.1).

Rhythmically, Scott’s *Extatic Shepherd* mimics Debussy’s *Syrinx* in the frequent alternation between duple groupings and triple groupings. The varied groupings give each phrase an improvisatory feel. Scott traverses a step further than Debussy in also adjusting the meter. Note the meter changes and mix of duple and triple groupings in the following example (Figure 3.3).
Figure 3.3. Scott, *The Extatic Shepherd*, meter changes and variety of rhythmic groupings, mm. 26-34.\textsuperscript{77}

Comparing Scott’s solo to Debussy’s earlier solo reveals a progression harmonically and rhythmically, but both share influences of pastoral scenes. Fleury, as dedicatee of both pieces, provides another link between the two. Though Debussy’s solo would ultimately gain more prominence in the flute repertoire, Cyril Scott’s *The Extatic Shepherd* shows further exploration of modern techniques in the flute solo genre.

\textsuperscript{77} Scott, *The Extatic Shepherd*. 
REYNALDO HAHN’S _DEUX PIÈCES POUR FLÛTE ET PIANO_

The previous two pieces dedicated to Fleury evoke heavy subjects – a cry in lament and a religious wandering. However, Fleury was also known for performing music on the lighter side. When contemplating the expressive capabilities of the flute, Fleury noted,

> The flute is, as anyone can see, a nimble instrument…entirely in its place in undertaking rapid and brilliant passages. What is regrettable is that the flute has been relegated exclusively to elegiac music in forgetfulness of its expressive qualities. It is inadmissible to ask of it anything like force or majestic pomp, but wit we may ask; and of witty sentiments there are plenty of examples.  

Fleury desired that composers would feature the entire range of expression on the flute. One genre in particular that could convey both “witty sentiments” as well as sophisticated beauty was dance music.

Composer Reynaldo Hahn (1874-1947) incorporated dance elements into the music he dedicated to Fleury. Born in Venezuela in 1874, Hahn lived most of his life in Paris, and he studied with Jules Massenet at the _Paris Conservatoire_. Hahn became a prominent composer of vocal music, especially of the French _mélodie_ (art song). He also wrote several operas and staged vocal works; one of the most famous was a musical comedy on the life of Mozart, simply titled _Mozart_.

Hahn was well-acquainted with _fin-de-siècle_ French culture through his acquaintances with poets and artists, which led to his setting song cycles and _mélodies_ to texts by poets Paul Verlaine and Victor Hugo. Another prominent writer, Marcel Proust,

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was Hahn’s confidant. Proust described Hahn’s music this way: “Reynaldo Hahn hugs all hearts, brings tears to all eyes, with the thrill of admiration that he spreads far and that makes us tremble, we all curve one after another, as the quiet and solemn waving wheat in the wind.”

Reynaldo Hahn collaborated with Louis Fleury on concerts of the Société moderne d’instruments à vent (the Modern Society of Wind Instruments). The ensemble premiered Hahn’s chamber work, Le bal de Béatrice d’Este, in 1905. The piece was written as a ballet divertissement and is scored for fourteen instruments – including two harps and piano. Flute historian Nancy Toff notes that Hahn performed as the pianist with the group when the piece was premiered by the Société in 1905; Fleury would have performed on the première of this piece as well.

It is evident that Hahn was acquainted with both Philippe Gaubert and Louis Fleury, since he dedicated flute and piano pieces to both of them. Comparing the two pieces is informative. Hahn dedicated his Variations on a Theme by Mozart to Gaubert in 1906. The piece begins with a simple theme by Mozart (Figure 4.1) and progresses to variations by Hahn that show off technical finesse (Figure 4.2).

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80 Marcel Proust, quoted in Le Figaro, May 11, 1903, quoted in Absinthe: Café Music for Flute and Piano by Gaspar Hoyos and David Violi, Fleur de Son, 2014, Liner Notes, 2, CD.

Figure 4.1. Hahn, *Variations on a Theme by Mozart*, Mozart’s theme, mm. 1-4.\textsuperscript{82}

Figure 4.2. Hahn, *Variations on a Theme by Mozart*, Hahn’s Variation #2, mm. 40-48.\textsuperscript{83}

\textsuperscript{82} Reynaldo Hahn, *Variations on a Theme by Mozart* (Paris: Heugel et Cie, 1906).

\textsuperscript{83} Ibid.
This work that Hahn dedicated to Gaubert resembles a typical romantic theme-and-variations showpiece, but it is interesting to note that Fleury valued it enough to include it in the repertoire list of the article that he completed for Lavignac’s encyclopedia.84

On the other hand, the piece that Hahn dedicated to Fleury is far from a romantic showpiece. Hahn composed *Deux Pièces pour Flûte et Piano* in 1913 before he served France in World War I. The first movement, *Danse pour une déesse*, or Dance for a goddess, was dedicated to Fleury. As shown in this excerpt below (Figure 4.3), the dance flows from the flute’s mesmerizing, dignified melody above the repetitive chords in the piano accompaniment.

Figure 4.3. Hahn, *Deux Pièces pour Flûte et Piano*, I. *Danse pour une déesse*, mm. 1-4.85

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This *Danse* presents a rather simplified modern style compared to the overt virtuosity of the piece dedicated to Gaubert. Comparing them begs a question: did Hahn adjust his style of writing between these pieces because he was evolving as a composer, or because he was writing for Fleury, or perhaps because of both reasons? The answer is not readily clear. What is clear is that the music changes in style.

One of the most striking things about Hahn’s *Danse* is the key signature – seven flats! What was Hahn’s motivation for such a complicated key signature? Perhaps Hahn used C-flat major to provide the flutist an opportunity to experiment with dark, warm tone colors associated with flats. One can surmise from this challenging key signature that Hahn trusted Fleury to play this movement with a beautiful tone no matter the key signature. There are possible connections to vocal music in this movement as well. Since Hahn was primarily a vocal composer, it follows to compare the flute’s sustained melody and pacing to a vocal line from one of his *mélodies*. This movement can be interpreted as both a dance and a song.

Though this piece presents more conservative rhythms than the solos by Debussy or Scott, Hahn incorporates instances of rhythmic displacement into the *Danse*. These metrical shifts obscure a sense of regular meter. One example of rhythmic displacement appears in Figure 4.4, in mm. 28-30 (bracketed), where Hahn changes the emphasis from groups of four beats to groups of three.
Figure 4.4. Hahn, *Deux Pièces pour Flûte et Piano*, I. *Danse pour une déesse*, rhythmic displacement, mm. 25-33.\(^{86}\)

Hahn uses rhythmic displacement here to prolong a cadence point, which finally occurs in mm. 31.

Hahn also uses rhythmic displacement near the end of the movement, as shown in Figure 4.5, in mm. 39-45.

\(^{86}\) Hahn, *Deux Pièces pour Flûte et Piano.*
This section of the piece could be considered the coda. Hahn refers to the opening motive beginning on the last beat of the piano part in m. 42, but displaces it by two beats (see the displaced return in Figure 4.5 and the original setting in Figure 4.6).

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87 Hahn, Deux Pièces pour Flûte et Piano.
The rhythmic displacement only adds to the sense of rubato and expression at the end of the movement. Hahn’s transparent *Danse pour une déesse* allows the flutist to play simply, and to explore nuance. Hahn’s music for Fleury highlighted the flute as an expressive instrument.

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88 Hahn, *Deux Pièces pour Flûte et Piano.*
Another composer who wrote music for Fleury inspired by dance genres was Cyril Bradley Rootham (1875-1938). Not to be confused with Cyril Scott, Rootham is coincidentally also English and also named Cyril. In addition to his work as a composer, Cyril Bradley Rootham was an organist, choirmaster, and educator. He was also a conductor of the Cambridge University Musical Society. Rootham was passionate about reviving works of the past, as he conducted an historically-informed performance of Mozart’s *The Magic Flute* and a performance of Purcell’s *The Fairy Queen*. He was a contemporary and friend of notable English composer Ralph Vaughan Williams.

Rootham’s compositional style is unique, in that he looked to the past by emphasizing strict counterpoint while still experimenting with novel harmonies. He was not content with following the example of his contemporaries, especially the English folk-song revival to which fellow composers like Vaughan Williams ascribed. Musicologist Arthur Hutchings said that “no school of thought lured [Rootham] from the traditional path of sound contrapuntal writing; he will call upon this or that mode for its expressive value at a particular moment, …but he does not dabble in the ‘archaic’ flavour [sic] of one or two snug harmonic clichés.”

Louis Fleury was also a reviver of older music; he prepared editions of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century baroque flute compositions by composers such as

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91 Ibid., 19.

Rootham both performed and wrote music in older music styles. In particular, Rootham’s \textit{Suite in Three Movements for Flute and Piano} references baroque dance forms. This work was dedicated to Fleury, though it is not clear how the two were acquainted with each other. Rootham’s love of part-writing and Fleury’s interest in baroque music meet in this eclectic suite. The title \textit{Suite} implies connections to the baroque dance suite of the seventeenth century, which was a collection of traditional dance forms played by instruments.

The first movement, \textit{Passacaglia}, refers to a solemn courtly dance usually in triple meter. In the baroque era, this form was popular in France and Germany and adopted by composers such as J.S. Bach. The passacaglia is based on a repeating pattern, an ostinato, that is presented in the first voice, usually the bass. As shown in Figure 5.1, the ostinato theme is first heard in the piano in mm. 1-5.
An ostinato can be passed around to other voices, but it is usually repeated with variations. Rootham follows this basic form in his passacaglia movement; after the ostinato theme is first heard in the piano, it is adopted by the flute in measure six (above, Figure 5.1). Rootham chooses a duple meter instead of the more standard triple of a passacaglia, and he sets the piece in the Dorian mode. In this context, Rootham strays from baroque styling through the more adventurous harmony typical of his style.

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Rootham continues this more progressive harmonic approach throughout the movement. He layers the ostinato theme over diminished, augmented, and even a German sixth chord, as shown in Figure 5.2.

Figure 5.2. Rootham, *Suite in Three Movements*, I. *Passacaglia*, harmonic progression, mm. 42-46.\(^{95}\)

After developing the ostinato theme through harmonic and rhythmic variation, Rootham brings the simple melody back in the end of the movement in a fragmented “call-and-response” form between the flute and the piano. The bracketed portion in this example (Figure 5.3 below) shows the deconstructed ostinato theme, shared between both instruments.

\(^{95}\) Rootham, *Suite in Three Movements*. 
The second movement is another dance form, the sarabande. This form was also popular in France during the baroque era, when it was characterized by a slow and solemn mood. Rootham uses the typical sarabande rhythm in the opening piano part: quarter note, dotted quarter note, and eighth note (Figure 5.4).
Figure 5.4. Rootham, *Suite in Three Movements*, II. *Saraband*, comparison of traditional sarabande rhythm\(^97\) with opening of Rootham, mm. 1-2.\(^98\)

As the movement continues, while the pianist plays the sarabande rhythm, the flutist is busy with ornamentation, including rapid scalar passages (shown in the following example, Figure 5.5). Still, Rootham does not write virtuosic filigree for the flute that Fleury opposed in his writings; the flute plays fantasy-like gestures that decorate the solemn dance.


\(^{98}\) Rootham, *Suite in Three Movements*. 
Figure 5.5. Rootham, *Suite in Three Movements*, II. *Saraband*, mm. 1-14.\(^9\)

The third movement completely changes the mood with an upbeat jig. The word *jig* has an English origin, meaning to “frolic” or “leap.”\(^{10}\) This dance form has less of a standardized rhythmic or harmonic pattern, but when it occurs, it is often set in compound meter. Rootham created a quirky jig with his mix of both duple and triple compound meters. In Figure 5.6 below, notice the meter changes (notated with numerals); the measures in compound three feel like the dance has been interrupted, since Rootham introduces the jig in a compound duple meter. In fact, Rootham uses a rather unusual time signature indicating both duple and triple groupings of dotted quarter notes.

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\(^9\) Rootham, *Suite in Three Movements*.

In this suite, Rootham preserved musical depth while writing a piece that dances. He masterfully united baroque styling with novel harmonic and rhythmic devices. In a way, this piece looks both backward and forward – very much like Fleury’s endeavors as both an early and new music enthusiast.

JACQUES IBERT’S JEUX

French composer Jacques Ibert (1890-1962) went a step further towards levity than even Rootham did with the piece *Jeux*, or “Games,” which was dedicated to Fleury. Ibert studied composition at the *Paris Conservatoire*, and he served France in World War I as both a nurse and naval officer. Though his composing had to cease during the war, afterwards he secured first prize in the *Prix de Rome* in 1919. Ibert’s compositional style is modern harmonically, yet traditional in form. He admired other French composers such as Dukas and Debussy, but formed his own musical style that often defied categorization.

Flutist Francis Timlin has described Ibert’s broad musical style:

Ibert always prided himself on having remained an “independent” composer, not aligned with any “school” or theoretical “system.” It is perhaps best that, in the final analysis, he can only be “classified” with reference to many different and seemingly conflicting labels, none of which tell a completely accurate story. Ibert, with his characteristic wit, would surely be delighted at knowing what problems the “question” of his style poses. ¹⁰²

As such, Ibert’s music conveys a vast spectrum of moods: scholar Alexandra Laederich describes it as having a “blend of tenderness and irony.” ¹⁰³ This juxtaposition aptly describes this piece, *Jeux*.

Ibert composed *Jeux* in 1923 while studying in Rome. As part of his award for winning the *Prix de Rome*, Ibert wrote music for a 1924 Paris “debut concert” of his works. *Jeux* was a part of this so-called “envois” music that Ibert composed in Rome and sent ahead of his Paris debut. ¹⁰⁴ Ibert was eager to write music for wind instruments


because of the possibilities for color and blend that were not possible with string instruments. Some of his most well-known wind instrument pieces include a piece for woodwind quintet, *Trois pièces brèves* (1930) and his *Flute Concerto* (1934). For his Paris première, Ibert wrote a chamber piece for the *Société moderne d'instruments à vent* titled *Deux Mouvements* for Woodwind Quartet, as well as this piece, *Jeux*, which was dedicated to Fleury.

*Jeux* is a sonatine, or a small sonata, this one with two movements. The title literally means “games” and reflects Ibert’s humorous side. The “game” seems to be situated between the melodies in the piano and flute part. In the first movement, *Animé*, Ibert presents a playful mood in the opening by using 5/8 as the time signature, which feels lopsided at times. One of the characters that races between the flute and piano parts is a light melody driven by triplets, shown in Figure 6.1.
This melody appears in varied forms and contrasting characters throughout the work; one is capricious, as seen in Figure 6.2.

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106 Ibid.
Another instance is domineering, as illustrated in Figure 6.3, with the extreme dynamics and accents added. Ibert even asks the flutist to “force the sound” in measure 41.

Figure 6.3. Ibert, Jeux, I. Animé, flute part, mm. 40-47.107

Besides conveying a great variety of musical character, Ibert also uses very modern harmonic language in this piece, paired with a more complex layering of rhythms. Ibert is still considered a tonal composer, but his music is only loosely based on key centers with frequent modulations. Consider this section in the first movement, which utilizes complex rhythmic and harmonic elements (Figure 6.4).

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107 Ibert, Jeux.
In this section, the piano plays duples while the flute is playing triplets, nearly every note in the piano part has an accidental, and the music sort of hiccups in the unusual 5/8 time signature.

After the first movement, it is still not clear who has “won” the game, and the beginning of the second movement seems to be a diversion from the chase. As shown in Figure 6.5, slowing arpeggios in the piano part support a dreamy flute melody. Ibert uses modern scales, including whole tone and pentatonic scales, giving this movement an “Impressionist” feeling. Notice the pentatonic collections bracketed below.

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108 Ibert, Jeux.
Figure 6.5. Ibert, *Jeux*, II. *Tendre*, pentatonic collections in mm. 1-3, 16-18.\textsuperscript{109}

\textsuperscript{109} In mm. 16-18, there are two pentatonic collections. Number 1 is spelled F-G-A-C-D and number 2 is spelled E-flat-F-G-B-flat-C. Ibert, *Jeux*. 
After a dreamy opening, a mischievous character appears in the flute part that is reminiscent of the first movement’s recurring triplet melody (Figure 6.6). The chase is back on.

Figure 6.6. Ibert, *Jeux*, II. *Tendre*, triplet melody fragments, mm. 37-39.\(^{110}\)

The game reaches an exciting climax when Ibert sets the second movement’s lyrical melody in canon between the flute and piano parts, as seen in Figure 6.7.

\(^{110}\) Ibert, *Jeux.*
The canon begins in measure 62, where the piano begins the melody, and the flute follows a dotted quarter note later.

Who wins the game? As shown in Figure 6.8, the flute ends the piece by sustaining a D-sharp and eventually fading into the ether; however, the piano returns to a lyrical melody from earlier in the second movement (shown in brackets). The piano won the game this time.

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111 Ibert, Jeux.
Flutist Sue Ann Kahn fittingly describes this delightful piece: “One of the flutist’s most precious legacies is the treasury of short pieces by Jacques Ibert. Gems from Ibert’s most fertile years, these works charm, touch, and amuse player and listener alike.”

Ibert’s Jeux certainly provides comic relief with its dueling characters, but more

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112 Ibert, Jeux.

113 Sue Ann Kahn, Jacques Around the Clock, Albany Records, 1995, Liner notes, 4, CD.
importantly, it journeys forward into modernism with its complex rhythmic layering, use of an unusual time signature, frequent modulations, and loose key centers. Louis Fleury, as dedicatee, was ready to bring this modern music forward with spirit.
CHARLES KOECHLIN’S SONATE POUR DEUX FLÛTES, OP. 75

Fleury eagerly supported the composition of new woodwind chamber music throughout his career, especially as director of the Société moderne des instruments à vent. One composer with whom he worked was Charles Koechlin (1867-1950), who dedicated his Sonate pour deux flûtes, Op. 75, to Fleury. A native Frenchman, Koechlin enrolled at the École Polytechnique in order to build a military career, but turned to a career in music after a serious illness.¹¹⁴ He studied composition with Massenet and Fauré at the Paris Conservatoire, and he was highly influenced by Johann Sebastian Bach. Koechlin made a great impact as a composer, teacher, and a music critic. His composition students included Milhaud and Poulenc, composers who would eventually outshine their teacher in France.¹¹⁵ According to Fleury, Koechlin’s reputation with his students included being an excellent teacher as well as a capable polytechnicien (student of the applied sciences):

Koechlin’s ascetic physics had also struck my imagination. I pictured him, scarcely dressed, sitting on a rock, like one of St. Jerome that after the paintbrush of Ribera’s has travelled all over the world, and I was medusa, on the other hand, because Koechlin had been a polytechnician before engaging in composition. I was not far, in my candor, to consider this as a disappointment. One shudders at the thought that such an artist, an admirable educator, whose exhilarating and moderating influence can never be sufficiently praised by his young disciples, would have been able to finish his career in the offices of a railway company or of a tobacco factory.¹¹⁶


Koechlin’s compositional oeuvre includes songs, instrumental music, symphonic works, as well as music for film. His musical style is often marked by counterpoint and modal harmonies, while in its mature form it moved towards polytonality and atonality. Scholar John Ash aptly describes how Koechlin synthesized many aspects of modernism in his music: “This Koechlin was the only French composer of the time capable of bridging the gap between the schools of Paris and Vienna, and probably the only one who was interested in doing so.” Overall, Koechlin’s musical style is varied. Musicologist Robert Orledge notes,

Koechlin’s unusually wide range of musical sympathies is reflected in the eclecticism of his own works, the various styles used in each work being suggested by their subjects. His firm belief in his own imaginative powers resulted in an almost complete lack of self-criticism, and he rarely revised works with a view to making them more concise.

In this way, some could view Koechlin’s works as raw inspiration.

Due to financial struggles after World War I, Koechlin turned to music criticism in earnest. His writings were impactful especially because of his background as a composer. Koechlin fully supported new music both as a composer and a critic; he helped to start a society for new music titled the Société Musicale Indépendante, or the Independent Musical Society. According to scholar Philippe Cathé, Koechlin

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118 Orledge, “Koechlin.”


120 Orledge, “Koechlin.”
succeeded as a music critic because of his association with and support from fellow composers Fauré and Debussy.\(^{121}\)

Koechlin had an especially close relationship with Claude Debussy; in fact, Koechlin orchestrated one of Debussy’s lesser-known ballets, *Khamma*, and later wrote a biography of Debussy’s life.\(^{122}\) Accordingly, Koechlin’s musical language has been compared to Debussy’s “Impressionism,” though Koechlin’s style is less transparent and strays farther harmonically. Still, as musicologist Niall O’Loughlin states, “Koechlin’s music can be appreciated by anyone familiar with the style of Debussy.”\(^{123}\) It is pertinent to note that Fleury had the privilege of working with both Debussy and Koechlin to present their new music to the public.

Koechlin composed his *Sonate pour deux flûtes*, Op. 75, between 1918 and 1920. Fleury premiered the duet with flutist Albert Manouvrier at a concert of the *Société moderne des instruments à vent* on January 7, 1922.\(^{124}\) Fleury commented on this piece in his article, “Music for Two Flutes without Bass,” which is devoted to tracing a sort of history of flute duets from the baroque era to the present.\(^{125}\) Fleury gives his impression of the sonata and the reaction of a critic at the première:

> The work is that of a fine musician and would have pleased us on its own merits, but it is also of interest to note how a combination frequently employed a century

\(^{121}\) Cathé, “The Figure of the Expert,” 64.


\(^{123}\) O’Loughlin, “Portrait of Debussy,” 996.


ago has now altogether fallen into disuse. “A duet for two flutes – can that be beautiful?” asks M. Jean Darnaudat in a long and valuable article devoted to this recital. “There certainly cannot be,” he says, “many examples of this type of musical literature if one excepts those little trifles for pupils, like the violin duets of Mazas or of Viotti, which have but slight musical interest.” It is no wonder that the distinguished critic should have fallen into an error, shared by most of his colleagues; nevertheless this music had a great success in its day, and perhaps he is inclined to treat it rather too lightly.\footnote{Fleury, “Music for Two Flutes without Bass,” 110.}

In answering his critic, Fleury elevates the value of Koechlin’s flute duet with an explanation of the history of the genre.

Fleury describes how composers of the previous romantic era, such as Jean-Louis Tulou, composed duets to be used as teaching tools, rather than repertoire for concerts. He is not shy in giving his opinion as to the musical value of those duets: “All the flautists, composers of the first half of the nineteenth century…Tulou, Berbiguier, Camus, Kummer, and, later Demersseman and Walckiers wrote numerous duets for the benefit of their pupils, but of a sensibly inferior quality.”\footnote{Ibid., 118.} Fleury does, however, praise the duets of Friedrich Kuhlau; he crowns Kuhlau “the acknowledged master” of this romantic style of writing flute duets.\footnote{Ibid.} As for Koechlin’s modern duet, Fleury holds that the \textit{Sonate pour deux flûtes} “is neither dull music nor pupil’s exercises. We find only the happy inspirations of a practised [sic] and refined musician.”\footnote{Ibid.}

Koechlin’s duo sonata follows some tradition in its form – it contains three movements, including a slow first movement, a scherzo, and a final fast movement marked \textit{Allegro}. The musical style is certainly eclectic. One can hear lines moving in

\footnote{Fleury, “Music for Two Flutes without Bass,” 110.}
\footnote{Ibid., 118.}
\footnote{Ibid.}
\footnote{Ibid.}
counterpoint, and the second movement seems to begin with a type of baroque dance; however, the harmony of the entire sonata is far from traditional as it moves into atonality. Koechlin was not against using dissonance in his music. Still, he seemed to conceive of dissonance as dependent on several factors besides merely clashing intervals, as though dissonance was on a type of spectrum. Koechlin remarked that “the concept of dissonance...is relative” and “context plays an important role.”\(^\text{130}\) In his treatise, *Traité de l’harmonie* (Treatise of Harmony), Koechlin references this sonata specifically when discussing dissonance: “Here, the dissonance is relative to the timbres of the instruments, to the nature of the attack, – and, without doubt, also, to the character of the musical idea.”\(^\text{131}\) For Koechlin, dissonance in this sonata was relative even to the timbres of flutes.

Koechlin’s sonata certainly explores character and dissonance. The first movement, *Assez lent*, begins with one flutist playing a haunting melody (Figure 7.1). Koechlin does not specify any key signature or time signature.

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\(^\text{131}\) Ibid., 247.
As the melody wanders between gradually expanding intervals, the chromatic writing and mood is reminiscent of the style of Debussy. The text that Koechlin includes in the first measure, *lointain et vague (sans presser)*, (distant and vague; without hurry) implies that the flute should sound far away. Perhaps Koechlin is alluding to a scene in nature, as he was known to be inspired by forest settings.\(^\text{133}\) Orledge notes what often inspired Koechlin’s music:

\begin{quote}
[Koechlin] was stimulated by a wide range of extra-musical subjects both natural and literary. A particular attraction to the forest in his early works achieved a more universal, pantheistic significance in the jungle of his later creations. Other subjects which recurrently “imposed themselves” upon him included classical mythology, dreams and fantasy (which reflected his desire to escape from everyday reality into an “ivory tower” within which he could compose freely), and the night sky, the serenity and mystery of the universe.\(^\text{134}\)
\end{quote}

Whether Koechlin was inspired by a forest or the night sky for this duet is uncertain, but he is certainly specific with what effects he desires in the opening. (See Figure 7.2.) In

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\(^{133}\) In fact, Koechlin composed a major orchestral piece portraying Rudyard Kipling’s stories from *The Jungle Book*.

\(^{134}\) Orledge, “Koechlin, Charles.”
measure two, he specifies that it should sound “de moins loin” (less far away), and in measure three he directs the flutist to play with a tone “plus lointain” (more distant).

Figure 7.2. Koechlin, *Sonate pour deux flûtes*, I. Assez lent, mm. 2-3.\(^{135}\)

As shown in Figure 7.3 below, both flutes enter in measure five with an eerie duet in counterpoint. This section’s form seems to take inspiration from J.S. Bach; however, it is clearly Koechlin’s work with the use of atonal language and absence of meter.

Figure 7.3. Koechlin, *Sonate pour deux flûtes*, I. Assez lent, intervals between flute parts, mm. 5-8.\(^{136}\)

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\(^{135}\) Koechlin, *Sonate pour deux flûtes*.

\(^{136}\) Ibid.
The first flute plays a melody centered on the pitch B, while the second flute plays a chromatic bass line. Koechlin is not afraid of dissonant intervals: major and minor seconds and tritones occur regularly between the two parts. A particularly striking dissonance occurs in measure sixteen (Figure 7.4), where the two flutes sustain a minor second.

Figure 7.4. Koechlin, *Sonate pour deux flûtes*, I. *Assez lent*, sustained minor second, mm. 15-16.\(^\text{137}\)

Even though the dynamic markings are very soft, this dissonance in particular stands out. Koechlin’s use of counterpoint here is particularly modern.

In contrast, the second movement, *Allegretto scherzando*, opens with consonance and energy in both flute parts. Koechlin still does not assign any regular meter, but the movement has motoric sixteenth notes throughout that provide a sense of direction. This time, Koechlin does use a key signature of four flats for most of the length of the

\(^{137}\) Koechlin, *Sonate pour deux flûtes.*
movement. The opening gesture is reminiscent of a baroque subject in an imitative work, perhaps alluding to the music of J.S. Bach (see Figure 7.5).

Figure 7.5. Koechlin, *Sonate pour deux flûtes*, II. Allegretto scherzando, mm. 1-2.\(^{138}\)

This baroque motive breaks down in the middle of the movement, where Koechlin abandons the key signature for more chromatic language. Even so, this section alludes to the baroque style with Koechlin’s extensive use of sequences (see Figure 7.6). Koechlin is writing in a style for which he was known – mixing the old with the new, the known with the unknown.

\(^{138}\) Koechlin, *Sonate pour deux flûtes*. 
Figure 7.6. Koechlin, *Sonate pour deux flûtes*, II. Allegretto scherzando, sequences, mm. 3-4.\(^{139}\)

\(^{139}\) Koechlin, *Sonate pour deux flûtes*. 
The third movement, *Final: Allegro (assez vif)*, again refers to the baroque style with Koechlin’s use of sequences. The opening, for solo flute as the first movement began, resembles a subject in a fugue, but it is never imitated by a second voice (Figure 7.7). Koechlin, however, does present several transpositions of the motive.

Figure 7.7. Koechlin, *Sonate pour deux flûtes*, III. *Final: Allegro (assez vif)*, sequences in solo flute, mm. 1-4.\(^{140}\)

The second flute enters in measure six, and the two flutes begin to play a melody that loosely resembles the opening “fugue theme” (Figure 7.8).

\(^{140}\) Koechlin, *Sonate pour deux flûtes*. 
Here, the two instruments play the melody in inversion to each other. Koechlin builds this counterpoint with series of intervals, especially fourths.

After this technical opening, Koechlin transitions into a style that is more romantic, perhaps even Impressionist. (See Figure 7.9.) Koechlin does not stop using fourths, but they disappear into the background as accompaniment in the second flute part.

\[141\] Koechlin, *Sonate pour deux flûtes*. 
Trills decorate the melody in an ascending, chromatic climax. This climax relents into a return to material from the first movement in measure 22.

Perhaps Koechlin leads the listener back to where she started – in nature. Robert Orledge notes that this sonata follows Koechlin’s habit of seeking “a constant light” in his music.\(^\text{143}\) “Light” here refers to joy and freedom. Though Koechlin often uses harsh dissonances, his music does find resolution. It is interesting to note that each movement in this sonata ends on the same interval – the perfect fifth. Balance and light win. Of all the composers surveyed here who composed music for Fleury, Koechlin adventures the furthest harmonically and rhythmically with his use of atonality and preference for no bar

\(^{142}\) Koechlin, *Sonate pour deux flûtes*.

lines at all. With these innovative devices, Koechlin challenged flutists to play all sounds expressively, including sounds normally considered dissonant. To Fleury, this duet presented Koechlin’s “happy inspirations”; Fleury was ready and willing to share these modern inspirations with a public that was perhaps reticent, at first, to hear them.\textsuperscript{144}

\textsuperscript{144} Fleury, “Music for Two Flutes without Bass,” 118.
CONCLUSION

As long as the flute was a true pastoral instrument, of tender pathos or graceful agility, the greatest composers – Handel, Bach, Haydn, Mozart and to some extent Beethoven – cared for it and wrote masterpieces for it. But the moment flutists tried to compete with violinists, giving themselves over to fireworks and the expression of hectic sentiment, people of good taste would have no more to do with them. Except for a few orchestral pieces, there is not a page of flute music by Mendelssohn, Schumann or Brahms – to take only those three; and so it will remain, as long as flutists turn themselves into mechanical birds and fill their melodies with meaningless ornament.¹⁴⁵

These words of Louis Fleury in 1922 provided a bit of a warning to composers of his time. Thankfully, Fleury’s prediction on behalf of the future of the flute repertoire did not come true. Fleury was a champion of both early and new music, and he helped to forever change the direction of flute repertoire towards modernism. His solo performances and academic writing had a great impact, as flutist John Ranck notes: “Fleury was as busy with his pen as he was with his flute.”¹⁴⁶ Flute pieces dedicated to Louis Fleury often stretched musical boundaries through extra-musical references and novel harmonic and rhythmic language. Fleury’s influence helped elevate the status of the flute as an expressive solo instrument in the twentieth century, over the previous century’s emphasis on rather dry virtuosity. Though some of these pieces dedicated to Fleury have fallen into obscurity, one may still appreciate the influence this music and Fleury’s legacy had on the French Flute School and beyond. Debussy’s Syrinx has certainly been adopted into the canon of modern flute music, and Hahn’s Deux Pièces, Ibert’s Jeux, and Koechlin’s Sonate pour deux flûtes are fairly well-known works that


have been recorded by flutists. The two English pieces analyzed here, Scott’s *The Extatic Shepherd* and Rootham’s *Suite in Three Movements*, are less widely known. Flutists today would do well to study and perform all of these pieces, but specifically Scott’s and Rootham’s music deserve more attention for their value both musically and historically. There is certainly room for further study of the complete collection of music dedicated to Fleury, as well as an investigation into Fleury’s impact on other chamber music, such as settings for flute and voice. Louis Fleury has stood for too long in the shadows of other French flutists. Through studying his writings and performing the pieces dedicated to him, flutists will revive a voice that deserves to be heard.
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